

YOUTH TALKS

DIVERSITY, INTOLERANCE & NON-VIOLENCE



Preface:
ABIDIN WAKANO

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Youth Talks:**Diversity, Intolerance, & Non-Violence**

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents	iii
PREFACE	ix

FRAGMENT 1 THE DYNAMICS OF RADICALISM, INTOLERANCE AND TERRORISM

1	From Intolerant Thoughts and Behaviors to Terrorism Is Indonesia's Youth Generation Strong Enough to Resist? <i>Ni Putu Putri Puspitaningrum</i>	3
2	The Dynamics of Intolerance, Radicalism, Terrorism and Extremist Violence Movement in Indonesia <i>M. Thaha</i>	9
3	The Dynamics of Religious Tolerance in Indonesia <i>Muhammad Reza</i>	15
4	The Dynamics of Intolerance, Radicalism and Extremist Violence Movement in Indonesia <i>Muhammad Reza</i>	21
5	Indonesia Against Radicalism <i>Idrus Mualana Yusuf</i>	27
6	Indonesia in the State of Intolerance Emergency Between Communal Interest and the Integrity of Unity in Diversity <i>Khairun Nisa</i>	33

7	The Role of Society in Dealing with Intolerance, Radicalism, Terrorism and Extremist Violence in Indonesia <i>Cynthia Nofentary Purba</i> _____	39
8	Tracing the Two Faces of Religion as an Attempt to Knit Diversity <i>Abd. Gaffar</i> _____	43
9	Intolerance, Radicalism, Terrorism and Extremist Violence Movement: The Real Threat for Indonesian Nation <i>Ahmad Fathorrozi</i> _____	47
10	Rethinking Jihad <i>Darul Ma'arif Asry</i> _____	51

FRAGMENT 2

SOCIAL MEDIA AND TRIBE, RELIGION, RACE AND CLASS INTOLERANCE

1	I am Prepared to Silence the Terrorists with the Media! <i>Yossika D. Permatasari</i> _____	57
2	The Role of Mass Media in Preventing Radicalism <i>Masithah Mahsa</i> _____	61
3	Social Media (MEME) and Tribe, Religion, Race and Class Intolerance in Indonesia <i>Agatha Pricilia</i> _____	65
4	The Effect of Media in Double Potential <i>Amrizarois Ismail</i> _____	69
5	Understanding Terrorist through Contemporary Media <i>Devi Afithasari</i> _____	77
6	Social Media as an Instrument of Resistance against Discrimination, Intolerance and Extremist Violence <i>Eko Prasetyo</i> _____	81
7	Alternative Narratives: Civil Society Organization in Social Media as Counter-Radicalization <i>Kirana Aisyah</i> _____	87
8	Twisting Hatred and the Phenomenon of People Who Allows It <i>MUHAMMAD MUFTI M</i> _____	93
9	Reflection of Terrorism and Social Media Resistance <i>Mohammad Fariansyah</i> _____	97
10	Social Media as an Instrument of Resistance against Discrimination, Intolerance and Extremist Violence <i>Muhammad Soleh</i> _____	101
11	Social Media as the Defender of Peace for Indonesian People <i>Silvia Ananda</i> _____	105
12	Social Media as an Instrument of Resistance against Intellectual Discrimination and Extremist Violence <i>Sultriana</i> _____	109

- 13 Cyberspace and Bubble Effect:
The Threat of Virtual Dimension on Social Order and
Peace in the Midst of Public Rage
Syihabul Furqon _____ 113

FRAGMENT 3 LOCAL WISDOM AND PEACE CULTURE

- 1 Deterring Intolerance, Radicalism and Extremist Violence
through Indonesian Local Culture Approach
Nurani Fitriyah _____ 127
- 2 Love Indonesia, Love the Culture
Mustofa _____ 131
- 3 Piil Pesenggiri Principle: The Local Wisdom of Lampung People
as Social Capital to Create Peace
Fitra Utama _____ 135
- 4 Preserving ‘Lulo Dance’ The Unique Art of
Southeast Sulawesi to Unite the Diversity of Indonesia
Irwan Saputra _____ 141
- 5 Deterring Intolerance through the Local Wisdom of
Ternate People’s Philosophy “*Jou Se Ngofangare*”
Mulfandhy Gailea _____ 147
- 6 Local Wisdom in Aceh: “Respect to Women” as Social Capital
to Deal with Discrimination
Widia Munira _____ 151
- 7 Structural and Social Discrimination Sunda Wiwitan
Indigenous People and Ahmadiyya Congregation in Kuningan,
West Java
Zariqoh Ainnayah Silviah _____ 155
- 8 *Pesantren* as a Local Wisdom that Shapes the
Authentic Character of Tolerant Islam
Zumrotun Nafisah _____ 159
- 9 Fairytales: Resolving Violence through Storytelling
Arrayan Firdaus _____ 165

FRAGMENT 4 CELEBRATING DIVERSITY

- 1 Diversity as the Unifier of Indonesian People
Priska Nur Safitri _____ 171
- 2 The Rainbow of Indonesia: A Plural Country’s Religious Tourism
Nur Hikmah _____ 175
- 3 The Positive Effect of Local Faith Inclusion in Identity Card for
the Diversity of Indonesia
Perdana Nur Ambar Setyawan _____ 179

4	Steps to Preserve the Diversity of Indonesia <i>Muhammad Saiful Haq</i> _____	183
5	Literacy Communities Preserve the Future of Diversity in Indonesia <i>Filyadi Gusti Zamzami</i> _____	189
6	A Spoonful of Smile and a Glass of Kindness; a Warm Peace for Everyone Desi Aprianti _____	193
7	Managing Diversity <i>Ikin Rojikin</i> _____	197
8	The Dynamics of Peace Movement in Cirebon <i>Harry</i> _____	201
9	The Social Integration of Post-Conflict Aceh Dinar Sari _____	207
10	Progressive Law as an Investment to Preserve Pluralism in Indonesia <i>Anita Wahyu Rakasiwi</i> _____	209
11	Gymnastics of Nusantara to Preserve Indonesian Cultural Diversity Collaboration between Indonesian Traditional Dance and Physical Fitness Gymnastics <i>Putra Renaldy Sari</i> _____	213

FRAGMENT 5 FUTURE OF DIVERSITY

1	Future of Diversity in Indonesia <i>Demas Buntuma'dika</i> _____	219
2	Diversity in Democracy <i>Sonya Yulistan Andomo</i> _____	223
3	Working Together for a Better Future of Diversity in Indonesia <i>Widhyka Fakhriyakansa</i> _____	227
4	Preserving Tolerance and Diversity through Student Movement on Children to Realize a Cultured Indonesia <i>Tumpal Andani Aritonang</i> _____	231
5	Reviewing and Revitalizing Gus Dur's Idea on Pluralism as an Attempt to Frame Religious Harmony in Indonesia <i>Giovano Bhakti Meizhar</i> _____	235
6	The Inclusive Theology of Cak Nur; Reaping the Fruits of Religious Harmony <i>Iin Sholihin</i> _____	243
7	Peace in Diversity <i>Ika Puspitasari</i> _____	247
8	The Ever-Smiling Faith <i>Sofah D. Aristiawan</i> _____	253

9	Islam of Nusantara as a Home of Unity in Indonesia Preserving Diversity through Religion: an Attempt toward <i>Baldatun Toyyibun Warobbun Ghofuur</i> in Indonesia M. Sabar Prihatin _____	259
10	Empowering People: Muhammadiyah's Missionary Work to Deter Extremism and Radicalism Lutfi Nur Falaq _____	263
11	Freedom of Worship is Still Under Question Isthiqonita _____	267

FRAGMENT 6 271

REFLECTION 271

1	Interfaith Youth Camp 2018: an Interfaith Meeting in the Land of Kings <i>Astari Ratnadya (Participant of IYC 2018 from DKI Jakarta)</i> ____	273
2	Where Did Your Peace Come From? <i>Kurniati Fadilah (Participant of IYC 2018 from South Kalimantan)</i> _	277
3	The Poor, The Moron and The Arrogant <i>Meiliana Mulyani (Participant of IYC 2018 from DKI Jakarta)</i> ____	281
4	Together We Build a More Humane World <i>Rizka Dwi Kurnia (Participant of IYC 2018 from DKI Jakarta)</i> ____	285
5	I Have a Word <i>Silvana Hengendrop (Participant of IYC 2018 from Maluku)</i> ____	287
6	One Blood for Peace <i>Yulinda Rcl Gaol (Participant of IYC 2018 from Banten)</i> _____	291
7	Ambon, What Can I Learn from You? <i>Suprayitno (Participant of IYC 2018 from Central Kalimantan)</i> __	293

ABOUT THE AUTHORS _____	299
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PREFACE

ABIDIN WAKANO

Director of Ambon Reconciliation and Mediation Center IAIN Ambon

This book is the voice of youths from different religions, tribes, beliefs and occupation from many provinces in Indonesia and was written as one of the requirements for participating in Interfaith Youth Camp (IYC) in Pantai Negeri Liang, Salahutu Sub-district, Maluku Tengah District, Maluku Province, on January 25th to 30th 2018.

These 50 youths are a part of 3000 Indonesian youth who registered online to participate in Interfaith Youth Camp in Pantai Negeri Liang which was organized by Ambon Reconciliation and Mediation Center (ARMC) Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Ambon, in collaboration with PPIM Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, UNDP and CONVEY. Although these 50 youths were unable to go with the 120 youths who passed the selection, their writings are very meaningful and important to be published in this Anthology book.

The voices of youth written in this book reflect their strong anxiety, conscience and also hope to nurture the existing diversity of life in order to build an Indonesia and a world without extremism and violence. The concerns of millennials "*zaman now*" in this book to many forms of contemporary conflict and violence in the name of religion, tribe and class are due to their realization that those phenomena of extremism, terrorism and violence are a deviation to the *mission sacre* of religions, as well as the wisdoms contained within every culture in the world.

Every religion on the face of this planet teaches kindness and peace for humanity. Buddha teaches humility, Hindu teaches Ahimsa, no harming nor killing, Christianity teaches love and compassion, Confucianism teaches wisdom and Islam teaches love to the whole universe (*Rahmatan lil 'Alamin*). And within each society's local custom lies noble values that appreciate and uphold the life of all living beings and humanity.

As such, in addition to telling about traumatic experiences that they saw, learned and experienced, this book also tells about success stories of beautiful interfaith and interracial kinship and friendship. What makes these writings interesting is that the youths are not putting themselves as victims of despair, much less swearing vengeance, due to their experienced collective stigma, but rather they are offering enlightening solutions. These solutions come from our society's local wisdom as well as personal experiences in order to commit in an effort to build peace. A proverb says that, "It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness." Another proverb also says that, "You can't change others. You can only change yourself. But that will change how others respond to you."

Thus is the power of this book, born from the "anxiety" and "hope" of an inclusive and egalitarian young generation who has strong vision and concern to humanity and to build a more peaceful and civilized world. As the youth voice their concerns, so do we gain a hope and optimism for the better future of Indonesia.

FRAGMENT 1

THE DYNAMICS OF
RADICALISM,
INTOLERANCE
AND TERRORISM

1

From Intolerant Thoughts and Behaviors to Terrorism

Is Indonesia's Youth Generation Strong Enough to Resist?

NI PUTU PUTRI PUSPITANINGRUM

Intolerance and terrorism are the most talked about topics in Indonesia. In fact, these phenomena occur in big cities which are supposed to host open-minded people. Intolerance is an act to “refuse” anything different, while terrorism came from the Latin word *terrere*: meaning an act to make someone or group of people afraid and to create a chaotic situation. Intolerance and terrorism materializes in many forms, from physical to mental assault.

An act of terrorism can be a result of an intolerant attitude that develops in a radical way and materializes in the form of dangerous extremist violence. This was affirmed by the Head of Indonesian National Police's Public Relations Department, Police Inspector General Setyo Wasisto who stated that intolerance is the root of terrorism.¹

Risk Factor

Many statements have been made about education and economic factor as the root of intolerance and extremism. Apparently, those statements are unproven. Many alleged terrorists who were apprehended and inspected do not always have low education and economic level – some of them even have master-degrees and wealthy.

Haroon Ullah argued that there are three things that can cause an 'intolerant

1 <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/06/03/13044431/polri.intoleransi.adalah.cikal.bakal.terorisme>

act' to transform into radicalism, terrorism and extreme violence², i.e.:

1. Poverty and Low Education. These factors are influential but not the main factor.
2. Impetus to Find Meaning and Submission to Fear and Frustration. Frustration rises due to the situation within this country, such as the ubiquitous corruption that causes many suffering. Radicals, terrorists, and extremists made them a reason to "submit" to terrorist activity. They believe the extremist way to be the easiest since complying to the rules do not change anything.
3. Impetus to Change and Rule through Violence. They have reached a phase where they desire to build a new government that they believed to be 'better'. Frustration and external invitation in addition to certain brain characteristic and individual personality can result in a desire to "change and rule." The perceived easy way to change and rule something is by the "means of violence."

Those three things can become risk factors that can transform intolerant attitude into extreme violence, including terrorism. Although we have seen that those risk factors exist in Indonesia, those risks cannot materialize if every person has strong mental fortitude to resist.

An even bigger concern is that the dynamic of extremist movement can get stronger due to its propaganda can be easily distributed through media. A weak society without adequate knowledge on the impact of intolerance and extreme violence can easily absorb false information. Their decision to act can be made without careful considerations. In the end, even more people are involved in this movement.

Character

In order to see the perspective of a character that might turn radical or extreme, a psychologist and lecturer from Pennsylvania State University's International Center, John Horgan, PhD, conducted a research of 60 terrorist suspects. He has identified the character within those suspects and concluded that they tend to show these following thoughts, emotions and actions:

- a. Angry, isolated and believing they have been treated unjustly.
- b. Believing that the existing political system has no power to change anything.
- c. Believing they have been struggling as a victim of social injustice.

2 Ullah, H. (2016). Why do people become religious extremist. Oak TV. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7AC6RZbCaA>

- d. Believing that action speaks louder than words when it comes to expressing their problems.
- e. Believing that being involved in violence is justified.
- f. Having friends or families who support their perspective.
- g. Believing that participating in a movement can help them to appreciate themselves through experience, kinship and identity.

Looking at those characteristics, we can infer that most of them came from within oneself, such as thought (belief) and emotion. We can claim that those characters can cause someone to be trapped in radicalism. However, up until now, there have been no certain personality profiles that can illustrate why someone became radical and involved in terrorism, but we can safely assume that mental disorder is not the reason that underlies terrorism.³ Therefore, we should not easily accuse someone of being a radical or extremist. We should also make sure that we do not have a personality that supports an involvement in intolerant acts and terrorism.

Neuropsychology and Attitude

The neuropsychological aspect of intolerance and terrorism are rarely discussed. However, this issue is important to support the effort of de-radicalization.

Those involved in terrorism will usually have a high level of aggressiveness. This high level of aggressiveness is related to low level of serotonin.⁴ Ultimately, it causes someone more likely to be angry, provoked and even commits violence.

Furthermore, intolerant attitude and terrorism is also related to an incorrect decision making process. Many people are still easily manipulated to join radical groups and committing harmful acts. This is related to the brain function in prefrontal cortex not performing optimally. This part of the brain plays an important role in the ability to make decisions and self-control. When this function does not perform optimally, a decision to act could be incorrect.

How to preserve brain function? Brain function is influenced by many aspects, not only education. Healthy food and drink consumed by body is also important to shape a brain that can perform optimally. In addition, love and enjoyable things can also make brain performs more optimally. Moreover, exercise and sleep quality can also improve brain function.

3 Borum, R. (2010). Understanding terrorist psychology. *The psychology of counter-terrorism*, 19-33.
4 Kolb, B., Whishaw, I. Q., & Teskey, G. C. (2001). *An introduction to brain and behavior* (Vol. 3). New York: Worth Publishers.

By preserving brain quality, we have actually made an effort to avoid the possibility of committing intolerant act and terrorism. A brain that functions optimally can help us to filter information and make correct decision when faced by negative things.

To prepare a strong generation as explained in previous discussion, it should be noted that there are many factors that can cause intolerant acts and terrorism. Our readiness as Indonesia's youth generation will be needed so we will not fall in it.

Intolerance and terrorist movement could develop due to the lack of toughness in our generation to refuse a certain teaching and a certain act. If we were tough, then risk factor would not materialize into violence act that harms physically and mentally.

Let us prepare the power to resist intolerance and terrorism. Everything begins with self-preparation. Through the food and drink we consume as well as exercising and other positive habits, we can start ensuring our brain has functioned optimally. When our brain has functioned optimally, then we can make the right decision when we would like to participate in certain teaching. A healthy brain is one step taken to grow a positive character within self. Thus, the modality to be a strong generation can be obtained.

After self-preparation, the next thing to do is preparing the environment. When we have supported each other to create a peaceful environment, risk factors will not materialize into harmful things. For example, if hateful news is circulated, we should counter it by circulating more positive messages. This will balance the information received by people.

There are many positive messages that can be spread, such as reminding about Indonesia's local culture which is identical with cooperation and kinship without discriminating, the struggle against colonizers through unity, as well as real love to human beings.

There are many things that we can do prevent intolerance movement from being ubiquitous and harmful. Let us change ourselves to become a tougher person. Then, let us work together to create a peaceful environment that will give birth to a strong nation.

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2

The Dynamics of Intolerance, Radicalism, Terrorism and Extremist Violence Movement in Indonesia

M. THAHA

As the time progresses and socio-political demands within the Indonesian society become more widespread, Radicalism in Indonesia has truly materialized. New sects and schools in Indonesia who claimed to represent Islam have flourished since the fall of New Order. This condition is also driven by the arrival of young Arabic people from Hadhramaut, Yemen in Indonesia who brought new ideology to our country.

The emergence of those new sects and schools has changed the constellation of religious community, especially Islamic community in Indonesia. The ideology that they brought is harsher without tolerance, due to being influenced by Maliki School which was adopted and introduced by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab or Wahabi – the current official ideology of Saudi Arabia government.¹

Wahabi is an ideology that glorifies Arabic culture and tradition known for its conservatism by using Islam as its vessel. In regards to radicalism, Wahabi is not only a school of thought or ideology but also mentality. Their mental characteristics include their hobby to create a boundary with other Muslim communities so they can easily declare others outside of their small and tight circle as an infidel and

1 Scientific journal, Ahmad Asrori, Radikalisme di Indonesia : Antara Historisitas dan Antropositas, (IAIN Radeng Intan Lampung: Volume 9, Nomor 2, December 2015), pp. 254-255.

enemy which is justified to be waged war against.²

Kalidjernih stated that radicalism is a commitment to a thorough change by challenging the basic or fundamental structure, not only its superficial layers. Etymologically, radicalism comes from a Latin word, "*radix*" which means root. This became the foundation of the political meaning of radicalism which refers to every movement who wants to change the system down to its root.

According to the findings from research published by Birru, L. in Media Center on October 15, the radicalism vulnerability index in Indonesia in 2011 was 43.6. This radicalism index was obtained from the result of radicalism vulnerability research in 33 provinces with 4,840 respondents.³ The question is, when will conflicts in the name of religion and Islam end in Indonesia? The potential of conflict between elements of society in Indonesia will remain high up to the next ten years (Kompas, Friday, February 10th 2012). In addition to the economic condition which still far from prosperous, this situation is also caused by the unrefined democracy in this country.

Azymardi Azra, in his article in Tempo, "*Radikalisme Islam Indonesia/Islam Radicalism in Indonesia*," on December 15th, 2002, affirmed that radicalism and terrorism has become the 'new' enemy of humanity. Although radicalism has emerged for a long time, the recent acts of bombing have elevated this phenomenon into a "contemporary enemy" as well as the "archenemy."

Many have made an ill-defined assumption that terrorism is caused by religious fundamentalism and radicalism, particularly within Islam. It is unsurprising then, that Islam is made the 'black sheep', especially during the phenomenal bombing in World Trade Center and the recent Boston Marathon Bombing.⁴

Such situation can be observed in the emergence of radicalism in Indonesia recently, in regards to a group who claimed themselves as part of Al-Qaeda network and ISIS, in which the two have become a global issue up to this day.⁵

2 Kalidjernih, 2010, Kamus Studi Kewarganegaraan: Perspektif Sosiologikal dan Politikal, (Bandung, Widya Aksara Press), p. 140 in Jurnal Yosaphat, Haris Nusarastriya, Radikalisme Dan Terorisme Di Indonesia Dari Masa Ke Masa.

3 Birru, L, "Indeks Kerentanan Radikalisme" (Online) available in: <http://www.voanews.com/indonesian/news/Indeks-Radikalisme-diIndonesia> (December 28th, 2011) in Jurnal Yasaphat, Haris Nusarastriya, Radikalisme Dan Terorisme Di Indonesia Dari Masa Ke Masa.

4 Sofian Munawar Asgart, Melawan Radikalisme dan Terorisme di Indonesia, Research Associate, The Interseksi Foundation, Jakarta, p. 1.

5 Christina Parolin in Jurnal Ahmad Asrori (2015:254), Radical Spaces: Venues of Popular Politicts in London, 1790-c. 1845 (Australia: ANU E Press, 2010), 1st ed., p. 3.

The spirit of radicalism and terrorism is inseparable with political issues. Political issues tend to cause radical acts which harm the harmony of religious communities in Indonesia.

Problems regarding Islamic radicalism have grown stronger within the political constellation in Indonesia as its support base grew larger. However, we have slowly come to the realization that these movements were never homogeneous as they were separated in many groups with different goals. Some groups advocate for the implementation of Islamic Sharia without necessarily establishing "Islamic State," while some fight for the establishment of Islamic State of Indonesia, in addition to establishing a "Caliphate Islamic System. Their organizational pattern is also diverse, from the moral-ideological movement of Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) to the paramilitary style of Laskar Jihad and FPI.⁶

Even though Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) has been disbanded by President Joko Widodo due to being considered anti-Pancasila (Kompas, Monday, July 10th 2017), its ideas remain popular in some parts of Indonesia which could materialize as a new entity without necessarily using the HTI symbol. In addition, HTI's spirit to establish Islamic state is still going strong, despite having no legal justification.

Other than religious radicalism, acts of terror are still a latent problem due to the existence of other frictions, including anti-unity activities, separatism etc. The people that are behind these activities forget that we are living in Indonesia that upholds unity in diversity.

In a society without tolerance and openness, roots of radicalism can easily infiltrate. Therefore, the government must become a locomotive in building national unity and prosperity to avoid the threat of radicalism to this country which can utilize the cracks of injustice.⁷

Meanwhile, LIPI researcher Anas Saidi stated that radicalism occurs due to a process of Islamization among youth. This process occurs clandestinely and tends to be intolerant to other Islamic perspective, much less those with different belief. Anas stated that if we let this idea grows, it can causes national disintegration because no longer believe in the importance of Pancasila.⁸

Furthermore, in his 2011 research in five universities in Indonesia (UGM, UI, IPB, Unair and Undip), Anas found an increase in religious conservatism and

6 Endang Turmudi (ed), *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2005), p. 5.

7 Ahmad Asrori, *Radikalisme di Indonesia : Antara Historisitas dan Antropositas*, p. 260.

8 Sri Lestari, *Anak-Anak Muda Indonesia Makin Radikal*, BBC Indonesia, 18 February 2016, p. 1.

fundamentalism, especially among students of public universities. He also found that radicalism among youth flourished since Reformasi, through the network of Jamaah Tarbiyah (Muslim Brotherhood), including HTI and Salafi which are part of transnational Islamic movement.

The process of Islamization occurs monolithically and mosques are dominated by certain groups which led to their congregants becoming intolerant. Moreover, if one of those people were about to be elected, as a minister or any position of power, their intolerant attitude and disrespect toward Pancasila will become a very concerning threat.

Anas further stated that the process of Islamization among youth must be balanced with an open Islamization which stresses the importance of solving dispute without violence. If it can be done, Anas believed that the positive Islamization can give birth to a better young generation who can accept differences.⁹

Therefore, plurality will be a certainty in this republic. Although we are not the same in terms of belief (religion), we are the same in terms of humanity (realism). It means we are respecting our religious beliefs, despite the fact that each of us believes our religion to be the best. We can acknowledge that Islam, Christianity, Hindu, Buddha and others as religions that have been officially recognized in Indonesia.

Therefore, we should not discriminate other people or other religion because all of us are religious and citizens of Indonesia who have the same ideological foundation in Pancasila and 1945 Constitution.

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that radicalism and terrorism movement in Indonesia is caused by the change in socio-political order, particularly the collapse of New Order regime and the arrival of young Arabic people from Hadhramaut, Yemen in Indonesia who brought new ideology here. All of those things contribute to the change in the constellation of Muslim community in Indonesia.

The next problem is, their new ideas are harsher and without tolerance, due to being influenced by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab's school of thought or Wahabi – the current official ideology of Saudi Arabia government.

Furthermore, the disbandment of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) by President Joko Widodo due to being considered anti-Pancasila did not kill this group. Their

9 Ahmad Asrori, *Radikalisme di Indonesia : Antara Historisitas dan Antropositas*, p. 261.

idea remains strong in some parts of Indonesia, although it materializes into a new entity that carries no HTI symbol. Their spirit to establish an Islamic state remains strong even without legal justification.

Moreover, the process of Islamization among youth must be balanced with a more open Islamization, because this process of Islamization will give birth to a better young generation who can accept difference. Otherwise, the Muslim community in the future will be filled to the brim with intolerant people.

3

The Dynamics of Religious Tolerance in Indonesia

MUHAMMAD REZA

As a matter of fact, Indonesia is no stranger to diversity, with its many different tribes, races, religions and skin colors. However, this has never reduces the spirit of kinship among the citizens of Indonesia. In fact, this has encouraged each society to know more about each other. That is Indonesia who, despite its diversity in background, being separated by seas, different languages and different religions, never breaks its commitment to unity.

After the Reformasi, some Western political scholars have predicted that Indonesia will disintegrate just like the Soviet Union. Their reasoning was quite logical as Indonesia is an archipelagic country which is vulnerable to disintegration. However, those analyses have been proven to be incorrect as Indonesia remains united despite the small frictions in some parts such as the separation of East Timor in 1999. In the end, the Garuda remains in its throne.

But recently, there have been many symptoms of violence in this country, especially religious and sectarian conflict. The case of Ahmadiyah in Bogor and Shia in Sampang are evidence to the decline of religious tolerance among Indonesian citizen. Shia and Ahmadiyah are two minority Islamic groups to the Sunni majority in Indonesia, notably represented by the two mass organizations, NU and Muhammadiyah. Not to mention the destruction of places of worship and religious symbol such as the church bombing in Samarinda (East Kalimantan) that has hurt all of us.

Who to blame? Who can be blamed in those situations? Could it be that our government was not assertive enough to those criminal, or perhaps our law has been unclear, or maybe it was indeed the fault of those religious figures whose provocations played an important role in this? Certainly those elements were interrelated. Therefore, an open-minded head will be needed to deal with current global political condition, so we can find the root of all of these problems.

The truly unfortunate thing is the attitude of several religious figures who were involved in growing those intolerant behaviors. This can be seen in several occasions, such as in seminar events that accused certain groups with infidelity, or books with contents that contributed nothing but promoted disintegration and religious preaching that spread only hate speeches. These forms of provocation were effective for Indonesians who were under considerable stress, especially due to economic problems. These kinds of behavior have been popping up in social media such as Facebook and Youtube. If we took this lightly, the impact could be considerably serious.

I see that there are some factors that cause the shift in Indonesian perspective today, namely the influence of radical/*taqfiri* organizations that have dominated the discourse within the society. Looking at it closely, the penetration of radicalism and *taqfirism* occurs alongside the turmoil in global politics, especially in the Middle East, which eventually impacts developing countries like Indonesia.

The characteristic of this ideology is such that its followers find it easy to call other people infidels simply because these people have different perspectives from theirs. In fact, this ideology has gone so far as to actually justify murder. This ideology is currently popular among youth with unstable mind and insatiable curiosity. These people will be easily manipulated by radical groups who have recently dominated the social media in a massive way.

Immediately, people were indoctrinated by that ideology despite its having no attachment with the organization. The main thing of this *taqfiri* ideology is that it can change the mindset of some people who are less educated in religion. This can be seen in recent cases, including the exhausting case of Jakarta's gubernatorial race.

Solutions

I believe there is a need to provide early education about unity in diversity to every part of the society, especially people in grass root level. We need to realize

that many of these people were unable to access higher education meaning that an additional measure will be required to provide understanding for people in this level. Furthermore, tolerance values can be included in educational curriculum and made obligatory in schools and even *pesantrens* (Islamic boarding school).

That way, teachers and *mubalighs* will be forced to truly enlighten students on the meaning of unity and diversity. The value of Pancasila must be interpreted through these technical measures. Otherwise, Pancasila will only be a normative philosophy among us. Therefore, I think the Minister of Education and Minister of Religion must consider such things.

Secondly, the government must take an assertive stance to any acts of terror or violence in the name of religion committed by anyone and any organization. Zero tolerance should be given to organizations that only care about making chaos. In addition, the government and the intelligence body must deal with any anti-Pancasila and anti-Indonesia organization. The state has full legitimacy and power to take a stance in thwarting anyone who tries to create chaos or commit treason in Indonesia.

As a self-criticism, most of the times the government seem to only focus on things that have happened, but still lacking in preventive acts. Therefore, I believe that surveillance to every organization or alliance with separatism nuance is a reasonable thing to do. This is to prevent the same things repeating again in the future. In order to be radicalized, most people will undergo a process. This should be the government's ultimate concern – to cut the chain of radicalism down to its root. It is time to be assertive in a time when diversity in Indonesia is under serious threat.

Religious Education and the Root of Radicalism

Lately our country has been assaulted by a disease named religious radicalism which is quite disheartening. At first, such phenomenon was not considered by some people, even the government. However, after its escalation and after victims have already fallen, the realization to the danger of this situation starts to grow. The government immediately responded by legislating a regulation (*Perpu*) about the disbandment of organizations who were considered a threat to the unity of Indonesia.

There are some things that must be underlined when we talk about radicalism. Most of us believe that an intolerant act is a perspective in viewing diversity that came from spontaneous thinking. Therefore, most believe that such things should not be made a big deal. As a result of this line of thinking, radicalism was able to

easily escalate among the society who has been exhausted with hedonism. To the merchants of conflict, these people were easy target to be plucked and sold to the highest bidder.

However, if we look at things more closely, the syndrome of radicalism does not grow from a determinant cultural process. It can be argued that the syndrome is nurtured through a systematic structural pattern. It cannot be denied that such pattern has penetrated and become part of education in Indonesia. This is evidenced in some curricula, especially—but not exclusively—those on religious education, which contain a sectarian idea or fanaticism to a certain ideology/perspective, by nurturing hatred to certain religion, school of thought and race.

In addition, religious education in general tends to be indoctrinating and dogmatic. There is no room to reevaluate the lecture given by the teachers. Worse still, the material usually refers to one source only. Usually, students with NU background will only be provided with a word-by-word interpretation of *Fikih Syafi'i*, *Asya'ri* theology, and *Tasawuf Al Ghazali*. Even if some discussions outside of the three are provided, mostly it is only an intermezzo to spend some time during class sessions. This situation also occurs within the education of other Islamic groups.

The resulting consequence of such method is the birth of generations with no understanding of diversity due to having no knowledge of the reality outside of what their teachers taught them. Later on when they go outside and find out the wide world, they will feel peculiar with someone who has different perspective with theirs, which in turn will create apathy to other entities outside of their group.

Not to mention the teaching method used by the teachers to shut down their students' critical thinking to the point that the students become rigid. They can no longer accept other opinions other than what their teachers say. They will be disgusted by any form of renewal in thinking. In the end, their knowledge can no longer grow.

At its smallest scale, such thing might not be worrying because it will result in no physical conflict. But once it escalates, it will prove dangerous for unity. The high frequency of social discrimination experienced by minorities during certain moments will be a time bomb that could explode anytime. If we let things through, it is not impossible that a horizontal conflict between the communities will occur and result in mass unrest.

The symptom of intolerance is almost always associated with certain ideology, such as Wahabism. This school of thought is often made the black sheep for the

occurrence of religious violence. While we cannot deny that there are some truths in that statement, it is still not the whole truth. Virus of radicalism is indiscriminate in its spread – it can even penetrate the *sarungan* people often associated with NU who is mostly known as the role model of a tolerant Islamic organization.

What happens in Sampang, Madura was a genuine religious violence, and its perpetrators claimed to be members of NU. Apparently, according to some scholar's testimony, if asked about their religion, people in that area will say their religion is NU. This is quite disheartening. Not to mention the assault to Yapi *pesantren* in East Java, which was accused as Shia *pesantren*, and also the disbandment of religious events in other places. However, it does not mean that symptoms of extremism did not occur in other Islamic groups. I only think that the existence of *takfiri* personality in NU is such a shame since it goes directly against the spirit of NU, which is known as the bearer of moderate Islam.

Even more disheartening are the Youtube videos which have lately been the source of solution for people seeking instant truth. They will be easily manipulated by some preachers who love calling others as infidels. Sometimes, they can haphazardly make a decree that recommends their followers to commit unethical things to certain group.

Since common people usually have no knowledge about religion and unused to think philosophically, they can easily be provoked by those videos. They have no other perspective in understanding difference and only see everything as a matter of black or white. Therefore, they can only differentiate between true or false. Scientific perspective brought in dealing with religion is what encourages extremism.

What makes it sadder is the fact that these false preachers were claiming to be an expert in science and politics. Thus they feel like they can discuss about those topics in a very disgusting conspiratorial language. Simply by connecting the dots between each occurring phenomena, they can make a misleading conclusion. People were led to believe such rubbishes. Ultimately, people will relate everything with religion. In the end, this will nurture hatred and suspicion among the community.

Therefore, there is a need to reconstruct Islamic education in Indonesia to lessen its sectarian tone. At the same time, Islamic education should not only focus on *fikih* which will result in rigidity. *Fikih* only discuss about 'dos and don'ts (*halal* and *haram*)' or black and white. Not to disrespect *fikih*, but it would be better if *fikih* is accompanied with discussion on Islamic history and basic theology. As such,

students will be able to understand a wider and more comprehensive Islamic knowledge as well as insight on virtue and pluralism.

In order to do all of that, the authority needs to implement strategic and concrete steps. Perhaps, they can include tolerance in the curriculum so every educational institution will have to introduce religious pluralism in Indonesia to their students. In terms of Islam, we can explain that this religion has a lot of different perspective and schools of thought. Therefore, society and religion teacher candidates will be expected to get used to plurality.

Furthermore, the government must conduct briefings for teacher/preacher candidates before they work in the society. These teachers are going to play an important role in shaping the society's perspective in the future. They are the one who makes the next generation. Therefore, an adequate intellectual debriefing that can clean them from extremist perspective is part of the government's responsibility. In fact, the government must assert their position by giving sanctions to teachers and preachers who spread hate under any circumstances.

The author believes that people are calling each other infidels because they were not able to understand each other. Each party did not want to hear any answer or clarification regarding things they accused of each other. As a result, each party believed themselves to be the right one and began to claim a responsibility to proselytize the other party, including by eliminating them, in the name of exterminating evil.

4

The Dynamics of Intolerance, Radicalism and Extremist Violence Movement in Indonesia

MUHAMMAD REZA

Background

Indonesia is a huge country with a diverse society, whether in terms of tribe, religion, race, ethnicity, culture and language, which is distributed from Sabang to Merauke. As a huge and diverse country, conflicts or segregations among society occurs quite often.

Conflict is a different perception regarding interest and will occur when there is no alternative. As long as difference exists, conflict is unavoidable and will always happen until a win-win solution is found for each party (Wirawan, 2010: 2).

The diverse society of Indonesia, in terms of their religion for example, will always be vulnerable to social conflict or segregation. In other words, in a plural society, religion can be the glue that unites the people as well as the thorn that sets them apart. Such phenomena will mostly be determined by:

- 1) The religion's theology and doctrine,
- 2) The believer's attitude and behavior in understanding and implementing their religion,
- 3) The surrounding socio-cultural environment, and
- 4) The role and influence of religious leaders in leading their followers (Muhaimin, *Paradigma Pendidikan Islam*, 2002: 177).

Recently, Indonesia has been encountering many occurrences of horizontal conflict, whether due to religious, tribal, ethnicity, cultural and class reasons. Those acts contribute to intolerance and radicalism which contributes to extremist acts by some people toward the occurring social phenomenon which is made as a way to resist those who are different with them. Cases of rejection of house of worship construction, prohibition of religious ritual, destruction of house of worship, rejection of certain ethnicity's existence and also the horizontal conflict among community are problems that must be dealt with together.

Problems regarding intolerance, radicalism and extremism are very important to be discussed. Attempts to rebuild tolerance and minimizing radicalism and extremism have to be implemented as a collective effort. The existence of Unity in Diversity and Pancasila as the State's final ideology must be fully realized. This is related to the attempt to make sure that Indonesia is a nation that able to coexist with plurality. Although in recent decades we have been hit by issues of segregation that ruins our national unity that has been built even before the independence of Indonesia.

Today, every nation's component is faced with a question on whether Indonesia is capable to prove itself as a plural nation that can provide a safe place for every community by upholding values of humanity and plurality.

The Dynamics of Intolerance, Radicalism and Extremist Violence in Indonesia Intolerance

Indonesia is a very diverse country. Its diversity exists in every aspect of life, including in religion. Religion can be very sensitive when it comes to harmony and tolerance. Obviously, the diversity of Indonesian society can result in some frictions. The root of those frictions is the different perspectives in viewing the world. In regard to our country's philosophy of unity in diversity, the many cases of human rights violation due to inter-religious community intolerance in Indonesia is a proof of how tolerance has not been enforced as a whole. Recently, the dynamic of intolerance in Indonesia has intensified due to some actions claimed to be implemented in defense of religion. From the peaceful rally of 411 to 212 rally in late 2016 and 212 rally part II in early 2017.

Radicalism

Radicalism is an ideology or school of thought that desires a drastic socio-political revolution through violence. However, in other words, the essence of radicalism

is a spirit to uphold change. Meanwhile, radicalism, according to Wikipedia, is a fabricated ideology made by some people who want drastic socio-political revolution through means of violence.

In terms of religious perspective, radicalism can be interpreted as a religious ideology that refers to their most fundamental philosophy which results in high level of religious fanaticism. As such, followers of such ideology will not shy away from using violence to others of different ideology in order to force others to accept their religious perspective.

Extremism

Extremism is an ideology that strongly believes in certain perspective beyond the reasonable norm and against the applicable law. Extremists often use hard and fanatic means in order to achieve their goals. Extremism causes conflict and suspicion among each other which results in segregation. Extremism is an abuse of political activity that utilizes minority group or organization. Extremism can also be interpreted as a doctrine to justify any means implemented in the name of achieving religious or political goal.

If we look closely at the recent intolerance, radicalism and extremism movement in Indonesia, we can observe a strong influence from global, national and regional issues. For example, Middle-East issues are usually the one that invites Indonesian's sympathy. In fact, the Israel-Palestine conflict where Palestine receives huge pressure and discrimination from Israel has rallied many Indonesians to express their solidarity with Palestine.

Domestic cases such as the case of Ahok, former governor of DKI Jakarta, who was accused of blasphemy against Islam, also gained public reactions. Many groups in different regions of Indonesia has their own perspective regarding the case. Many people rejected it but some amount of people also supported it and they expressed it in practical actions in their own regions. The case of force disbandment of religious ritual in Bandung, house of worship being stoned in Makassar, the case of Tolikara in Papua, and many others was cases of intolerance and radicalism which turned into extremism.

Basically, the emergence of intolerance, radicalism and extremism in many parts of Indonesia happened sporadically. Not every region experiences the same level of intensity, meaning that the emergence of those movements is related to the

perspective of each group toward the social condition around them. It also means that the opportunity for intolerance, radicalism and extremism in different region is caused by each region's geopolitical and social condition. Therefore, there is a need for an aptly-made strategy that can deal with this problem down to its root in a comprehensive manner.

There are some things that I believe of importance to be done in order to minimize and even eliminate intolerance in Indonesia, i.e.:

1. Role of the State

What I mean by role of the state is the state's role in protecting and repressing groups in society who are considered to be a threat to national unity. The New Order government should be a point of reference since they were able to control mass organizations that were considered to be against Pancasila by disbanding them with no shreds of doubt.

2. Role of Religious Leaders

Religious leaders are the main nodes to control or repress certain group's action. Suggestion and religious discourse spread by its leaders should emphasize on attempts to create togetherness and unity. The campaigns that they deliver should underline the importance of a peaceful community and coexisting with each other.

3. Revitalization of Interfaith Communication Forum

Interfaith Communication Forum (Forum Komunikasi Umat Beragama – FKUB) is an institution which was made to be the arms of government in grass-root level to recognize, advocate and resolve religious problems. People usually do not realize the importance of this institution. This means that the role of this institution is still small and they were ineffective in resolving problems. If we look closer, the lack of solutions that came from this institution is due to their choices of policy. Most of the time, this institution only appear when a problem has arisen. Preventive attempts made by this institution is very few which makes them appear powerless.

4. Revitalization of Legislation

Legislation is a product of governmental policy which can be used legally by holders of state mandate in order to create order within the society. Therefore, any product of legislation must be made in accordance with the context and local wisdom that exist in a society where that legislation is applicable. Ever since

the Reformasi, legal products seem to be dominated by certain group which makes the government unable to be assertive in punishing organizations that are clearly against Pancasila.

Conclusions

The dynamics of intolerance, radicalism and extremism movement is inseparable with global, national and regional issues. The occurrence of phenomenon caused by two different groups seems to be the representation of those groups. This is what causes some groups in society to be obsessed with certain ideology that they believe to be absolute – but actually not that simple. Concrete steps will be required to minimize or even eliminate those movements. Therefore, every stakeholder, including the government from top to bottom, religious leaders and community leaders, must play a role in creating national harmony to realize our nation's collective dream which is carved in the philosophy of Unity in Diversity and Pancasila. The commitment and consistency from all of us to enliven the philosophy of Pancasila, where different people can coexist together without discrimination against the minority, must be realized at all cost.

Recommendations

In order to prevent intolerance, radical and extremist actions, we must make a hive mind and consensus that Pancasila adheres to the idea that different people can coexist together without being mutually destructive. Efforts to achieve that can be made by an active role from the government to assert their power in eliminating groups that can be considered as a threat to the nation. Furthermore, formal and non-formal education with religious and virtuous content must be routinely made in the society, especially to young generations who can understand the context of their country in a comprehensive manner. Forums that can facilitate the communication and interaction of people from different group must be intensified in order to minimize the occurrence of suspicion which is always present in a diverse society.

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5

Indonesia Against Radicalism

IDRUS MUALANA YUSUF

Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, making it the target of Islamic political movements, including ISIS. The complexity of radicalism in Indonesia is not easy to be resolved since it will always be related to the global turmoil especially in the Middle East. Therefore, the effort to strengthen our country's nationalism is a long-term solution that must be implemented by the government, alongside the short-term solutions such as enforcement of law and assertive stance by the authorities. The existence of Islamic State of Iran and Syria (ISIS) is an international concern due to being a threat against global peace. As a result, anti-ISIS movements emerge in many countries, including Indonesia. Anti-ISIS movements also emerge in many activities as part of an attempt to contain the diffusion of their ideology, whether among mass organizations or universities.

The Government Strongly Opposes

Recently we have been surprised by the emergence of ISIS trying to win support and influence in Indonesia. However, the Government of Indonesia and the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme - BNPT) have strongly opposed the development of ISIS in Indonesia due to its anti-Pancasila and anti-pluralism ideology. ISIS' action can be considered as terrorism due to its affinity to violence and terror. One of the ISIS activists who often made

a call for jihad in Indonesia is Santoso from Poso, who is currently a fugitive. The same stance against ISIS in Indonesia has also been made by Islamic organizations, politicians, scholars and the society. Statements condemning ISIS has been made in Indonesia, but is it enough?

Preventive Efforts

The most important thing to be done right now is formulating a comprehensive attempt to prevent radical movement like ISIS through the involvement of every element of the society and the government. This is important because such attempt to date has not been made by involving every element of the society. Rather, efforts to prevent radical movement seem to be made individually. The government needs to sit together with, at least the society and its figures, in order to formulate such attempt to prevent the members of community, especially children, from being influenced by ISIS' ideology. Otherwise, a comprehensive attempt to contain radicalism will be difficult to be implemented. Prevention of radicalism and containment of ISIS' ideology should not be delivered only to the elite but also to people in grass-root level, by considering the inherent condition of such people. That is how we can contain the dangerous radical ideology. Even if some radical groups made a conscious attempt to infiltrate, they cannot do much because the society has been prepared to oppose them.

Education for Religious Teachers

Islamic education is important for an Islamic education teacher candidate, because Islamic education delivered by teachers could be a double-edged sword. On one hand, it can prevent radicalism. On the other hand, it can also pave the way for religious radicalism. We cannot allow religious education to radicalize a person. This should be a concern because in many schools, students are not introduced with a loving teaching, instead they received a hard and aggressive teaching that justifies vengeance. This is where a teacher's role become important. It is through their hands that our children can be influenced with a loving religious understanding. At the same time, in order to prevent the birth of radicalism, Islamic education curriculum must be thoroughly changed from the rigid and exclusive law-oriented religious teaching into the moderate and inclusive love-oriented religious teaching. As a matter of fact, Islam is a love-oriented (*eros*) teaching. Religion and Pancasila education must be delivered continuously in the curriculum. This is important to prevent students from being misled.

Radicalization of Pancasila

The government must radicalize Pancasila and revolutionize people's mentality to prevent the growth of radicalism in Indonesia. One of the main targets is ISIS, which has been known to be involved in terrorism network. Values of Pancasila nowadays are only made a recitation without being implemented in everyday life. Most of the time, implementation did not go all the way to the main goal. Therefore, radicalization of Pancasila and revolution of mentality must be made to prevent radicalism. Due to Pancasila values not grounded into people's mind, radicalism movement managed to flourish by utilizing the increase of poverty and unemployment level in Indonesia. Poverty and unemployment became an entrance for ISIS movement into Indonesia. Currently, there is an indication that ISIS activists were involved with the terrorism network in Indonesia. Letting ISIS ideology and terrorism met will be the same as mixing flame and gas – the fire will be widespread.

Furthermore, ISIS movement also advocates for a *coup d'état* against Indonesia. As such, the role of Pancasila and revolution of mentality will be required, alongside religious figures, teachers, political elites, local governments and the society, in order to prevent the growth of ISIS movement in Indonesia. The government and society must work together to spread anti-ISIS information in order to break ISIS and invite Indonesian youth to be a part of this anti-ISIS measure. Grounding values of Pancasila and providing solution for social problem should be effective to close the entrance for radicalism. The implementation of Pancasila values will be very effective in preventing ISIS movement and such values can be integrated in school curriculum. It is our hope that such measure can be an effective long-term measure to prevent radicalism. As for the short-term, we can use a legal approach.

The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia – LIPI) has published a quite baffling report. The report mentioned that there has been an increase of radicalism ideology in five big universities in Indonesia, i.e.: UGM, UI, IPB, Undip and Unair. A more recent study in 2013 by Maarif Institute has confirmed LIPI's report by concluding that the expansion of Islamic State of Indonesia (Negara Islam Indonesia – NII) – a radical Islamic movement to oppose Indonesia – is caused by the increasing influence of radicalism in university.

The result of investigation to terrorist action in Jakarta in early 2016 has also confirmed how university has become a "fertile field" for the growth of radicalism that results into terrorism. The man behind that action, Bahrun Naim, is a youngster

who began to be involved in radical movement ever since he was enrolled as a student in Sebelas Maret University of Surakarta (UNS). Having been planted with radical ideology, he gained the courage to join an international terrorist organization. Once again university has been indicated as a strategic place for radical groups to expand their influence and recruiting new terrorist candidates.

It All Begins with Radicalism

Basically, an attempt made by human is the reflection of their own ideology. As such, ideology plays an important role as the root and the controller of human's action, whether positive or otherwise. This proposition can be used to explain why terrorist action could happen or, in a more micro level, why someone or some group conduct terrorist action despite it being against the principles of humanity?

In one of his explanation, Fanani (2013) stated that radicalism is a phase before terrorism. This echoed Rizal Sukma's (2004) statement, "*radicalism is only one step short terrorism.*" Although the two appear similar, they have different definition and position.

Maarif (2002) stated that radicalism refers to the expression made by someone or some group dominated by close-minded perspective who positioned themselves as the righteous and better than others. Meanwhile, terrorism is a criminal action made based on radical understanding. Radical understanding did not always result in terrorism, but terrorism is always rooted from radical ideology or understanding.

In order to destroy the seeds of terrorism, the first step that must be made is containing radicalism ideology. Terrorism will always grow if radicalism is not contained and it will continue to expand to many people in order to recruit new terrorist candidates. If radicalism ideology can be minimized, there is a huge chance that terrorism will be no more, because its root has been pulverized. This is where effort to combat terrorism must be started.

Preventing Radicalism in Campus

University is a promising environment for radicalism advocates. They target students who are, psychologically speaking, in a process of finding their identity. In many cases, radicalism advocates target "innocent" students, which refers to students who does not have strong religious background. The naivety of those students was utilized by radicalism advocates by providing a monolithic and rigid religious doctrine without providing a contextualization. Then, the clandestine system of regeneration allows radicalism to be planted and spread.

By observing the process of regeneration in religious radical group that targets “innocent” students to serve as their next generation, we can generate several conclusions.

First, students without strong religious background were actually the one who has high enthusiasm to learn about religion. Ironically, their enthusiasm was hijacked by radical groups, making them easy to be indoctrinated and trapped in radical teaching. Secondly, the clandestine nature of radical ideology regeneration is an important process of radicalism indoctrination – meaning that the more exclusive their regeneration, the stronger their radicalization will be.

Therefore, an effective countermeasure to prevent radicalization in campus will be a strategy that directly opposes the two conclusions above. First, universities must provide an adequate facility for students to learn about religion, especially for those who have high enthusiasm to learn religion matters, despite having no strong religious background. As such, they will not feel the need to learn religion from the dangerous radical and exclusive group.

Secondly, universities must routinely deliver an open religious teaching that affirms moderatism. In addition to containing radicalization and preventing seeds of terrorist, the two countermeasures can be an effective strategy to build student’s morality to be as high as their academic knowledge.

6

Indonesia in the State of Intolerance Emergency Between Communal Interest and the Integrity of Unity in Diversity

KHAIRUN NISA

Indonesia is a nation consisting of a very diverse ethnicities. In other words, Indonesian has different potentials, characters, pastimes, educational levels, perspectives, life orientations, tendencies and ideological affiliations (Sumbulah and Nurjanah, 2013). By looking at those aspects, Indonesia is one of the most plural countries in the world (Nur Achmad, 2001). The slogan “Unity in Diversity” was born as a determination to strengthen unity in a plural society (Antonius Atosokhi Gea et. al., 2005).

This slogan was created as a reflection of the national plurality, as well as an answer to ensure plurality became the main driver of unity instead of causing segregation. Plurality is considered as an invaluable asset in sustaining Unity in Diversity (Weinata Sairin, 2006). One of the requirements of a modern democratic society is the capability to appreciate plurality and to realize it as inevitability. The plural nature of Indonesia is not necessarily absent of conflict. In fact, many intolerance attitudes and discriminations are the result of differing perspectives – whether in terms of ideology or lifestyle – economy, social etc. Our history has recorded some of the most brutal ethnic conflicts, such as the conflict in Sampit between Madura and Dayak ethnicities. In addition, one of the most brutal conflicts is the bloody carnival in East Java between Sunni and Shia. Before the conflict occurs, the public was still astonished by similar case in Karanggayam village and Bluuran

village in Sampang District. The violent conflict caused many people accused as Shia followers to be evacuated to Sidoarjo on the basis of preserving the stability and comfort of society (Firdaus M. Yunus, 2016).

Cases of intolerance continue to increase in recent decades, especially the one related to religious freedom issue. National Commission on Human Rights (Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia – Komnas HAM) reported that 97 cases of religious intolerance occurred throughout 2016. This number is higher compared to 2014 (76 cases) and 2015 (87 cases). Honestly speaking as an Indonesian citizen, this is no small number. The cases that occurred cover many forms of violation including destruction of house of worship.

The head of Komnas HAM, Imadudin Rahmat, stated that 24 mosques have been violated in 2016. This problem was caused by the unresolved matter regarding the construction of several mosques in Middle and Eastern Indonesia. In addition, the construction of Muhammadiyah mosques in Aceh and Ahmadiyah mosques in West Java has been facing resistance from local people. Those religious conflicts were not limited to mosques – violation of Christian community's house of worship has also been highlighted. 17 complaints regarding the construction of church have been made, mostly in Aceh, West Java and Jakarta.

Looking deeper, the main problem in all this matter is caused by majority-minority issue. For example, the rejection to the construction of church in Java occurred due to the majority of Javanese people were Muslims. On the contrary the rejection to the construction of Mosque occurred in Manado since majority of the people in that area were Christians. Furthermore, in 2017, the Indonesian public was startled by the polemic surrounding the giant statue depicting God Kongco Kwan Sing Tee Koen in Kwan Sing Bio Temple in Tuban, East Java. Public discourse was divided, some even advocate for the destruction of that statue. However, there are some tolerant people who advocated for the statue to remain.

The conflict between the majority and the minority was intensified with the allegation of blasphemy to the then-governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama aka Ahok, due to his slip of tongue in the inauguration event of grouper cultivation first harvest in Marine and Agriculture Office of Kepulauan Seribu District in Pramuka Island on September 27th 2016. This case continued to intensify throughout 2017. Ever since, many writings were made as a response to Ahok's interpretation of QS. al-Maidah: 51 – in addition to the demonstration that demands Ahok to be jailed on

the basis of religious blasphemy.

Mass media did not let this chance slip by, many people began to interpret QS. al-Maidah: 51 as a Quranic verse that prohibits voting non-Muslim leaders. In fact, there has been a viral news recently that reported about a mosque in South Jakarta that put up a banner that reads "THIS MOSQUE WILL NOT PRAY FOR THE SUPPORTER & DEFENDER OF OUR RELIGION'S OFFENDERS," which refers to the supporter of Ahok or widely known as "Ahokers" in social media. The lengthy debate surrounding Ahok's al-Maidah: 51 case made Sahiron Syamsuddin, the chairman of Indonesian Association of Al-Quran Science and Interpretation (Asosiasi Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir selndonesia – AIAT) to speak as an expert witness in Ahok's 16th trial.

Using his vast knowledge, Sahiron stated that QS. al-Maidah: 51 has nothing to do with the non-Muslim leadership discourse. However, his opinion was not regarded by every group. In fact, before the case of rejection to Ahok's leadership, similar case has occurred in regard to Lenteng Agung's mayor, Susan Jasmine Zulkifli, who is a Christian. Many of the above cases of intolerance were connected to a similar motive – the interest of certain group.

The polemic between the majorities and the minorities for example, mostly came from the majorities who believe they have more authority to regulate their region compared to the minorities. One concrete example is the case of Chinese ethnicity against Pandhalungan society in Situbondo. Many has concluded that the conflict in 1996, which is the root of Situbondo conflict, was caused by the difference in religion which drives misunderstanding among the two religions.

In addition, there are indications of social jealousy from local people to the Chinese, due to their economic power which were mostly stronger than the locals. Based on this case, we can see that a group's interest can cause intolerance action. Society sometimes forget that plurality in Indonesia did not necessarily came from the nation, rather there is a process that drives it to be more plural. One of them is the arrival of foreign immigrants in Indonesia who chose to stay.

In fact, many cases related to religion are often used to further political interest, such as the case of Ahok above. Even if an expert witness has explained that QS al-Maidah has nothing to do with non-Muslim leadership, not everyone can accept that scientific fact. This was exacerbated by the bombardment of many mass organizations who reject non-Muslim – especially Chinese people – to be a leader in this country. Many hate speeches were also included in their rejection to non-

Muslim leader. Muslim community who accepts Ahok's leadership was accused of being a hypocrite, a traitor and even an infidel.

As if not enough, a new group emerged under the name Anisier – a term used to refer to supporter of Anies Baswedan – who made the situation worse. They assumed that Anies is more capable to lead than Ahok. Due to the ideological perspective of people with interest, this case resulted in a conflict between “Ahoker” and “Anisier” who cursed and insulted at each other.

The author's argument can be proven by looking at the many posts in social media regarding Ahok or Anies. By reflecting on these matters, Indonesians appear to be divided into several groups. If the society keeps up this kind of attitude, it can be expected that plurality will no longer be the nation's identity – diverse in reality, but segregated in its society. The reality of a plural nation under the slogan “Unity in Diversity” should have been able to unite Indonesian society.

Differences are inevitable, but individuals should be aware that existing differences should not to become problematic or even should become the cause of a conflict. The existing differences are the symbols of national wealth which should be regarded as an asset to further develop Indonesia's potential. The people should remember that Indonesia has committed itself as the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia that bears its slogan of Unity in Diversity. The founding fathers of this republic did not make a unitary country, despite its diversity, without cause. They realized the logical consequences of plurality in this country. This plurality could save Indonesia from its enemy's attacks, and brought them to glory.

At the same time, plurality could also bring the destruction of the nation if the society did not understand the important meaning of preserving unity in diversity. The next generation of this nation should realize this fact so that everything they do will be able to preserve unity in order to create a prosperous Indonesia. Otherwise, certain groups' interests will always be prioritized and will resulting in discrimination and intolerance action.

If it managed to happen, Unity in Diversity will be under serious threat. The most fundamental question that must be asked by the society is “Are we still preserving selfishness or communal interest and threatening the integrity of this nation's philosophy?” Let us think together for the sake of this nation's integrity.

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7

The Role of Society in Dealing with Intolerance, Radicalism, Terrorism and Extremist Violence in Indonesia

CYNTHIA NOFENTARY PURBA

Intolerance, Radicalism, Terrorism and Extremist Violence are movements that can destroy our national unity. The society has great expectation to realize tolerance, including religious tolerance, diversity and respect toward each other. However, as a matter of fact, not few people who expect the contrary. Intolerance is an attitude reflected in hatred, disrespect and prioritizing communal interest above others. Respecting differences and participating in efforts to unite the nation should have been an obligation for citizens of Indonesia. Neutralization of ideology will always be needed in order to strengthen citizens' ideological mental fortitude, especially against the penetration and influence of radical ideologies brought forward and propagandized by radical group.

Actions committed by Intolerance, Radicalism, Terrorism and Extremist Violence movement are no longer out of place for the society. Terrorism, such as one committed by ISIS, has raised concerns from the society. In the contemporary world, terrorism is nothing new, rather it has always been actual. From the bombing in World Trade Center Building in New York on September 11th 2001 to the suicide bombing in Thamrin Street, Jakarta, Indonesia recently, these cases have made terrorism an 'extraordinary crime'. Many people made speculation and causing suspicion among each other – risking the unity of our country and threatening our prosperity and security as well as forcing the government to deal with it.

The government has made no few efforts to combat it, from direct ceasefire to the implementation of anti-radicalism programs in the whole society. Foreign security has also been increased gradually. However, all of their efforts were unable to pulverize it down to its root. As if they were air, those movements were able to infiltrate through the many gaps the government attempted to patch. Each party is making each other the black sheep – causing anxiety among citizens.

Radicalism is an ideology or a school of thought that desires an extreme socio-political change through means of violence. Transnational radical movement, including the growth of ISIS since 2013, is one of the threats for national security in Indonesia that must be anticipated, dealt with, and combated in a comprehensive, systematic and sustainable manner. The danger of the threat posed by the growth of transnational radical ideology and movement is not only felt in Middle-East, Africa and Europe, but also in Southeast Asia and Australia because those movements were capable to involve citizens across nations and across continents.

To this date, the societal dynamic in post-*Reformasi* Indonesia has not reached a stable condition. One of the causes of this is the internal and external factor of our nation – causing this nation to experience a long phase of transition.

Internal factors, such as the diverse ethnicity, religion, culture and economic and social condition increases the potential for radical ideology infiltration. This invisible threat is a huge danger for the survival of Indonesian citizens, not to mention the growth of new ideologies which are far easier compared to during the New Order era. Currently, the society's freedom to express their opinion must be prioritized without considering its threat potential. Freedom of politic and democracy seems to have been paid dearly by Indonesia with the many cases of terrorism that have occurred.

The increasing number of terrorism since the beginning of *Reformasi* is evidence of the lack of vigilance from the authority to deal with invisible threats. Such internal condition shows that threat did not only came from outside in the form of military aggression, but also from inside in the form of radical movements participated by Indonesian citizens themselves.

The transition from New Order era into *Reformasi* has a huge impact to the internal condition of Indonesia. Citizens who were previously glorifying the sacredness of Pancasila as national ideology is now glorifying the importance of democracy in championing people's freedom of expression. Pancasila is considered as a relic from the New Order era and people began to abandon it as they now

prefer the philosophy of democracy which provides a bigger space for old and new ideologies that came from outside or inside. Therefore, it is no wonder that radical ideology emerges and flourishes in many parts of Indonesia.

In terms of external factor, the main reason why our national security is still under threat is due to the return and growth of anti-Indonesia groups. These people utilized political freedom to champion their new ideology which threatens national integrity.

Recent terrorism act that occurred in Indonesia is inter-related in terms of ideology, history and politics as well as belonging to a strategic environmental dynamics on regional and global level. Despite the fact that terrorism acts in several parts throughout recent years are mostly committed by Indonesians, not foreigners, it cannot be denied that those terrorism actions nowadays are a combination between domestic people (indigenous) and those who have transnational network.

As a target country for international terrorism and Islamic Caliphate, Indonesia has been implementing many strategies and attempts to combat terrorism. A soft power approach through de-radicalization program is important to be done. This strategy is aimed to neutralize the influence of radical ideology, especially one that came from Islamic religious understanding that became the foundation for terrorism acts. By neutralizing the radical ideology, attempts to combat terrorism will have further impact to the root of the ideology. Combating terrorism is inevitable for Indonesia since terrorism is still a real and very dangerous threat for the survival of our country.

Terrorism is an act of public destruction committed without clear military reason to spread fear among the society. On further observation, act of terrorism is resulted from the accumulation of several factors, not only psychological factor but also economic, political, religious, sociological and many more.

However, as of late, we are often told that the background of terrorism in Indonesia is related to religion or establishment of a new state with new ideology. Dissatisfaction and false religious understanding has caused some people act radically without realizing how wrong they are. In some cases, religion is justified as a reason to act radically even if their actions actually strayed far from their religion. For example, a religion forbids people to harm each other, but radical terrorism actually justifies violence.

Combating terrorism through legal regulation is still facing some problems. However, public demand for this kind of response is higher due to the increase

of insecurity. Meanwhile, the existing political condition makes it impossible to implement a policy that could be considered violating democratic principles and human rights provision.

The people are the ones that are harmed the most by terrorist act so it should have been a common sense if they became the main part of effort to combat terrorism. The government has a responsibility to protect the country and must prioritize people's security. Therefore, efforts to combat terrorism must be oriented to the people's interest and be accountable to the people. Because, if the people feel they receive protection by the government against terrorism threat, the government will receive more legitimacy and support.

Radicalism, terrorism and extreme violence are one of the real threats for global society. Extreme act is often caused by a radical act which is caused by a fanaticism to certain ideology. These people or groups will often admit that their ideology or perspective is the most righteous and they will not acknowledge other opinions or thoughts. Therefore, they believe that other ideologies or perspectives are not in line with theirs – thus, it must be eliminated.

In this case, actually involving the people through civil organization is one of the methods that can be used to combat those extremist groups. However, as explained above, this kind of involvement is still limited because there are no adequate regulations to be the legal umbrella for de-radicalization program. People have indeed been involved in raising-awareness activities, but further involvement is seemingly impossible.

In order to implement the established policy, there is a need for a strategy that consists of target (ends), facility (means) and methods. Next, the established policy and strategy should be explained in detail through program or activity. The target should explain the long process of combating radical ideology which has been widespread in the era of Reformasi. As for the facility, it should explain how the facility must be supported by mass organizations, religious and cultural leaders, and other intellectuals, as a representation of the democratic society in Indonesia. Lastly, the methods should explain the process regarding identification, rehabilitation, re-education and pretty much every phase required for the complete implementation of de-radicalization program.

8

Tracing the Two Faces of Religion as an Attempt to Knit Diversity

ABD. GAFFAR

The emergence of intolerance, radicalism, terrorism and extremist violence in Indonesia is the implication of the failure to interpret and revolutionize classical Islamic theology. It does sounds scary, a movement which, on the surface, seems to be representing religion but they casually commit things that stray far away from religious values.

The argument regarding Muslim community's failure to revolutionize their classical theology which results in intolerance, radicalism, terrorism and extremist violence in Indonesia is not meant to criticize Islam as a religion. However, in this case, the argument pays more attention to the followers of Islam.

As can be seen in social media, printed media and electronic media, people who committed intolerance, radicalism, terrorism and extremist violence action are mostly followers of Islam. This is a known secret among Indonesian society. Haidar Baghir once said "There is a difference between the God's Islam and our Islam." This perspective is quite simple, at least it describes how the Islam that we understood is nowhere close to the Islam that God meant. This perspective also affirms how intolerance, radicalism, terrorism and extremist violence is an implication of our perspective.

We know that Muslim population in Indonesia is far more dominant than the follower of other religions and faiths. Moreover, in most cases, majority is always

determinant against minority. Especially in our social setting which is dominated by economic and political interest. If we look at India's social setting before the political fragmentation that divides India into Muslim and Hindu communities, then we can see that our social setting is not that different, except that the Muslim community in Indonesia is more dominant.

This kind of social setting could create suspicion and misunderstanding among different religious followers in Indonesia. Some of the minorities could assume that the domination of Muslim community will eventually exploit and discriminate them. At the same time, Muslim community could assume that other religious believers are trying to seek momentum in order to reaffirm their existence in this country. This kind of phenomenon can be observed in the late 2016 when the court decreed the then-governor of Jakarta aka Ahok guilty of religious blasphemy. This phenomenon triggered series of demonstration and action which gave birth to the alumni of Monas 212. This is an evidence of Muslim community's failure to revolutionize classical Islamic theology and also an evidence of how religion can be used for political interest.

Some of the followers of Islam in Indonesia think that theology is only to be applied in metaphysical realm. Therefore, they think it has nothing to do with justice, peace and prosperity for all. Even worse, theology is used to justify radicalism and oppression under the name of religion. Since theology only covered about God's one-ness, God's divine traits, no God beside Allah, the polemic of free will and destiny, as well as eschatological problems. This kind of theology, without being revolutionized into its praxis form, will create pessimism, frustration and weak faith. People will then find extreme jihad as a shortcut for their troubling faith.

Therefore, the existing classical Islamic theology must be transformed into a theology of freedom – a theology capable to elaborate on faith and praxis, creed and deed, reflection and action. In this way, we can gradually build a universal brotherhood, equality and social justice.

Based on the above explanation, we can see that there are two faces of religion that are being interpreted into two theological understanding, i.e. classical Islamic theology and theology of freedom. Classical Islamic theology provides a stagnant religious practice that tends to be pessimistic, only to become a place to complain for the oppressed or an addiction as stated by Marx. Meanwhile, theology of freedom is capable of being the most effective weapon for revolution and fight

against evil. Revolutionizing theological perspective will provide a more advanced and inclusive faith on plurality and religious diversity.

As a matter of fact, such theology has been introduced by Prophet Muhammad PBUH with his prophetic and liberating spirit. Unlike the Islamic Caliphate that has been glorified by HTI and other radical Islamic movement, the Prophet had no desire to build a society with only Muslim people. His true desire was to destroy evil, inequality and discrimination which were prevalent during that era. At that time, the Prophet created peace between the warring tribes so they can live in harmony. Meanwhile, for the political system, the Prophet upheld democratic process by ensuring consultation is made for any kind of decision.

Looking at our social reality today, the Muslim community should indeed re-interpret verses that are supposedly supporting radicalism and violence in the name of religion which has been abused by few people in order to justify their radical actions. Contextualizing verses that seem to oppress and disrupt our society's diversity. It makes Al-Quran more flexible as the foundation for creative and constructive change. Reinterpretation must be based on universal values, i.e. justice (*'adl*), truth (*ihsan*), logic (*'aql*), and wisdom (*hikmah*).

Through this kind of thought-construct, we can apply it to our aspect of diversity. For example, if the *tauhid* that we understood up to today is only limited to the one-ness of Allah, the theology of freedom will also imply *tauhid* as the one-ness of mankind. *Tauhid* as the one-ness of mankind will be capable to go beyond the boundaries of faith, ethnicity, tribe, nation and skin color. *Tauhid* as the one-ness of mankind is an active *tauhid* that will not justify radicalism, discrimination, whether to certain race, religion, caste or social class. After all, separation of class is indirect confirmation for the domination by majorities to minorities.

The same is also true for the word 'faith' which should be interpreted as the construction of theology of freedom. Faith is not only believing in God but also being a faithful subject that capable to create peace and order. After all, Islam has already affirmed that there is no coercion in Islam with a clear concept "Unto you your religion and unto me my religion." This concept affirmed that Islam acknowledge the existence of other religion and faith as well as acknowledging the fact that diversity is a *sunatullah* and inevitable in our society.

Borrowing from the perspective of philosophy of being, it is said that we are equal, in tune and one in existence (*wujud*), but we are difference in essence

(*mahiyah*) and individuality. Perhaps, some of us might refuse pluralism but we will not refuse our plurality.

By using theology of freedom as a thought-construct in viewing our reality, perhaps we can unite and knit our difference and diversity. Like a needle and thread to sew, the two has a balanced role and one is not more dominant than others in the context of knitting fabric. The same is also true for our dream in realizing diversity in Indonesia. We understand and complete each other.

9

Intolerance, Radicalism, Terrorism and Extremist Violence Movement: The Real Threat for Indonesian Nation

AHMAD FATHORROZI

Historically speaking, religions came into Indonesia in a very peaceful, tolerant, harmonious, and respectful manner. Albeit the different faiths, the harmony within Indonesian citizens was preserved, evidenced in the early 20th century before the independence day, when Indonesians were able to get along well due to having the same goal of realizing an independent Indonesia. It is thus very unfortunate that as time goes by and as social demand grows, new self-confessed Islamic sects have flourished amidst the cultural background of their followers.

On Looking back, these so-called Islamic movements can be traced back to the early days of Indonesian's independence. The movement in question was DI/TII (Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia) and NII (Negara Islam Indonesia) which came into being in 1950s (Affandy: 2016). It can be said that this movement is the root of extreme Islamic movement post-Reformasi. The goal of this movement, at the beginning, was to build an Islam-based state, which is why many groups back then, such as nationalism and socialism, felt threatened by the intolerance movement committed by DI/TII. Ultimately, the first President of Indonesia, Ir. Soekarno, created a concept known as NASAKOM (Nationalist, Religious and Communist). Through the concept, Soekarno explained that the three main groups have the same goal to fight oppression, although different in ideology, but harmony and cooperation will

create a peaceful societal order.

Intolerance is an attitude of not wanting to accept difference in society, and always justify their community. Through this attitude, radicalism, terrorism and extremism emerged within the society, although it is also influenced by several factors including economic and political factor. In terms of economy, a research by Djelantik (2006) in West Java found that one of the factor that supports radicalism and terrorism is public dissatisfaction to the government policy that they perceive to be unjust. In that regard, those with enough material advantage will accept a system where they can live and work peacefully. On the contrary, those who are suffering socially and economically tend to commit radical and violence action including terrorism. On the other hand, the emergence of radicalism in Indonesia became real.

As the socio-political order changes, especially after the arrival of young Arabic people who brought new ideology to Indonesia, the constellation of Muslim community in Indonesia changed as well. The ideology that they brought were more violent and without tolerance. In political context, radicalism and terrorism can be caused by discrimination from the ruler to certain group. Such discrimination can be in a form of not accommodating certain aspiration or desire which result in frontal and anarchical act. In addition to the history of radicalism in Indonesia, Muslim terrorist is also known by the term fundamentalist Islam. They commit such action as a response to the West's policy in political and economic sphere on global level. The ideology of fundamentalist Islam is a belief that the only authentic Islam is the Islam of Prophet Muhammad's era in Madinah and the era of First Four Caliph of Khulafa' al-Rasyidin (622-661). They demand Muslim community around the world to recreate those principles and implement it in contemporary social life. The goal they wish to achieve is to realize a community under a Caliph, as well as the implementation of Sharia, all of which is regulated under a Caliphate system.

Intolerance movement has conquered the thought of the majority of Indonesian citizens. Intolerance group intensively and continuously spreads hatred using religion into every elements of this nation. The impact of that hatred led them to reject non-Muslim when they are elected as an official – some even reject their non-Muslim neighbors. As their desire to implement Sharia grows, their desire to commit radical action will also be higher. According to Murodi, deputy rector of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, their goal is to overthrow the political power, which is why those

radical movements appear in Islamic countries, including Indonesia. They want to replace the state's ideology with Islamic ideology. In order to preserve the integrity of Indonesia, the author believes that every Indonesian citizen must understand and implement the philosophy of Pancasila to realize a just and peaceful Indonesia. The fact that this country was built by heroes from different religions, tribes and backgrounds must be taught to the people so they can understand that Pancasila was built to facilitate the harmony and cooperation of the diverse Indonesia.

Furthermore, the right way to deal with intolerance, radicalism, terrorism and extremist violence in Indonesia is as follows:

1. Government's role in general. Government's policy to minimize violence has already been clear enough since we have Anti-Terrorism Law. Through the establishment of BNPT (National Agency for Combatting Terrorism, Presidential Regulation No. 46 Year 2001), the government has conducted de-radicalization program. De-radicalization is an important policy taken by the government to minimize or normalize religious radicalism into non-radical. De-radicalization includes:
 - a. Conducting counter-terrorism,
 - b. Preventing radicalism,
 - c. Preventing provocation, hate spread, inter-religion conflict,
 - d. Preventing the society from being indoctrinated,
 - e. Increasing the society's awareness to reject terrorism, and
 - f. Increasing knowledge on inter-ideological comparison.

on the above definition as well as its scope of work, de-radicalization is expected to not only be government's obligation, but also every party, including citizens and businessmen.
2. Religious and educational institution supports government's policy in combating the impact of religious extremism. Religious institutions such as *pesantren* and religious schools can play a role in combatting the impact of religious extremism by providing religion education that prioritizes a tolerant Islamic idea (*rahmatan lil alamin*). Although *pesantren* is a religion teaching institution, throughout our history, *pesantrens* in Indonesia are essentially a very tolerant and open institution
3. Knowledge on coexisting with each other must be increased to prevent the emergence of radicalism and terrorism. This knowledge is increased by learning

and understanding the meaning of coexisting with each other in a diverse society which requires tolerance and solidarity. Therefore, no party will be harmed because we have already understood what it means to coexist in harmony.

10

Rethinking Jihad

DARUL MA'ARIF ASRY

“The law of jihad in war is God’s command; one who dies in jihad will die a martyr.”

Those words were uttered by a terrorist recruiter to Ali Imron, the convict of Bali Bombing. The verses that they deliberately misinterpret to indoctrinate people with their radical ideology are verses that can textually be interpreted as a strong command to commit radical action. The quote of QS Muhammad: 4 is one of the examples. The quote they usually used is “So when you meet those who disbelieve, strike their necks...” This quote can be understood as a command from Allah to strike the necks of disbelievers wherever they are and whenever. Isn’t it scary?

As a matter of fact, the complete recitation of that verse says “So when you meet those who disbelieve (in battle). Strike (their) necks until, when you have inflicted slaughter upon them, then secure their bonds, and either (confer) favor afterwards or ransom (them) until the war lays down its burdens. That (is the command). And if Allah had willed, He could have taken vengeance upon them (Himself), but (He ordered armed struggle) to test some of you by means of others. And those who are killed in the cause of Allah – never will He waste their deeds.”

Looking at the complete verse, it can be understood that this verse is delivered for the context of battle, evidenced by the sentence “until the war lays down its burdens.” It means that the command to strike at disbelievers in previous sentence

is made for battle context. If it is in battle, then there is no problem with the command in this verse.

Up to this day, the main mission in battle is to defeat the enemy. Especially if we connect it to the previous verses (verse 1 to 3): “Those who disbelieve and hinder from the Path of Allah, He will render their deeds vain. But those who believe and do righteous good (deeds), and believe in that which is sent down to Muhammad – for it is the truth from their Lord – He will absolve them of their vices and will make good their state. That is because those who disbelieve follow falsehood, while those who believe follow the truth sent down by their God. Thus does Allah set forth for mankind their parables.”

If the verse 4 is connected with verse 1 to 3, we can get an impression that Islam is giving an absolute command to hate every disbeliever is untrue. Observe how verse 1 to 3 only talks about disbelievers who hinder from the path of Allah, it does not talk about people who live in harmony with Muslim community.

M. Quraish Shihab has affirmed that this verse does not refer to every disbeliever, but only certain people who violate one of the human rights – the freedom of religion. Therefore, the one more suitable to be strike against in this country are the religious majorities who always hinder the freedom of religion of the minorities.

Haven't we heard a lot about how religious minorities have been hindered from conducting their prayers? In which most of us remain silent, and seem to actually approve those actions?

Is this jihad? No! The Great Imam of Istiqlal Mosque, Nasaruddin Umar said that Jihad means every attempt to achieve the goal of Islam. Such efforts could be physical (*jihad*), mental (*ijtihad*), and spiritual (*mujahadah*). If a group claimed to commit *jihad* without involving *ijtihad* and *mujahadah*, then it is not qualified as jihad.

As such, jihad does not always have to be masculine, rough and armed. Garbage collectors on the street who hold their broom, writers who hold their pen, farmers who hold their hoe and fishermen who hold their net – all of them are committing jihad and the tools in their hand are jihad armaments. Such is the feminine jihad. Among the 99 divine traits of Allah which are incorporated in *al-Asma' al-Husna*, is not *al-Rahim* (The Merciful) was mentioned 114 times while *al-Rahman* (The Beneficent) was mentioned 57 times? Compare it to Allah's name which describes Him as The Supremely Great (*al-Mutakabbir*) and The Avenger (*al-Muntaqim*) – the two names were only mentioned once.

The God's feminine traits are more prominent than His masculine traits. Look at the trait of Prophet Muhammad PBUH. When he conquered Mecca, he did not call for vengeance against people who have boycotted and tortured his people in the past. Instead he said: "Today is a day for peace (*al-yaum yaum almarhamah*). The Prophet's feminine traits are more prominent than his masculine traits. That is his jihad.

See also the attitude of friend Umar ibn Khattab when he liberated Jerusalem without coercing the other party to convert to Islam. He also did not destroy the Egyptian statues that we can still see today. The feminine traits of the Prophet's friends are more prominent than their masculine traits (despite how Umar ibn Khattab is mostly known for his rough side). That is the jihad of the friend of Prophet. What about the followers of Prophet PBUH today? Have we learned by imitating Allah, the Prophet and his friends who accentuated their feminine jihad compared to their masculine jihad? *Wallahu A'lam Bishshawaab*.

FRAGMENT 2

**SOCIAL MEDIA AND
TRIBE, RELIGION,
RACE AND CLASS
INTOLERANCE**

1

I am Prepared to Silence the Terrorists with the Media!

YOSSIKA D. PERMATASARI

In Indonesia, Reformasi has given birth to new dynamics in diversity movement. The new diversity movement is no longer dominated by local products, but also international. The dynamics in national, regional and global level is thought to also be causing extreme violence in Indonesia. Radicalism which has been a polemic nowadays is thought as a real threat for the Republic of Indonesia. As a country with the biggest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia is often accused of involvements in many acts of terror, from national to international level. Such accusals are often associated with “Fundamentalist Islamism.” The religious situation in Indonesia lately has been getting more and more similar with the situation in Middle-East with prevalence of intolerance, radicalism, violence and terrorism.

War against radicalism and terrorism is a never-ending war. Even when we caught one or two convicts, their next generations can sprang immediately. Even if we can jail the convicts, their radicalism ideology cannot be contained – it continues to spread to the mind of the youth. The advancement of technology has been utilized by radical groups to spread their false understanding.

The emergence of hateful websites that often spread hate speech is a clear evidence of how the internet has become a place for radical groups to commit their action. Through the campaigns that they spread, a young, exclusive and chauvinist

young generation that likes to hate, to be hostile and even to destroying their own country appears – they will also think that anyone who disagrees with them are infidels.

Terrorism has now encroaches our country. Those terrorists mostly have learning experience in Middle East from shooting, making bombs, etc. Looking at each act of terror, it can be observed that the convict are mostly young or even a juvenile. From the Bali Bombing, Book bombing, Kampung Melayu bombing, Embassy bombing, to cooking pot bombing in Bandung, and the most recent one in Sectoral Police of Bontoala, Makassar during 2018 Christmas Eve. Therefore, radicalism has now become a real threat for the young generation of Indonesians. The government, agency and related parties, has now been intensifying the effort to prevent radicalism through de-radicalization, especially for teenagers. Young age proves to be a vulnerable time to be influenced by intolerance and radicalism because they are in the phase of puberty.

Currently, social media has been an effective instrument of propaganda, and has been indirectly responsible for the recruitment of radical groups. At the same time, the public space of social media has been gaining widespread popularity among youth. One of the main concerns in all of this is the prevalence of hate speech in social media. These hate speeches are often being taken for granted by some people. As such, there is a need for collective effort and commitment to combat radicalism, whether in social media or in the neighborhood. Those issues should have been an agenda for Indonesian youth today. We must prepare ourselves and commit every ounce of power we have to make real contribution in resolving the problems of radicalism.

In this modern era, an effective strategy will be required to fight radicalism and terrorism. Let all of us be a young agent of change who calls for nothing but the truth. A youth who can properly contextualize their religious understanding and stand to oppose radicalism. If the youth can already differentiate between true and false, then it is time to be an agent of change. The process to be an agent of change is not easy; it starts from the closest family and neighborhood. If the youth can already do that, they have made a direct contribution to minimize candidate of radical activist.

Furthermore, to complete all of it, the youth must also call for the truth, not for hate. Calling for truth can be done by utilizing social media. Spreading peaceful

contents is one of them. Young generation is expected to be an active generation, and obliged to provide positive contribution for this country. Do not be a passive generation who can be influenced by those who do not wish for peace in this country. Obviously, as a young generation, we need to combat radicalism and terrorism.

Silence does not necessarily mean golden in dealing with this problem. *Ikhtiar* is another way that can be done by young generation to spread truth, that is by providing explanation and understanding to the society, especially the youth, regarding peace. Every religion teaches its adherers to always do good to each other. Preserving tolerance is very important as it will make life more peaceful and harmonious without hostility. Furthermore, becoming a creative and innovative young generation is also a way to avoid the influence of intolerant practice. For example, utilizing music, drawing, film, and even books that tell about the beauty of peace, anti-radicalism and anti-terrorism, and unity in diversity. Ultimately, the young generation is the one that will unite the diversity of this country. Indonesia Peace.

Salute the Youth!

2

The Role of Mass Media in Preventing Radicalism

MASITHAH MAHSA

Information can be obtained from everywhere, including mass media. The semantic power channeled by mass media has contributed to public imagery and awareness. There are many symbolic transaction generated by media as a form of mass communication. Corner in Davis (2010: 291) mentioned that practice of understanding in media can be seen from its emphasis on textuality through audience 'reading' the production of media.

According to the Vandijck approach of critical discourse analysis, there are three dimensions to analyze the discourse within a media, i.e. textual, social cognition and social context. Textual dimension is related to thematic, schematic, semantic, syntax, stylistic and rethoric. Meanwhile, social cognition is the way to learn the process of text production that involves individual cognition or mental awareness of the writer in the form of text. This will be focused on the cognitive effect or mass media effect to knowledge. Media will not only capable to change attitude, but also someone's knowledge on something. Cognitive approach is based on the assumption that text has no meaning, but the meaning is given by the language user. The last dimension, social context, discusses about the construction of discourse that grows within a society by analyzing the way that discourse is produced and constructed in the society. This societal analysis is generally influenced by two things, practice of power and access that influences discourse.

Nowadays, mass media cannot be separated from the organizational condition which is regulated by a media policy is that concerned with usage of language and imagery. One of the most obvious examples is the prevalence of media discourse that involves the media's ideology, especially when the media is owned by a businessman who is a politician at the same time. This can be seen during election season when the partiality of news can be seen from its use of diction. At the same time, the process of understanding, acceptance or decoding by the audience also plays a role. Lately, many mass media are investigating their level of audience based on production of meaning through reading, in order to generate news that caters to the 'more preferred reading'. Overall, it can be said that media plays an important role in constructing public opinion.

The role of media in cases of radicalism is still fresh in our memory, for example during the case of Bali Bombing I and II, Sarinah Bombing and Kampung Melayu 'suicide' bombing. The media blow-up those cases and create many speculations from the society. For example, what is the role of government in preventing radicalism in Indonesia? Why does such thing happen again and again? Many people are assuming that the government has not put their maximum effort to resolve radicalism in Indonesia. Not to mention the disbandment of HTI due to having an ideology that goes against Pancasila. This obviously became 'homework' for the audience to be more aware to filter the news in mass media.

Radicalism under the name of religion, such as terrorism, is the one that occur the most in Indonesia. The religion most often associated with such cases is Islam. However, there is no religion that teaches violence. Islam is a very peaceful and tolerant religion. The emergence of radicalism issue is considered as a form of global resistance against global injustice. According to previous research by Asrori (2015: 254-255), the emergence of radicalism in the name of Islam in Indonesia began by the arrival of young Arabic people from Hadhramaut, Yemen, in Indonesia who brought new ideology and changed the constellation of Muslim community. Their ideology was more violent and without tolerance due to being influenced by Maliki school of thought which was adopted by Wahabi – the current official ideology of Saudi Arabia government.

Radicalism cannot be separated from political issue. The problem of radicalism in Indonesia is getting larger due to the increase of their followers. Radicalism itself can be interpreted as an ideology created by certain group to create change through

means of violence. However, it can also be interpreted as a fanaticism to certain religion.

In Indonesia, there are many variants of radicalism movement, from those who simply wants to establish an 'Islamic caliphate' to even military movement. Radicalism is quite influential in Indonesian politics due to the risk of intersecting with other movements such as separatism and anti-Pancasila. There are many efforts that can be made to prevent those things, which include the provision of clear regulation/policy on religious radicalism. The government is urged to thoroughly investigate the root cause of radicalism in Indonesia as well as the figures that play an important role in those movements. The next step will be religious and educational institutions such as *pesantren* and schools, since they are responsible for the construction of individual mindset. Schools should nurture moderate values to students by inserting anti-radicalism materials. Family comes after that since they have a role as the first school for children, meaning that what children received in family will be developed in educational institution.

The last one is civil society. Civil society in this writing is defined as people outside of those movements. Civil society is the consumer of news articles on radicalism. In this case, the society is expected to be open-minded so they will not be easily influenced by those radicalism issues. Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that there are four important actors who have an important role to prevent radicalism: government, educational institution, family and civil society. However, there is another one that is also important, that is mass media. Mass media is the bridge that connects society and information.

As has been explained above, mass media plays a very important role in the prevention of radicalism. If mass media can commit to their journalistic code, then they will generate articles that are neutral, open-minded and impartial. This is important since news articles, no matter how small they are, will impact the society. Therefore, editorial boards should be qualified in order to prevent new and more complex problem.

Recently, the use of mass media has been on the rise. Online media, for example, in addition to being easily accessible, is also less time-consuming for audience to read news articles. However, mass media can also cause negative impact if abused by certain entities, including radical groups. Those groups are capable to transform online media into jihad media. This is also exacerbated by the fact that religious

materials are being distributed directly to individuals without teachers to guide them. Such practice can cause deviation to religious understanding. The teachings can be bias without guidance. Therefore, it can be concluded that mass media can be likened to the two sides of the same coin. They can create positive impact if the message can be delivered and understood by the society. However, it could also prove fatal if the meaning of those messages were not transmitted well.

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3

Social Media (MEME) and Tribe, Religion, Race and Class Intolerance in Indonesia

AGATHA PRICILIA

Technology is an important aspect in our life. In the era of modernization, technology will continuously develops. It can be said that technology can conquer the world. Indonesia is a country that belongs to a global environment and will always be influenced by the growth of technology. Some of those technologies are internet and social media. Internet is very influential to social life. Meanwhile, social media is an online media or virtual world consists of real people that come to communicate and share information with each other. As internet and mobile phone technology advances, social media will advance as well. We can now access Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and even Whatsapp easily through mobile phone.

Tetra Pax Index 2017 (the connected customer) reported that there are 132 million internet users in Indonesia. Almost half of them are social media addicts. More than 106 million Indonesians use social media each month and about 85% of them accessed social media through cellular device. The above data shows that Indonesia is in the clutch of social media. As the flow of information and communication intensifies, there is a term that has gained widespread recognition by Indonesian people: Meme.

In general, most of the people who use social media do not really know the history and meaning of meme. Meme is a form of communication in digital era

firstly introduced by Richard Dawkins, a British author, through his book *The Selfish Gene*. Dawkins use this term to define the birth of a culture which came as the result of replicators. Meme in Indonesia grows in popularity since 2013 through Facebook fanspage such as *Meme Comic Indonesia*, which only post comic rage meme and pure meme in the beginning. Comic rage meme is a meme in comic format while pure meme is pictures without conversation (not comic).

Memes are usually presented in silly, weird, funny and sarcastic pictures and widely distributed in the internet. Some memes are constructive, while some criticize the occurring social phenomena such as the Tribe, Religion, Race and Class (*Suku, Agama, Ras dan Antargolongan – SARA*) issues. As a plural country, Indonesia has a variety of tribes, races, religions and classes. These differences often trigger conflict.

Nowadays, ideology is no longer understood as a comprehensive perspective, dream or value of a nation, which makes intolerance possible. SARA is perspectives and acts based on identity sentiments such as heredity, religion, nation, tribe or class. Intolerance emerges when tolerance in Indonesia is lacking. Social media plays its role to report on tolerance and resistance against intolerance.

The most obvious one is during the Local election in Indonesia, in which candidates often attack their political adversaries by using SARA issues. For example, the case of former Jakarta Governor, Ahok Basuki, who is a Chinese and Christian, who wants to run for his second term as the Governor of Jakarta. Ahok was accused of religious blasphemy. This case was very popular and foreign media reported it as well.

Socialization was made to prevent intolerance through the active participation of every elements of society through social media and mass media. Meme is one of the ways to change society's mindset and perspective regarding resistance against intolerance.

Personal Experience

Discussing about conflict related to SARA is no longer foreign for us. I have an experience related to SARA during the unrest in Ambon in 1999. To summarize, I was only three years old back then. It was very disheartening, the fact that we must run and run to find protection and avoid the raining bullets and bombs. I did not go to school back then, but my four siblings did. Due to the conflict at that time, they were unable to go to school. My older sibling said that they can't even read a book because all of them have been burned to crisp.

From our refuge in Tantui, we can only see our house where I grew up with my five siblings, where I experience joy and sorrow, burned to the ground. For 18 years we survive and every attempt by the government, society and religious figures has been made. The Peace Gong Monument built in the heart of Ambon is the symbol of resistance against SARA and intolerance. Today, Ambon is much more peaceful and tolerant. I hope that this kind of thing will continue and efforts by the government and society can be continuously implemented everywhere so we will no longer be triggered by intolerance, discrimination, violence and radicalism.

Democracy in Indonesia will weaken if intolerance and SARA are let loose. If the governmental system did not function, there would be no point of having ideology because the state will lose its philosophy and direction. Therefore, as a young generation, we must be the light in the darkness. Let us participate together to build a democratic nation and realizing the unity in diversity.

As a young generation that will enrich the nation, “we change our nations, our state and our country to be better.” Let us become the millennial generation that observes, validates and become the vanguard of Indonesia. As our first president, Soekarno put it: “Give me 10 youths and I will shake the world.”

4

The Effect of Media in Double Potential

AMRIZAROIS ISMAIL

The creation of civilizations in the world is always related to war. In fact, the history of Arab civilization told that war has begun when the population of mankind was consisting of only 6 people. The war was between Qabil and Habil, the sons of Prophet Adam. Qabil could not accept the idea that he must marry Habil's sister, Labuda who were not as beautiful as her own sister, Iqlima. Qabil then killed Habil due to his dissatisfaction for the marriage decision. Thus, Habil became the first victim of an event which might happen to be the first war in human's history when their population was only consisting of 6 people. Ever since, war remains a staple in human civilization, whether war in Arab civilization, Europe civilization, Asia civilization and global civilization from the middle to modern age.

In a paragraph in his book, Tamim Anshary told about the rise and fall of a civilization and war was an important factor in it. The scheme was a tribe settled in an ideal land, they build a civilization, then another tribe became envious of their civilization, a war ensued, the settling tribe lost, the winning tribe built their civilization, then it became a cycle of tribe building civilization – another tribe being envious – war ensued – and so on (Tamim Anshary: 2010). War after war that occurred during the Global Era in middle age also have the similar pattern with above, from war between tribes in a civilization, then war between civilizations and war between nations of the world. This means that the history of war has a

snowball pattern where war usually began in small scale and only in local level, and then the scale became bigger and more global. The history has indeed told about World War I and World War II which was the climax of global war as it began as a small-scale war and then transformed into a huge-scale and global war.

The end of World War II did not necessarily end war. In the modern age, where life expectancy, education, economy and health are supposedly better than before, war remains a staple. In fact, the last ten years has seen more than 10 wars, both the wars that have ended and wars that are still going on today. Some examples are civil war in Somalia, Darfur war, Iraq war, Afghanistan war, Lebanon war, Syria war and, the most intense, Israel-Palestine war which intensified again after a statement by the government of United States of America regarding the relocation of Israel capital into Jerusalem. The wars that have and still happen can be differentiated into several types of war. Civil war, ideological war, and war for power struggle.

In Indonesia, war has happened many times after the independence in 1945, such as war against GAM, war in Poso, Ambon and in Papua against Free Papua Movement (OPM). Although the wars in Indonesia were not huge-scale wars and disrupting national security, the fallen victims are still recorded in the dark annals of civil wars in Indonesia.

War for Hegemony

The history of Indonesia can be understood as a step back narrative. In the beginning, wars and conflicts in Indonesia were against other nations such as the Colonial Dutch and the Japanese. Then, it became inter-tribal and regional conflicts. It means that, despite independence has been framed as the climax of war; it never ends wars and conflicts. It seems that war is the legacy throughout human history as it still exists throughout 20th and 21st century. This phenomenon cannot be separated with the desire of nation-state to realize their national interest.

The definition of war, according to Bahasa Indonesia Dictionary, is hostility between two countries, nations, religions, tribes etc. In addition, war is an armed conflict between two armies. The definition of war, in this case, is an open battle, in which there is an armed contact between the battling armies. Meanwhile, according to Hedley Bull, war is an organized violence committed by one political unit and another. The goal of a political unit is to coerce the other party to submit to their demand or recognize their goal, which can also be understood as hegemony.

According to Antonio Gramsci, hegemony is a power or domination of values of life, norms and cultures of a society which in turn became the doctrine for other societies in which the dominated society deliberately absorb the doctrine. War is one of the forms of coercion for the sake of hegemony.

Conversion of Conventional War into Hybrid War

Furthermore, Gramsci also stated the 3 components used as tools to achieve hegemony: power, capital and mass media. In this modern era, the attempt at hegemony has been changing in methods. Physical war, which used to be the main implementation of it, has been shifted, converted into a new form of war that is more subtle, that he called a hybrid war.

The concept of hybrid war is still recognized for its effectiveness by many people including our ancestors. If we trace it to its birth, this term is actually a metaphor to describe the challenge of modern battle as told by General (Mar) Charles C. Krulak in regards to the challenges faced by US Marine during their duty in “failed countries” such as Somalia and ex-Yugoslavia. Krulak realizes that future battleground is: occurring in urban area, asymmetric in nature, difficult to differentiate between combatants and non-combatants, more brutal as advanced weaponries will be available and easily accessible by every parties. The conclusion is, hybrid war is a new style of war conducted by using subtle propaganda to cause internal destruction within the enemy.

This type of war is considered to be more effective than conventional war that only relies on physical power and weapon technology. War in modern era cannot be won only by focusing on weapon technology only, but also by considering the socio-cultural aspect and other aspects of the society (Mattis, Lieutenant General, 2005). The socio-cultural aspect and other aspects in society has been getting more attention among US military. Therefore, in order to face this hybrid war, they are developing a concept called Human Terrain System (HTS). The HTS concept was originally developed by an anthropologist, Montgomery McFate, in 2005, as a response to the gap of understanding between commanding officers and staff on local culture, especially during the Iraq and Afghanistan invasion.

Double Potential in Hybrid War

To generations that grew up in pre-digitalization era, they might be able to tell how tremendous the change that they experienced in the digital era today. One of

the changes can be seen by how Indonesian are now more willing to voice their opinions through writings, pictures and audio-visual medium. To most people, there is an assumption that such change is positive in terms of democratization and freedom of expression. Unfortunately, the negative impact of this freedom is also threatening the identity of our nation which used to be known by their people's politeness, religiosity and tolerance. This is in line with the concept of hybrid war explained above, in which socio-cultural aspect is also made as an object to further influence with huge destructive impact.

Lately, Indonesian people are becoming increasingly temperamental, offensive and are not shy to insult the state through sarcasm in many forms. Through simple search in Google, we can find pictures that insult figures such as the President. The weird thing is, Indonesian people appear to be used to such thing – believing that it is a harmless joke. Moreover, the people are no longer shy and afraid to spread extreme contents which contain pornography, radical teachings and also violence – which used to require censorship before being published.

The limitation for such behavior has faded and it became uncontrollable. Media has become a serious threat in addition to its huge benefit for education and knowledge as well as the society in general. It cannot be denied that globalization has become an instrument of international relations. However, if our people are careless and having no strong filtering system, then it is possible that Indonesia will lose in the modern war known as hybrid war.

The growth of mass communication network offers effective tool for propaganda and recruitment. Extremist organization such as ISIS is an expert in utilizing social media to promote their ideology and agenda. Many forms of propaganda depicting the 'greatness' of ISIS are distributed through Youtube. Meanwhile, propaganda messages of this group can be read by the public through Twitter and Facebook. In Indonesia, a country with one of the biggest internet users in the world, social media network is an accessible facility with massive influence. In addition to being supported by its speed, social media is also preferred due to its up to date information that can be updated in seconds. Other than being utilized as a tool of propaganda, media is also utilized to deviate ideology and state identity as explained earlier.

Understanding Social Media to Mitigate Hybrid War

However, all of the explanations above seem inadequate to argue that social media has only negative impact, which can be likened to weapon of massive and permanent destruction. Such argument will obviously emerge if social media is not understood comprehensively, especially if one only analyzes media by comparing its potential to the recently occurring phenomena. Such things will definitely create a skeptical perspective to the media, in which media is only seen as potentially destructive for morality and etiquette in a mere 10 years - destroying Indonesians, who before the era of media freedom, are known for their tolerance and love to each other.

As such, there is a need for comprehensive socialization on what is media, their function and role, in order to create measure to mitigate the negative potential of social media.

Social media itself is defined as an online media, in which users can easily participate, share and create contents which include blog, social network, wiki, forum and virtual world. Blog, social network and wiki is the most general form of social media used by people throughout the world. Other opinion argued that social media is an online media that supports social interaction and social media utilized web-based technology to turn communication into interactive dialogue. Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein defines social media as “a group of internet-based application which is built on ideology and Web 2.0 technology, that raises the possibility of creating and trading user-generated content (Quoted from ptkomunikasi.wordpress.com).”

Social network is a site where everyone can make personal web page and then connected with their friends to share information and to communicate. The biggest social network is Facebook, Myspace and Twitter. If traditional media uses printed media and broadcast media, then social media uses the internet. Social media invites everyone who is interested to participate by allowing open contribution and feedback, comments, and sharing information in a fast and unlimited manner.

The Role and Function of Social Media

Social media is an effective tool for business promotion as it can be accessed by anyone, allowing wider network for promotion. Social media has been highly necessary for a company’s marketing strategy and is one of the most effective ways

to reach customers and clients. Social media such as blog, Facebook, Twitter and Youtube has additional benefit for company and much faster than conventional media such as printed media and TV ads, or brochure and leaflets.

Social media's advantages compared to conventional media are:

- **Accessibility.** Production of conventional media requires advanced skills. Meanwhile, social media can be used very easily, even by people with basic IT knowledge – the only requirement is a computer with internet connection.
- **Building Relationship.** Social media offers an unmatched opportunity to engage with customers and build relationship. Company can obtain direct feedback and idea and can test and manage customer service in a fast manner. Traditional media can do none of the above, as traditional media is only good for one-way communication.
- **Global Outreach.** Traditional media can have global outreach but at high cost and will require a lot of time. Through social media, business can communicate information instantaneously, regardless of geographical location. Social media also allows content adjustment for each market segmentation and offer more business opportunity to deliver messages to more users.
- **Measured.** Through easy tracking system, delivery of messages can be measured, meaning that companies can know immediately the effectiveness of their promotion. Conventional media cannot do that as effectively.

Function of Social Media

If we define social media as a system of communication, then we must define its communication function which includes:

- **Administrative Function.** Organizing profile of employees in a relevant social media relative to your current market position. Organizing social media policy training and education for each employee on the usage of social media. Creating organizational blog and integrating content in relevant society. Market research to find your niche.
- **Literacy Function.** Social media is a virtual book which is integrated with knowledge of very corner of the world. This means that social media can be a literature or main reference for education, planning and other general discourse.
- **Validation Function.** Valid information in social media nowadays is highly necessary to verify every rumor, myth and issues that grow within society.

By understanding social media comprehensively in terms of its definition, role and function, we can create an idea that social media is a potential object (tool, object and material). As an object, social media will obviously have a flexible potential according to how the subject use it.

What is interesting is the way social media grows and its main problem which cause its function and role to be centripetal or goes against its positive potential.

Identifying Root of Problem and Mitigation

As internet and mobile phone technology advances, social media will follow suit. Nowadays, we can access Facebook and Twitter anywhere and anytime by using mobile phone. Since people can access social media very fast, information flow will also be faster – this phenomenon happens not only in developed countries but also in Indonesia. Due to its speed, it seems like social media has replaced the role of conventional mass media in distributing news articles.

The fast growth of social media itself is due to every people can have their own media. For example, traditional media such as television, radio or newspaper will require huge capital and labor. In contrast, social media can be accessed even by users with the slowest internet access, without spending much, without expensive tool, and can be done individually without hiring employee. User of social media can also freely edit, adjust, modify their posts, be it writing, picture, video, graphics and other contents.

If we would create a conclusion, we need to understand how we as subject consider the accessibility of the content production. Looking at the abuse of social media in Indonesia nowadays, whether in political world, social and religion, in which social media is more often used as an object of propaganda to distribute hate speech, hoax information and other negative content, we can see the typology and mentality of Indonesian netizen. This is also why the government legislate Revision Law No. 11 Yr. 2008 on Electronic Information and Transaction which is one of the government's efforts, as a provider, to regulate and supervise activities in social media in order to anticipate and repress the high number of social media abuse. The law is now changed with Law No. 19 Yr. 2016, in which one of the revision clauses stated that the government, in this case Ministry of Communication and Information, can block certain sites. Although it is not much different with previous laws, this at least shows the government's good will to assert its stance and play its

role as the main provider for social media in Indonesia.

However, Electronic Information and Transaction Law will be less effective as a controlling measure if there is no active participation from the netizen as the user of social media. We need to understand that the growth of social media user, content and website is faster than the growth of legal apparatus.

Therefore, the *quo vadis* of social media is pretty much decided by the maturity of our netizen. In that regard, there needs to be a mass and structured movement to revolutionize the mentality of our netizen so they can understand and be aware of the huge potential of social media. After all, social media has a “Double Potential” as a tool of propaganda and war, as well as a tool to mitigate and anticipate the disastrous effect of hybrid war.

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5

Understanding Terrorist through Contemporary Media

DEVI AFITHASARI

Terrorism continues to command attention from many parties in national or international level. Many bombings framed as jihad continues to occur in recent years. This can be seen by the many evidences of destruction in Indonesia and other countries in the world. Such condition is exacerbated by the prevalence of propaganda from radical group to recruit their members. Terrorism and counter-terrorism has been a high priority in Indonesia, and terrorism is the biggest external-based threat for Indonesia (Lilley, Wiencek and Carpenter, 2005: 133).

The original definition of terrorism was first discussed in European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism (ECST) in Europe in 1977. The definition was enlarged from *crime against state* into *crime against humanity*, in which terrorism is seen as a crime that causes a situation where individuals, group and society are terrorized (Wahid, Sumardi, Sidik, 2004: 23-24). As such, terrorism can also be defined as a violence, or threat of violence, which is used in order to achieve certain political goal (Howard, Sawyer, and Bajema, 2009: 4-5). This obviously signifies the importance of attempts to prevent and combat terrorism in order to create a peaceful, secure, and harmonious country. Terrorism causes a great deal of impact, making it no mere destructive violence, but rather a crime against peace and security of mankind (Mulyana, 2002: 22).

The involvement of children in terrorism is nothing new. Steven R. Ratner and Jason S. Abrams in *Accountability for Human Rights Atrocities in International Law:*

Beyond the Nuremberg Legacy, Second Edition (2001) wrote, one of the modus operandi of Pol Pot during the *killing field* in Cambodia was the involvement of children in act of terror.

In transnational context, terrorist groups and foreign terrorist fighters are also on the rise due to their dependency to internet and other new communication technology to plan and implement their operation (Smith, 2007: 62). At the same time, when a community is assaulted, people will seek refuge in religion, and when religion is assaulted, people will feel personally assaulted and be furious.

When religion is said as source of problem, terrorist will feel like being given freedom and power of the actions they committed (Feldstein, 2009: 6). Many factors can contribute to act of terrorism, including religion, ideology, terrorist organization in the neighborhood, media and other countries. (Ramakrishna and Tan, 2003: 2). Political Researcher of Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Hamdan Basyar, explained that the spread of radical movement is mostly influenced by the tendency of news reporting that has significant influence in changing the social condition of the society. The existence of mass media in globalization era has intensified the provocation of act of terror to the public.

If we consider the existence of mass media in contemporary era, especially in regard to the global anti-terrorism propaganda, one of the facilities for mental war is the media. For terrorists, mass media seems to be of high importance due to its sensational nature in reporting as well as their commitment to showing the truth as it is. It is not rare to see mass media prioritizes on its 'videology' and 'show' aspect – effectively making it a stage for terrorist.

Mass media is considered to be the smartest in choosing which angles of terrorism that should and should not be reported. Meanwhile, a 'creative' terrorist will continue to entrap the media in order to sell their sensational terror. Due to the advancement of technology and information nowadays, terrorist groups and their followers can distribute their actions through social media such as Youtube, Instagram, Twitter, etc.

Terrorists convey their political message and generate fear among society. They are even an expert in gaining sympathy, fundraising, and recruiting new members through their propaganda in media. In fact, there has been an account that appreciates terrorists who died in their action. For example, they commented how the terrorist died with a smile in their face, or the dead body of terrorist smells good, or their blood continues to flow even after days go by, and so on.

Within certain religious discourse, all of those things are signs of people who died as a martyr. This is a form of glorification to terrorists. The National Agency for Combatting Terrorism (BNPT) Deputy of Prevention, Protection and De-radicalization Affairs stated that “Social media has opened the once closed space. It is no wonder that teenagers of 18-25 years old are eager to join ISIS due to the influence of social media propaganda.” Agus also stated that there is an indication that Indonesian citizens went to Syria to be a part of ISIS network. There is a presumption that those people were victims of the spread of radicalism through internet. Sidney Jones, a terrorism researcher from Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), stated that social media is a favorite tool of propaganda for ISIS supporter in Indonesia. They often used Facebook fanpages as a tool for propaganda. Some of them were banned by Facebook, but the people behind it made another one with a different name. However, Jones stated that ever since mid-2015, the usage of Facebook by ISIS supporter in Indonesia has been on decline (BBC, 2015).

However, the decline was balanced by the prevalence of messenger apps in mobile phone, such as WhatsApp, Telegram, and Zello. The three apps are preferred by the extremist groups in Indonesia. In fact, some of the convicted terrorists who are behind bars can communicate through those applications with their network in Middle East, and also with fellow ISIS supporter in Indonesia. In the news quoted by BBC Indonesia, ISIS began to use social media in order to attract youngsters. Their first attempt at making video was framed like a Hollywood action movie.

In Indonesia, Santoso who is known to lead a network of Mujahidin Group in East Indonesia expressed his support to ISIS leader Abu Bakar Al Baghdadi through Youtube. His action was then followed by several Indonesians, who claimed to be in ISIS' turf, Iraq and Syria, who invited the people to go for jihad with ISIS in that country. Terrorist researcher from Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), Sydney Jones, in his interview with BBC Indonesia last October, said that Santoso group prefers to use social media as a tool of propaganda. ISIS distributed a propaganda video which depicted an armed training of children who speak Malay and Bahasa Indonesia from Sunday (March 15th 2015) to Tuesday (March 17th 2015) in the internet. The video was not automatically blocked like videos with pornographic materials.

Although that video was ultimately removed by Youtube, the government said that they were only able to prevent or block the site if there is a complaint from the society. This means that the government's supervision is still lacking and that media tends to

provide a space for violence narrative in regard to radicalism and terrorism. Prof. Sarlito Wirawan Sarwono in his book *Radikalisme dan Terorisme di Indonesia* (2012) stated:

“The biggest threat is not from Islamic radicalism and terrorism (the number of Islamic radicalism followers in Indonesia is very small compared to the majority of Indonesian Muslim who are peaceful), but rather from the global information technology and mass media, which are getting more and more difficult to be controlled by the government, while the IT community and mass media itself have not developed a strong self-control system.”

Therefore, the media today is a double-edged sword that can be used for good and evil. Media will be needed to deliver messages of peace, radicalism prevention, and anti-violence. However, terrorist groups managed to utilize the media to convey their propaganda.

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6

Social Media as an Instrument of Resistance against Discrimination, Intolerance and Extremist Violence

EKO PRASETYO

BACKGROUND

Nowadays, cases of discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence are increasingly prevalent in Indonesia. As we get closer to the simultaneous local election in Indonesia, president Jokowi has appealed to the candidates not to use tribe, religion, race and class (SARA) issue for their campaign. Quoted from viva.co.id, President Jokowi stated, *"I trust all of you. This country is a big country, do not let gubernatorial election, regent election, mayor election, especially the 2019 presidential election got torn apart due to democratic difference. Do not cut the ties of kinship."*

Issue of segregation is often associated with mass movement such as the 212 movement, thousand candles movement and other movements based on cultural faith.

We came upon a realization: this country was not built upon religion. The Youth Pledge describes Indonesian youth's desire to unite in one nation and one language. Indonesian youth did not want single religion and single fashion. "I have been reminded by the President of Afghanistan, beware with your big country. 40 years ago, there was a conflict between two tribes in Afghanistan, and it has not been resolved up to this day. He reminded again, especially since Indonesia is home to 714 tribes. If dispute occurs, resolve it quickly, it is very risky," said the president as quoted by detik.com. Indonesia has been smothered by the fear of a take over of its political power. In fact, a philosophy professor in Universitas Indonesia, Rocky

Gerung said that we live in two republics: Republic of Fear and Republic of Hope. Common sense will go with Republic of Hope, but political rulers prefer Republic of Fear.

Quoted from bbc.com, "A cake shop in Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan, became viral in social media after they refuse to write merry Christmas for their customer's order. Indonesian Consumer Institution (YLKI) stated that the shop is being discriminative to their consumer." This became worse with the prevalence of hoax websites and fictional accounts that do not care about journalistic code and only contribute to the murkiness of information in Indonesia.

Those websites and accounts were made by a Cyber Army whose goal was to defend their ideology while assaulting different ideology. Research by Maarif Institute found that 57% of their respondents believed that teenagers exposed to those contents tend to be intolerant to people outside of their community. Hate speech and negative contents in the internet can create the same result for them, encouraging attitudes of intolerance and discrimination.

The use of hate speech will trigger different reaction from netizens. This is obviously exacerbates the issue of discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence in Indonesia. The advancement of technology is thought of as a space that accelerates discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence due to the existence of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc. This is related to the existence of opinion making by cyber troops that can cause national segregation due to its tendency of provoking people. However, research by CSIS (Centre for Strategic and International Studies) in August 2017 found that 54.3% millennials are reading online media, while 11.9% non-millennials are reading online media. Act of intolerance, discrimination and extremist violence is resulted from difference perspective in which one of the party believe themselves to be the righteous one while the others are the wrong one.

Discussion

Detik.com – Tetra Pak Index 2017 stated that 40% of the 132 million internet users in Indonesia are social media addicts. Social media is a space for people who desire vertical and horizontal conflict who prefer to use SARA issues in order to achieve their goal to segregate Indonesia. The existence of discrimination in society is a form of deviation from the values adopted by majorities. Forms of discrimination include

limiting one's activity and minorities' space. However, in general, discrimination in social media came in a negative opinion or prejudice about minorities in order to humiliate someone. The cause of prejudice is lack of fear in managing heuristic information (shortcut to mental logic) which causes categorization based on certain characteristic such as gender, race, tribe, religion, class, and etc. This caused intolerance. As a matter of fact, a psychologist from Harvard University, Gordon Willard Allport, in his book *The Nature of Prejudice* wrote, "In the corner of this world, no one is free from humiliation."

Fromm, in his book on roots of violence, stated that the most destructive conflict is civil conflicts that cause not only physical destruction but also social, economic, and political destruction for the two conflicting parties. Obviously, we do not want such things to happen in our country Indonesia. Sexual and self-preservation instinct is renewed with its essential concept on *eros* (life) and death instinct. Psychologically speaking, the emergence of discrimination, intolerance and violence is caused by human's death instinct which triggers destructive activity against others. This is a development from the basic assumption that mankind is conditioned to destroy, meaning that aggressive tendency, both verbally through social media and hate speech and non-verbally through physical violence, is embedded in human's psyche. Therefore, social media stimulus can trigger human's aggressiveness.

The occurrence of discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence cannot be separated by the transmission of cognitive meme virus or virus of mind (Richard Brodie) by people who conduct discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence. The virus spread from television show, newspaper, social media and even from the simplest thing such as communicating with each other. Freedom of speech accelerates the transmission of virus of mind, which can appear spontaneously or being created intentionally. Virus of mind overtakes the part of brain that command people to be involved in discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence. Meme allergen gave signal which trigger reaction such as homophobia, paranoid, anti-communist and porno-phobia. General form of meme allergen reaction includes reflexive action, vandalism, verbal humiliation, and physical violence. This kind of form occurs almost every day in Indonesia.

Solution

We interpret pluralism by expressing *assalamu'alaikum*, a simple greeting, as if

such courtesy is a form of pluralism. The origin of pluralism in Indonesia came upon the pledge by youth 17 years before the proclamation. The constitution stated that this country is built upon people's sovereignty. God has no sovereignty in Republic of Indonesia, God has sovereignty only in the heart of the believers. In order to prevent the potential of conflict in Indonesia, both horizontally (people vis-à-vis people) and vertically (people vis-à-vis government), social media must be used wisely. The philosopher Charles Handy argued that our mindset came in the form of a space in house. There is a guest room that belongs to everyone, other people and I see the same thing. Secondly, there is a private room in which only I know about it.

Then, there is a mysterious space in which both you and I do not know about it. We can utilize individual's ignorance to change their attitude. Obviously we need not to be like them that love to spread hoax in social media only to gain attention. Through social media, we can provide understanding on Pancasila which can be understood by netizen. Obviously we will need a cyber-army in order to successfully use values of Pancasila to resist discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence. Report from CSIS in August 2017 on Pancasila found that 90.5% of millennials with age ranged from 17-29 years old and 85.4% of non-millennials above 30 refuse the idea that Pancasila should be replaced with other ideology. Based on that data, there is a huge potential for Pancasila to be viral through social media in order to resist discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence. Moreover, materials from the Pledge of Youth can also be used to resist, because there is no fourth pledge that says "we the sons and daughters of Indonesia are one in religion."

The use of cognitive meme virus in social media can obviously be used to fight discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence. When we fight virus with virus, it will be like chemotherapy for Indonesia's cancer. The technicality of social media usage in fighting discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence will be the same as the usage of cyber troops in making opinion to reject discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence – based on the values of Pancasila and The Youth Pledge. The materials being distributed can be quoted from an article of Pancasila, value of Pancasila, and explanation on the Youth Pledge. We can also engage the audience by popularizing the phrase "Have you implement Pancasila and the Youth Pledge today?" which, if went viral, can be the birth of unity or pluralism movement. The creation of online discussion forum or official account that compiles the resistance in many social media, such as the provision of verses and facts with dictions that

trigger socio-emotional effect, as well as the usage of audio-visual medium such as short video or film montage related to pluralism, Pancasila and Youth Pledge, can be a beautiful combination in the resistance against discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence in Indonesia. Obviously, we also need to be prepared for enemy retaliation.

7

Alternative Narratives: Civil Society Organization in Social Media as Counter-Radicalization

KIRANA AISYAH

According to Jenkins (2009), radicalization is a process to adopt a system of faith not only for oneself but also by coercing that faith to the society. The coercion is made through means of violence as well as punishing others with different perspective. Meanwhile, according to Jensen (2006), radicalization is a process in which someone gradually adopts perspective and ideas that justify violence. Baehr (2013) provides more comprehensive and detailed definition on radicalization: the individual process in which they are being influenced by external actors due to the internalization and adoption of extreme idea and perspective. Due to those ideas, someone who has adopted radical idea will attempt a radical social change through acts of terror.

Within the context of Indonesia, the growth of radicalization phenomenon can be seen through the research by Wahid Foundation in collaboration with Indonesian Survey Institution (LSI) on the potential of intolerance and radicalism in Indonesia and socio-religiosity among Indonesian Muslim. The result of the survey was a measurement on the potential of socio-religious radicalism among Indonesian Muslim which includes willingness to participate in events that involve or could potentially result in religious violence. This was measured through the involvement in consolidation or sweeping activity on things considered to be against Islamic sharia, conducting demonstration to reject groups thought to humiliate or threaten

the holiness of Islam; and committing an attack against the house of worship of other religion.

The survey found that 7.7% respondent were willing to commit radical action if given the chance, while 0.4% admits to have committed radical action. If this number can be generalized for the approximately 180 million of Muslim population in Indonesia, then there is at least 13 million people who are willing to commit radical action and 700 thousand who have committed radical action.

However, Sarwono (2012) stated that the biggest threat of radicalism does not come from Islamic terrorism, since the number of Islamic radicalism follower in Indonesia is rather small compared to the majority of Indonesian Muslim who loves peace. Instead, the threat came from global information technology and mass media, which are getting harder to be controlled by the government, while the community and mass media themselves have not developed strong self-control system.

This can be seen from the research by NU Online on 20 Islamic media portal with highest traffic. There are four categories of Islamic media portal: first, the dangerous portal that often advocates for violence and rejecting Pancasila; second, the portal that agrees with terrorism and often attacks non-Muslim community; third, the harmless but conservative portal; fourth, the portal that promotes peace and Indonesian Islam. The research finding shows that radical group in Indonesia still dominates Islamic portals in Indonesia. The portal with the largest traffic is the second-type portal while the fourth-type portal is only fifth in traffic level (Savic Ali, 2017).

In terms of radicalization process, new media can function as an 'echo chamber', as explained by Bjelopera (2011), that internet can normalize improper behavior. Internet can also assist someone to easily access radical materials in order to confirm their idea (Briggs and Strugnell, 2011; Shetret, 2011). Therefore, Islamic sites dominated by radical narrative is a serious problem, especially when the radical narrative from those sites are not balanced by moderate Islamic sites that spread values and spirits in contrast with radical narratives.

In regards to the radicalization of new media and social media, the role of government up to this day tends to be reactive and lacks in prevention department. One of the things that must be done is blocking sites or applications that promote radicalism. On July 14th 2017, the government, through Ministry of Communication and Information, has officially blocked Telegram. The policy was made based on the strong evidence suggesting there are more than 500 pages of radical teaching, such

as how to make bombs, campaign to hate the police, etc.¹

Obviously the government has made the right choice by blocking Telegram as part of the effort to eradicate radicalization in digital sphere. However, the effect of blocking radical sites is only temporary as opposed to the right long-term solution. Although some sites have been blocked, there are alternative methods to spread radical ideology. Therefore, the role of civil society organization in countering radicalization will be needed by creating alternative narrative that promotes values and spirits in contrast with radicalism.

There have been not many research and literature reviews that discusses about counter-radicalization, most only discuss about de-radicalization. According to UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), de-radicalization is a program aimed for individuals who have been exposed to radical ideas in order to change them so they can coexist with the society or at least preventing them from repeating their acts of violence.

Meanwhile, counter-radicalization is a policy or program aimed to resolve the condition and reason that encourage someone to commit terrorism. In general, this concept refers to social, political, legal, educational and economic program intentionally designed to prevent individuals, especially those vulnerable to radical ideas and capable to be a terrorist. Therefore, the main focus of counter-radicalization is not the terrorists themselves but strengthening and empowering society and community so they will not be influenced by radical ideas (Alex Shmid, 2013).

At the more general level, a report from American Bipartisan Policy Center (2011) stated that counter-radicalization aims at the three things within the dynamic of radicalization: grievances, ideology and mobilization:

- *Counter-grievance.* If extremist radicalism exploits the dissatisfaction and complaint to current socio-political condition, then one of the cores of counter-radicalization is resolving their dissatisfaction and complaints.
- *Counter-ideology.* If extremist radicalism attempts to promote extremist narrative and their ideology, then the goal of counter-radicalization is to expose and resist those ideas, as well as educating the society by providing knowledge to resist extremist narrative, as well as empowering local figures to speak against

1 Taken from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20170715122036-185-228099/konten-radikal-alasan-menkominfo-blokir-situs-telegram/>

extremism and their violent ideas.

- *Counter-mobilization.* If extremist radicalism attempts to build network and recruit followers, the goal of counter-radicalization is to assist the society in building network, knowledge and tools they can use to fight and refuse those attempts.

According to Mitchell D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt (2007), there are four phases of radicalization: pre-radicalization, identification, indoctrination and jihadization. Pre-radicalization represents individual’s life, from education, lifestyle, religion, social status before they enter radical movement. In identification phase, individuals began to explore the specific interpretation of radical Islamic group. In times, their original identity will be gradually redefined by the radical ideology.

Meanwhile, indoctrination is a phase where individuals intentionally strengthen their belief to the radical ideology as well as adopting it without question. The main aspect of this phase is willingness to accept radical ideologies that justify, legitimize and support violence against anyone who oppose their ideology. In the last phase, jihadization, individuals begin to participate in radical activity.

Referring to the phases above, attempts of counter-radicalization by spreading alternative narratives in social media is aimed to society that are still in pre-radicalization phase and people who are vulnerable to radical narrative during their identification phase. Alternative narrative in social media will put an emphasis on positive social values that can replace radical narratives (Briggs, Rachel, Feve and Sebastien, 2013). This will be needed in order to balance radical narrative so it will not be taken for granted by the society. Therefore, we are not only prohibiting and blocking those radical narratives, but also providing alternative narratives that oppose the radical narratives that legitimize the use of violence.

Table 1: Counter-Messaging Spectrum

What	Why	How	Who
Government Communicative Strategy	Fighting radical narratives by increasing public awareness on governmental programs to prevent radicalism	Correcting false information as well as building good relationship with stakeholders	Government

Alternative Narratives	Fighting radical narratives by focusing on the delivery of alternative narratives instead of criticizing the radical narratives	Delivering positive narratives on social values such as tolerance, openness, freedom and democracy	Civil Society Organization and Government
Counter-Narratives	Directly deconstructing, criticizing, and discrediting the radical narratives	Challenging the radical narratives through ideology, theology, fact, logic and humor as well as exposing the lie and propaganda of those radical narratives	Civil Society Organization

The above table shows different narratives that can be used to fight radicalism as well as the goal and focus of each narrative (Briggs, Rachel, Feve and Sebastien, 2013). According to Sadik Harchaous (2010), civil society organizations that deliver alternative narratives to fight radical narratives have two main advantages. The first is civil society organizations have a credibility to conduct public diplomacy that can never be obtained by the government. This is because civil society organizations are less vulnerable to political manipulation compared to governmental bodies. Moreover, their non-hierarchic and independent nature will make them more trustworthy as dialogue partner.

Secondly, they have been well-prepared to be involved in dialogue with the public including foreign public due to having the same expertise and interest. This allows them to overcome the cultural obstacle in order to penetrate the society (Sadik Harchaoui, 2010). The ultimate goal of each civil society organization that works on radicalism and extremism context is to prevent individuals from being involved in radical activities and transforming them to integrate with the society (Qureshi and Marsden, 2010).

Based on the above explanation, we will need more alternative narratives that are created by civil society organization in social media as a form of counter-radicalization. We can see problems surrounding the growth of radicalism in Indonesia and Islamic digital media due to the domination of radical websites. Therefore, alternative narrative by civil society organization in social media will be needed as one of the attempts of counter-radicalization in order to reach the general public and people who are vulnerable to radical narratives.

8

Twisting Hatred and the Phenomenon of People Who Allows It

MUHAMMAD MUFTI M

The advent of media is a good opportunity for people of different interests and groups. This is inseparable with the growth of modernity that drags everyone with it. Moreover, the consequence of the democratic system adopted in many countries, including Indonesia, is the increase of freedom.

The healthier life is an indicator of good democracy resulted by the openness of media access. Society is benefitted by the advancement of technology, while modern technology is benefitted by the society as their source of profit for their media.

The growth of modernity in Indonesia is weighted by religious factors, due to Indonesia not adopting a secular state system which means that religious values will always appear within the society.

The modernity of the world was born independently out of the development of science but it was unable to adjust with the development of religious values. It means that modernity should provide perspective and explain new things to adjust with the developing religious values within the society.

Modernity can challenge or redefine several aspects of religious practice, as well as having authority within a religious community or otherwise. However, modernity and religion is not necessarily mutually exclusive as people would believe (Ariel Heryanto 2015: 48).

According to Asef Bayat, modernization and religiosity will always be interrelated and sometimes creating difference. During the 19th century, social scholars only differentiate between the religious and the non-religious. After the growth of modernity, they began to differentiate between the religious and the more-religious.

Hegemony, Religion and Advantage

Apparently, religion and capitalism do not only coexist and interrelated but also capable to be an ally in supporting long-term collective activities (Rudnykj 2009; Ariel Heryanto 2015: 48).

Media engineering to gain profit is normal, since media was born within the development of science for the sake of economy or profit. However, the science that gave birth to media cannot be justified if they utilize religion to gain profit as it is unethical to intersect the holiness of religion with idle matters of the world.

Nowadays, many religions are utilized as the main weaponry of groups who have ill-intention to humiliate someone or some groups. They should have been able to see that media users among the society are varied and different. Therefore, these media users should be able to understand what they should and should not share through media.

Bringing religious matters in media is alright as long as it is proportional and not harming anyone or even humiliating others. On the contrary, bringing religious matters in media negatively will be very problematic to oneself and also create negative image for the concerned religion. This is the kind of practice often committed by groups who use social media to conduct discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence.

Indonesia is known as a country with high numbers of media users, due to the role of media in saving Indonesian people from illiteracy. However, the already good level of literacy in Indonesia has not encouraged positive things, such as reading books to expand knowledge. Instead, people prefer to consume media that provides unclear information.

Officially, Indonesia has a high level of literacy (above 90 per cent). However, the official statistic only refers to the ability to recognize letters instead of the tendency for people to utilize their knowledge about letters and numbers. This chapter argues that most people in Indonesia prefers oral communication, which is indicated by the lack of functional literacy due the domination of instant and collective communication (the characteristic of oral communication), rather than

silently writing or reading texts (Cherian George 2017: 218).

The hateful acts committed by extremist groups can flourish due to the lack of counter in the form of societal response in media, making the situation imbalanced. The high prevalence of hateful act makes it appear to be a truth for society who are ignorant and unable to criticize social or mass media.

Ideally, the society as media consumer should deliver a counter to any form of hateful act through the media. However, our society tends to be silent, only reading and observing, without providing their ideas in order to fight and correct the existing misinformation.

The way people responding to the twisting hatred will not only rely to the law but also social norm. People should have a position on whether fanatic hatred should be allowed or resisted (Cherian George 2017: 212).

Every form of intolerance committed by extremist was indeed designed with media in mind, in order to be a public consumption. All of these things are possible due to the elements of media.

The media, especially journalists, has an important role to revert media as a tool to enlighten the nation. However, many journalists were found to work to satisfy certain interest. Ultimately, the professionals who should have been able to contribute a lot ended up abusing the media for certain interest.

Journalists (media) also have a role to expose and supervise. They can expose what the elites have hidden from the public. Watchdog journalism has a role to expose the double deception of twisting hatred: the lie of their propaganda and the hidden motive behind it (Cherian George 2017: 213).

Many media have different policy to deal with the twisting hatred. However, we need to remember about the theory of press declaration which stated that there are no media that can serve every diverse needs of communication in a democracy.

Lastly, C. Edwin Bakrem argued that the system of media should be judged based on its diversity and the quality of its departments. Media is expected to be more active in the diverse society by considering the religious values that have been adopted in Indonesia.

9

Reflection of Terrorism and Social Media Resistance

MOHAMMAD FARIANSYAH

The sound of explosion can be heard loudly throughout Sarinah District, MH Thamrin, Central Jakarta on that day. The sound can be heard not only once but twice in an interval of 11 seconds. The first explosion occurred in the Starbucks outlet while the second occurred in a Police Station in front of Sarinah Building. The atmosphere during that morning of January 14th 2016 was truly gripping.

The police did not stay silent to deal with that action. The police blocked every way to and from MH Thamrin Street and secured the civilians in the location. Immediately after that, two armed terrorists appear and shoot their guns to the police. A shootout for 11 minutes was inevitable, followed by several explosions after that. This act of terror caused 7 deceased and 19 wounded.

The Sarinah act of terror was a message that affirms the threat of terrorists to the security of Republic of Indonesia. The gripping atmosphere was not only felt by the nearby civilians but also the people who followed the event through media. False news on follow-up attack continued to appear both in mainstream media and social media. The state of security in Indonesia immediately gained attention from the world.

The Sarinah act of terror occurred almost two years ago, but terrorists remain active in spreading fear among society. Ever since, the police have reported 170 act

of terrorism in 2016. The year after that was also met by series of terrorism acts, one of them that gains the most attention is the act of terror in Kampung Melayu. The pot bomb that exploded on that day in Kampung Melayu caused 5 deceased and 10 wounded.

Far before the Sarinah act of terror, Indonesia has already been attacked by acts of terrorism. From the Bali Bombing in 2002, JW Marriot Hotel bombing in 2003, Australian Embassy bombing in 2004, Bali Bombing in 2005, and many other acts of terror. Those acts of terror were masterminded by Jamaah Islamiyah's terrorist network. This group is a conservative Islamic group that attempts to establish an Islamic state – also known as *daulah Islamiyah*. Some popular names from this terrorist group are Imam Samudra, Mukhlas, Ali Imron and Amrozi – all of which has been proven guilty of committing terrorism.

Seduction of Terrorist

Terrorism did not only attack Indonesia but also other countries in the world. The spirit to build *daulah Islamiyah* as pioneered by Jamaah Islamiyah is also prevalent in international scale within the group known as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). This group has a dream of enforcing the caliphate system throughout the world. Unfortunately, this group does not hesitate to use violence and even straight up murdering civilians during their action.

ISIS has a strong grip in Iraq and Syria. They are an enemy to the legitimate government. ISIS also has many members or sympathizers spread in every corner of the world. This group can easily seduce civilians from many countries to pledge to them. ISIS' preferred method of recruiting members is by offering an ideal life complete with many facilities including free health services and houses. Their seductions are very prevalent in the internet.

The in-depth report published by Jaring.id titled *Jejak Langkah Pendukung Daulah* told about the story of Indonesian migrant workers who are often seduced by ISIS. Jaring.id published a report from Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) on the indication of Indonesian migrant worker's involvement in ISIS activities.

Another fact mentioned by the in-depth report is how the relation between Indonesian migrant workers and ISIS network was made through social media such as Facebook and WhatsApp. The two software were used to communicate, seduce and indoctrinate ISIS members so they can stay loyal.

The report also told about the journey of Indonesian migrant workers to ISIS' turf. Most of them failed to arrive due to the tight border security and got deported back to Indonesia. The failure to reach ISIS's turf did not make them give up – instead they received an instruction to continue their jihad anywhere they can. This instruction is what allows ISIS to spread their terror throughout the world, including Indonesia.

The Risky Potential of Social Media

The advancement of communication technology has allowed people to interact with each other. The space and time boundary that used to limit human communication has now been abolished. Simply put, now we can communicate anytime, anywhere and with anyone even when separated by millions of kilometers.

In addition to abolishing the space and time boundary, advancement of technology has also created a public space in the virtual world. Social media offers a public space that can be exploited by users to serve many interests such as communicating with friends, selling goods, and also seeking jobs. The freedom of interaction in that public space ultimately intersects with the process of democracy because users can freely share anything, including criticizing and being criticized.

Many forms of technology have arisen to create public spaces in the virtual world. Social media such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter has a quite large user in Indonesia. Survey by Indonesian Association of Internet Provider (APII) in 2016 found that Facebook has 71.6 million active users every day, while Instagram has 19.9 million and Twitter has 19.5 million. Indonesian population in total is about 262 million, while the internet user is approximately 132.7 million – meaning that half of Indonesian population uses social media to communicate.

The opportunity provided by social media is also utilized by terrorists to seduce civilians. Moreover, they also use the public space as an instrument to spread intolerant and discriminative ideas. Those ideas were delivered through hate speeches that provoke people to commit discrimination against certain people. It is in that situation that terrorists can enter and influence the society that governmental system based on Islamic sharia is the only way to achieve an ideal life.

Empowering Social Media

Social media is a risky platform that can be used by anyone, including terrorists, to commit crimes. What we fear the most is that people are not only seduced but also begin to commit extremist violence. Other than terrorism, social media can

also be used for fraud and even sexual violence.

The risky potential of social media also has another side to it. Social media can be used as an instrument of resistance against the seduction of terrorist and intolerant actions. Interaction in social media must be made as healthy as possible through the provision of socialization on the reality of terrorist movement. This socialization has not been implemented well by the National Agency for Combatting Terrorism (BNPT).

I have observed BNPT's website and social media account. Those channels were only used to publish BNPT's press release and their activities. Indeed, such publications are evidence that BNPT has conducted socialization in many parts in Indonesia. However, such publications are not enough to maximize the potential of social media as an instrument of resistance.

Social media should definitely be used as a media of resistance against and socialization on terrorism. I imagine if BNPT's social media account published an interesting and interactive concept for their campaigns, people would be interested to know more about the danger of terrorism. The idea that terrorism is dangerous and that Republic of Indonesia is our final bastion must be continuously reproduced.

Personally, social media can be likened to firearm. This technology can show our existence or simply kill us. The expression "*who's the men behind the gun*" is an important reference to understand how we should use social media. By understanding the function and utility of social media, we can decide our personal limitation as well as building a strong defensive wall. Each social media user must also support the effort to resist terrorism and their acts of violence. The participation of an informed society is a concrete form of resistance against terrorism.

Terrorists and all of their network and system will always be active. They have a strong determination to realize the caliphate governmental system in the world. Violence is their main instrument to achieve that goal. Seduction of civilians is also made in order to build up their power. One of the instruments of resistance against is social media that has millions of user in Indonesia. Socialization on the danger of terrorism must be continued in order to preserve the security and integrity of Republic of Indonesia. This is our collective responsibility to defend the independence and enforce our ideology – the Pancasila.

10

Social Media as an Instrument of Resistance against Discrimination, Intolerance and Extremist Violence

MUHAMMAD SOLEH

Cases of intolerance that result in social violence seem to be the new culture of Indonesian people who were known as a kind and polite people. We can still remember clearly cases that occurred in different parts of Indonesia, from the closure of house of worship, prohibition of religious ritual, and prohibition to held discussion in university to cases of intolerance that result in social destruction and violence. Cases of intolerance that result in social violence is obviously a commodity that can be sold well. Mass media still believes that “bad news is good news” since those kind of news are the one that people will eagerly consume.

In this era of social media, religious issues are highly prevalent in Indonesia. The concerned social media includes Facecook, Youtube, Twitter, Blog, WhatsApp, Telegram and so on. At least, according to findings from researchers and civil society organizations, cases like the one mentioned above occurred in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Pontianak, Makassar and Surabaya.

Based on the survey findings, the overall outline of this case is as follows:

First, majority of youth (75.6%) do not believe that religious radicalism and extremism is motivated by desire to establish Islamic sharia, while 88.2% do not agree with religious violence and 44.3% believe that these acts were not in line with religious teaching.

Second, 60.4% of youth access social media and internet every day. 76.7% of them use Facebook, 58.4% use email and 87.8% of them access the internet through mobile phone.

Third, 95.4% Indonesian youth are proud to be an Indonesian citizen that upholds diversity. 29.7% of them believe that the diverse tribe and religion should respect each other while 26.8% believe that the diverse people should cooperate with each other. 70.3% of them believe that people are easily influenced by others in their religious practice while 6% of them specifically mentioned religious teachers to be the one most responsible.

Fourth, in order to prevent radicalism and extremism, 24.8% believe in religious teaching, 20.4% said not to be provoked and 10.9% encourage positive activities.

In addition, there are many narratives created through discussion and debate in social media, including hoax news, democracy vs. capitalism, developing country vs. developed country, Muslim vs. infidel, justice vs. liberalism, Pancasila vs. Islamic caliphate and even meme talks on the threat of rising communism.

Based on the many discussions in social media, it can be concluded that radicalism came from the idea that democratic system is bad, that infidels are the enemy that will destroy Islam, that the enemy of Islam also includes communism and liberalism, that the world is divided between Muslim world and infidel world, and that Muslim community is treated unjustly. This is the true main narrative of radicalism and extremism.

One of the issues that gained the most attention is the rise of communism in Indonesia. In social media, for instances, this issue became popular due to posts that associate the rise of communism with the arrival of Chinese workers.

This problem has actually been neutralized by competent officials but it continues to develop into serious problems that cannot be handled effectively from ministries and agencies, even after they have made more believable narrative that presents the correct fact. In any case, Abraham Lincoln has said that people could actually be involved in dealing with state problems only if they were guided with true facts.

According to several social media experts, the logic of narrative is very important if one were to believe something, including radicalism. Therefore, interpretation of social media could never provide the true reality, making people easily believe in radical narratives without clarification. Ultimately, many have argued about the

importance of raising awareness to the whole society in order to provide the historic narrative of Indonesia so they will not easily adopt other narratives that devise this country's history such as the desire to establish a Caliphate.

However, if what the media does can result in intolerant attitude and social violence, then increasing awareness on media literacy will be important in order to make them realize that what the media said is not always in line with the reality. It will also provide input for the media so they can be more of a solution maker for the many acts of intolerance and social violence in Indonesia.

According to Hafizen from Institute of Social Islamic Research, printed media and electronic media is an important instrument to shape the people's mindset. Therefore, television is often referred to as a magic box. Media should be an instrument to deliver a factual information, an early warning system and as a tool for social control. Media is expected to defend the interest of humanity, instead of defending their political interest.

In actuality, social media can play an important role in minimizing intolerance and violence, such as organizing a talk-show with neutral figures and radio community or providing public service announcements. Radio community can be a good media to stimulate democracy and dialogue between people, create a calm and peaceful atmosphere, and as an instrument of resistance against acts of discrimination and intolerance in our country.

Mass media should be viewed as a neutral institution that can deliver reality as it is. Media has a power to construct the reality within society, which is why media should be accountable in reporting conflicts. Media should also prevent conflict and encourage peace by focusing their news on peaceful resolution for the conflicting parties. Media can also focus their news on the impact of conflict in order to make the conflicting parties realize the dread they have caused. These practices will allow media to be part of the solution in resolving conflict instead of the very problem that worsen the conflict.

11

Social Media as the Defender of Peace for Indonesian People

SILVIA ANANDA

In recent years, social media has pretty much become a familiar aspect of our lives. This is the invisible space that we used to share information, to interact and meet with anyone from any part of the world. As a country with huge population, Indonesia has played an important role in the development of social media. Based on the Wikipedia, Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world. Based on the data from Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in 2015, Indonesia is home to 255,461,700 people.

According to the data from Indonesian Association of Internet Provider (APJII) in 2016, Indonesian internet user is amounted to 132.7 million people. This means that 50% of Indonesians has used internet.

The above info-graphic shows the attitude of Indonesian internet users in accessing internet contents, in which most of them used social media to do it. Social media can be likened to a double-edged sword – it has a positive and negative side at the same time.

The positive side of social media is closing the distance between people, allowing communication, and accelerating the distribution of information. So what is the negative side of social media? There are some negative sides of social media usage that can turn its user into an anti-social and individualist person without they even realize it. Other negative sides of social media include people consuming

information haphazardly without confirming the truth of it, tightening private space, and providing a place for cyber-bullying without people even realize it. The speedy access of information is not followed by good literacy from the people of Indonesia. Based on the study titled *Most Littered Nation in the World*, Indonesia is 60th out of 61 countries in terms of level of literacy. This allows irresponsible people to use social media for slandering, discrimination and acts of intolerance for their selfish gain.

Making uninformed and defamatory posts has caused social media users to consume false information without even trying to seek the truth of it. Ultimately, it caused friction among people in the form of cyber war that caused people to hate each other's guts due to being uninformed. As a result, acts of racism, intolerance and discrimination against certain groups occurred.

At the end of the day, should we stay silent and accept the reality of our kin being discriminated against, of our friends being bullied to the point they no longer want to leave their home? Should we accept the fact that we are being pitted against each other for the sake of someone's political gain or whatever it is? The answer is of course no. The government has made an incredible effort to resolve issues of tribe, religion, race and class (SARA). These issues, along with acts of intolerance and radicalism, have turned social media into an instrument to provoke common people who want to gain an 'instant knowledge'. This is mostly done through the spreading of false information (hoax). According to Indonesian Wikipedia, hoax is defined as an attempt to swindle readers/listeners into believing something, even though the hoax maker itself knows that the news is false. Ministry of Information and Communication has attempted to prevent irresponsible social media users from spreading hoax by creating a machine called "Ais" that will scavenge negative content and shut down websites that spread SARA, radicalism, gambling, etc. The machine will start operating on January 3rd 2018.

It is our duty to support the government in exterminating social media sites that spread false and divisive information. The government has played its part so it is now our turn as a citizen to support it by:

1. Teaching tolerance as early as possible from our family, school and even organization.
2. Increasing and raising awareness of the society on the importance of clarifying the truth of an issue

3. Raising the awareness of people close to us to report news and social media websites that contain and spread false news.
4. Advocating for the philosophy of Unity in Diversity through social media
5. Advocating for tolerance through social media, participating in the extermination of hoax news by providing accurate facts and data
6. Creating online discussion forum in order to strengthen the tolerance among people as well as strengthening the unity among people.

In essence, intolerance has become part of Indonesian people since the time of colonialism. That is why our country's philosophy is *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* which means "unity in diversity". This philosophy is believed to be the right philosophy to unite the diverse society of Indonesia that consists of many tribes, religions, races, languages and so on. There are 1,340 tribes in Indonesia according to census from BPS in 2010 and there are 742 languages in Indonesia according to National Geographic. However, irresponsible people in Indonesia have disrupted the tolerance among our people. It is now our duty as youth to participate in the effort to strengthen the diversity of Indonesia. Do not allow ourselves to be a victim of fake news. Immerse the spirit of unity in ourselves for the sake of a more peaceful and secure Indonesia.

12

Social Media as an Instrument of Resistance against Intellectual Discrimination and Extremist Violence

SULTRIANA

Indonesia is a diverse country with many tribes, nations, cultures and religions. The reality of diversity is not an obstacle to realize unity and to realize the national dream of our country – The Republic of Indonesia. Rather, the diversity is part of our national wealth.

As a society, we should have a positive outlook on diversity. Almost every religious teaching believe that diversity is the will of Almighty God that has to be accepted and respected. The diversity that God wills also encompasses the difference in religious conception.

The different conception among religions is a reality that cannot be denied by anyone. In fact, the difference in conception occurred in every aspect of religions, whether in theology or in life arrangement. In practice, this has always caused physical conflict between different religious followers and also internal conflict among the same religious follower.

Human as social being will always connect and interact with fellow human beings. The interaction they made is intensive and massive in nature. As a social being, human tends to construct certain groups in order to achieve their desired goal. The interaction did not only occur between individuals but also between individuals and groups or between groups of individual. Due to those interactions, consciously or unconsciously, a friction between human will occur due to having

different goals. Groups that can amass social support whether in terms of quality and quantity will be able to realize their interest and shape public opinion – they are known as the majorities.

The existence of majorities in the society will automatically create the minorities – the group that is smaller in terms of quantity or capability to control. This group is often considered as secondary in social community that will be under the majority's influence.

The impact caused by majority's treatment to minorities often involved essential things such as religious belief and the truth believed by majorities will often be considered as the most normative and undeniable truth that needs to be followed and respected by the minorities. In contrast, the minority group who has different set of religious belief will be considered a belief that is against the mainstream. They will then receive pressure and provocative as well as repressive action from the majorities such as getting labeled as an infidel and even being attacked and killed.

In Islamic world in general, most of the studies on Shia in Indonesia are often focused on several "problematic" doctrine which came from the Sunni majority in Indonesia, such as the concept of *imamah*, *mut'ah* marriage, justice of the Friends and other *fikih*-related issues.

If we discuss about the history in Indonesia, acts of violence against Shia did not occur only once or twice. In fact, the violence they experienced after the fall of New Order, such as the arson to al-Hadi Pesantren in Brokoh Village on April 14th 2000 in Batang, Central Java, has caused a lot of material loss which includes storage, houses and cars. Not to mention the case in Sampang and the attack to Shia followers of Rausyan Fikr Pesantren in Yogyakarta that still continues since 2013.

Since the era of *Reformasi* is the era of religious freedom, it is no wonder that many people were using it to satisfy their interest. Ever since the fall of New Order, freedom in Indonesia has expanded. The government is believed to be unable to act assertively to deal with acts of intolerance such as violence, intimidation and etc. In fact, findings from LIPI mentioned that the spread of radicalism has increased, even among youth. This era also witnessed the rise of many fundamental ideologies such as Wahabi, Salafi and etc.

In general, opinion, discourse or discrimination against Shia teaching is a problem caused by different theological opinion in terms of *Furuiyah* or *fikih*-related problems such as *Mut'ah* marriage, *Rafidha*, *Taqiyah*, whether or not Friends of Prophet are infidel and also problems related to *Ushuli* (essential) difference on

aqidah which includes the idea of *Imamah*. Many of those discourses were vital discourses that have been the source of a bloody thousand-year conflict between Shia and Sunni.

Another reason that often came up is the development of global politics, especially related to Middle-Eastern issues such as what happened in Syria, Yemen and Lebanon and obviously Iran, in which people believe that all of those issues were caused by Shia group.

In regard to these problems, conflict resolution will be needed. Conflict resolution can be done in many ways such as avoiding, accommodating, negotiating and resolving problem or through collaboration or fight. There are also many ways to fight this problem such as using discourse through social media or using Spiral of Silence. Discourse can be used since it can be characterized as action.

Discourse can be associated as a form of interaction since it is essentially cannot be placed in closed and internal space. People or group will talk and write through language in order to interact with other people. In this way, discourse can have a consequence as a result of how people view it. First, discourse can be viewed as a goal that will influence, debate, rebut, react and so on. Therefore, when someone or some group talk and express their opinion, they will definitely have a motive no matter how small. Second, discourse can be understood as something expressed with intention, not something expressed without intention.

The theory of spiral of silence as argued by Richard West & Lynn H. Turner and Noelle-Neumann stated three assumptions: first, individuals in general will attempt to avoid isolation or fear to isolation; second, individual will attempt to continuously judge opinions; third, people's attitude will be influenced by public opinion.

There is something very urgent in the theory of spiral of silence that is the influence of mass media. Noelle-Neumann believed that media has an important role in accelerating the movement of spiral of silence. Although every individual or group attempts to observe and analyze the climate of public opinion, direct observation can only provide few information that can be used. Therefore, printed and electronic media provided some of our knowledge on the world we live in. Thus, this theory of spiral of silence describes the phenomenon of publishing public opinion as well as clarifying which opinion is more prominent. Next, individuals will express their opinion and media will be involved in the expressed opinion – thus continuing the spiral.

In some phenomena, the theory of spiral of silence can also describe how threats from others can be an effective power to silence someone.

In order to avoid prolonged conflict which can cause material or physical harm, Shia followers (as shown by the followers of Rausyan Fikr *Pesantren* and Human Illumination community in Makassar) prefer to utilize media to express their ideas. For example, they wrote in some media and even fight using ideas they expressed in social media such as Facebook, Blog and etc.

Writing in social media is one of the strategies done by Shia followers in order to avoid conflict and protect their identity as well as expressing their ideas to fight against the discrimination they experienced.

13

Cyberspace and Bubble Effect:

The Threat of Virtual Dimension on Social Order and Peace in the Midst of Public Rage

SYIHABUL FURQON

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In the beginning of the third millennium, we have seen a lot of progress in the field of science. Just look at the graphic that describes the fast growth of science, especially applied science (positivistic), whether in terms of hardware and software, up to this day. This is possible due to the increase of human's productivity and efficiency in order to achieve comfort. As stated in a cellular magazine: in order to answer a challenge, accuracy and velocity will be needed in order to sustain the efficiency of doing anything in this globalized world. Without all of it, mankind will face difficulties in working (Roger Fidler, 2003: 8).

It has been proven that the advancement of telecommunication hardware or network has been progressing from 2008/2009 up to today. Ever since 2008, the development of communication hardware such as mobile phone has been growing strong. The same is also true for digital camera which has flourished today as standard equipment for any telecommunication hardware. Up to this day, telecommunication hardware has been getting better in terms of screen resolution and keypad which increases comfort and accuracy as well as speed of communicating. For example, we can now find a gadget with amazing screen resolution that indulges our eyes.

Furthermore, ever since the third quarter of 2009 to late 2010, developers are no longer competing in hardware, since the public at this time cares more with

software or operation system (OS). From Microsoft, Symbian, iOS as well as RIM (Research in Motion) to Google's Android, all of these software bombarded the market. Not to mention, outside of the crazy development in a foreign industry, local market has also grown to celebrate people's love of technology.

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Mankind collectively attempts to answer the unanswered question of our universe. Perhaps, we may assume that our founding fathers of modernity – whose ideas often misunderstood by people after their time – was correct when they say the world must be understood mechanically with clear and measured method *a la* Descartes. Instead of answering the complex problems of our world, the progress of science – which ultimately become the universal study that tends to be reductionist – actually turns our life into mere lumps of blood and meat that works mechanically.

We are thrown into a world that seems to turn without following the velocity of Earth's rotation. We are instead thrown into a super-fast reality where space no longer expands as we previously thought. This is the platform for a great drama that goes beyond the common sense of this age – or as Yasraf put it, the age of technology (Yasraf Amir Pilian, 1998: 46).

All of these things are accelerated by what we call as technology. Technology filled space of life (*Lebenswelt*) and expands it. Many aspects of life, as explained by Don Ihde, are accelerated, enlarged and expanded. This is in line with how fast technology chained mankind by changing their perception of time. The description of this accelerated time can be found in the fact that the unit of time keeps changing due to the advancement of faster transportation technology. Reality keeps on expanding in line with how human has used their magnifying tool expansively. Meanwhile, an enlarged reality is a reality that has been anticipated since the mid-20th century as a cyber-space. All of it, at some point, will bring mankind to an existential question about themselves and their reality.

At this point, a question arises: has mankind lived an authentic life? In accordance to this, how much is the reality came from them and did not come from manipulation? In regards to their relation with technology, a new question arises: how much has technology influenced human's lives instead of otherwise? And the last question, in regards to virtual reality: how 'real' is the reality?

In accordance to what people have said about life of freedom, if we based the

idea on the above explanation, the reality is apparently not as it seems. Our reality can no longer be considered true because our lives are always overshadowed by a panoptic (some kind of surveillance camera). Freedom has become some kind of hallucination being forced to exist.

Moreover, in a democratic country, democratic values seem to be a mere lie if we look at it closer. There is a data that shows how our democratic system has no longer prioritized equality in expressing opinion, especially after the capitalists called for a neoliberal and free market-led economic system. It is obvious that our democracy has become a system rigged for their economic and political interest.¹

People can no longer choose or do something with their free will since it has been replaced with cycle of contract. We were led to have pragmatic mindset. At the same time, we do not want to be on the wrong side by not obeying the essential principles offered by this system. This kind of condition is essentially no different than a buffalo getting its nose pierced. Independence, instead of reviving the authenticity of human, is actually making them slaves of their own desire and mind. Our common sense is decreased bit by bit from previously humane, now very rigid and materialistic.

Idea on freedom is related closely to idea on rights; to say I am free of doing something will be the same as I have the right to do that something, meaning I am free from intervention. In general, a right is understood as something fundamental and inviolable. However, it is not meant to be a trump card. Rights will always be conflicted since we have to choose which rights should be prioritized.² Faced with a complementary and dilemmatic problem, we have to choose if we do not want to

- 1 Based on certain perspective on democracy, political effort for the sake of controlling people to be more consumerist has more or less successful. This is especially sustained by the military elite group who hold the authoritarian system. This is the core of neoliberal democracy: making people busy with mundane debate on minor issues and political parties who are basically fellow group who benefitted from pro-business policy outside of their political campaign. Democracy is allowed as long as business control remains unquestioned. In other words, this is not democracy (R. W. McChesney, "Pengantar" in Noam Chomsky, *Memeras Rakyat: Neoliberalisme dan Tantangan Dunia Modern*, Profetik: Jakarta, 2005, h. x)
- 2 Julian Baggini. *Making Sense: filsafat di balik berita media massa*. Teraju: Jakarta, 2003 p. 52). Compare it with the analysis on neoliberalism in manipulating democracy: "Neoliberalists cannot and will not offer an empirical defense for the world they created. Instead they will offer – otherwise demand – total faith on unregulated market which was built upon 19th century theories with few to no empirical evidence. The trump cards of neoliberalism advocate is that there is no other alternative. Communism, social democracy and even welfare system such as the one implemented in United States, are claimed by the neoliberalists to have failed – thus neoliberalism is the only choice that matters. They would admit that this system is imperfect, but they will argue that this is the only available economic system. (Noam Chomsky, *Memeras Rakyat*, p. viii-ix).

be estranged.

Unfortunately, the game of freedom has been monopolized by many institutions who themselves are above the law by its ability to censor everything. We are forced to disregard our personal problem for the sake of bigger and more influential problems. What will happen if interest and rights have been touched by the capitalists and politicians? They will use everything to process everything into something that they can control, or at least controlled by a few people. Problems of humanity in such environment will only be a matter of where those people can put their sign on. In fact, if we look at it with a more conspiratorial perspective, perhaps there is nothing outside of the vicious cycle that they have created. Nation-state has now changed their goal from creating welfare into tyranny and slavery except that the slavery cannot be considered the same as colonialism in the past.

In the contemporary discourse, monopoly of public space is the most essential element within society. People can no longer see the difference between the essential and non-essential or the intrinsic and non-intrinsic. A life of consumerism is no longer weird but a necessary requirement. If we looked at them closer, we can see that most people are no longer bound by their common sense.

People became addicted to something not because of its functionality but because of their desire. Unfortunately, this has become our culture in which people are no longer moved by their original cultural consciousness but by a culture imported by the capitalists behind their political policy and media regulation. Our consciousness is also filled with nothing but false consciousness that deviates from the real stream of consciousness. The same is also true for our collectivism which are getting prevalent everywhere while mankind's religiosity and existence is reduced if not alienated.

The real alienation is not only caused by media regulation but by working ethos. It has been our collective mindset that working is the only thing that ever matters. As if people can no longer have social position without having job. For now, we might be able to ignore people who worked outside of office and factory hours. After all, a tight working hour system will only make human become alienated and also create an obligation to continue their lifestyle (which is obviously hedonistic in nature). This is quite dilemmatic since human, by their own consent, feels proud to be enslaved by the existing system. This is where we can see the madness of Wall Street Journal that is updated regularly in Facebook that argued about how

constrained condition creates a source for innovation: *“People are at their most innovative when they work within the constraints of what they know.”*

At this point, it is obvious that today’s reality is a manipulative reality. Moreover, as will be concluded by this study, there is an impact from the usage of cyberspace or internet which causes several dilemmas. In terms of socio-anthropology, contemporary human understanding, as explained in the beginning, is full of artificial spaces. In fact, in this contemporary era, human’s cognitive understanding can never be separated from what they read in the internet. Therefore, questions on how much of the human that are authentic in this era will always be conflicting with how much they involved themselves with the reality of cyberspace.

/3/

The advancement of telecommunication and computer technology has created a multifunctional internet. All of it is based on the progress in micro-electronics, materials and software as well as chemistry, physics, biology and math that underlies all of it.³ All of those progresses brought us to the dawn of the fourth revolution in the history of mankind if we based it upon the construction of human knowledge according to Steven Harnad, in *Post-Guttenberg Galaxy: The Fourth Revolution in the Means of Production of Knowledge*, which is characterized by a borderless way of thinking.⁴

The fast growth of technology is the material cause of every interaction and activity of information society as well as their awareness on the world. Change will also occur in human’s own quality if that information technology can be combined with genetic engineering technology. In fact, Stephen Hawking in his lecture

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- 3 Samaun Samadikun, Pengaruh Perpaduan Teknologi Komputer, Telekomunikasi dan Informasi. Kompas, 28 Juni 2000, p. 52. See also about the importance of science for the development of internet as evidenced in a solid physics study which is fully based by quantum physics that created semiconductor science and technology, and then followed by its application on information and communication technology and industry which is explained in Muhammad Nur, Beberapa Gagasan untuk Kemandirian Teknologi Menuju pada Kemandirian Sains. Pidato Dies Natalis ke-41 UNDIP Semarang, October 15th 1998, p. 4.
 - 4 Steven Harnad, *Post-Guttenberg Galaxy: The Fourth Revolution in the Means of Production of Knowledge*, Public Access Computer System Review 2 (1): 39-53, electronic version can be read in <https://cogprints.org/1580/00/harnad91.postguttenberg.html> accessed on August 23rd 2003. See also Dimitry Mahayan, 2000, *Menjemput Masa Depan, Futuristik dan Rekayasa Masyarakat menuju Era Global*, Bandung: Rosda, pp. 24-25. Compare it with the cycle of science and technology by T. Jacob which he referred to as Kondratieff cycle, in which today is the fifth cycle, evidenced by the development of microelectronics and biotechnology. T. Jacob (a), 1986, *Menuju Teknologi Berperikemanusiaan*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, p. 15.

“Millennium Evening” in White House, Washington DC, early 1998, has predicted the arrival of super human in the next millennium (evidence of this statement has been more obvious with the existence of artificial intelligence). This super community has a higher intelligence than normal human being. This is possible due to the combination of computer technology and genetic engineering.⁵

Internet (cyberspace) is the second big bang – according to Dimitri Mahayana – after the material big bang as theorized by Stephen Hawking. The second big bang is knowledge big bang which is characterized by electromagnetic communication via satellite or cable which is supported by the existence of existing telephone line and will soon be supported by hundreds of satellite that have been or currently being launched. Internet is an embryo-materialistic symbol of global society.

Internet created the world into something smaller than a backyard.⁶ The era of information is characterized by high accessibility of information for each individual. Indeed, information today is the main commodity of this era which allows for the creation of network and information companies that sell many facilities and network as well as information on many things that can be accessed by their users and customers. All of it brought the society into a condition referred to by John Naisbitt, Nana Naisbitt and Douglas Philips as Techno-Addict Society.⁷

The advancement of global computer network technology has created a new world called cyberspace, a world of computer mediated communication that offers new reality that is: a virtual reality. This development has brought upon huge and fundamental change upon social and cultural order on global level as well as changing our perception on society, community, communication, interaction, culture and especially religion.⁸ Internet has also made human more segregated as well as boundless.

Kenichi Ohmae’s statement on borderless world can be proven in this regard.

5 For a full explanation on this see Seri Penerbitan Sains, Teknologi dan Masyarakat, Edisi I (Lengsernya Rezim Newton) April 2000, on Dinamika rubric, titled Dari Cambridge Menuju Kopenhagen, p. 6.

6 This is what we meant by magnified reality. However, in the case of cyberspace, the world is becoming smaller. This is the characteristic of the age of image or imagery.

7 John Nasibitt, Nana Naisbitt and Douglas Philips, 2001, High Tech, High Touch, Pencarian Makna di Tengah Perkembangan Pesat Teknologi, Bandung: Mizan, pp. 23-24.

8 Compare it with Slouka who argued that global society has entered a new world of cyberspace universe which can be considered the same as the real world by providing similar experience. Cyberspace has grown and expanded so much and has fundamentally replaced the old definition of physical space, identity and community. Mark Slouka, 1999, Ruang yang Hilang, Pandangan Humanis tentang Budaya Cyberspace yang Merisaukan, Bandung: Mizan, p. 13 and 55.

The same is also true for Jessica Lipnack and Jeffer Stamps' statement, *smash the boundaries, tear down the hierarchy and dismantle the bureaucracy*.⁹ Cyberspace with its virtual reality offer humans to live in in an alternative world, a world that can take over and replace the existing reality that could even be more than the reality, more enjoyable than the real enjoyment and more passionate than the real passion. Cyberspace universe has brought mankind into many new realities previously unthinkable. It is a world that could give them hope, enjoyment, convenience and exploration through things like teleshopping, teleconference, teledildonics, virtual café, virtual architecture, virtual museum, cybersex, cyber-party and cyber-orgasm.¹⁰

The cybernation that could provide hope, convenience, enjoyment and opportunity is not always reliable since there are dark sides of things that should be considered such as the many forms of cybercrime.¹¹ Carding is a case that made Indonesia famous in cybercrime. In addition, hacking could be considered as a new form of expressing disappointment against business and political world, such as the hacking of Malaysian websites which was made as a protest against the country's policy on Indonesian migrant workers.

Cyberspace is a space where netters or netizen belongs – it is a space that we use to explore the interactive global information world known as internet. John Suler argued that cyberspace is a psychological space and its existence does not rely on conventional boundaries of material things.¹² The term cyberspace was first introduced by William Gibson which he defined as a space that presents reality,

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- 9 Jessica Lipnack & Jeffrey Stamps, 1994, *The Age of the Network, Organizing Principles for the 21st Century*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., p. 3. Compare it with Anne Branscomb who said: "the very existence of information technology is threatening to nation states," Anne Branscomb, *Global Governance of Global Networks: A Survey of Transborder Data Flow in Transtition*, 36 *Vand. L. Rev.* 985, 987-88 (1983).
- 10 Yasraf Amir Piliang in the preface of Mark Slouka, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15. For cyberorgasm, see Robin B. Hamman, *Cyberorgasm, Cybersex Among Multiple-Selves and Cyborgs in the Narrow-Bandwidth Space of America Online Chat Rooms*, September 30th, 1996, electronic version from <http://www.cybersoc.com/Cyberorgasm.html>, accessed on October 23rd, 2003.
- 11 The dark side of the internet can be read in Neill Barrett, 1997, *Digital Crime, Policing the Cybernation*, London: Kogan Page Ltd., p. 21 and Mark D. Rasch, 1996, *The Internet and Business: A Lawyer Guide to the Emerging Legal Issues*, in the eleventh chapter titled *Criminal Law and the Internet*, Computer Law Association, 1996, <http://cla.org/RuhBook/chp11.htm>, accessed on November 12th, 2000
- 12 Compare it with the definition provided by John Suler, *The Psychological of Cyberspace, Overview and Guided Tour*, September 1999, electronic version from <http://www.rider.edu/users/suler/psyber/psyber.html>, accessed on November 12th, 2000. Then, compare it with Onno Purbo who argued that the existence of cyberspace has eroded the space and time dimension. Onno W. Purbo, *Perkembangan Teknologi Informasi dan Internet Di Indonesia*, Kompas, June 28th, 2000, p. 50.

but unlike the reality that we know, which he referred as virtual reality or a limitless world. The netizens who lived in the cyberspace is called virtual community.

/4/

However, although the scope of cyberspace reality is very broad, we will specify this paper on certain things. First, in regard to the creation of consciousness and its impact on peaceful social order, internet today is in line with our premise above as it has the capability to decide one's consciousness. There is a process of creating real subject that is not simply virtual, which in turn will decide how they will act.

After receiving its justification in digital era, some security protocols emerge with conditioning feature. The impact of this has begun since 2011 when Eli Parisier published *The Filter Bubble: Apa yang Disembunyikan Internet dari Anda*.¹³ In this book, Parisier explained how internet search engine and their algorithm has created a situation in which users can easily obtain information which increased their trust to it.

Search algorithm used a lot of information about the user in order to find and present relevant information for individuals. Someone's search history is an important part of the information they obtained when doing online searching. Combining this with someone's social network information, viewing habit and geography will lead to narrower online information.

Parisier's main argument is that this narrowing will create filter bubble that cannot be seen by users but will give huge impact for information that is available to individuals. When conducting Google searching, information about user is used in addition to the keyword itself in order to find and prioritize the result that they might like the most. Then, when the user clicked on the first result (as most people do), they will confirm to the search engine that the result is truly relevant and/or interesting. This will in turn strengthen the filter, which is why people might get the same result in the future.

However, our behavior is not the only thing that will influence the result. Interests and preferences of people in our social network are also part of the algorithm, which is why we might receive a search result similar to our social network. In many cases, this filter provides relevant and good information. However, this will be a

13 Parisier E. *Gelembung filter: Apa yang disembunyikan Internet dari Anda*. London: Penguin Inggris; 2011.

problem if our network consists of elements that cause search engine to look at wrong information. Many users did not even realize that filtering has happened and it is indeed difficult to control how filter is applied.

At some point, the effect of this filter will create its own ecosystem. In regard to people's mindset, especially in Indonesia, one of the biggest religious countries in the world, it will create a segregated societal order. Therefore, we believe that it is important to study the relation between this increasingly complex reality and individual and religious life; especially in terms of social relations. This will be important since the effect of censor will always be bad, especially, as has been seen above, when this protocol is implemented with hidden motives.

/5/

As has been explained, the biggest challenge in cyberspace universe is the uncontrollable fake news. This is exacerbated by the bubble effect algorithm. This system filters information that individuals will obtain. Information that they obtained are information that has gone through some number of user identifications. This system works by collecting micro-activities of internet users which will then be processed into individual identification pattern so every internet search engine will only provide information according to the image identifiable from the user.

This filtering system is problematic and dangerous. At some point, this system will direct users to a very narrow zone. In case of searching for health information, as explained before, there is a tendency that the search will find wrong information. Unfortunately, this also happened to other kind of searching. Let's say we searched for radicalization, terrorism and sensitive issues: it will create an ecosystem that allows user to get in deeper to the black hole of wrong information.

In turn, this system will change the plural social system into its fragmented version. Let's say A has 9 friends in internet (read: certain social network), this relation will decide how bubble effect filter identifies A. If most of A's friends are people with radical tendency, then the search system will direct A to information relatable to A's friends. This kind of thing is not only limited to social network; but also search engine in general. In contrast to the health information above, the way bubble effect filter system works in this situation is through series of keyword that user tends to use.

If A, as a search engine user, often accessed fake news or extremist-related information, then every time A wrote any keyword, the search engine will direct A

(without A even realize it) into the ecosystem that A has built before through series of search. This pattern will not only alienate their cognition but also their social space. The question is; what is the impact that will be created by this system to our everyday life? Simply put: the system will segregate society into several groups. A religious extremist in this system will only befriend those with similar mindset. The extremists will be more extreme. The same will also be true with other social pathology, terrorism, fake news and things that ruin social intimacy.

This ambivalence makes us realize that peace agenda and other social movement is increasingly biased in structure. All this time, what we refer as structure is internet with a dilemmatic system called bubble effect filter. Nevertheless, it does not mean we have no hope. The hope in internet universe is the distribution of database and empowerment of content. Socially we can call it agent of change. These agents, which can be anyone, will change the segregation in cyber reality if everyone writes, shares and provides healthy contents. In other words, they will create a sustainable ecosystem. In this way, social agenda will have values of goodness, freedom, pluralism and will be sustainable, especially if we expect a change for the better social and cognitive ecosystem.

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FRAGMENT 3

LOCAL
WISDOM AND
PEACE
CULTURE

1

Deterring Intolerance, Radicalism and Extremist Violence through Indonesian Local Culture Approach

NURANI FITRIYAH

*When we are talking about country, we are talking about ourselves
because we are part of the country.*

-Greek Philosopher

Indonesia is a country of diversity – diverse in culture, custom, religion and ethnicity from Sabang to Merauke, from Miangas to Rote Island. Diversity is an element that can be seen from many perspectives. Just like a coin has two sides, some says that diversity can complement national wealth and making the people more humane, but some also says that diversity can be a boomerang that destroys national wealth and create rupture. The second impact is what we should prevent by maximizing on the first impact of diversity.

Let us take a look at the recent social situation. Reading at newspapers and watching at televisions, it seems that people are convinced that this country will collapse tomorrow. The phenomena of radicalism, intolerance, discrimination or extremist violence are often presented as headline of national news. Not to mention the debate between two groups who always believe their opinion to be right and spread hatred as well as radical group who always felt exclusive with their ideology.

Some of the most disconcerting ideas of radicalism are religious, tribal, racial and political radicalism. The one that caused violence is extremism that teaches

their belief in an anarchic way that does not respect other religious followers or other tribes, races or political affiliations. Looking at the case of arson to a house of worship in Tanjungbalai, Sumatera Utara on July 2016, the cause was an ethnic problem due to misunderstanding among them. The riot was the result of intolerance provoked by social media.

Another case that occurred is the suicide bombing in Kampung Melayu in May 2017 where ISIS claimed responsibility for that event. The extremist violence of ISIS was made in order to build an Islamic caliphate or Islamic state by creating terror and rebellion in Indonesia. Therefore, we need to prevent every act of radicalism and extremist violence which continues to be a threat for Indonesia.

Local Wisdom as Deterrence against Radicalism and Extremist Violence in Indonesia

Let us see from different perspective. There are a lot of regions whose people can live in harmony despite its diversity of tribe and religion. However, such cases are rarely reported. Perhaps people do not consider it as interesting as the sensational stories surrounding discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence. Instead of cursing the darkness, why don't we just light a candle? Let us take a look at how local wisdom can resolve cases of intolerance, discrimination and extremism.

Local wisdom is the right alternative to minimize conflicts in this country. Local wisdom reflects a society's traditional attitude that came from the virtue they inherited from the previous generation and the generations before that. These traditional attitudes balance life by preserving nature and nurturing respect, politeness, cooperation and even nationalism. Can local wisdom be the deterrence against discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence?

We can take a look at the local wisdom in Aceh for example. In their case, local wisdom is a strategic asset that can prevent the growth of political radicalism and terrorism in Aceh. Past trauma regarding separatism in Aceh during 2000 to 2004 has nurtured strong sense of unity today. For instances in Sawang, one of the villages in North Aceh that used to be the Headquarter of Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in 2004, its society today has a very strong sense of unity. Nationalism is continuously advocated by education activists, religious and traditional figures and also the public in general to the youth through many unique activities, e.g. reflecting the Independence Day in religious festivity. To most regions in Indonesia, celebrating the Independence Day

is a common thing. But to the people of Aceh, it is an extraordinary moment where nationalism and patriotism can unite people to reject extremist violence.

In addition, people's habit to organize festivities during many occasions, such as the Birth of the Prophet, death, birth, marriage, circumcision, building inauguration or annual celebration such as the Independence Day and also during Helsinki peace agreement between GAM and Government of Indonesia, has strengthened people's sense of unity.

Not to mention the fact that Aceh is the only province in Indonesia that implements Islamic sharia law but they still capable to accept non-Muslim immigrants from other region. Aceh's *Mulia Jame* culture compels the people to show hospitality to anyone, regardless of their religion. It is no wonder that during Christmas, the people of Aceh showed their respect to the non-Muslim by enacting strong security from the apparatus and the people. At the same time, the non-Muslim in Aceh also respects Muslim people by complying with their culture, such as closing their stall/shop during *Maghrib* Prayer.

Another case similar to Aceh occurs in Sulawesi. The wisdom of Banggai tribe, the original tribe of Banggai District of Central Sulawesi, compels them to coexist in harmony with other tribes: Balantak and Saluan. As an immigrant district, it is no wonder that people from Java, Bali and Lombok lived in Tompotika Makmur, one of the villages of Banggai District. The diversity of people who live in Banggai automatically creates diversity of religion. There are three main religions that coexist in that region: Hindu, Islam and Christianity. Interestingly, during any religion's festivity, people from every religion will help each other. Religious leaders and public figures continuously provide understanding and encourage tolerance and cooperation among people of this religion. Tolerance is not only nurtured in neighborhood but also in school. In certain days, every student will be told to wear their religion's clothing and enact collective prayer.

The same situation can also be seen in Natuna where its Malay culture put the continuation of tradition above all else. They have a belief that if they continue to preserve their tradition, then it will preserve their culture as a Malay people. Malay tradition also has a rule that allows the society to punish its members who commit wrongdoing.

Meanwhile, Javanese culture upholds respect to elderly and polite attitude. Papuan people have great hospitality and will respect any people with teacher status, regardless of their religion or tribe. The diverse culture in Indonesia means Indonesia has a lot of local wisdom. The above local cultures are only few example of

local wisdom that can deter intolerance or extremism. It also shows how important local wisdom is for the people of Indonesia.

Local wisdom is not always traditional in nature, since local wisdom can be formed by virtues that only arise recently as a result of the community's interaction with its environment or with other culture and community. For example, festivity culture in Aceh which is currently used to strengthen peace does not exist in Aceh before the 2000-2004 conflict.

There are many forms of local wisdom among society including values, norms, ethics, faith and tradition. Therefore, although local wisdom is only applied locally, it contains a universal value. Those local wisdoms are general values taught by older people, teacher and also the society to the next generation even in this modern day. We can see how this local wisdom is planted deeply in each human being.

By revitalizing and strengthening local wisdom, we will surely be able to build a power to deter radicalism. Revitalization of local culture is the correct preventive measure to be implemented today. Just like the quote from a Greek philosopher above, talking about country means talking about ourselves. Thus it is time to take measure to strengthen local culture that has degraded in recent decades. We celebrated the Youth Pledge every year so let us instill it deep within our heart. We must put our pledge to exterminate extremist violence together.

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2

Love Indonesia, Love the Culture

MUSTOFA

Culture is created from virtues: idea, will and sense. According to Djodigono (1958), idea is an actualization of human's creative power that can turn into things. Sense is human's awareness to self and their external environment. While will means intention, dream or ideology that can be useful for others.

In regard of culture, Indonesia is a country with very diverse culture. Therefore, people of Indonesia are known as having a multicultural society. This model of multicultural society has actually been referred by the founding fathers in designing national culture, as mentioned in the explanation of Article 32 of 1945 Constitution, "(Indonesian) national culture is the culmination of local cultures."

In essence, Indonesian multiculturalism is shaped by its diverse socio-cultural and geographical condition. Geographically, Indonesia has a lot of islands where a group of individual settled in and creates a society. This obviously results in a very diverse culture.

Indonesian culture in general can be divided into Local Culture and National Culture. Local Culture is a habit in certain region inherited from generation to generation within that locale. This culture appears when people in certain region have similar mindset and social life which turns into a habit that differentiates them with people from other regions. Local Culture in Indonesia has been developing

since the age of kingdoms in the past. For example, the renowned dance of East Java such as Remong dance, is a Surabayan dance that symbolizes soul and heroism while Reog Ponorogo is East Java dance that reflects masculinity. Local Culture can also come in the form of music, such as the *gamelan* of East Java which is not that different with Central Java's *gamelan*. Furthermore, the shape of buildings in Western East Java (such as Ngawi, Madiun, Magetan and Ponorogo) are generally similar with the shape of buildings in Central Java (Surakarta). The typical building in East Java is usually shaped like a *joglo*, *limasan (dara gepak)* and *srontongan (empyak setangkep)*. The colonialism by Dutch East Indies has also contributed to some ancient buildings. Cities of East Java have many buildings constructed during the colonial era, especially Surabaya and Malang.

Meanwhile, National Culture is the culmination of all local cultures in that country. This means that local culture that experience assimilation and acculturation with other region in a certain country will continue to grow into the national habit of that country. For example, Pancasila as the country's philosophy as well as Bahasa Indonesia and National Anthem which was agreed during Youth Pledge of October 12th 1928 has driven many youth in different parts of Indonesia to unite Indonesia by advocating the idea that we are united in our diversity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*).

As a citizen of Indonesia, it is our obligation to love Indonesian culture. To love means to give affection to certain object, subject or things. In the name of love we are driven to protect and preserve Indonesian culture.

Before we can protect Indonesian culture, we must first know about the culture. Looking for information about Indonesian culture can be done formally and informally.

Informally means conducting interview with a history expert or with a person who is involved directly with certain historic moment of the creation of certain culture.

Meanwhile, looking at information formally can be done by selecting Faculty of Humanities to study.

If we already have information about the diverse culture of Indonesia, then we can attempt to protect the culture so it will not be claimed by other country. After all, it will be unfortunate if the idea, will and sense of Indonesians suddenly claimed by other country. Several examples of our culture that have been claimed by other country is *indang* music of Garinggiang River from West Sumatra which was claimed by Malaysia, park bench with typical Jepara ornament from Central Java which was claimed by a French person, picture frame with typical Jepara ornament from

Central Java which was claimed by an English person, *ulos* fabric which was claimed by Malaysia, *angklung* instrument which was claimed by Malaysian government, Toraja coffee from South Sulawesi which was claimed by Japanese company, *jail-jali* song which was claimed by Malaysian government, *pendet* dance from Bali which was claimed by Malaysian government and more.

Isn't it unfortunate? That is why before Indonesia is left with only its name, at least the knowledge that we gain from Faculty of Humanities or other sources can contribute to an idea that can be an alternative to overcome the lack of protection to our culture and the weak nationalism of our people. It is our hope that our traditional cultures will never be claimed unilaterally again by other countries and that our sense of nationalism can grow stronger.

Therefore, it is no exaggeration if we claim that the attempts to protect traditional culture is the form of Indonesian citizen's nationalism. That is why those attempts must be made optimally so our people's nationalism can become stronger by increasing sense of ownership and also love to everything about Indonesia including its traditional culture.

In addition to protecting the culture so it can no longer be claimed by other country, we must also preserve that culture. According to Turner (1984), "pop culture and mass media has a symbiotic relationship in which both are interdependent to each other through strong collaboration. The popularity of culture depends on how far mass media can campaign it. Meanwhile, mass media thrives by exposing cultures that currently or will be popular."

As a college student, we can relate to mass media if we love to write especially writing about the diversity of Indonesian culture. That is why I choose Indonesian Literature as my major since it is very close to the world of writings. If our writing can be popular and create interest to Indonesian culture in international level, then the next task is to preserve and develop that interest so it can be a form of Indonesian cultural wave infiltration.

At this phase, other cultural products such as music, literature, and fashion will play an important role to increase that interest to Indonesian culture. If fans communities have been created in international level, then Indonesian celebrity will find its momentum to 'go international'. The trends in Indonesia will also be enjoyed by other counties that become the receiver of our cultural expansion. This can be followed by the entrance of other products such as manufacture products

that bring the name and lifestyle of Indonesia. Step by step, we will achieve the hegemony of Indonesian culture. Finally when the time has arrived, we may smile as we see Indonesian culture everywhere in the world.

Protecting and preserving Indonesian culture is important in today's context since people of Indonesia, especially teenagers, tend to be addicted to another country's culture. For example: Indonesian teenagers have now followed foreign fashion that tends to be impolite. They forgot about Indonesian clothing that they should wear. This creates negative impact for people of Indonesia. Even worse, teenagers began to follow foreign cultures they see in television, internet and etc. Chief among them are kissing and hugging in public, despite the fact that such things violate the norm of politeness. Aren't teenagers being taught about norm of politeness? Western culture enters Indonesia so quickly through information technology. This – as explained above – makes it easier for our teenagers to know about that culture. The problem is our teenagers did not filter that foreign information. Instead they immediately copying and implementing foreign culture in their daily life which includes drinking alcohol, free sex, drugs and other negative things.

Other than preserving culture through writing, we can also preserve culture by organizing a show. For example, we can organize a *gamelan show*, a shadow puppet show, a dance show, a Ramayana theatre show, and so on. The goal is to preserve our culture so our next generations can know about it. In this case, the role of government will be tremendously needed. The government should also create breakthrough by, for example, implementing National Culture Day. It is a day where each provinces or at least villages can celebrate their own culture that has been agreed by local governmental apparatus.

Furthermore, another advantage of Culture Day is character building. By knowing about cultural and historic values celebrated in National Culture Day, people can gain sense of nationalism that will build their character just like how Indonesian people is supposed to be: a diligent, friendly, patient and civilized person that reflects its national culture.

Looking at how diverse Indonesian culture is, we must protect it. Therefore, you should love, protect and preserve our cultural heritage so we will never see other countries claiming our culture again in the future. Tanjungpura University, especially Faculty of Social and Political Science is one of the place to know about the diversity of our culture. In the end, it is our obligation to preserve the culture of Indonesia.

3

Piil Pesenggiri Principle: The Local Wisdom of Lampung People as Social Capital to Create Peace

FITRA UTAMA

Lampung can be likened to a miniature of Indonesia as it is home to many ethnicities: Java, Bali, Banten, Palembang, Padang, Aceh, Bugis, Chinese, Arabic and Lampung people as its original tribe. Ulun Lampung (native of Lampung), as the original people of Lampung province, is a minority group that only contributes to 19% of the total population of Lampung while people of Java and Bali are 65% of the total population (data of The Regional Secretariat of Lampung Province in 2013). The transmigration policy enacted by the Dutch East Indies government in 1905 has put Lampung as the main location for relocating citizens and the policy has been continued even after the independence of Indonesia, resulting in today's condition.

Although numbered a few, data shows that Lampung natives are actively involved in the 90% of conflicts and acts of violence in this region. Some huge conflicts that involves Lampung native are Balinuraga Lampung Selatan incident (Lampung Native vs. Balinese, 2012), Bumi Nabung Lampung Tengah incident (Lampung Native vs. Javanese, 2014) and Anak Tuha Lampung Tengah incident (Lampung Native vs. Javanese, 2014). There are some factors that caused the emergence of conflict in Lampung society such as economic inequality where immigrants tend to be more prosperous compared to the native people. Other factors include low level of education and tolerance between ethnicities (which is mostly occurred among

youth) and lack of respect to the local wisdom that actually glorifies diversity.

The first record of Lampung society's history is the arrival of Hindu religion in the southernmost part of this region of Sumatra Island in the 1st century AD. At that time, there has already existed native people called Tumi tribe which, according to record from Education and Cultural Office of Lampung Province, has lived in the west coast and northern part of Lampung ever since the pre-historic time. Tumi Tribe founded Sekala Brak kingdom that adopts Hindu and first led by King Buay Tumi (William Marsden, Sejarah Sumatera, 2008). During the 16th century AD, Islam arrives in Sekala Brak kingdom and Hindu as the Hindu Kingdom concept was replaced by Islamic Kingdom concept named '*Kepaksian*'. Children of Buay Tumi were then spread throughout Lampung, preserving its traditional culture that continues to grow through thousands of year.

In general, there are now two indigenous groups that exist in Lampung Province. The first is Sai Batin indigenous people who continues the ancient kingdom of Sekala Brak and lived in the coast of Lampung, particularly in South Lampung District, West Lampung District, Tanggamus District, West Coast District and Bandar Lampung City. The second is Pepadun indigenous people who have separated themselves from the influence of Sekala Brak Kingdom and created their own community which includes, Abung Siwo Mego, Mego Pak Tulang Bawang, Sungkai Bunga Mayang and Pubian Telu Suku. These Pepadun communities mostly lived in remote area in Lampung Utara District, Tulang Bawang District, Way Kanan District, Central Lampung District, East Lampung District and Mesuji.

Although divided into two indigenous groups, people of Lampung still inherit the same value, philosophy and local wisdom as their ancestors hundreds of years ago. *Piil Pesenggiri* is a moral code that becomes a guideline in society. *Piil* means attitude, and *Pesenggiri* means morally good, noble hearted, self-aware and can recognize rights and obligations. In addition, *Piil Pesenggiri* can be understood as the source of motivation so people can uphold positive values, sense of respect and be respected in the society (Abdul Syani, 2013). *Piil Pesenggiri* has four interlinked elements that, if implemented to its fullest, will create a positive, ethical, peaceful and virtuous society. The four elements (summarized from Abdul Syani, 2013) are:

1. Juluk – Adek

Etymologically, *juluk-adek* (traditional titles) consists of two words *juluk* and

adek with each having its own meaning; *Juluk* is a title given to man/woman when they were still young or not married, while *adek* is a title given to man/woman who have married through customary title procession.

Juluk-Adek is a right given to members of Lampung people, meaning that it is the main identity embedded to individuals. Each attitude committed by individuals, will represent the moral obligation reflected in its identity as *juluk* and *adek*, so they will act in accordance with their title. Usually, the title *juluk-adek* is given in a traditional ceremony. *Juluk-Adek* will usually follows an order based on the hierarchy of individual's status within traditional leadership structure. For example: Pengiran, Dalam, Batin, Temunggung, Radin, Minak, Kimas and etc. In this case, each lineage will be different as the hierarchy will depend on the applied tradition of certain community.

2. *Nemui nyimah*

The verb *nemui* came from the noun *temui* which means guest, which means *nemui* refers to act of visiting someone. Meanwhile, the word *nyimah* came from the noun *simah* which means generous. If interpreted literally *nemui-nyimah* means having well manner, being generous, and helpful in accordance with one's own material capability. *Nemui-nyimah* is an expression of kinship principle to create a friendly and harmonious atmosphere as well as extending hospitality. *Nemui-nyimah* is an obligation for a family in Lampung community to extend hospitality so bonds of kinship can be preserved with openness and appropriateness.

3. *Nengah nyappur*

Nengah came from the word *tengah* which means being in the middle. Meanwhile *nyappur* came from the word *cappur* which means mingling. *Nengah nyappur* can be literally interpreted as act of mingling, making friends and being tolerant to each other. *Nengah nyappur* is an expression that reflects how people of Lampung uphold bonds of kinship by mingling and making friends with anyone, regardless of tribe, religion, class, and origin. Act of mingling and making friends will grow cooperation and tolerance among each other.

4. *Sakai sambayan*

Sakai means giving something to a person or group of people, whether in the form of goods or services that has economic value, in hope that the other party will do the same thing. Meanwhile *sambaiyan* means giving something to a person

or group of people, whether in the form of goods or services, without hoping the other party will do the same. *Sakai sambaiyan* means helping each other and cooperation – the very expression of collectiveness. *Sakai sambayan* in essence is expressing sense of participation and solidarity in many activities in society. People of Lampung will be less respected if they cannot participate in a social activity. This attitude reflects high tolerance to community, compels them to give anything they have voluntarily to people who need it.

If understood and implemented to its fullest, the philosophy of *Piil Pesenggiri*, especially in terms of *Nemui nyimah*, *Nengah nyappur* and *Sakai sambayan*, will create a peaceful and tolerant society. Due to the existence of this principle, Lampung managed to live hundreds of years in peace without conflict and intolerance that segregates the community. When establishing Lampung as an immigrant area, the Dutch East Indies government has also considered the typology of Lampung society that tends to be open, friendly and tolerant.

However, a concept can only be as good as the person who implements it. The number of ethnic conflicts during the recent decade in Lampung Province shows that the current generation is lacking in understanding their local wisdom, in addition to other factors. The exposure of pop culture through television, magazine, entertainment and unlimited access of information through internet and smartphone has changed the character of today's youth, especially the youth in Lampung. The first generation to be exposed to negative pop culture was Generation Y (popularly known as the millennials, who was born in 1970s to 1990s) and Generation Z, who were born after 2000s. Many youth in Lampung do not understand their tradition or the local code of social relations and they do not even know local language. The philosophy of *Piil Pesenggiri* has been reduced to merely pride, meaning that they get to be triggered more easily if they feel their pride has been threatened.

Many bloody conflicts in Lampung were caused by idle problems. Conflict between people of Balinuraga (Balinese) and Anom Village (Lampung native) in Way Panji of South Lampung District was triggered simply because some number of Balinese youth picked on a Lampung girl. Meanwhile, conflict between Lampung native and Javanese in Kampung Tanjung Harapan, Anak Tuha Sub-district, Central Lampung District, was caused by some Lampung youth stole rubber that belongs to Javanese farmer. Lack of understanding to local wisdom as well as economic

inequality causes people to be easily provoked to commit acts of vigilantism.

The Government of Lampung Province has been aware of these phenomena. They realize that if things are allowed as it is, many ethnic conflicts will emerge in Lampung and it will harm the peacefulness and the image of Lampung people who are known for their tolerance. Some number of program have been implemented to socialize *Piil Pesenggiri* to the people, especially the youth. Through young people's understanding on the philosophy, it is expected that a new generation can be born that uphold friendliness and tolerance based on local wisdom. In micro level, socialization, seminar, outbond that involves many ethnic groups in Lampung has been routinely made by engaging with local figure and humanities scholar. In addition, some policies have been made to close the economic gap between Lampung natives and immigrants, by increasing opportunity for entrepreneurship. Although it is far from perfect, every effort that has been made effective to minimize the occurrence of ethnic conflict. In fact in 2017, Lampung Province was awarded by Minister of Home Affairs as the Best Region in Indonesia in terms of Resolving Social Conflict.

Attempts to create Indonesia without discrimination and violence that upholds peace and tolerance is the obligation of all of us as its citizen. In Lampung, where ethnic difference became the root of conflict, *Piil Pesenggiri* managed to become the solution. In some number of regions, that has different typology of conflict, the solution will obviously be different. However, before we began to think about difficult and complicated solution, it will be better if each region can return to their own local wisdom. Indonesia is a great country with diverse culture that upholds peace. Thus, every region will definitely have their own *Piil Pesenggiri*. By digging our local wisdom that has been degraded by pop culture, a peaceful and tolerant society will definitely emerge.

4

Preserving 'Lulo Dance' The Unique Art of Southeast Sulawesi to Unite the Diversity of Indonesia

IRWAN SAPUTRA

Indonesia is the biggest archipelagic nation in the world with 17,500 islands spread throughout its territory, in which 13,446 named islands and 4,134 unnamed islands. Every island is separated by vast seas and mountains, causing people of Indonesia to live in different environmental and geographical conditions.

This difference compels every region to have different habits thus resulting in different culture. This is the foundation of our wealth of culture. The diversity of Indonesia is created by the many ethnicities and religions that exist in Indonesia – spread throughout Islands and regions of Indonesia. Every ethnic has their own uniqueness and characteristic in terms of socio-culture. According to research from Bureau of Statistic (BPS) in 2010, Indonesia has 1,128 ethnics.

The diversity of Indonesia does not necessarily make Indonesians unable to live in peace and harmony. The history has proven that the different cultures in Indonesia manage to coexist and complete each other as well as cooperating to protect the unity of Indonesia – even 72 years after its Independence Day.

The Youth Congress that created Youth Pledge in October 28th 1928 was an important historic moment for Indonesia. The youth from different tribe, class and religion united to pledge unity in diversity. Without their strong spirit and desire to unite, it would be impossible for people of Indonesia to taste freedom. Therefore, it will be very unfair if there is a certain group that wants Indonesia to be just like they

want since it will disregard everything the founding fathers has built of this nation.

Bhineka Tunggal Ika means unity in diversity – it is our country's slogan that has been inherited from the founding fathers and it is something that we must protect until our last drop of blood. After all, it would not be Indonesia if we had homogenous tribe, culture and religion. In fact, this diversity has become the unique identity of Indonesia that people around the world recognize.

The diversity of Indonesia can be an obstacle because there could be people who dislike differences. The emergence of excessive sense of communality coupled with attitude harmful to unity can threaten the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

Furthermore, the diversity of religions in Indonesia can also threaten Indonesia, if there are many acts of intolerance from people who believe their religion to be the most righteous while believing that other religions are false. This kind of attitude has given birth to radicalism movements that create the current inter-religion conflict. It is unfortunate since right to have religion has been included in the first principle of Pancasila, "Belief in the One and Only God," and has been regulated by law, meaning that every citizens of Indonesia must respect the right of each people to have religion.

Some number of unrests and conflict has emerged in many parts of Indonesia recently. Some were huge and long lasting conflicts, such as Ambon Unrest (which began since 1998), Poso Unrest (in 2000) and in many other regions including Southeast Sulawesi.

Southeast Sulawesi is one of the provinces of Indonesia located in the southeast part of Sulawesi Island. Although the population of Southeast Sulawesi is not as big as the population of Java and Sumatera Island, it does not guarantee this region to be free from tribal and religious conflict. Southeast Sulawesi is home to many tribes such as Tolaki, Muna, Kabaena, Wawoni, Bugis and many other tribes that came from Java and Sumatera Island.

Recently Southeast Sulawesi has been experiencing many social conflicts due to tribal and religious differences. There are some conflicts that began from idle problems between individuals which then grew to involve bigger tribal and religious groups. This is caused by the lack of tolerance and sense of unity as well as the high level of communality among people. This sense of communality compels people to feel angry if one of their community members is harmed by people outside of their community. This is obviously a threat to the security of Southeast Sulawesi as well as the integrity of Indonesia.

The potential of conflict caused by diversity in Indonesia, especially Southeast Sulawesi, will definitely need solution to minimize its occurrence. In that case, what can the government do? Sometimes our way of thinking is too abstract and result in infeasible solution to preserve the unity of Indonesia. As a matter of fact, there are many small things that we can already do and perhaps we have done it but we never realize. What could it be? The answer is loving and preserving our local culture.

Southeast Sulawesi is known for its Molulo/Lulo Dance. Lulo Dance is one of the traditional dances that is unique to Southeast Sulawesi and still being practiced today. Lulo Dance is also one of the more popular traditional dances in Southeast Sulawesi, especially in Kendari District, and have been performed in many events such as traditional marriage, harvest season and many other traditional celebrations. Not many people have realized that this dance conveys important message for all of us – to respect and hold each other in spite of differences.

This dance is performed by holding hands. The position of man's palm must be below woman's palm. This is an ethic that must be observed so the movement can stay in harmony and so that the dancer's chest will not touch each other. The connected hand is moved up and down following the swing of feet that goes to front and behind, left and right, with one-two tempo in accordance to the rythm. There is no limit to the number of dancer in this dance, meaning that the more dancers they have, the bigger the circle they will create.

Lulo Dance is an instrument and media of Tolaki people to strengthen their relation with other people regardless of ethnicity, religion, social status, group or age. Lulo Dance performance is a form of harmonious social configuration within diverse society. It is no wonder that Lulo dance is accepted by every ethnic group in Kendari city, which in turn making it the unique aspect of Kendari city. It is also no wonder if Kendari city is nicknamed Lulo city, since every entertainment activity enacted by people of Kendari, regardless of their ethnicity, will include Lulo performance.

We need to be happy because this culture is still preserved and enjoyed by youngsters. However, we also need to be worried by the increasing amount of foreign culture that penetrates Indonesia and will threaten the existence of Indonesia's original culture – in which many youth no longer enjoy. Kids nowadays have been influenced a lot by foreign culture such as western, Korean and Japanese culture. Ironically, they feel proud to follow that culture, since it is one of the ways to raise social status within their circle.

We also need to be happy since this Lulo Dance is enjoyed by every part of the society, not only people from higher class but also lower class, men and women, and also every tribe and ethnic group. The only concerning matter is that many people still do not know the meaning of the movement they enact during Lulo performance. It is as if they eat simply to kill their hunger without knowing the benefit of the food they ate.

People who perform Lulo Dance will feel some kind of unique satisfaction and tranquility. Lulo Dance will not feel special if it is performed only with small number of people or with people from one social stratum and one gender only. The special feeling of Lulo Dance can only be gained if it is performed by many people from different background.

There are many things that the government and we can do to preserve the cultural art of Southeast Sulawesi and raise people's awareness to the meaning of their culture as well as encourage them to implement that meaning through the Lulo Dance that they performed.

First, preparing a facility in the form of dance studio that can be a place for young generation to learn about traditional dance especially Lulo Dance. This place will not only teach how to dance but also the meaning of that dance.

Second, organizing Lulo dance competition that has been quite rare these days. This should be the concern of the government. In addition to giving appreciation, competition will also attract people's interest to learn about Lulo Dance especially if the competition offers a ludicrous prize.

Third, creating local art appreciation community, especially for Lulo Dance. This community will be tasked as a voluntary group to preserve Lulo Dance and raise awareness about it and its meaning to the people, especially the youth.

Fourth, standardizing Lulo movement through law. This is important since many Lulo performances have been mixed with modern dance that will obviously reduce the true meaning of Lulo Dance. Therefore, this legalization will allow the law to punish those who ruin the meaning of Lulo Dance.

Lulo Dance is one of the many traditional dances that brought noble message from our ancestors. They created dance to convey a message to all of us so we can live in harmony and peace, holding each other's hand in spite of different background. Indonesia is a nation wealthy of diversity. This is not a curse but a blessing, just like how rainbow in the sky is beautiful because it is shaped through

the combination of many colors. We might be proud with our tribe and we might believe that our religion is the right one. However, it does not mean we can say other tribe and religion is wrong. After all, The Republic of Indonesia has guaranteed each individual's right to live with their choice, as conveyed in Pancasila and 1945 Constitution which was formulated through considerations and debates.

Our national heroes have fought to their death in order to build this nation, to gain its independence and to unite it in spite of its diversity. As for us who can simply enjoy the fruits of their struggle, how can we disregard all of it by trying to change the concept of this nation? Where is our nationalism? Where is our thanks to the national heroes? We no longer need to take up arms to fight the invaders, we only need to set aside our ego so we can live in harmony and peace – so that our nation can stay strong in the future.

*Preserve Lulo Dance, Love Indonesian Culture
That is how you will realize the beauty of diversity*

5

Deterring Intolerance through the Local Wisdom of Ternate People's Philosophy "Jou Se Ngofangare"

MULFANDHY GAILEA

The people of Indonesia have long been known as a heterogeneous society. In Indonesia, there are more than 500 ethnic groups who are not only lived in different locations but also have different historical experience, language and culture. Life in a heterogeneous society is often faced by many cultural problems, both in local and national level.

The change to cultural identity in heterogeneous society will often create a threat to the existence of local tradition, ancestral heritage and local values that used to be planted deep within community, due to being degraded by globalization.

The idea of local wisdom is often expressed interchangeably with the word local knowledge or local genius or indigenous knowledge. Local genius is the same as cultural identity that allows its people to absorb and process foreign culture in accordance with its own character and capability.

The history has shown that the cultures of Indonesia can coexist in harmony. For example, the culture of a kingdom can coexist with the culture of hunting. In today's context we can see how urban culture can coexist with rural culture and also with culture of hunting in a more remote area.

Intercultural interaction is made not only by different ethnicity but also by different civilizations in the world. The arrival of Portuguese and Spanish ship in Ternate in the middle age, for example, has opened Indonesia to the then

international relations. This diversity allows potential of conflict. The difference within society can drive or strengthen conflict among people even if the source of the conflict itself has nothing to do with cultural diversity.

Local wisdom is humanity's and community's wisdom which is based upon the philosophy, values, ethics, methods and attitudes that got institutionalized traditionally in order to sustainably manage natural resources, human resources and cultural resources. Local wisdom does not appear out of thin air, but through long process until it got proven to provide a positive value for the local community. Through this process, local wisdom will turn into a culture inherited through generations and will be internalized within the society. It is in this frame of local wisdom that society exists and coexists with each other. Local wisdom is a cultural manifestation that strengthens societal life is one of the form of humanity's humane-ness in having culture. As the manifestation of humanity's humane-ness, local wisdom is considered positive and strengthened continuously.

The philosophy of "*Jou Se Ngofangare*" can be interpreted as "You" and "I". Etymologically, "*Jou*" can be interpreted as the Noblest Substance or God in religious interpretation.

However, in regards to its social context, *Jou* is interpreted as Leader. The philosophy of *Jou So Ngofangare* can be interpreted as the leader and the people (you and I), similar to Javanese philosophy of "*Manunggaling Kawula Gusti*."

To put it simply, the philosophy of *Jou Se Ngofangare* can be interpreted as a system/mindset or perspective of Ternate people in accordance to their inherited tradition. This perspective was originally mythical in nature, in which the advice or guidance from the *Jou* (in this case the King of Ternate Kingdom) was considered as the absolute truth.

The mythical nature of this concept cannot be separated with the creation of Kingdom which was believed to come from the realm above or the Heaven. It means that the mythical dimension cannot be separated with the source of power that the common people have no choice but to obey.

The people of Ternate follows a patrilineal system, in which family name is inherited by the men. Based on this system, social events such as marriage will be decided by the Men's family. If a father passed away, their role will be replaced by his brother. In addition, the local wisdom of Ternate people is related to the social aspect of cooperation among society. This relation is built not only for the family

members of the same lineage but also to distant relatives or family members not connected by blood – if they show good behavior in society.

The tradition regarding to respect among family and neighbor is upheld strictly in Ternate society. One of the examples is respect in inviting neighbor or family during certain events such as marriage, funeral, or Quran reading. The tradition of inviting people in Ternate is known as *Gogoro* or *Koro* which means inviting. Half an hour before an event begin, there will be “Additional *Koro*” by the family who organize the event. This process is known as “*Sidola*.” During *sidola*, the family will express some words to the invitee, for example: the inviter asks the invitee to, if possible, arrive on time because the event is about to begin. If the invitee were unable to come, then they would say “*Sloalaa*” or an apology for their absence.

6

Local Wisdom in Aceh: “Respect to Women” as Social Capital to Deal with Discrimination

WIDIA MUNIRA

Indonesia is a great country with a diverse culture. Every culture has its own wisdom in dealing with life problems, including wisdom to deal with discrimination. Local wisdom can be defined as a perspective or guidance, advice, expression and traditional values that lived and respected, as well as implemented with or without social sanction. Almost every community has their own local wisdom to deal with discrimination.

The local ethnic and culture of Indonesia is a reflection of the diversity in Indonesia. On one hand, this diversity contains noble values that become the source of wisdom which, in the past, was the source of values and inspiration in surviving and creating prosperity. It means that every ethnic group has their own local wisdom, such as the Aceh people who are known for their friendliness to other ethnicities to the point of considering them as brothers and sisters (the tradition of *Pemulia Jamee*). The same is also true for Bataknese and Javanese who are known for their openness and politeness or Madura and Bugis people who are known for their pride or Chinese people who are known for their diligence. This is also the case for other ethnicity, such as people of Minang, Lampung, Sunda, Toraja, Sasak and Nias who have their own culture and guidance unique to their belief and their experience in achieving collective prosperity. Some forms of values and local wisdom, including customary law and faith are also relevant to be applied in

building national prosperity.

For the people of Aceh who adopt Islam, their religion, culture and local wisdom is inseparable from their daily life. The slogan “*ngon hukom lagee zat ngon sifeuet*” reflects how, for people of Aceh, traditional culture and Islamic sharia is one and the same. This is caused by the fact that the culture of Aceh came from Islamic teaching in Al-Quran and Hadith. Local wisdom has long been applied in the society and used as an norm and value for people to interact with the God, the nature and each other. Dealing with discrimination is also included in that local wisdom.

Islam, as the worldview of Aceh people, manages to influence every aspect of life, from social, politics, law, education and culture. In terms of culture, Islamic teaching is capable of creating a harmonious dialectic between social order and religious value. Religious value is transformed throughout history and turned into local wisdom. That local wisdom became a formula in dealing discrimination and dispute within society.

The traditional culture and local wisdom will be legitimized by the society if it is based upon Islamic norm. Therefore, as a part of the culture, local wisdom in Aceh must be based on Islamic value, meaning that local wisdom of Aceh people can never oppose Islamic Law or Al-Quran and Hadith. The local wisdom of Aceh people encompasses every aspect of their life, including culture, politic, government, economy, social, ritual, education, nature and etc.

Formula and mechanism to deal with discrimination is already included in the culture of Aceh. One of them is known as “Respect to Women.” This prevention measure against discrimination is based upon the local wisdom of the people and has been proven effective in dealing with Islamic value-based discrimination.

Culturally speaking, there is a local wisdom that is directly related to respect for women which is reflected by wearing conservative clothes that do not show their skin ever since their earliest age (five years old) and also the use of *Cupeng* which has multiple function to hide women’s genital organ when they are not wearing clothes. Meanwhile, teenage and adult women wear clothes with golden button known as *Boh Dokma* which has multiple functions as a weapon to fight for their honor against perverted men. Another way to uphold women’s dignity is by wearing a jewelry belt in bed so they can show their attractiveness and erotic side only for their husband. Those three things are heavily related to the principle of Aceh clothing, in which hiding skin is an obligation even if only with a single thread,

that the clothes they worn must be in accordance with the situation, and that wife's beauty must only be served to their husband. Respect to women is not only expressed in their life but also in their death, as shown by the decorated tombs of Pasai princesses which contrast with the King's tomb that tends to be ordinary.

The principle of Aceh clothing is inherited through the society's collective memory, for example by saying: "*peue ka peulhon aneuk keuh, meusikrek beuneung tan,*" which means "why (in anger) would you let your child naked without any clothes to be worn?" This expression reflects how people of Aceh, even their children, can never be fully naked, unless there is at least a single thread worn by their body. This principle is preserved by other statements that condemn the violation of it, such as "*bek teulhon abeh, jitamong jen,*" which means: do not stay naked or a genie will possess you.

The obligation to wear clothing at any time has been the local wisdom of Aceh people which is shown by the provision of "*ija rhah*" or wet clothing in bathroom, which compels people to always hide their skin even when they are alone in a closed room. "*Gho bagho, tika eh tika ceumeulho*" is an expression that means "How reckless, bed mat you use for rice threshing" which means wearing clothes (including jewelry) must be appropriate to the place, situation and its function. "*Ngon gob bahie, ngon lakoe khie*" is an expression that means "You show your beauty to others (outside of home), but you smell bad in front of your husband" which can be interpreted as an obligation for Aceh women to stay beautiful (*bahie*) when they are with their husband, in order to preserve the love and happiness of their marriage.

"Respect for women" is also shown by the tradition of giving houses to girls as a *rumoh peunulang* (gift house) during the era of King Safiatuddin in Aceh Darussalam Kingdom which is still continued to this date. Socially speaking, this tradition has positive impact to deal with husband's discrimination against their wife by increasing the bargaining power of the wife in their house since they are the owner of said house. Wives who own their own house is known as *peurumoh* in Aceh Besar District. In that way, husbands cannot be abusive or evict their wife from the house, meaning that divorce can be prevented. This tradition has become one of the social capitals to prevent discrimination among the local people.

The local wisdom to "respect women" in Aceh is also applied in Islamic Sharia law. Islamic Sharia regulates respect to women in regard to the discriminations

they experienced during the time of military conflict that hurt a lot of Aceh people. Aceh women were the one impacted the most by the conflict, both directly and indirectly. The result of that conflict was Aceh turned into an Islamic Sharia district. Women became the main target of Islamic sharia since women were the group that got discriminated the most. The implementation of Islamic Sharia in Aceh managed to deal with the discriminations that occurred after the conflict.

Therefore, dealing with discrimination through local wisdom is already appropriate in this diverse country. Those local wisdoms have been planted deeply and do not only regulate profane matters but also sacred matters, meaning that it can be easily accepted by the people. Through local wisdom, it is expected that discrimination can be quickly dealt with so there will be no more discrimination hidden among the society, whether discrimination that causes death, serious injuries, minor injuries, disability or socio-economic dispute.

7

Structural and Social Discrimination Sunda Wiwitan Indigenous People and Ahmadiyya Congregation in Kuningan, West Java

ZARIQOH AINNAYAH SILVIAH

Indonesia has diverse tribes, religions, languages and cultures that have become an integral part of this country. The birth of Pancasila on June 1st 1945 was a sign that Indonesia is a nation that upholds diversity and respects difference - or at least that was what I learned during high school 4 years ago. Thus, one big question mark appears when I saw the many religious conflicts that occurred in a city close to my birthplace, Kuningan.

Sunda Wiwitan Indigenous People in Cigugur and Ahmadiyya Congregation in Manis Lor are two communities that often receive discrimination and the label 'infidel'. Our law seems to create a perception that there are only 6 official religions in Indonesia. This is the source of social and structural discrimination experienced by Sunda Wiwitan Indigenous People. Structurally, the government has harmed the right of Sunda Wiwitan Indigenous People. Their religion column in identity card remains blank and their marriages were not recorded are examples of structural discrimination that led to social discrimination by the public.

In addition, Ahmadiyya people, one of Islamic schools, have also experienced the same thing as Sunda Wiwitan Indigenous People. Ever since 2012 to late 2017, Ahmadiyya Congregation in Manis Lor cannot obtain electronic identity card. Furthermore, there is a structural discrimination committed by the government and Islamic Scholar Assembly (MUI) with the enactment of joint decree on the

perverted status of Ahmadiyya which became the justification for extremists to persecute them.

In case of Sunda Wiwitan, primary school children are bullied by their friends and also receive physical harm such as beating. In addition, their marriages are not recorded by the government, their father's name is not included in their birth certificate, and their marriages are declared unofficial. Moreover, their identity cards do not include their religion which makes it difficult for Sunda Wiwitan Indigenous People to access jobs, education and even vital things like health service.

Meanwhile, Ahmadiyya Congregation in Manis Lor, Kuningan, are unable to organize marriage in their own place, simply due to being an Ahmadiyya Congregation. In Addition, when they apply for identity card, they will be asked to say the Shahadah (declaration to adopt Islam) in front of the official and will be asked to sign a letter stating they are no longer adopting Ahmadiyya. Their children are bullied, labeled as infidel, and they cannot get good score in school because the teachers hate infidels. In addition, their mosques were destroyed by the extremists.

Honestly, the growth of extremism has made me pessimistic with the future of diversity in Indonesia. Extremists' sphere of influence is reaching grass root level. They penetrate the education system by organizing *halaqoh*, they answer the housewives' need by organizing Quran reading, and they use information and technology in a very effective way to distribute contents that led to intolerance. Their targets are teenagers who do not have access to religious knowledge who often use social media as a means to gain that knowledge. Therefore, the appearance of Muslim Cyber Army is a great concern but we must learn about it in order to counter their intolerant contents.

As we approach to the year of politics, my concern became greater. What will happen to the diversity of Indonesia? I am concerned as well as hoping that perhaps our representatives in the future can reduce their suffering. I am pessimistic as well as optimistic as I see the spirit of those victimized communities who, while often received discrimination, still manage to amass power to strategize in order to prevent their experience from reoccurring.

Obviously, politics play an important role in preserving discrimination in Indonesia. During the year of politics, religious issues will be on the rise and minority groups will be victimized once more. I have a hunch that extremists are no longer born from ideology. Contemporary extremism was born out of the interest of a

certain group who has no qualm to use religion as a mean to achieve their goal.

I can still remember vividly the series of actions that accompanied the Gubernatorial Race in Jakarta. Thousands of people from many regions came to the Capital, saying they come to defend the religion. In Kuningan, West Java, provision of electronic identity card for Ahmadiyya Congregation need to be temporarily stopped due to the protest from extremists. This was responded by Kuningan Regent by stating that he will approach Ahmadiyya people to convert into Islam. Isn't provision of administrative matter such as identity card a state obligation? Isn't faith a forum internum that cannot be limited by anyone? How could a regional leader be careless of their obligation? I don't know. All I know is that he will run for regent again in this year's regional election.

On the other hand, it seems that the victimized community is still optimistic despite experiencing so many suffering. They began to learn about the strategy committed by extremist group, they learn how to build security system, they advocate for diversity through arts, culture and so on. Legal attempts to remind the state of their obligation must be continued. Today, Ahmadiyya Congregation can already obtain their electronic identity although not all of them. At the same time, indigenous people can now include their faith in their identity card. This is at least good news in the middle of continuous assault from extremist group.

8

Pesantren as a Local Wisdom that Shapes the Authentic Character of Tolerant Islam

ZUMROTUN NAFISAH

Indonesia is still united, just like its slogan *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* which means 'unity in diversity'. There are at least 700 different tribes spread in every part of Indonesia with their own religion, language and tradition. Indonesia strongly commits to preserve the harmony of its heterogeneous society. This plural and unique society as well as tolerance culture and *tepo seliro* is the main capital for our people to protect the integrity of The Republic of Indonesia.

Religion is quite sensitive in relation to harmony and tolerance. Indonesia often experienced frictions due to different perspectives on religion. Some still hold to their religion exclusively, claiming their religion to be better than others in a fanatical way. Such attitude can create intergroup violence, in which followers of certain religion attack other followers due to being considered as 'deviating' from the true essence of their religion. Attempts to build interfaith harmony are not only complicated by theological matters but also social, political and economic matters. The social change that currently occurs in Indonesia will continue to matter, as long as there is no intensive study to the cause of conflicts.

Without a planned attempt to create an inclusive and pluralist society, violence against minority religion will continue to destroy the diversity of Indonesia. Human's ability to interpret a command is differed by their understanding and knowledge, meaning a detailed explanation to counter intolerance group's claim will be needed.

Many questions have been arisen in regard to the 'unity in diversity' of our country. Series of human rights violations related to religious intolerance in Indonesia are evidence to the lack of enforcement of tolerance throughout our country. Recently, intolerance movement in Indonesia has intensified due to a series of actions claiming to defend the religion such as the 411 action to the 212 action in late 2016 and 212 action part II in early 2017.

Looking back at the history of Indonesia, the role of *pesantren* is not only for educational purpose but also to fight for independence. This was concluded by a Southeast Asia scholar, Harry J. Benda, in his book that discussed about Japanese colonialism in Indonesia. He stressed that the history of Islam in Indonesia is a history of Islamic scholar's expansion and their influence in religious, social and political life in Indonesia. In Indonesia, particularly in Java, the decline of Hindu-Buddha influence has led Islamic scholars, such as The Nine Saints (*Wali Songo*), to Islamize the education system inherited from the two religions. For example, the missionary strategy implemented by Saint Kudus avoids direct confrontation to convert people into Islam. In Kudus at that time, the people were mostly Hindu and Buddha, meaning that converting them to Islam was not an easy job.

One day Saint Kudus or Ja'far Sodiq bought a cow (in other literature known as *kebo gumarang*) which attracted the people of Kudus' interest, who are mostly Hindu, to know what would Saint Kudus does to that cow. In Hindunese teaching, cow is the holiest of animal that the Gods used as vehicle. In that regard, they believe that butchering cow is a sinful act that will be condemned by the Gods.

Due to his commitment to religious tolerance and in order to convince the people from different religions without using violence, Saint Kudus forbade his followers to harm or butcher cow by saying that the cow has breastfeed him when he nearly died out of thirst. Ever since the early development of Islam in Indonesia, Islamic scholars who committed missionary act, including the Nine Saints, have done so through many approaches such as economic, social, cultural, political and so on. In that way, they managed to directly deal with the problem of the society, allowing Islam to be recognized and adopted by many people from different social group.

Wave of modernism has been celebrated profoundly especially by the intellectuals who received education form the West (US). They did not attempt to develop modernity on the basis of local wisdom but prefer to implement them literally in a puritan way, causing those Western ideas unable to coexist with

similar ideas in this country. Ultimately, modernism became the opposition of traditionalism. Being modern is considered the same as leaving traditionalism in a pragmatic manner. Tradition is a cultural aspect that not only applied in life, but continues to be inherited. It can appear in the form of values, mindset and attitude that uphold humanism. At the same time, as an element of culture, tradition continues to develop through generations. This development happened gradually as a continuum line because a developed culture will always be rooted to the tradition and history of its people.

Disconnection to tradition is what causing this nation to be confused and disoriented – they want to be like the West albeit it is so far away by eliminating their tradition. Ultimately, Indonesian culture became devoid of meaning. Our nation became a banal nation who have no qualm to sell their soul and their nation to other nations in a humiliating manner just to be another nation's slave, whether as an intellectual or as a laborer. All of our people has slave mentality due to having no tradition to think or being independent. When every aspect of life has been absorbed into the logic of westernized modernism, the world of *pesantren* remained with their old mindset and continues to adapt with the existing modernism without cutting their ties with the tradition. This makes the dynamic of *pesantren* tends to be slower since they must select everything and compare it with their own culture and tradition. *Pesantren* is the last stand of tradition which is why people who study in *pesantren* as well as the Nahdliyin people is considered as traditionalist.

Abdurrahman Wahid believes that *pesantren* is the sub-culture of national culture, since it has its own unique tradition independent from the pressure of modernism that continues to persevere despite being condemned as the retarded conservative. Due to having strong support, *pesantren* tradition continues to persevere in accordance with its own culture and rhythm but still manage to develop without abandoning its tradition. The emergence of post-modernism era allows the tradition that used to be humiliated and abandoned to regain their place, not only in cultural sphere but also in academic sphere. This era has also impacted NU that used to be abandoned due to their traditional tendency. The tradition that used to be considered syncretic has found new interpretation as a sympathetic multiculturalism. This attitude managed to prevent radicalism and other form of violence caused by puritanism.

According to CC Berg, the word *santri* (Islamic scholar) came from the word *shastri* or *cantrik* in Sanskrit which means 'person who knows about the holy book' or "person who always follow their teacher.' *Santri* is diligent in their pursuit of knowledge, they are known for their obedience to religious teaching and religious teacher. The history has proven that *santri* were people who stand in the forefront of our nation's struggle to independence. They inherited and preserved the continuation of Islamic intellectual tradition since the time of Prophet PBUH. The typical characteristic of *pesantren* education often includes: tolerance between each *santri* or with the religious teacher; modest life (*zuhud*); independence; cooperation; strict religious regulation; and active participation in the society to provide solution and to teach.

The first characteristic mentioned above can serve as the identity of *pesantren* in which every *pesantren* will always teach about moderate view of Islam which is known as *ahlussunah waljamaah* Islam. The second characteristic was created and became the tradition of *pesantren* so that the student and teacher will not easily blame each other or labeling others infidel. This is the true essence of *pesantren* based on the idea that every human has limited capability so God created mankind to be diverse. Diversity is a blessing from the God, while the limitation is imposed to human so they can complete each other. As for the third characteristic, *pesantren* teaches their students to love the country. The act of loving the country is the reflection of *hubbul wathan minal* teaching that believes in the idea that loving the country is part of having faith.

Therefore, Islamic teaching requires a secure country. That is why love to the country is part of having faith. Nationalism is planted in *pesantren*. Their idea of tolerance (*tasamuh*) is based on the attitude of being kind to each other. In general term, *taasmuh* can be interpreted as a virtuous attitude in social relations, in which people can respect each other in accordance to the limitations imposed by Islam. Our way to respond to diversity should not be made by negating each other. This third characteristic is an integral part of *pesantren* and this third characteristic will help the students to face the world outside.

As has been affirmed by a Muslim intellectual, Azyumardi Azra, in his preface in Nurcholish Madjid's book, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*, renewal of *pesantren* today refers to the development of outward looking and making *pesantren* more responsive to the need and challenge of this age. The idea outlined by Azyumardi Azra reaffirmed

the proposition that *pesantren*, with its three unique characteristics, must continue to respond to the changing times. The preservation of national integrity and the enforcement of national sovereignty is part of the realization of community's goal so we can have a principle of *ukhuwah wathoniah* and *ukhuwwah Islamiyah*. Our understanding and attitude to Islam will also be comprehensive and not only be piece by piece, so we can return to the local wisdom owned by Indonesia and Pancasila as its philosophy. The diversity of Islamic educational institution is something that should be preserved. Every institution has their own unique orientation, but they need to have the same commitment that is: to provide a complete (*kaffah*) Islamic understanding for the sake of *Islam rahmatan lil alamin* (Islam as a blessing for the entire universe).

9

Fairytales: Resolving Violence through Storytelling

ARRAYAN FIRDAUS

A report published by Child Rights NGO, Plan International and International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) shows that 84% of students in Indonesia has experienced violence (including bullying) meaning that 7 out of 10 child are victims of violence in school. It also means that school, the place where our children received their formal education, is no longer a safe place for them. According to the survey by KPAI in 2015, this phenomenon occurred due to the weak school management system that prevents them from increasing awareness on Indonesian norms and cultures. This phenomenon obviously affected parents, in which 52% out of 800 parents in 33 provinces of Indonesia expressed their concern that school is no longer a safe place for their children.

Even worse, the author has once witnessed a case of violence in school in which the victim was the author's own sibling – causing them to refuse going to school for three days straight due to depression and trauma. As such, the author believes that we need a way to deal with this problem. Thus, on August 30th 2015, the author and four friends founded a social movement named Indonesian Storytelling Movement (Gendong). To summarize, the first initiative of this movement was a simple survey asking two questions: (1) Do you like fairytales? (2) Have you ever been told a fairytale? These two questions were asked to 5 children and 10 parents. Among the 5 children and 10 parents that we asked, all of them immediately answered they

“love to hear fairytale,” but unfortunately most of them were never told a fairytale by their parents.

Indonesian Storytelling Movement (Gendong) is a movement that works on dealing with children violence through storytelling culture. It means that this movement is also active in spreading storytelling culture as well as increasing the society’s interest to storytelling culture. There are several reasons that compel the author to choose storytelling culture as an alternative to deal with children violence, i.e.:

1. Being one of the most effective way to convey values or fictional characters that children can imitate;
2. Increasing intelligence;
3. Stimulating thought capability so they can easily memorize the plotline and the characters; and
4. Increasing literate culture as well as an easy method to reintroduce Indonesian culture to children.

As a result, this storytelling culture can be considered as a platform to give birth to new local leaders since the earliest stage of life.

For information, Gendong is currently located in Malang and has shared stories to thousands of children in East Java. In its movement, Gendong utilizes public spaces often visited by parents and childrens such as children playground in urban area and other public spaces as well as shares stories and plants positive values to children in schools and orphanages. Today Gendong already has more than 40 active members from different background and age and several routine programs such as Gendong telling story in playground, Gendong #goesto, and fairytale festival.

Gendong telling story in playground is a program that utilizes the existence of public spaces often visited by the public to tell stories. Second, Gendong #goesto is a storytelling activity conducted in tourism spots in different cities during national holiday. Third, fairytale festival which includes storytelling competition. Fourth, Gendong #gocollaborate which is a collaboration project made, for example, with Yam Saroh, one of the founder of Suara Difabel Mandiri community, to create storybooks on how to preserve the nature and how to be an “environmental superhero.” Soon, Gendong will deliver its newest program which is a storytelling school in collaboration with Kampung Urang Bangka community.

This storytelling school adopts the nature school concept and will be implemented for three days. Children who participate in storytelling school will be

introduced to local figures who have been renowned for their effort to deal with local problems and capable of inspiring children through storytelling. It means that participants will be able to share with each other or directly involved in studying local problems with those local figures. In addition, participants will be trained to be a good storyteller using ventriloquist technique and theatrical or musical technique. At the end of the program, in order to see how successful the program is, they will be provided a platform to tell stories using the techniques they have learned.

Ultimately, Gendong is still in its developmental stage, whether in terms of programming and facilities to further spread storytelling culture as well as in its network. On the other hand, Gendong has begun to expand its influence to other regions that might have a lot of volunteers with similar desire or actors who want to collaborate or be affiliated with the purpose of providing positive value for the society, particularly the children. As time goes by, there is an optimism that this movement can provide character building in the earliest stage of life through storytelling and give birth to new local leaders that uphold positive values (humanism) and have strong character which includes transcendental awareness and concern to the nature.

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FRAGMENT 4

**CELEBRATING
DIVERSITY**

1

Diversity as the Unifier of Indonesian People

PRISKA NUR SAFITRI

The era of information grows rapidly. In the face of globalization, Indonesia must be capable to protect its cultural diversity and identity. The people must be capable to preserve the wealth of our nation. Cultural diversity affirms the idea that pluralism is an essential aspect inseparable with our independence.

If we look at the history, Indonesia is located in an international trade route and it has a vast amount of natural resource. The spread of faith and religion was made through this trade route. Indonesia consists of many Islands lived by millions of people from different religions, cultures, school of thoughts, languages, tribes, races and classes.

Difference must be responded with tolerance and wisdom as well as gratitude. As a blessing from the Almighty God, we must believe that everything in this world is inevitable. The existing difference and diversity in Indonesia will make it beautiful as has been formulated by our founding fathers.

Cultural diversity is closely related to tradition/culture. According to Koentjaraningrat, culture is the overall system of idea, attitude and creation from human in their society which occurred as a learning process. People of Indonesia must be able to unify its diversity to create a bond between every group without exception. The young generation is expected to deliver this message by narrating the importance of unity.

Problems surrounding diversity include the arson to house of worship, inter-religion conflict, religious blasphemy, to brutal extremist movement that will lead to terrorism. This kind of conflict has been expected by those who dislike diversity. Radical group justifies conflict as a mean to commit jihad. These jihadists spread a misguided understanding not in accordance with Pancasila. Jihadist network commits the wrong kind of jihad and believe in radical action as a solution to everything. Their misguided understanding on jihad will lead to justification of religious teaching.

Radicalism is an ideology that desires drastic change as well as claiming one's own ideology as the most righteous. Radical movement is a serious threat to the diversity in Indonesia. Radicalism grows and threatens the integrity of Indonesia. Franz Magnis Suseno stated that, "becoming good role model means defending Indonesia from the threat of radicalism and terrorism. It is the duty of young generation to be tolerant, responsible and generous to protect Indonesia. Indonesian youth must strengthen Pancasila and be heroic."

Creating a unity in diversity is no small feat. The spirit of nationalism will be needed to unify and to build a pluralistic Indonesian society. Prof. R. Rijanta, used the analogy of "different village different tradition, different farm different locust, different pool different fish." It means that in this great and diverse country of Indonesia, national integrity must be observed since it prerequisite national development.

The spirit to build Pancasila must be practiced in daily life as a foundation to unite the diversity of Indonesian society. Spirit of nationalism must always be planted in each individual to grow love of this country. Believing that the diversity in Indonesia is a blessing will allow us to live in harmony in spite of the diversity.

The diversity of ethnicity, tribe, race, culture, language and community of this country will guarantee the creation of a multicultural society that will not compromise cultural identity. Thus, the right to live in peace, cooperation, and harmony will be preserved. At the same time, local culture will continue to exist and inter-religion tolerance can persevere. The Republic of Indonesia can guarantee the synergy of a pluralistic society that is united in spite of its diversity.

The diversity of Indonesia will be its uniqueness compared to other countries as reflected by its slogan *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* which means unity in diversity. Indonesia with its diversity will grow strong because it can have a variety of local cultures in this modern civilization. At the same time, they will be able to interact in spite of their

differences in order to strengthen values of humanity.

Indonesia can have a strong tolerance and inclusiveness if every element of the society can be unified. Let us strengthen our unity to preserve the diversity of Indonesia. Let us preserve unity as a power to realize democratization and decentralization.

2

The Rainbow of Indonesia: A Plural Country's Religious Tourism

NUR HIKMAH

Visiting a religious site is one of the alternatives for tourism that should be experienced. In addition to spending our free time, this activity will increase our knowledge on the religious diversity in Indonesia. Nowadays there are many religious sites in Indonesia that have been turned into popular tourism spots. In fact, Borobudur Temple which has become a national and international tourism spot is the house of worship for Buddhist people. Therefore, religious tourism in this essay should not be interpreted as religious command in accordance to one's own religion, but as a visit to house of worship.

The author herself has once participated in a religious tourism with her 'close family' in Pondok Damai (Peaceful Temple). Pondok Damai is an interfaith community whose goal is to spread peace in diverse society. Members of this community consist of people from each religion in Indonesia, including local faith and atheism.

Annual meeting with new members is one of the most anticipated moments. Every year, Pondok Damai organizes a meeting between new and old members. After that, new members will usually make a visit to some house of worship.

The author gained an interesting experience during this activity. At first the author was reluctant to enter other religions' house of worship. Honestly, the author lives in an Islamic-majority society, makes friend with Muslim people and

lives with Muslim people, especially since high school where the author studied in *pesantren*. Therefore, the author has never interacted with people from different religions at that time.

At that time, Pondok Damai's activity was held in Great Shrine of Giri Nata in Semarang. As we enter the shrine, a friend who has participated in this activity told the author to act in discretion and the author can only follow that friend's advice since it was their first time.

Sleeping in the shrine, precisely the shrine's auditorium, was not as scary as the author imagined before. In fact, during break time, participants can get around the shrine and ask questions to the shrine's caretaker on the function of each place which is called *mandala*. Especially during the night, we can see the view of Semarang city since this shrine is located in the higher part of Semarang. It is believed that the higher a house of worship is, the closer they are to the God – that is what the author learned from a casual chat with other participant of Pondok Damai.

The next visit was to Kauman Mosque of Semarang. The author herself has already used to praying in Kauman Mosque when they happened to visit Johar Market. However, friends from different religions were very enthusiastic, perhaps because it was the first time they enter a mosque. Some of them asked about the function of *bedug*, how Muslim prays, and even the spot for Imam in the front.

The next visit was to a church. The chosen church was Indonesian Muria Christian Church (GKMI) of Semarang. As the author entered the building, teenagers played music since they practiced there every Sunday. The caretaker of that church was very friendly and we were treated to various meals. They were very happy to be visited by people from various religions. During discussion session, we often laugh because there were no awkwardness between the caretaker and the participants of Pondok Damai.

After that we visited one of the Catholic Churches in Semarang. We held casual discussion over there and Pondok Damai participants asked about the church. At the same time, the church's caretaker also asked a lot of question, especially about Islam. They asked why Muslim pray facing the Kaaba, how to read *hijaiyah* letters and many more. Then we also visited Tay Kak Sie Temple of Semarang. It was there that the author was introduced to the Gods of the Temple.

The last visit was to Tanah Putih Monastery of Semarang. The Romo who lived there was very kind as he told about the life of Siddhartha Gautama from

his childhood to his death. In addition, the Romo also mastered Islamic history and found many similarities between the life of Siddhartha Gautama and Prophet Muhammad PBUH. If wherever Siddhartha Gautama walked a lotus flower will bloom, wherever Prophet Muhammad walked a cloud will always accompany him.

It was there that the author's opinion to other religions began to grow. Although there are many methods to pray, every religion attempts to reach the One and Only God. Although differences in belief, I believe that every religion teaches about virtue. Thus, if a religious conflict occurs, do not blame the religion as it is only an act by a certain irresponsible person who claimed to do it in the name of religion.

This difference is ultimately an integral part of Indonesia. Indonesia is very diverse country. This difference is actually a vessel that allows us to hold each other, to help each other, and to respect each other so we can live in harmony. It is in our hope that Indonesia in the future can be stronger if the religious followers can hold each other and maintain unity in diversity.

3

The Positive Effect of Local Faith Inclusion in Identity Card for the Diversity of Indonesia

PERDANA NUR AMBAR SETYAWAN

Indonesia is a diverse country – diverse in culture, tradition, language and religion. Religion or faith is an important element in the cultural life of Indonesian people. According to Indonesian Dictionary, Religion is a system that regulates faith and worship to the Almighty God as well as guidance in regard to social life and human’s interaction with its environment.

The daily practice of tradition can never be separated from the inclusion of values adopted from religiosity. For example, there is an expression in Minangkabau’s tradition that says “*adat basandi syara’, syara’ basandi kitabulloh,*” which means tradition and religion cannot be separated – both of them complete each other. In conclusion, the majority of traditional ritual is not only based on social interaction (*Hablu Minnanas*), but also interaction with The One Above All, The One and Only God (*Hablu Minallah*). Our national ideology, the Pancasila, also placed religiosity as its first component, as mentioned in its first principle, “The One and Only God.”

The explanation above indicates that Indonesia as a nation-state put religious aspect as one of the element of its national characteristic. Therefore, Indonesia is not a secular state.

Good news for people who adopt local faith in this country has begun to emerge. It began with a Decree from Constitutional Court No. 97/PUU XIV/2016 that stated:

1. That the word “religion” in Article 61 paragraph (1) and Article 64 paragraph

- (1) of Law No. 23 Year 2006 about Population Administration which has been replaced with Law No. 24 Year 2013 about The Change to Law No. 23 Year 2006 about Population Administration is violating the 1945 Constitution and has no binding legal force on parole as long it does not include the word "faith."*
2. *That Article 61 paragraph (2) of Law No. 23 Year 2006 about Population Administration which has been replaced with Law No. 24 Year 2013 about The Change to Law No. 23 Year 2006 about Population Administration is violating the 1945 Constitution and has no binding legal force on parole as long it does not include the word "faith."*

Indonesia is a lawful country guaranteed by its constitution that clearly mentioned the protection for human rights as expressed in:

1. Article 27 Paragraph (1) that stated: *"All citizens shall be equal before the law and the government and shall be required to respect the law and the government, with no exceptions."*
2. Article 27 Paragraph (2) that stated: *"Every citizen shall have the right to work and to earn a humane livelihood."*
3. Article 28 that stated: *"The freedom to associate and to assemble, to express written and oral opinions, etc., shall be regulated by law."*
4. Article 29 Paragraph (2) that stated: *"The state guarantees all persons the freedom of worship, each according to his/her own religion or belief."*
5. Article 30 Paragraph (1) that stated: *"Every citizen shall have the right and duty to participate in the defense and security of the state."*
6. Article 31 Paragraph (1) that stated: *"Every citizen has the right to receive education."*
7. Article 34 that stated: *"Impoverished persons and abandoned children shall be taken care of by the State."*

Among the seven human rights guaranteed in 1945 Constitution, only 1 (one) article that explicitly use the phrase "guarantees," that is Article 29 paragraph (2) on freedom of worship. This became contradictory with the derivative legal product that does not reflect that guarantee to freedom of worship, such as Law on Population Administration that became the object of lawsuit above.

It should be noted that there is no article in 1945 Constitution that mentioned about the State's official religion, meaning that the assumption that Indonesia has only 6 official religions: Islam, Christianity, Catholic, Hindu, Buddha and Confucian is totally wrong.

Identity card is an authentic document used for recognizing one's citizenship. It is a document that can clearly prove one's identity as a citizen of Indonesia. Although the Law of Population Administration before Constitutional Court lawsuit allows people who adopt local faith to let their religion column blank, it also means that the government only acknowledged those people as having no religion/atheist.

Therefore, a stigma arises in society where people whose religious column in identity card is blank are considered as having no religion. This kind of thing will make it difficult for them to access public service including applying for jobs, banking service, and other civil services. At that point, they will be forced to choose one of the 6 majority religions in Indonesia.

After the Constitutional Court Decree above, people who adopt local faith can legally write their faith in their identity card. The positive result of such thing will be tremendous as those people can secure their rights as citizens especially in regard to public matters. For example, when they about to held marriage, they no longer need to represent themselves as one of the 6 (six) majority religions. Marriage is a sacred moment for humankind as it does not only govern the sacred relations between human, but also the transcendental relation with the God as they manage their marriage in the future.

Imagine if people who adopt local faith cannot legalize their marriage and forced to choose the marriage tradition of the 6 (six) majority religions. For their whole life, those people will fill disturbed due to contradiction with their faith. After the Constitutional Court Decree above, marriage of people who adopt local faith will be recorded in accordance with Law No. 1 Yr. 1974 on Marriage:

Article 2

(1) Marriage is official if done in accordance with the law of each religion and faith

(2) Each marriage is recorded in accordance with applied law

Those who held marriage based on their faith will be able to obtain Marriage Certificate from their local Registry Office, just like people who adopt the 6 (six) majority religions. The right and duty of husband and wife will be more secured if their marriage is official, instead of having unofficial marriage for the sake of

preserving their faith that was not recognized by the Population Administration Law before Constitutional Court lawsuit. Even in the case of rights after divorce, those people can apply lawsuit to District Court for property rights, child custody and marriage agreement.

4

Steps to Preserve the Diversity of Indonesia

MUHAMMAD SAIFUL HAQ

The future of diversity in Indonesia seems to be facing trouble. This statement was not made for no reason. In fact, in the recent years, there has been an increase in the number of radical and intolerant groups that advocate anti-Pancasila ideas and disturb the unity of Indonesia.

The research made by Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) found that 25 percent of students and 21 percent of teachers believed that Pancasila is no longer relevant. Meanwhile, 84.8% of students and 76.2 percent of teachers agreed to the implementation of Islamic sharia. Four percent of Indonesians agreed with the terrorist group Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) meaning that there are 10 millions of Muslim people who were sympathetic to ISIS. Even worse, most of them were people of 19-25 years old and 5% of them were college student.¹

Ernest Renan, a French writer, philologist, philosopher and historian once said, "Each nation has its own end." The history has recorded many nations that come and gone. Looking at the huge number of "time bomb" population above, it is not impossible that Indonesia will come to its end.

The question is, where did the time bomb come from? We can trace it back to the emergence of fundamentalist group that upholds fanatical perspective

1 Based on the explanation of Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) in a forum *Membedah Pola Gerakan Radikal* on February 18th 2017.

on religion by attacking other groups of different beliefs. Those fundamentalists habituated themselves with negative idioms to justify their violent behavior, such as infidel, perverted and *thoghut*.

The process of regeneration and indoctrination from radical groups has been made in many universities since the era of Reformasi. They even continue to grow up to this day with new movements. They continue to spread with greater support from the society ever since a number of demonstrations.² The author believes that there are four things that we can do to prolong the diversity of Indonesia.

1. The Role of Government

It cannot be overstated how important the role of government is in dealing with radicalism and preserving the diversity of Indonesia. The government needs to be assertive to groups identified for advocating anti-Pancasila ideas. According to the speech by President Jokowi some time ago, Pancasila is the only ideology of Indonesia. If there is an organization that want to unsubscribe or disturb Pancasila along with other State Pillars, the state will take no qualm to 'beat' them and be repressive against acts of intolerance.

This statement was not only a threat by the government but has been proven by the disbandment of anti-Pancasila mass organization and the blockade of anti-Pancasila online media. Although that policy did invite controversy among the society, due to being considered as violating the constitution and democratic system, I believe that it was the right choice to be made. This policy can be seen as the State's method to anticipate chaotic situation in Indonesia.

2. The Role of Education

In addition to hard measure by the state, education must also play its role as a preventive measure. There is a need for awareness raising policy that focuses on de-radicalization of the society, especially the students, college students and teachers. The research by Maarif Institute stated that radical movement in educational institution continues to grow since 2011. The one responsible to distribute such ideology was usually teachers or lecturers through class session.

Education in school should not only focus on student's intelligence but also student's awareness of their citizenship, tolerance, peace and inter-religion

2 <https://m.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170324185255-20-202640/komnasham-kasus-ahok-picu-meningkatnyatindak-intoleransi/> accessed on December 31st, 2017.

harmony. In addition, more academic discussions and publications by scholars in public will be needed. These steps will be important because educational institution is the main source of the society's intelligence and morality, meaning they must be active in responding the threat to Indonesia's diversity.

Other than formal education in school, family education will also be important. Every family must believe that diversity is inevitable and that radicalism is our collective enemy. Every family must find a solution to each problem in order to ensure the communication between parents and children. Parents must also empower themselves with knowledge on tolerance, Indonesian-ism and moderate religion, because parents play a role in providing direct education which will shape their children's character. Even when they must delegate their role to school, parents must make sure to choose the right school and put their best effort to ensure that religious materials are provided in a correct manner.³

Another thing that parents must do is supervising their children's social life, especially in regard to their relation with religious community. Educational foundations will also need to evaluate the management of religion education in each institution under their jurisdiction. This also includes school's religious and mentoring activity, especially the one that involves external party. Ministry of Religion will also need to ensure that education for religion teacher has been provided with correct religious understanding.⁴

3. Smart Netizen

In 2017, eMarketer has predicted that the number of Indonesian netizen will reach 112 million, beating Japan in 5th rank due to their slow growth of internet user.⁵ Survey by Indonesian Association of Internet Provider (APJII) stated in 2016 that there are 132.7 million out of 256.2 million Indonesians that are connected to the internet. It means half of Indonesians have already connected to the internet.⁶ A majority of those internet users are children and teenagers whose number amount to 30 million.

Most of them use internet to find information, to connect with their friends (old and new) and for entertainment purposes. This provides an opportunity for

3 <http://www.mizan.com/mencegah-radikalisme-dari-keluarga/> accessed on December 31st, 2017.

4 *Ibid.*

5 https://kominfo.go.id/content/detail/4286/pengguna-internet-indonesia-nomor-enam-dunia/0/sorotan_media accessed on December 31st, 2017.

6 <http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2016/10/24/15064727/2016.pengguna.internet.di.indonesia.capai.132.juta> accessed on December 31st, 2017.

radicalism advocates to spread their doctrine in the internet. Therefore, the youth as the largest group of internet user in Indonesia must commit to deter misguided information by uploading peaceful contents in social media such as writing, comic and meme. Thus, peaceful contents' number will surpass radical contents distributed by radical groups.

If, for some reason, those peaceful contents were attacked with improper statements, there would be no need to make a big deal out of it. Most haters are hiding behind anonymity. The author believes that there is no need to respond anonymous account. It will be much better to continue advocating peace in the internet. In addition, there is no need to think twice to report accounts identified with radicalism. That is actually our duty as an individual to protect Indonesia.

4. Deepening Moderate Values

Theological doctrine is often used by fundamental groups to destroy diversity. Theological doctrine often results in exclusive attitude. Those who act exclusively will often hate diversity and tend to avoid interfaith dialogue. Even if they participate in a dialogue, what will happen most of the time is apologetic, reactive and selfish discussion.⁷ The theological doctrine often used by fundamentalists is mostly based on war-time verses and hatred to certain group.

Prof. Oliver Roy, an expert in terrorism and 'jihad' from France, argued that most radical people were actually not people with strong religious understanding. In fact, their religious knowledge was rather lacking. Most of them has dark past such as addicted to drugs, committing adultery and etc.

The author realizes that we should gain religious knowledge but we should not implement religious texts that command acts of violence without contextualizing it first. More than that, we should actually advocate religious verses that promote tolerance, diversity and love to living beings. In addition, we need to actively respond acts of intolerance without being reactive.

Promoting moderate religious values will protect the silent majorities – people who cannot express their opinion on things. The author believes that becoming a moderate religious person is a way to preserve diversity in Indonesia. Hans Kung, a theologian from Switzerland once said "There will be no peace among the nations without peace among the religions." A similar sentiment also came from

⁷ <http://www.acehtrend.co/membangun-sikap-keberagaman-yang-moderat/> accessed on December 31st, 2017.

KH. Abdurrahman Wahid when he said. "Indonesia is not a religious country but a country with religion. There are five officially recognized religions in Indonesia, so please respect the other four religions."

Diversity is an integral part of Indonesia that can never be denied. Therefore, protecting the integrity of Indonesia is our collective duty. There need to be a synergy between every element of this nation to collectively exterminate radicalism. We should never commit an act of vigilantism against radical groups because it will make us no different than them. However, we need to respond to their action with good attitude.

People involved in radicalism activity are victims of brainwashing. They took those radical ideologies for granted. Since radical ideology is intangible, our resistance must also be made intangibly. It means that ideology must be fought with ideology, radical ideology must be fought with moderate ideology socialized with the role of government, education, smart netizen and deepening moderate values.

The author is reminded of the fact that during the formulation of first principle of Pancasila, Muslim community managed to overcome their communal sentiment for the sake of common good. The act of yielding for the sake of common good is the way our founding fathers managed to preserve diversity in Indonesia. The founding fathers have shown us the way, now it is time for us to continue their effort.

5

Literacy Communities Preserve the Future of Diversity in Indonesia

FILYADI GUSTI ZAMZAMI

Indonesia is a country with the most islands in the world – thus Indonesia is known as an archipelagic country. Since Indonesia has the most islands in the world, it can be guaranteed that Indonesia will have the most diverse tribe/ethnicity, language, culture and religion.

We need to be grateful with the complexity of Indonesia since our country can still be considered as a peaceful and safe country. In fact, our country became the role model of other countries in the world, especially the Middle East countries that still cannot experience peace and security. Therefore, the diversity that we have is an inevitable aspect of our whole life. Our difference will result in a beautiful harmony. This is our blessing that must be preserved for our next generations. However, we cannot be truly happy for now. It is not easy to protect the beautiful harmony that we have today. The more diverse a region is, the higher its potential of social conflict, including economic, political and religious conflict. Moreover, the cause of conflict can also be the lack of media literacy that makes people believe in fake news.

Nowadays there are many literacy communities in Indonesia. However, will literacy be able to preserve the diversity in Indonesia? How will literacy community responds to intolerant ideology? What is the importance of literacy movement for the integrity of Indonesia? Is there any relation between literacy and religion? Can literacy community protect the harmony between people of Indonesia?

Literacy community is a group of individuals that work voluntarily. According to National Institute for Literacy, "Literacy is a person's ability to read, write, talk, calculate and solve problem within a certain level of expertise in jobs, family and society." In other words, literacy is information. When we used the above definition of literacy, then we already know that the world of literacy is related to reading, writing, calculating and understanding how to solve problem.

If people of Indonesia love to read books, they will not easily believe in fake news. They will not be easily provoked by sensitive issues in this year of politics and they will be critical to everything. By reading books, people of Indonesia can learn about the harmonious relationship in our country between different tribes, cultures, languages and religions that has been preserved since the time of the heroes.

The world of literacy tells that every human is basically the same. All have love and affection. Every human has a right for their freedom. Advocate of literacy will continue to inform about the importance of preserving the harmony between people that has been fought for by our national heroes. In addition to providing reading books without sensitive issues, advocate of literacy will also provide knowledge so people can be critical to the news articles published these days. In fact, advocate of literacy provides an example of the beauty of living in diversity as the literacy community consists of members from diverse background that work together for the sake of Indonesia.

If people of Indonesia already read books, they will know more about the history of Indonesia. Many groups attempted to destroy Indonesia because they did not know about our history. Knowing about history is important. To put it simply, when we know how our parents struggle so hard to maintain the house that we live in today, we will protect that house with all of our heart. That is also what will happen if we know how Indonesia was built upon diversity, not homogeneity. Our slogan is reflecting all of it: Unity in Diversity. There is no problem with it.

Conflict due to radicalism is not only caused by religious factor but also economic. Therefore, literacy community held training for housewives to make handiwork, so they can gain additional income. As a matter of fact, literacy is also the first command of God to His lover.

We need to further our knowledge about each verse in the holy book of every religion. There are no religion that exists only to create segregation and conflict. Let us read because we were born with knowledge and heart. And let us read as The

God commands His lover.

In Gatot Subroto Street near Solo City, we will see Al Hikmah Mosque and Christian Church of Jawa Joyodiningrat stands side by side. In fact, the two house of worship is not separated with any fences. The same is also true in Madura which is known as “Islamic Fortress of Indonesia,” due to the religiosity among its society. However, in that same place we can see Avalokitesvara Monastery (Kwan Im Kiong Temple), the second biggest monastery in Java Island. There is also a small mosque and temple in the same block as that monastery.

Next, some of us probably have heard about Bukit Kasih (Hill of Love) in Kanonang Village, Minahasa, North Sulawesi. In this Bukit Kasih there are five house of worship that belongs to different religion: Protestant Church, Monastery, Temple, Mosque and Catholic Church. Although the majority of Minahasa people are Protestant, we can see how harmonious their interfaith relationship is. How can we know about the harmony explained above? The answer is reading lots and lots.

“Reformasi was supposed to be a migration from a cold heart into a soft heart, soft to our brothers and sisters – migration from hatred to love,” Said Emha Ainun Najib (Cak Nun). That is what we were supposed to do together and individually, based upon our sincerity and impartiality. Let us continue reading. Love and religion were made to complete each other. Humankind should not be selfish, let us show more humility. After all, the absolute truth belongs to God only.

Ultimately, the activity of literacy advocate will preserve the diversity of Indonesia by spreading love of reading to the entire country as well as by continue writing about the beauty of diversity in Indonesia. All of it will contribute to the harmony and peace in Indonesia. One of the advocate of literacy in Jambi once said, “Do not only read school textbooks, read literary books. After all, literary were made based on things that are nearby to us. Through literary you will find the true meaning of love, the meaning which has been misinterpreted a lot lately.”

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6

A Spoonful of Smile and a Glass of Kindness; a Warm Peace for Everyone

DESI APRIANTI

In 2016 I had an opportunity to visit the Kangaroo Country, Australia, as part of Australia-Indonesia Youth Exchange Program. It was one of the most unforgettable moments in my life. Why? It is because it was the first time for me to be a minority, an Indonesian Muslim in a country where the majority of the people are Caucasian and non-Muslim. In addition, Islamophobia was on the rise back then due to the case of ISIS and terrorism. It made me nervous.

One day we planned to visit Hahndorf village in South Australia to take some pictures. As a delegation from Aceh, I wore my hijab when my picture was taken on the roadside. Suddenly a car pulled over near our position. From inside the car, a bald and tattooed man with sunglasses clenched his fist to us and yelled, "ALLAHU AKBAR! ALLAHU AKBAR!" My friends and I were startled. Perhaps that man thought that we were the cause of Islamophobia and that we were threatening his life. Perhaps he still had very bad impression about Muslim people. That experience made me more vigilant to face the potential of other discrimination for the next two months. I thought that people of Australia were no longer discriminative and intolerant to the minority since their country was built upon a diverse race, tribe and nations.

I lived with the Davis family in a small city of Goolwa, two-hour trip from Adelaide. It was their first experience to meet with an Indonesian and a Muslim,

a complete experience of cultural exchange for that family. In order to introduce Indonesian culture, I prepared a batik fabric from Bengkulu as a souvenir. I did not expect them to really love it. They thought that the motive of that fabric was very beautiful and the fabric itself was very soft. Meanwhile if we went to Bengkulu, such fabric is practically sold everywhere.

Apparently, local wisdom and culture of certain place can be very unique and valuable in other place. I also attempted to cook Indonesian food some times by using some amount of materials that can be bought in a supermarket nearby. Indonesian food which is known for its flavorful taste made them addicted to it. Their favorite food was meatball and *rujak* (fruit salad with spicy dressing). At first they did not believe that fruit salad with spicy dressing is something that can be eaten. However, after they tried it, they immediately want to know the recipe to make that sauce. They said *rujak* was the most delicious fruit salad they have ever eaten.

When we bade farewell, they gave me a card that said *"Thank you for sharing your culture with us. We wish you good health and happiness in the future. We hope that all of your big dreams come true!"*

After more than one year, we continue to communicate with short messages and pictures. I never experienced other discrimination after the Hahndorf incident. Apparently not every Australian were intolerant and discriminative to other nation and religion – it was only small part of them. Only a small part of Australian people who never learned about the minorities. Had they knew, they will be able to celebrate the beauty of cultural differences by respecting and tolerating each other without discrimination just like my foster parents in Australia.

Just like Australia, Indonesia is a country that consists of many tribes and religions. There are more than 300 ethnic groups or tribes in Indonesia, or precisely 1,340 tribes according to the census from National Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in 2010. Each group has their own local wisdom and culture. We should be proud about this, not making it a reason to shed conflict. Are not our founding fathers have created a formula to prevent discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence long before this country was founded? "Unity in Diversity" should not only be a slogan. After all, difference is what unite all of us.

Indonesia that extends from Sabang to Merauke is a celebration of tolerance and love to the diversity that we have. We should not make our diversity a problem,

rather we should try to understand each other so we can live in harmony. In spite of our difference, Indonesia still has a unifying local wisdom and culture which is: friendliness.

Indonesian is known for their friendliness. Reported by Surya from *tribuntravel.com*, a Sweden-based organization, AB Better Business, published a report in 2009 titled *The Smiling Report* that mentioned how Indonesia is number one as a country with the best smile in the world. Friendliness is the basic trait of Indonesian that attracts tourists and immigrants from around the world. This friendliness is shown throughout Indonesia, from the West to the East. This is a local wisdom that can be used as a social capital to deter discrimination, intolerance and extremist violence. Through a simple act of smile, we can respect and appreciate other people.

In late 2017 I visited a village in a pretty remote district. After staying in that place for few days, I learned that the people in that village really uphold collectiveness and cooperation. Wherever I walked, I found that they will always smile and greet me. It is apparent that even in the most remote area of Indonesia there is a local wisdom that can be learned. It will be very beautiful if every person in Indonesia preserves this smiling culture, like a breakfast tea that provides comfort for each person – a tea made from a spoonful of smile and a glass of friendliness. Let us sit together to celebrate the dusk of this peaceful-colored sky.

7

Managing Diversity

IKIN ROJIKIN

Discussing about culture in regard to Indonesia should be started from the matter of language: how do we interpret the word ‘culture’ and ‘Indonesia’? This is no small feat as language is something given to human so they can think. Without language, it will be impossible for human to think.

There is no consensus on the definition of culture – which means “*tsaqafah*” In Arabic and “*budaya*” in Bahasa Indonesia. Every language has their own formula to generate meaning. In fact, every discipline – especially humanities – has their own formula to generate meaning, not to mention the development of meaning that occurred within certain discipline. Therefore, discussing about culture as it is would be impossible since it will only bring us to series of unexplained meaning. As such, it must be limited within certain scope – this is where the word ‘culture’ is positioned within the context of religiosity before being attributed to Indonesia.

Within the diverse meaning of culture, there are some similarities in terms of attribute and flow that this word tries to express: culture is a system about symbols and values that come from the creation of human that got implemented over and over again until it manifests into an attitude. Based on that meaning, attributing culture to religion is an attempt to interpret religion as a system of value in the process of being transformed into faith and attitude.

Therefore, religion as a culture means it is not a universal thing that erodes the locality of human, nor it is a revelation received by the prophet (except for some piety religions formulated by great figures such as Confucius, Lao Tze, Buddha Gautama, and etc. that has already been considered as a culture since their first appearance).

There is some kind of affirmation from the beginning that religion means having religion: it is local in nature. As such, it can be understood why certain religion – for example: Islam – experienced diversity when it is being positioned as a culture of religion. Such thing is possible due to the fact that it will always be in line with its success in finding its locality that cannot be generalized: there are Indonesian Islam, Egyptian Islam, Saudi Arabian Islam, Traditional Islam, Urban Islam and so on.

Meanwhile, Indonesia is a word used to signify the birth of nationalism awareness to build a free, religious, honorable, just, prosperous and civilized nation. Indonesia is a word that found its definition after it was proclaimed in 1945, as a collective effort to be free from the oppression and colonization experienced by some races and groups in a national scale from Sabang to Merauke. It is a form of nationalism manifested in language as Indonesia.

Through the understanding that Indonesia is a culture created from the consciousness to build a nation by different races and groups of society, we can understand that Indonesia is a word used to unite these different locales. As a matter of fact, each of those locales has their own code of faith and attitude, but they willingly converge into a united nation. This means that there is an adaptation process among each locale in order to unite into this idea of nationalism – they experienced shift and convergence so they can be objectified as a nation-state of Indonesia.

In that context, Indonesia emerges as a new body of consciousness sustained by a diverse local consciousness as a respond to the fact that fragmented local consciousness has allowed them to be oppressed and conquered. Therefore, Indonesian nationalism emerges as an effort to free themselves from the traumatic experience and memory. Due to the strong desire to be free from their traumatic and dark prison, the convergence of locales in Indonesia became inevitable. At the same time, this convergence of locale was supported by religious culture, political culture and economic culture. There is some kind of obstacle faced by those locales in those three aspects in order to transform their racial locale into national locale.

Religiosity as a Maker of Nationalistic Culture

Since reading Indonesian culture along with all of its aspects in this short essay will be almost impossible, we need to make some specifications. Therefore, this essay will only discuss about Indonesian culture from its religious aspect, particularly its religiosity.

The emergence of Indonesian nationalistic culture is an actual challenge to the religious culture of each local culture contained within. In case of Islam, Indonesian culture is a new challenge to formulate a value which was originally conceptualized to sustain and create the local culture of each existing culture, meaning that the two is mutually exclusive.

Such formulation is obviously a concept that can contribute to the religious value required by people of Indonesia, which is sustained by its diversity, in regard to the attempt to achieve equality of rights and obligations and to achieve a national consciousness that upholds religiosity, honor, justice and prosperity – all of which are basic principles mentioned in the five principles of Pancasila along with its explanations.

On the other hand, Indonesia as a system of culture should also provide a guarantee on freedom of religion for the sake of its local religious culture that sustains it, whether for the culture related to the fundamental teaching of that religion itself (which includes faith, ritual and piety or in Islam known as *akidah*, *syariah* and *akhlak*), or for the culture that emerges as a result of the implementation of those fundamental teachings (which includes among other, ethics, arts, politics, economics and etc.).

This is the very basic relations that occur when, in fact, in the context of Indonesia-ism, religious culture is used as one of the supporters and makers of Indonesian culture. The acceptance from religious culture to national culture came from the fact that, within the context of pre-Indonesia, religious culture has been oppressed and silenced and unable to implement those fundamental teachings above, allowing it to experience traumatic and dark experience.

Therefore the acceptance and support from religious culture (in this case Islamic culture) to Indonesian national culture can be explained, in spite of the fact that this national culture is a relatively modern cultural consciousness that arose as a reverse mimicry of the colonialist's modernity.

Although the modernity that came from the colonialists was widely opposed, the modernity that arose from Indonesian national consciousness can be accepted

wholeheartedly (evidenced by, for example, the strong acceptance and support from some religious mass organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah). This is possible because this national culture is capable – or expected to be capable – to formulate a system of value that will provide bigger space for religious culture.

Therefore, the main objective of religious culture is a mastery of two things: (1) mastery to religious tradition that has been transformed into a local system of culture that can differentiate between universal and sacred values and the implementation of those universal values in local context (in other words, understanding the difference between the universal and local value of religion); and (2) understanding the values and scope of nationality in Indonesian consciousness as a nation-state and as a goal to be achieved.

Those two things must absolutely be made and implemented adequately. Inability to satisfy the two objectives will bring negative impacts, whether for the religious culture or the national culture. The negative impact that will be experienced by religious culture includes: a perception that these religious cultures that has been transformed into local culture is already finalized and unchallenged; a segregation of religious culture which might violate its religious teaching.

In that context, the local religious culture will actually simplify and reduce the universal scope of religious values. Other impact includes: religion unable to adapt to national goals which will cause failure to converge with national culture. In other words, religious culture will continue to be a deviating sub-culture that can never be the main culture on national level.

At the same time, the negative impacts from the failure of religious culture to fulfill those objectives are: religion instead becomes a threat to the integrity of national consciousness; and religious culture actually becomes a nationalism that threatens the growth of Indonesian nationalism. Religious culture should have been the supporter and moral-check of nationalism so it will become a friendly consciousness, instead of becoming a violent consciousness.

8

The Dynamics of Peace Movement in Cirebon

HARRY

For people of Indonesia, the movements and actions committed by terrorist group are inhumane. They have committed acts of bombing that caused hundreds of innocents' deaths and destruction of public facility as well as continual terror and uncomfortable environment to live.

In regard to radicalism and terrorism, I still remember vividly the case of suicide bombing in JW Marriot Hotel and Ritz Carton Hotel in Jakarta in July 17th 2009. The perpetrator of that suicide bombing was Dani Dwi Permana and Nana Ikhwan Maulana (suicide bombers), Noordin M. Top (brain of operation), Ibrohim and 7 other people. Dani Dwi Permana was a former head of Rohis (student Islamic organization) of Yadika Bogor Vocational School in West Java. As a matter of fact, I used to be a head of Rohis during my second year in high school. At that time, a negative rumour about Rohis as the lair of terrorists was on the rise.

Research by several institutions has found that West Java is the most vulnerable region among other regions. In fact, in another category, it was mentioned that West Java is a red zone. This might be true if we look at several cases of religious violence in Indonesia, especially in West Java. As a matter of fact, many perpetrators of suicide bombing in Indonesia are people of West Java such as Ibrahim, Saefuddin Zuhri bin jaelani and Muhammad Sahrir (Saefudin's older brother) – all three of them came from Kuningan. Other name includes M. Salik Firdaus, the suicide

bomber in Bali Bombing II and Watono aka Tono aka Anton aka Jafar who was allegedly the perpetrators of the book bombing in Jakarta and Serpong bombing – the two of them came from Majalengka. The same is also true for Zulifli Lubis aka Lebah, Mardiansyah aka Ferdi and Eko Ibrahim aka Boim who were caught in Depok, West Java.

Other name that surprised the people is Muhammad Syarif's terrorist group who was behind the suicide bombing of a police mosque in Cirebon. After months of being fugitives, Densus 88 managed to capture them and found that most of them originated from Cirebon.

In addition to acts of terrorism, West Java is also known as a region that generates a lot of religious intolerance. Institutions that observe the freedom of religion in Indonesia, such as Wahid Institution and Setara Institute, placed West Java in number one as the region with the most religious intolerance, followed by East Java and Aceh. Report from Setara Institute in 2012 mentioned that among 264 incidents of religious violence in Indonesia, West Java is number one with (76) incidents, East Java (42) incidents, Aceh (36) incidents, Central Java (30) incidents, and South Sulawesi (17) incidents.

On the other hand, fundamental and radical religious movements are targeting youth, particularly those in high school level. Several facts have shown that these high school youth are mostly unstable in their religious understanding, yet they have strong passion to learn about religion.

Research by Rahima Jakarta in 5 high schools in big cities such as Jakarta, Medan, Bandung, Surabaya and Makassar showed that high school students have strong passion to learn about religion but have no time to learn it in-depth. Therefore, most of their religious knowledge is self-thought – meaning they do not participate in *halaqah*. As such, many of them are trapped in radical religious understanding due to misguided interpretation on religious text, especially in regard of Jihad. Recent information compiled by Keluarga Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (KBNU) Cirebon mentioned some schools with students that refuse to acknowledge the Government of Indonesia. Some of them even said that the governmental system of Indonesia is a perverted system that strays from Islamic sharia.

In addition to being advocated by religious mass organizations, literalist and fundamentalist understanding of religious is apparently distributed to several *pesantren* and Quran reading groups in West Java. Under normal circumstances,

this kind of understanding will not be problematic. However, due to being distributed by irresponsible scholars without any effort to contextualize it through humanism perspective, it allows the growth of radical religious understanding. As such, potential of religious violence rose.

The prevalence of act of violence including suicide bombing in the last decades in Indonesia is allegedly committed by Muslim people. This is evidenced by the identity of perpetrators caught by the police after the incidents. Based on the existing statements and evidences, those acts of violence were conducted as a mean to implement *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* (enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong) and also *jihad fi sabilillah* (jihad for the sake of Allah). Even more concerning is the fact that this idea was spread to many places such as mosques, universities, civil society organizations, religious organizations and also *pesantrens*.

The Response to Radicalism, Terrorism & Religious Violence in Cirebon

The dynamics of problem surrounding religious violence, radicalism and terrorism is a challenge for the government and society. Our life is now threatened by things that desire the segregation of this nation. As a person who is aware of the problems in its environment, it is no wonder that some civil society organizations did not stay silent. Together with the community, they contribute to the effort to build peace and solemnity.

In 2011, due to the concern from religious figures in Cirebon for the lack of interfaith dialogue and response to the prevalence of radicalism and religious violence, people of Cirebon who are affiliated with Saturday Forum in Fahmina Institute founded Pelita (Interfaith Youth) community of Cirebon in October 28th 2011. Ever since, Pelita has organized activities to raise tolerance and respect to every religion in Cirebon. Several departments were also established to make it easier for this organization's movement. Some of the departments include the Department of Monthly Meeting, the Department of Social Relations, the Department of Research and Department of Legal. All of those departments worked together by combining youth from different races, religions and cultures in Cirebon. The department that I participated in is an important one for Pelita, namely the Department of Monthly Meeting. Members of this department consisted of youth with different religions and faiths in Cirebon. The meeting itself is mostly casual and informal. Therefore, a new person will always join every meeting.

The next respond by Fahmina was Setaman (School of Peace and Love) program. Setaman is one of the programs implemented by Fahmina Institute in collaboration with Mensen meet een Missie, a Holland-based institution that worked to “promote freedom of religion and faith” in Cirebon. Setaman will not only be implemented in Cirebon but also other regions including Kuningan, Majalengka and Indramayu. This program has been implemented since 2015. In 2016, Setaman managed to engage with 350 teenagers (185 girls and 165 boys) from many communities. Most of them were high school students, college students and *pesantren* students. Each region has experienced several amounts of Setaman trainings: 4 times in Cirebon, 3 times in Indramayu, 2 times in Cirebon, Kuningan and Majalengka. Based on their origin, there are 79 alumni of Setaman that came from *pesantren*, 204 from high school and 67 from university. Our alumni that came from *pesantren* studied formally in *pesantren*. Meanwhile, our alumni that came from university were mostly sophomores.

Setaman has faced many obstacles in its journey. However, there is always a silver lining that allows Setaman to continue spreading peace for our next generation. The impact that can be felt from the Setaman program is that the alumni became more open to difference. They can respect each other and even participate in spreading the values of peace.

Local Wisdom as the Basis of Peace Movement

Diversity is inevitable in our life. In the context of Indonesia, Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika are the umbrella for our diversity that requires us to cooperate as a society. The same is also true for the local wisdom in each society.

Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah (Saint Gunung Jati) was a saint that spread Islam in Cirebon by utilizing the local wisdom of Cirebon people back then and his teachings are still relevant even today. At that time, Cirebon was an Islamic kingdom but it was able to uphold tolerance in spite of the diversity of tribe, race and religion. This is reflected in the name Cirebon which came from the word *caruban* (mixture).

The same is also true for our local traditions that are tolerant in nature as reflected by its symbolism, iconography and art product. For example, one of the inheritances that we received from Saint Gunung Jati is Paksinagaliman, a vehicle used by Sultan Prince Sepatdia, which is a mythical creatures created through the combination of elephant (Hindu), dragon (China) and buraq (Islam).

Based on their Islamic local wisdom and art product, Alang-Alang community advocated peace through *hadroh* musical instrument and lyrics that convey messages about peace. This community was founded in 2014 based on the initiative of Ibu Koidah, the Religion Teacher in SMAN 1 Plumbon and also its Rohis adviser. Alang-Alang community was founded to be a vessel for SMAN 1 Plumbon's Rohis alumni who want to work on the issues of peace.

Art is a beautiful method to convey peace messages. *Hadroh* was chosen as musical instrument because it is very popular among Muslim youth although Alang-Alang Community did not exclude the possibility of other religions enjoying their music as well. As a proof, they were chosen as runner up in Ready (Respect and Dialogue), an event organized under the collaboration of LBH Jakarta, Wahid Foundation, Fahmina Institute and Hivos in Jakarta.

Obviously there are a lot of things that can be gained from the local wisdom of each region in Indonesia. Culture and tradition that have been planted deeply in each region will be a breakthrough in the effort to protect peace in this country.

Today's lack of appreciation to local wisdom must be changed. Globalization and radicalism can be filtered and prevented through local wisdoms of each region. By protecting the traditional values of each society, we should be able to be a fortress against problems that threaten our national unity. We should also realize that we have and always been different, but that difference is not to be the source of conflict, segregation or even violence. That difference is supposed to be our strength and social capital to build and protect Indonesia.

As a final note, the challenge to our life as a citizen and as a religious follower will always exist. Now is the time for this nation to create a peaceful and prosperous life. Interfaith dialogue must be increased and inclusiveness must be advocated for each religious follower. This is to minimize the misunderstanding between religions.

Youth and adult must habituate themselves with values of tolerance and peace at least in their family. After all, one's character is shaped by their family before their environment.

Radicalism and terrorism are our enemy. Therefore, it is our duty to fight and prevent them.

9

The Social Integration of Post-Conflict Aceh

DINAR SARI

Indonesia is an archipelagic country that spans from Sabang to Merauke with so many tribes, races, religions and cultures. Not only that, people of Indonesia is very diverse in terms of ethnicity, culture, race, education and other background. However, people of Indonesia are still united within the Republic of Indonesia under the slogan Unity in Diversity.

There are many positive and negative effects caused by those differences. The positive effect is we can be proud with our difference that other countries cannot experience. The negative effect is the high prevalence of conflict.

The difference among Indonesian people has caused a lot of conflict such as the conflicts in Papua and Aceh. This high prevalence of social conflicts is very harmful to the society. Humankind is essentially a social being that always attempts to adapt with its environment. In its attempt to adapt with differences, there will be friction if not managed well. Thus, cooperation will be needed for human to unite with others. Such cooperation will pave the way for integration.

Social integration is convergence of two or more social elements into one integral body that can be accepted. Social integration aims to control conflict and social deviation as well as converging different social elements within society. Social integration is important to prepare the society in dealing with challenges, whether physical or mental challenges, that can occur in social life.

Aceh is one of the regions in Indonesia that have experienced long-term conflict. The conflict in Aceh began since 1976 to 2005. The occurrence of long-term conflict in Aceh has caused the degradation of social integration, such as the friction between Aceh natives and Javanese people, the fear to teach Pancasila or holding a flag ceremony every Monday, the fear of the Indonesian Army, as well as perception that those soldiers were an enemy and a threat. However, such problems no longer occur after the resolution of Aceh conflict.

The signing of Helsinki Peace Agreement in Finland in 2005 has transformed Aceh into a peaceful region. People of Aceh can now live in harmony with other tribe, race and religion. People of Aceh has now uphold religious tolerance, which includes respecting other religious ritual and celebrating the important day of other religions as well as providing freedom for children of any religion to receive the same rights such as education and etc. Not only tolerance, the nationalism of Aceh people has also increased. This can be seen from the many Aceh students that made a name for themselves by representing Indonesia in International events, the obligation for students to learn about Pancasila in school and the implementation of state defence training which is participated by Aceh youth. Those examples are evidence that social integrity in Aceh has tremendously increased.

Personal Experience

I was one of the Aceh children who experienced the conflict 12 years ago. I have experienced Aceh before and after conflict. I have seen with my own eye that the social integration in Aceh has increased. In regard to the current social integration in Aceh, there are many positive effects that benefitted the Aceh people themselves. This includes the increase in regional income due to tourism, regional development and better education. This allows people of Aceh to live in harmony and peace.

Difference in society can create conflict and dispute but it ultimately will resolve into integration. Social integration is an attempt to resolve difference, especially difference that lead to social conflict. Life will be better, more harmonious and safer through integration. The case of Aceh has shown the importance of social integration in society. The lack of social integration will increase the potential of social conflict.

10

Progressive Law as an Investment to Preserve Pluralism in Indonesia

ANITA WAHYU RAKASIWI

Society is a group of individuals who live together to create culture. There is no society without culture and there can be no culture without a society to support it.¹ People of Indonesia is a typical pluralistic society due to the diversity of tribe, tradition, culture, ethnicity, religion and even faith. As such, pluralism is no stranger for people of Indonesia.

Pluralism is a worldview or societal attitude that prioritizes the plurality or diversity in society. By acknowledging the existence of diversity in society, they can agree to respect differences through non-discriminative act.² Despite the fact that pluralism is a hard fact and natural law that will always exist, many people are unwilling to acknowledge the reality of pluralism. As a result, humans are often trapped in a truth claim that can lead to segregation and conflict.³

The spread of values of unity is very important, especially people nowadays are easily provoked by sensitive issues related to religion, ethnicity, tribe and culture. We should not be easily provoked as it will create segregation in our country. Awareness of Indonesian unity must be preserved by each citizen so it can be planted deeply

1 Soerjono Soekanto dan Budi Sulistyowati, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2014), p. 147

2 Sayidiman Suryohadiprojo, *Mengobarkan Kembali Api Pancasila*, (Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2014), p. 179

3 Ahmad Zainul Hamdi dan Muktafi, *Wacana dan Praktik Pluralisme Keagamaan di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Daulat Press, 2017), p. 31

and transformed into a culture.

One of the solutions to preserve pluralism and unity of our nation is through the implementation and enforcement of law. Nowadays, law enforcement in Indonesia tends to be positivistic. Positivism turns law into math problems, people use law only based on its literal interpretation without being critical of it.⁴ Products of law will ultimately be mere formality where legal certainty is believed as an icon of truth.⁵

The positivistic tendency of our law causes societal life to be measured only according to written law. In essence, written law is made to guarantee legal certainty. However, it actually results in inability to accommodate every interest and need of a plural and diverse society. The interest of some people which is not accommodated by written law will create potential for conflict. Thus, a progressive law will be needed as one of the solutions to minimize the potential of conflict as well as preserving the pluralism and unity of Indonesian people.

Sajipto Rahardjo as well as his proponents desire a change to the paradigm of law especially the structure of law in order to make sure law can no longer have cult status as advocated by the positivists. They expect a breakthrough in our legal paradigm so that law is only seen as one of the variables that must be corresponded with the value of justice contained within the society as another important variable.⁶

Progressive law means radically change the fundamental theory and practice of law through many breakthroughs. This change will be based upon the idea that law is only created for people, not otherwise – that law is created to ensure the honor, happiness and prosperity of people.⁷

Progressive law will be an investment to preserve pluralism and unity in Indonesia by making sure that law will not be implemented and enforced solely based on written regulations. Lawmakers, in making law, will be forced to further see the diverse need of the people so that the produced law can accommodate all of their needs.

This will not only be relevant for the lawmakers as law enforcers will also be forced to not only be a slave to the written norm of legal regulation. Law enforcers,

4 Lintang O. Siahaan, Peran Hakim dalam Pembaharuan Hukum di Indonesia, *Jurnal Hukum dan Pembangunan* Tahun 36 No. 1, Tahun 2006, p. 35

5 Rusli Muhammad, Kajian Kritis terhadap Teori Hukum Positif (Positivisme), *Jurnal Hukum Republica*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Tahun 2006, p. 222

6 Marilang, Menimbang Paradigma Keadilan Hukum Progresif, *Jurnal Konstitusi*, vol. 14 No. 2, 2017, p. 319

7 Satjpto Rahardjo, *Membedah Hukum Progresif*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2007), p. 154

especially the judges, will be forced to make breakthroughs in resolving legal dispute by paying attention the condition and needs of our plural society in accordance with their tribe, ethnicity, culture, religion and faith.

The implementation and enforcement of progressive law will contribute in minimizing the conflict in society caused by the unfruitful legal dispute that cannot accommodate the diverse needs of Indonesian society. Legal resolution based on progressive law will be more beneficial for a society with diverse tribe, ethnicity, culture, religion or faith.

Progressive law will also determine the existence of diversity of Indonesia in the future as it will be an investment to preserve the diversity of Indonesia. Without an effort to preserve diversity, it will be possible for social conflict among society to destroy Indonesia.

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11

Gymnastics of Nusantara to Preserve Indonesian Cultural Diversity Collaboration between Indonesian Traditional Dance and Physical Fitness Gymnastics

PUTRA RENALDY SARI

The advancement of technology in this millennial era cannot be separated with the involvement of Western countries as the producer of all aspects of technology, from education, agriculture, marine and information technology. The effect of the West' technological advancement is the growth of science which allows every activity to be easier. Those western inventions ultimately create arrogance to conquer other country in every aspect.

It cannot be denied that the effect of technological and scientific progress has been felt by the Eastern countries. This is utilized by the West to invade Eastern countries with their mastery of technology and science. Although colonialism is no more, invasion can never be gone as can be seen by how Eastern countries nowadays are glorifying the Western technology and science.

In addition, the development of society from tradition to modern is very dominated by the advancement of technology and science from the West. The shift from traditional society to modern society can never be separated with the lifestyle of the West which is shown through information technology, whether through printed and electronic media or social media.

Those influences have, inadvertently or otherwise, changed and shifted the cultural values of the invaded Eastern countries. The shift of values can be seen by the westernized fashion, food and film in our modern society nowadays.

It made people ignorant or unaware of their own identity, especially in the case of Indonesia. According to the research by Ministry of Communication and Information of Indonesia in 2013, "internet user in Indonesia is amounted to 62 million people in which 95% of them used internet to access social media."

Indonesia is a country with a vast amount of natural resource and culture. A fertile land, a vast ocean, and a cultural diversity is the main wealth of Indonesia. Every region in Indonesia has a unique culture. Culture is a societal habit inherited from generations to generations until it become an obligation or taken for granted. There are so many types of culture in Indonesia, from marriage process, funeral, local wisdom and traditional dances.

According to Bambang Sunaryo, a lecturer in Faculty of Social and Political Science in Gadjah Mada University, during his lecture in *Seminar Nasional Tata Kelola Kebudayaan sebagai bentuk Strategi Kebudayaan* in PPS UGM last 2010, "Degradation of culture in Indonesia is very concerning, whether materially or immaterially. Unfortunately, the negative impact and threat to the existence and survivability of cultural elements in society is not considered as serious matter." Furthermore, Bambang explained that "the cause of cultural degradation has not been paid attention, such as the school environment that only provides cognitive knowledge but no socio-cultural knowledge."

Traditional dance is one of the cultures of Indonesia and each region in Indonesia has their own traditional knowledge. Those dances were used for certain events during the age of kingdoms. Therefore, traditional dances are one of the cultural assets of Indonesia and must be preserved.

Preserving a culture that has been inherited from past generations is the duty of today's generation. The concerned generation is the youth which has an important role to preserve traditional dance culture. After all, the survivability of a nation will be determined by its youth. Bung Karno once said that a great nation is a nation that appreciates the deeds of their heroes and ancestors.

In regard to the discussion on traditional dance, Indonesian youth seems to be passive in preserving traditional dance that has become the identity of Indonesia. There are only few groups that work to preserve traditional dance, while today's generation is more interested with western dance such as shuffle dance, hip-hop, ballet, salsa and etc. It signifies their ignorance to traditional dance.

The above cases are examples of hybridity process between traditional dance

and modern dance among today's youth generation. Traditional dance is thought as outdated, while modern dance is thought as cooler. However, they are ignorant to the fact that traditional dance is one of the cultures that must be preserved. This is a duty that must be taken by young generations by creating groups of communities to preserve Indonesian culture.

The process of cultural hybridity influences the shift in cultural value. Nowadays, it appears that modern dance is more preferred than traditional dance. It is no wonder that many youth nowadays do not even know about their region's traditional dance.

This is a problem that must be solved by the government, particularly the Ministry of Culture and Education, family, society and youth themselves. Those elements of society must provide a concept to preserve Indonesian traditional dance so young generations can understand the importance of traditional dance as national identity and that modern dance is a product of Western nations that will degrade our culture.

As a member of Muslim Students' Association (HMI), the author believes in the duty explained above. As a student that has a function as an agent of change, agent of social control, and agent of morality, they will surely have an idea that can be implemented to solve this nation's problems.

Students have the duty to control the community in order to ensure a just and prosperous society. Based on the aforementioned problems, the author will provide a concept that can be implemented in society and also education world. "Gymnastics of Nusantara (Collaboration between Indonesian Traditional Dance and Physical Fitness Gymnastics) to Preserve Indonesian Cultural Diversity," is a title of this essay as well as a concept that can be used to preserve Indonesian traditional dance so younger generations can be aware of these traditional dances instead of the modern and western dances. Through gymnastics, the education world and public in general can participate to preserve Indonesian culture. It will be better if this concept is included in school curriculum so students from their earliest age can know about the diverse culture in Indonesia that has been fought for by our heroes.

Gymnastic of Nusantara is a combination of traditional dances in Indonesia delivered in physical fitness gymnastics format. These gymnastic movements will directly deliver knowledge to students and the society. In addition, it will contribute to their health through entertaining motoric activity.

FRAGMENT 5

**FUTURE OF
DIVERSITY**

1

Future of Diversity in Indonesia

DEMAS BUNTUMA'DIKA

Indonesia is a country with diversity of tribe, religion, language, ethnicity, culture social status and etc. Basically, even though this country is consisted of people from many different cultures, religions, and etc., all of them admit to be part of Indonesia. However, there are also a lot of conflicts between people of Indonesia, for whatever reason. What is happening with Indonesia? What is wrong with Indonesia? Perhaps there are indeed many problems caused by the diversity in Indonesia.

There is a big question surrounding the diversity in Indonesia. After surviving for a long time, diversity today is one of the most important issues in Indonesia. In recent years we have seen a lot of crisis in regard to diversity. Religion-based social conflict continues to arise, such as arson of house of worship, religious blasphemy, physical conflict between religious followers and most importantly: terrorism. Religion often became the source of conflict in this diverse country.

Difference is one of the most popular buzzwords among Indonesian youth. Most of them learned it from television, newspaper, magazine and etc. It is no wonder since Indonesia has apparently been destined to live in diversity which means having a lot of difference.

Diversity of religion, ethnicity, language and culture is no stranger for this nation. Despite its diversity, people of Indonesia are still capable to live in harmony

and peace. This is the manifestation of tolerance from Indonesians that gained admiration from foreign nations. In actuality, diversity could be a potential to make Indonesia stronger if every Indonesian person could be involved in this country's collective effort which is known for its archipelago.

Looking at the history of Indonesia, we know that we did not win our freedom due to the effort of one religion but multiple religions. We know that we did not win our freedom due to the effort of one ethnicity, but every ethnicity in this country. Most importantly, we know that we did not win our freedom due to the effort of one culture but the whole culture of Indonesia.

This nation has a philosophy named *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* which means "Unity in Diversity." In spite of our diversity, people of Indonesia can unite and strengthen each other. This philosophy can become a guidance for people to commit their daily activities in regard of our diversity so that one day we can fulfill our noble goal as stated in the third principle of Pancasila, "The unity of Indonesia." Attempts to fulfill this third principle will be difficult with the prevalence of conflict in Indonesia as of late. We can still vividly remember those conflicts, such as the conflict in Poso, Maluku, Aceh and Papua. Most of them were caused by religious and tribal matters. The cause might be trivial but we can see how it can make hundreds and thousands of people lose their life.

Will the above conflicts be written only in our annals of history without any self-introspection?

Will we be able to live in peace and harmony without conflict in the future?

What can be done by Indonesian youth to deal with this challenge that can one day explode?

Those are three questions that can be asked in regard of the emergence of this conflict. We believe that every Indonesian has the same desire – to live in harmony in spite of their diversity without any threat from nearby elements.

Indonesia is a huge country with more than 200 million people spread in each of its island. In addition, the young generation of Indonesia also lives in different geographical conditions from rural, urban, highlands, forest, coastal and so on. The different geographical conditions caused them to have even more diverse characteristic. Long ago, the diversity in Indonesia can coexisted with and completed each other.

As we know, the characteristic of youth in Sulawesi is different with youth in

Java, Kalimantan, Papua and so on. One example of their differing characteristics is in their speaking volume. The youth in Sulawesi thought that Javanese people speaks more quietly while Javanese thought that people of Sulawesi speaks so loudly.

This difference was created for a reason. Ever since the olden days, Java Island has been visited and filled with people from the whole country, meaning that Java Island is very crowded. Therefore, they do not need to speak loudly since speaking quietly will be enough to be heard due their crowded society.

This habit is still preserved to this day. Meanwhile, the condition in Sulawesi, such as in Toraja, is very different with many people living so far away with each other. As such, people of Sumatera needs to speak loudly to communicate. This habit is still preserved to this day. Some people like it and some do not. However, this difference was created by different geographical condition.

A famous author from the United States has once said, "Power came from diversity, not from homogeneity." As such, Indonesian youth should preserve the diversity of this country so we can become stronger. It cannot be denied that the role of Indonesian youth is very necessary to protect national power. It would be better if Indonesian youth does not politicize our diversity so it can remain strong as ever. Certain political interests can be very influential for the condition of society.

Leadership is one of the things that must be truly preserved by Indonesian youth to preserve the diversity of Indonesia. A proper youth that can lead this complex nation is an honest, just and mature person that can build this nation in spite of its differences and diversity. Therefore, the best leader is the one that capable of critical thinking and capable to create national unity. A selfish and communal youth will not be able to lead Indonesia. This kind of leader will only lead our diversity to another conflict.

In regard to the religious diversity in Indonesia, every religion actually has its own teaching. However, we can be sure that every religion in Indonesia and in the whole world will not justify violence. Every religion teaches about kindness and will tell its followers to not hate each other due to difference of religion. In fact, since long ago, there is no legal discrimination to any one religion.

Justice should belong to everyone despite of their religion. Every person shall have the right to worship based on their own religion without being forced. Therefore, Indonesian youth should be able to live in harmony and peace in spite of

their difference and diversity.

One day we had an opportunity to interview a Priest who became the head of a Muslim-majority village. Despite of the prevalence of acts of intolerance in Indonesia at that time, the values of Pancasila on diversity and tolerance in Rogomulyo Village, Kaliwungu Sub-district, Semarang District, Central Java managed to survive. In this Muslim-majority region, a priest by the name Timotius Trimin was elected to be a head of the village. He explained that people of his village manage to live in harmony due to being relatively uninfluenced by the political issues in this country. The village itself has followers of Islam, Christianity and Hindu. Although living in diversity, there has been no conflict in this village. Interestingly, they manage to live in harmony without being forced to do so. For the villagers, difference is a blessing that must be preserved.

The Lord himself in his creation has created diversity of people and language, plants, animals and other living beings. Therefore, the diversity in the world, especially in Indonesia, is the most beautiful work of God and a great blessing.

It can be concluded that Indonesia, as a country with diversity of tribes, ethnicities, traditions, languages and religions, is very vulnerable to conflict. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the philosophy of this country, and Pancasila is only treated as a symbol. In this era of globalization, where our national values have been degraded by the technological advancement and other ideologies, conflicts between religious followers are highly prevalent.

Destructive conflict that leads to acts of anarchy will be harmful to many. Religious tolerance is a solution to the many religious conflicts today. The act of respecting each other will be needed to prevent misunderstanding. Tolerance between people will be necessary to preserve good communication. At its most fundamental level, religion teaches about love and it can contribute to social solidarity and integration for the sake of better future of diversity in Indonesia.

2

Diversity in Democracy

SONYA YULISTAN ANDOMO

Strengthening people participation is essential for the sake of better democracy. However, conflicts caused by differences will be an antithesis for democracy. People participation in a diverse society must be responded in a smart manner. Diverse society will have a multidimensional interest, need and aspiration. Conflict between communal interests and sentiments will always exist within that diversity.

Increasing that quality will require awareness by the people of their right and freedom that are guaranteed by the constitution and other legal regulations. Without awareness, no matter how strong the constitution and law guaranteed right and freedom, the people would not participate. In regard to increasing people's participation, society empowerment is the first and foremost to be done. Without empowerment, democracy will not be better no matter how strong the government has promoted it. This will only create a paradox due to the incoherence between demand and provision. People will only be targets for campaign, a floating mass, to be utilized by the candidates. Even worse, society will be apathetic to the politics.

Human Development

The Government and its apparatus must facilitate the participation of people as well as making rules so their participation will not exacerbate sensitive issues (tribe,

religion, race and class issue aka SARA). The increase in democratic quality will be reflected by the increase in people participation in responding national matters. In democratic countries in general, there is an assumption that more participation by the people will be better. Within this assumption, the high level of participation means citizens have followed and understood political problems as well as fully engaged to it.

Human development is an essential element in democracy. Human development is not only the obligation of government but also the people. A participative development is the correct developmental approach that can be used to empower the society for the sake of better democracy. This approach placed the people as a subject of developmental program and not an object. The goal is very constructive – turning society into the researcher, planner and implementer of developmental program as the very subject of that program. This approach is also known as People-Centered Development.

Development is not only meant to build buildings and roads. Development must be useful for the people that will be impacted by it. Development must increase the quality of people. In regard to developing human resources, we should not only talk about their capacity but also their intellectuality. One of the most important things in this regard is how we can develop an attitude or mindset within the human. To put it simply, education should not only increase one's insight and knowledge but also build their personality and virtue. The same is also true for family as the first social environment of an individual that must also participate in developing positive personality. Ultimately, such personality will increase the quality of democracy which is very necessary for the development of this country.

People participation in development is a reflection of good democratic practice. Democracy will not only matter in governmental level but also influence the prosperity of the people. Within development, widespread people participation should not only be seen by how they oversee the performance of governmental apparatus but also, and most importantly, how they are truly involved in the very implementation of development itself.

Not an Obstacle

The diverse condition of society should not be an obstacle to civil rights and freedom. The constitution has guaranteed the right for every person to participate

in national development. Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution has mandated freedom of association and assembly, freedom of expression through verbal and non-verbal method, and etc. This right is also affirmed by Paragraph C (2), every person shall have the right to fight for their collective right to build the society, nation and country.

Diversity in society should not be an obstacle to democratic consolidation. Conflicts might arise from this diverse society but it is no excuse for the government to violate their right to participate in governance. As a matter of fact, diversity will actually strengthen democracy. The complex need and aspiration of a diverse society will habituate the governmental apparatus to be creative and responsive, as well as habituating the people to be active in expressing their aspiration.

Diversity must be responded in a smart manner and the government should be prepared for it. The government should be provided with more doctrine on tolerance. Tolerance shall be the pillar of diversity and respect to civil rights must be affirmed in order to prevent SARA conflicts. Lastly, Unity in Diversity shall be the philosophical foundation for a harmonious and diverse society.

3

Working Together for a Better Future of Diversity in Indonesia

WIDHYKA FAKHRIYAKANSA

I am a student of Islamic Economics Department in Padjajaran University, a department in a public university that specifically mentions the name of certain religion. It is quite interesting as many people make an assumption that my department is made only for one religion, unlike other departments that can freely express their affinity to a variety of disciplines.

In turn, those assumptions created intolerance between our department and others. This intolerance was made based on unfounded assumption. Many people believe that our discipline is not part of Economics since we use Al-Quran and Hadith as theoretical foundation while economists are supposed to use empirical evidence.

Even worse, we were suspected to have relations with the intolerant and selfish extremist groups. However, after existing for four years in Padjajaran University, we managed to endure all of those prejudices. We were not weakened. We managed to prove our existence through real effort by competing in many competitions and discussing Economics through different perspective, as well as participating in student organization that is known for their good relations with multiple ethnic groups.

I made this essay based on my experience because I want to show my experience as a minority. As my friend from East Nusa Tenggara once said, "University is a

miniature of Indonesia. Whatever happened in university is a prototype of the real life in society in many aspects, including political, cultural and social.” As evidence, although I was known as a student of an intolerant department, I managed to survive and brought fame for Padjajaran University.

Thus, based on my experience in Padjajaran University, I found many solutions to preserve tolerance and diversity. The first is our environment where we interact, which is filled to the brim with civilized and intellectual people. This allows the society to be self-educated as well as capable to educate the wider public through socialization on the benefit of my department or other sensitive issues in Padjajaran University.

Secondly, before the establishment of Islamic Economics department, Padjajaran University is already known for its diversity in tribe, race, ethnicity and even state of origin. Within its time, there have been no problems or frictions caused by intolerance. Therefore, the prejudices given to my department is only a reaction to the appearance of new thing which will definitely be resolve in time.

And lastly, it should be noted that intolerant or extremist groups are only a small part of the society. Therefore, their acts of destroying social order through verbal or non-verbal violence will be answered by a resistance, whether from the students or university stakeholders that have an interest to preserve the harmony in their environment.

Based on the explanation above, in regard to the future of diversity in Indonesia, which is the main topic of this essay, I can answer that the future of diversity in Indonesia should be better and much more conducive than today. I can safely make that argument by looking at my experience in Padjajaran University that has high tolerance in spite of its diversity.

The high prevalence of intolerance in Indonesia is basically caused by the interest of political elite which can be traced back to the Gubernatorial Race in Jakarta. At that time, this problem appears in social media due to few people intentionally provoke netizens through fake news. As evidence, we have caught a group of people who called themselves Saracen and a buzzer named ‘triomacan2000’.

It can be concluded that intolerance in Indonesia began from political elite’s interest and exacerbated by few people that spread fake information. Therefore, I believe that the right solution for now will be educating the society to resist that hoax information. There have been many anti-hoax movements in Indonesia, for

example ANTI HO@X! (Indonesian Cyber Media Union), #SiBerkreasi (National Movement of Digital Literacy, Indonesian Film Artist' Association), Bandung Beat Hoax (Government of Bandung). Looking at the three examples above, it can be seen that one of the methods to fight intolerance is by calling every element of society, from the government to the community, to fight against hoax. This is important to raise the awareness of the society so they can be educated and educating others to fight hoax.

I also find that extremist violence in Indonesia is often associated with certain groups, for example Muslim people that allegedly justify the use of violence with their religious teaching. In addition, the advancement of technology has also been utilized by extremist groups to recruit young people, especially through social media.

Therefore, there is a need to spread counter-narrative to fight against radicalism as well as empowering young people so they will not be trapped by radical ideologies. This can be realized by socializing the fact that Indonesia is known throughout the world for their tolerance and inclusiveness. This counter-narrative must be presented by the government through related ministries (e.g. Ministry of Youth and Sport, Coordinating Ministry of Human Development and Culture) in mass media, social media as well as other mainstream media in order to indoctrinate the people to fight against radical doctrine.

The people must make their own effort to fight religious radicalism or other similar groups through positive activities. There are currently many impactful movements in Indonesia that has fight against radicalism such as Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah (a Muslim youth community in bandung), Indonesia Teaching (social movement to educate people of Indonesia who live in remote area), Sabang Merauke (student exchange program between regions of Indonesia). All of those movements are evidence that the people has played an important role to fight against radicalism and intolerance.

Since Indonesia was built through the struggle of multiple tribes, religions, races and ethnicities, intolerance and extremist violence should not have appeared in Indonesia. However, we should not deal with this problem by taking an example from the United States that, during the era of Barack Obama, created Countering Violent Extremist Program that actually gave negative stigma to Muslim people as well as strengthening Islamophobia. At the same time, that policy was actually used to justify American invasion to Muslim-majority countries.

The Government of Indonesia should be able to deal with this problem in a wiser way, by planting the idea that this nation was built upon diversity of race, religion, tribe and ethnicity that live in harmony. Making this a national branding will be an effective way to deal with intolerance, just like Malaysia that plants the seed of national pride in their citizens through their flag.

National branding can be done using the most current technology, such as social media. Several examples of this measure has been seen in Indonesia, such as Good News from Indonesia (online media that publishes good news about Indonesia), Damn! I Love Indonesia (urban streetwear product which is marketed as bearer of Indonesian national culture) and TelusuRI (a Youtube channel that invites its audience to be proud of Indonesia).

All of the problems that I have explained, from the distribution of fake information, the potential of extremist violence in Indonesia and the acts of intolerance due to provocation of sensitive issues, point to one solution: to work together as one Indonesia.

Every element of Indonesia, from grass root movements that care about our harmony, civil society organizations that care about our unity, to business sector that cares about national pride, must synergize in one action. All of those efforts must be supported by the government as the main stimulus for the future of diversity in Indonesia.

In the end, a positive synergy between every element of society and the government will pave the way for better future of diversity in Indonesia. I believe that the consciousness shared by every element of this nation will create a better future for Indonesia.

4

Preserving Tolerance and Diversity through Student Movement on Children to Realize a Cultured Indonesia

TUMPAL ANDANI ARITONANG

“Indonesia is a role model for other countries in regard to tolerance,” said Barack Obama, former president of United States of America, in his opening speech to the 4th Indonesian Diaspora Congress in Jakarta on July 2017.

According to data from National Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in 2010, there are 300 ethnic groups, 1,340 tribes, 1,211 local languages and 6 religions in Indonesia. This is not even the complete picture of the wealth of diversity in Indonesia.

The diversity of Indonesia is a challenge as it will decide whether we can stand united or divided in this era of globalization. This is why religious and tribal conflicts due to selfish interest of certain group or political entity continue to arise in Indonesia. One of the evidences portraying the dangerous state of diversity in Indonesia is the recent case in mid-2017 that dragged former Governor of Jakarta who is known for his nickname ‘Ahok’ into a case of religious blasphemy. If we look at it closely, many groups are utilizing this as an opportunity to further their political and communal agenda. I feel sad as I see these people sacrifice diversity for the sake of mere power gain. They attacked, lied and feel no remorse by humiliating their own brothers and sisters just for the sake of their interest.

This issue proves that unity in diversity that has been preserved since the time of our ancestors have been degraded as time goes by. Jacobus Rajanbar S.H, M.Si in his book *Sistem Sosial Budaya Indonesia: Suatu Pengantar* explains that social science

should position themselves as a supporter of development by interpreting the social symptoms within society and find meanings that can be used for that cause. This means that social science is supposed to be used positively to build civilization in spite of diversity and, most importantly, able to position itself in certain situation, instead of breaking the society's unity.

Diversity is very necessary to maintain the integrity of this plural country so that the people will not forget the history of this nation which was built upon difference. Thus, students appear in society as an agent of change, agent of social control and the next generation to realize a cultured Indonesia.

According to Selo Soemardjan and Soelaiman Soemardi, two education figures, culture is a tool resulted from society's will, sense and creation. This is what we should preserve. Through *Gerakan Mahasiswa Peduli Anak Usia Dini* (Student's Movement for Early Age Children), a cultured Indonesia can be realized. Children are the main target since they will bring this nation into unexpected trajectory if misguided.

Students can work with the government and schools to introduce culture to children, to plant seed of tolerance, to provide understanding on diversity, and to encourage them to help each other without looking at their different background. This can be done by students in their everyday life.

For example, students are not in university for a whole day. In their free time, students can go to the public and interact with children or collaborate with schools, especially kindergartens. They only spend few hours in school. It would be better if students can build a communication with the environment near the children.

With enough knowledge, a student can provide creative and entertaining things that can be easily accepted by the children such as child play, playing in the park, simple game, music, introducing local language, telling story about national heroes and many more. This activity can be made in phases at least once a week. If only done once in a blue moon, it will not be effective, but if done in phases will allow students to better approach children. Students should not feel burdened to do this, it will depend on their desire to build this nation into a cultured nation.

As long as this can be continued, this nation will not be lacking in terms of next generation. When children grow up, they will also do the same thing to their next generation. Ultimately, an apple will not fall far away from its tree – the children's character will not be much different with the people who educate them.

This movement will more or less be a first step to preserve tolerance in our diverse country. As we know, children are our next generation. In order to make high quality next generation, they need to be educated since their earliest age. This is the future of this nation. A nation that has future is a cultured nation. Let us preserve our diversity, tolerance and unity. We are one soul, one language and one nation. Long live Indonesia!

5

Reviewing and Revitalizing Gus Dur's Idea on Pluralism as an Attempt to Frame Religious Harmony in Indonesia

GIOVANO BHAKTI MEIZHAR

When we talk about Indonesia, one of the topics of discussion that will always be relevant is pluralism. Yes! This sector has its own attractive point which makes it interesting to be discussed. Religious harmony and conflict potential in this nation is one of the trending topics among religious figures.

Religious diversity in the world is an inevitable part of social interaction. Plurality is a *Sunnatullah* (Will of God). People should understand that it will be impossible in this current day and age to not interact with people who adopt different a religion.¹ Unfortunately, attitudes that tend to occur in interfaith relations are exclusivity, truth claim² and salvation claim³. These attitudes will create hostility among religious followers.

According to survey by Pew Research Center (2015), 10 million of Indonesians are radical.⁴ Sudarto Toto, a researcher in Freedom of Worship Department of Setara Institute, reported in December 8th 2016 that there have been 182 violations to freedom of worship. Variable of freedom of worship has declined 0.10 per cent from 2.57 in 2017 into 2.47 in 2016.⁵

1 Surya Adi Sahfutra, "Gagasan Pluralisme Agama Gus Dur Untuk Kesenjangan Dan Kerukunan", *Religi*, Vol.X, No. 1, Januari 2014, 90.

2 A belief within certain religion that their religion is the only correct religion.

3 A belief within certain religion that their religion is the only religion that will bring salvation to humankind.

4 Kompas, November 23rd 2016, 7.

5 <http://setara-institute.org/kondisi-kebebasan-beragamaberkeyakinan-danminoritas-keagamaan-di-indonesia-2016/> diakses tanggal August 5th, 2017

This is a warning for the government to protect freedom of worship as has been mandated by Article 29 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution that says “*The state guarantees all persons the freedom of worship, each according to his/her own religion or belief.*”⁶

Looking back at our history, Indonesia was born as a plural country. In our history of independence, pluralism was very strong in our effort to formulate national philosophy. This is reflected in the slogan that our founding fathers create, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* which means “Unity in Diversity.”

Furthermore, the exclusion of seven words “with obligation to Islamic Sharia for Muslim” in the first principle of Pancasila, that was previously used in Jakarta Charter, is an example of commitment to diversity. This is the gentlemen agreement of our founding fathers for the sake of national unity.⁷

That is why Soekarno framed the plural Indonesia with *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* which he interpreted as: *heb God life boven alles Uw naasten gelijk U zelf* which means “love your kind as you love yourself” and *Tat Twam Asi* which means “I am them, they are me, there is no difference.”⁸ After all, Indonesia is ours. This sentiment was expressed in Soekarno’s speech in Surabaya in September 24th: “We built Indonesia and everyone must support it. This country does not belong to one group or one religion or one culture but to all of us from Sabang to Merauke!”⁹

However, the plurality of Indonesia is a double-edged sword. It can lead to good things if we can live in harmony but it can also lead to conflict and even civil war such as what happened in Middle-Eastern countries.

According to Koentjaraningrat¹⁰, there are at least four big problems faced by Indonesia as a result of their plurality:

- 1) Problems to unite the diversity of tribes,
- 2) Problems on interfaith relations,
- 3) Problems on majority-minority relations and,
- 4) Problems on integrating the culture of Papua with Indonesia.

Those problems are the negative side that must be accepted as a consequence

6 Departemen Agama RI, *Kompilasi Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama*, (Jakarta: Badan Litbang Dan Diklat Puslitbang Kehidupan Keagamaan, 2007), 250.

7 Saifuddin Anshari, *Piagam Jakarta*, 22 Juni 1945: sebuah konsensus nasional tentang dasar negara Republik Indonesia (1945-1959), (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1997), 41.

8 Taufik Adi Susilo, *Soekarno Biografi Singkat 1901-1970*, (Yogyakarta: Ar-ruzz Media, 2010), 91-92
Ibid., 71.

10 Swastiko Putro, *Persepsi Tokoh*, 443.

of this plural country, especially in regard to religion context that is indeed very sensitive. Religion is guidance from The God, but religious life is still an unpredictable phenomenon. This results in the double face of religious practice. On one hand it can be a factor of integration but on the other hand it can also be a factor of disintegration. That is religion. It can be a glue and means of segregation at the same time.¹¹

Perhaps we have heard a lot about religious violence and terrorism in media. The impact of such things is huge, causing Indonesia to receive bad stigma like “Republic of Horror” and “Terrorist Nation.”¹²

This is what we feared. An ideology inappropriate for our national ideology will spread like wildfire and manipulate our youth to commit treason. It is unfortunate that our goal to make a united Indonesia can die as conflict continues to arise in Indonesia.

Gus Dur’s Idea on Religious Pluralism to Frame Religious Harmony in Indonesia

Religious plurality is inevitable. Like it or not, it is impossible for one single religion to exist in this world. Act of zero tolerance or being unhappy with the presence of other religion is an act against the very *sunnatullah* itself.

Definition-wise, pluralism came from the latin word *plus* and *pluris* which literally means: more than one.¹³ Philosophically, pluralism is an idea or perspective that recognizes the multiple and heterogeneous nature of certain society.¹⁴

Religious pluralism is very important to be implemented in this country. Its presence is central to make sure society goes on the right trajectory to make a proper situation that will allow for peace and prosperity, away from conflict.

That is why it will be important to turn Gus Dur’s idea on pluralism into a panacea that can frame the unity of religious followers in Indonesia. The concept of pluralism that he advocated always teaches about religious harmony that can be realized by being open and tolerant to each other and understanding that all of us are indeed different but we can implement our own religion’s teaching without disrupting others.

11 Arifinsyah, *Wacana Pluralisme Agama Kontemporer*, (Bandung: Citapustaka Media, 2002), 9.

12 Hasan Basri, “Islamic Education in Pesantren and Terrorism”, *Karsa*, Volume IX, Nomor 1, 2006, 854-862.

13 Miftahuddin, *Berislam Dalam Bingkai Indonesia: Membaca Konsep Pluralisme Abdurrahman Wahid*, *Mozaik*, No. 1, Vol.6, 2012, 65.

14 Imam Sukardi, *Pilar Islam Bagi Pluralisme Modern*, (Solo: Tiga Serangkai, 2003), 129.

Reviewing Gus Dur's Idea on Religious Pluralism to Frame Religious Harmony in Indonesia

Before we can reap Gus Dur's idea, we must first review it to understand the true substance of Gus Dur's idea on pluralism. Gus Dur often quoted a verse that says: "O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted."¹⁵

He gave a little footnote for the word "*Li Ta'arafu*" which means knowing each other. He believed that the word does not only refer to knowing about name, address, telephone number or knowing about one's physical characteristics. Knowing each other refers to knowing about habit, tradition, culture, idea, and desire that belongs to different person. More importantly, "*Li Ta'arafu*" means knowing each other so we can be wise for the others.¹⁶

And he interpreted that verse by saying that the most noble of human in the sight of Allah is the most righteous one, not the strongest or the most beautiful, not the richest who has the biggest house. Being righteous does not only refer to consistently come to the mosque to pray. More than that, being righteous means controlling anger and banal desire, being kind, not harming others, not threatening others, being patient and million other meaning of kindness that will relate human to its environment.¹⁷

Gus Dur often said that Islam is built upon three pillars: Faith, Islam and Humanity. As such, Gus Dur seems to attempt to stimulate Muslim people to not reduce the three pillars, as well as reminding the three are the objectives of religion in this world.¹⁸

Gus Dur often talked about patience in struggling to respect others and advocate anyone who suffered and are oppressed. More than that, it also means that we should hold everyone close wholeheartedly. Even when he became a president, Gus Dur often held an open house in order to listen and accommodate people's aspiration in an open and honest way without bureaucracy.¹⁹

15 Al-Quran, 49: 13.

16 Husein Muhammad Sang Zahid: *Mengarungi Sufisme Gus Dur*, (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2012), 52.

17 *Ibid.*, 52.

18 Husein Muhammad, Sang Zahid, 53.

19 Al Zastrouw Ng, Gus Dur, *Siapa Sih Sampeyan? Tafsir teoritik atas tindakan dan pernyataan Gus Dur*, (Jakarta: Erlangga, 1999), 243.

At the same time, Gus Dur will condemn anyone who humiliates any person and even more if they harm and violate others' rights. He will defend the humiliated, the people who have their rights violated and harmed. When the Ahmadiyya people were banished from their home and their mosques were destroyed, Gus Dur stands before them. When Churches were thrown stone by people, Gus Dur said "Don't!" When Chinese people want to celebrate their Chinese New Year, Gus Dur allowed it with no second thought. Although he cannot see with his eyes, he came to their event and clapped at the Lion Dance. Gus Dur was delighted.²⁰

Gus Dur's acts above are the very reflection of being patience in changing the morality of society, in accordance with Islamic teaching that he believes in, by providing good examples for the society. This is what most Islamic figures do not understand. Our people are very diverse which means they can get easily provoked and will rely on truth claim if they do not understand Gus Dur's idea.²¹

He believes²² that a pluralist is a person that respects their kind in accordance with their unique identity. Meanwhile, act of pluralism refers to open-minded perspective and consciousness to recognize the difference in people's lifestyle and religiosity. Act of pluralism will not deny the fact of majority and minority – they will see it as something that is inevitable.

In terms of interfaith relations, Gus Dur often released his religious identity and his religion's formality. He left religious fanaticism in order to build religious harmony. He avoided close-minded religious practice since it will never be good. Thus, we can see his commitment manifested in his love to every human being without looking at their background.²³

To Gus Dur, every human being is the same, no matter their background, no matter their religion, no matter their color of skin, tribe, race and origins. The only thing that Gus Dur saw was his brothers and sisters that need protection. He defended them for being attacked and harmed because of their different religion. He defended them for their self-expressions were oppressed and their pride was humiliated.

Within the context of socio-religious life in a diverse society like Indonesia, what

20 Husein Muhammad, *Sang Zahid*, 54.

21 Abdurahman Wahid, *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi*, (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2006), 72.

22 Miftahuddin, *Berislam dalam*, 74.

23 Swastiko Putro, *Persepsi Tokoh Lintas Agama Terhadap Pemikiran "Gus Dur" Tentang Pluralisme Agama, Kajian Moral dan Kewarganegaraan*, No. 1, Volume 2, 2013, 449.

we will need is a transformation from *al-khoir*²⁴, *al-ma'ruf*²⁵ and *al-birr*²⁶ kindness into *al-ihsan*²⁷ and *as-sholeh*²⁸ kindness. A kindness from one person will turn into social kindness. The Prophet Muhammad PBUH has provided good example during the Conquest of Mecca. When Muslim Army managed to defeat the infidel and took their weapons, the Prophet did not harm them. Instead the Prophet freed them. In this context, Prophet Muhammad PBUH has committed an *al-ihsan* kindness.²⁹

Al-ihsan and *as-sholeh* kindness should be planted in Indonesian society in their role as social being. The collaboration between the two will be a smart solution in realizing religious harmony in Indonesia. These are what we call "The Next Gus Dur."

The Importance of Revitalizing Gus Dur's Idea on Pluralism

Based on the explanation above, we can see how Gus Dur has an important role to secure the diversity in Indonesia. He was like a big tree that allows people to take shelter underneath him when the sun scorched so brightly. That is an analogy that can describe his pluralism.

Thus, the author invited the youth of this nation to go and exterminate the root of radicalism that continue to grow in Indonesia. By learning from his thought and dedication as an icon of pluralism, effort to build a harmonious Indonesia will be a reality. There are 3 effective and efficient methods to diffuse Gus Dur's pluralism in Indonesia.

1. Utilizing the Potential of *Santri*

The government should collaborate with and facilitate *santri* (student in Islamic school who learn about Islam) as a smart solution to reduce the threat of radicalism in Indonesia. Supported by their religious knowledge, *santri* has a potential to be the forefront in spreading Gus Dur's idea on pluralism.

With their number that amounts to 3.75 million spread in 27,320 *pesantren*³⁰, as well as the large number of internet user in Indonesia which, according to report, has reached 132.7 million³¹, *santri* can utilize social media to preach about jihad 2.0

24 Pure kindness from Allah

25 Kindness in social realm

26 Kindness within someone to be better

27 Kindness not out of duty but out of one's own willingness

28 Kindness implemented in every aspect of life, including social, political and cultural dimension.

29 Kompas, September 19th, 2016, 6.

30 Pendis, Analisis Statistik Pendidikan Islam, Kemenag, 2011.

31 APJII, 2016.

against radicalism using Gus Dur's beautiful idea on pluralism.

Social media will be very effective to convey *Islam rahmatan lil alamin* (Islam as a blessing for the entire universe). *Santri* can write contents or share positive contents to their friends or groups they followed. Furthermore, preaching through social media can be a 'maintenance ruhuhiyah' in which netizens can interact directly with the *santri* to ask about religious knowledge so they will not be misguided by radical ideology.

2. Good Role Model

In addition, the society must be greatly involved to deter the threat of radicalism in Indonesia. They can do this by educating children to develop critical thinking as well as becoming good role model for them. This is important to prevent brainwashing and indoctrination of terrorist group from influencing children's cognition, emotion and attitude.³²

3. Including Gus Dur's Idea on Pluralism in Curriculum

Lastly, our education system should include de-radicalization program using Gus Dur's idea on pluralism in the curriculum of every education level just like how anti-corruption materials have been included. The youth who became the main target of radical ideology must be supported with good education so they can differentiate between misguided and correct information.

Therefore, the threat of religious radicalism can be prevented and eradicated. At the same time, humanism agenda that should be furthered such as interfaith relations, eradicating poverty, uplifting people's education, preventing corruption, good governance and national development can be done as effective as possible.³³

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³² Jawa Pos, December 12th 2016, 4.

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6

The Inclusive Theology of Cak Nur; Reaping the Fruits of Religious Harmony

IIN SHOLIHIN

The appearance of internet has changed every aspect of human life, including their religious life. The society no longer gains religious knowledge from scholars, priests or other religious figures. They can just access them through the internet. Brenda Brasher explained that the society will eventually use internet for their religious need more than any other sources (Give Me That Religion, 2001).

Pew Internet & American Life Project in collaboration with Center for Research on Media, Religion and Culture explained their research on "Faith Online." They found that 64 percent of the respondents described using internet to learn about religion. Religious activity that they made the most is exchanging emails containing religious messages, exchanging celebration during religious holidays, and reading news related to religious issues.

This phenomenon is known as cyber-religion which can be interpreted as a condition where there is significant relation between religion and internet. The two interact with each other, whether as a media to seek religious knowledge or as a space to express religiosity. As a result, there will be a lot of change in religious expression and experience.

The substance of religious teaching will be at stake in cyber-religion. On one hand, the role and function of religion can gain wider outreach but only if it can

preserve its substance. On the other hand, religion will only be a mere platform and a blank shell without its substance. This condition is what currently happening in Indonesia where fundamental Islamist movements that exclusively interpret Islam are threatening the sovereignty of Indonesia.

The prevalence of fundamental Islamist sites that spread anti-Pancasila idea is a challenge for the harmony in Indonesia. The problem is those sites are promoting an exclusive religious life. They are not only claiming but also monopolizing truth and religious salvation of their own version. As a result, we see the rise of temperamental Muslim generations that have no qualm to commit acts of terrorism.

This kind of perspective is rejected by the Islamic scholar and reformer, Nurcholis Madjid or more popularly known as Cak Nur. One of the fruit of his thought is inclusive theology, the act of believing in God in an open-minded manner. This open-minded manner includes every aspect of life such as responding to the difference among servants of God. This kind of personality will lead to act of tolerance and respect to fellow believers. Moreover, it leads to self-criticism which will allow the advancement of civilization.

Open-minded attitude is the logical consequence of a Muslim's faith to One and Only God. It means that a Muslim believe in every divine trait of Allah that only He can absolutely own. Every being outside of Allah is only relative to His.

A close-minded Muslim like fundamentalist groups has basically believed in their absolutism. They believe that truth belongs only to their group, while the other group is absolutely false. In Cak Nur's perspective, this kind of attitude is no different than believing oneself to be the God.

After taking a pledge to Allah, a Muslim should have an *al-islam* attitude which means submit to the absolute will of God. Furthermore, in Cak Nur's perspective, Islam is not to be understood only as a formal religion brought by Prophet Muhammad, but as an act of submission to the God.

Act of submission is the common ground between all Abrahamic religions as a universal message of God. This is the core teaching of the Prophet, as mentioned in QS. al-Baqarah: 133 that says The God of Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac is the One and Only God. The children of Jacob will only submit (as a Muslim) to Him. Act of submission is a combination of two perspectives: the unity of prophecy and the unity of humanity. The two concepts came from the concept of faith to One and Only God.

It is here that Cak Nur invites Muslim to be more open-minded, tolerant and able to respect any difference as a manifestation of the true faith to Islam. When a Muslim is not trapped in exclusivism and absolutism, they will realize the possibility of other people's truth. This kind of attitude is very important in religious life in order to see that every human being is created in their submission to God.

In regard to the context of unity and diversity in Indonesia, the implementation of inclusive theology will be an important thing to preserve the integrity of Indonesia. The appearance of cyber-religion phenomenon will allow exclusive religious ideology to be spread further and increasing the potential of inter-religion conflict as each group will make a truth claim without respecting others' truth.

As the religion of majority people of Indonesia, Islam must be the forefront in realizing an inclusive and tolerant religious attitude. An exclusive and anarchical Muslim society will only threaten the integrity of Indonesia. Cak Nur had a hope that Islam will be a blessing for the entire universe. The question is, have we been truly Islam all this time? *Wallahu a'lam bi showab.*

7

Peace in Diversity

IKA PUSPITASARI

Recently, religious and racial issues have been the trending topic in mass media and social media, with its peak in the Jakarta gubernatorial election in 2017. Religious and racial issues caused hostility between one group and another and were exacerbated by the prevalence of hoax news. In truth, difference exists in every layer of society. If each individual can respond well to it, difference will be a beautiful thing to have.

One of the reflections of beautiful and peaceful life in diversity is presented by Naibonat Village in East Kupang District, East Nusa Tenggara Province. This village has coexisting houses of worship. There is a mosque in between Catholic and Protestant Church. The same is also true for the society who is capable to coexist in harmony in spite of their difference in religion.

One of the local figures of Naibonat people, Francisco Ximenes said that although the people have different religions, they manage to preserve bonds of kinship. "We might be different in religion, but we are connected with blood, we help each other," said Francisco on Wednesday, August 2nd 2017.

In addition to Naibonat, the same peaceful atmosphere can also be observed in Maumere, Sikka, Flores. The Head of Sikka, Yoseph Ansar Rera explained that there are 5 ethnic groups in Sikka, each with its own religion and culture. Although they have different backgrounds, the harmony between each group managed to be

preserved.

“So I’d say Sikka is like a nest of diversity. Majority of people in this region is Catholic, but we manage to build a good harmony in the society and we can take care of each other. During religious ceremony, everyone will attend. For example during Eid Al-Fitr, everyone will maintain security for the Muslim to pray,” said Yoseph in Friday, August 4th, 2017.

1. Experiencing the beauty of tolerance in East Nusa Tenggara

Several months ago, precisely from July to August 2017, Community Engaging with Difference and Religion (Cedar) held an event called Nusantara School of Difference (NSD) from July 27th to August 9th 2017. This event was participated by 26 participants from many provinces in Indonesia and also some from United States, Uganda, Japan and France. Not only did the participants come from different origins, they also have different religions.

For two weeks, participants learned about living together with differences in Timor and Flores, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). The region that this event visited was Kupang City, Kupang District, Sikka District and Ende District.

Under the theme *Past Continuous: Rethinking Colonial History*, participants of NSD attempted to review the effect of colonialism to the dynamic of identity, majority-minority relations, intra-Christian hostility, and other matters such as gender study and indigenous people in Timor and Flores Island.

The Head of Cedar, Adam Seligman, explained that the most important part of this program was to help participants in accepting difference wherever they are. In the context of Indonesia, this will be reflected in the acceptance to difference of religion, ethnicity and lifestyle. It is important for people of Indonesia to accept differences, because diversity is the very nature of humankind.

“Along with participants from Japan, Uganda, United States and Indonesia, we have developed a model to live with and learn from difference. This will inspire communities in the whole world,” said Adam.

Meanwhile, the coordinator of Nusantara School of Differences, Dominggus Elcid Li, said that there are three main components of this event. First, the cognitive element that includes provision of lecture from experts such as lecture on victims of 1965 massacre, interfaith marriage, dynamic of religious believers in Indonesia, discrimination by religious people toward the LGBT community, the life of East

Timor people in Indonesia, history of Timor People, and trust and confidence.

Those materials were provided before participants went to the street to see the reality of minorities who lived in harmony in spite of their difference in Kupang City, Kupang District, Sikka District and Ende District. Participants were also given a chance to visit the basecamp of Sikka District's Transvestite Union (Perwaksi), in which the 500 transvestites of Perwaksi managed to live and be accepted by the local people.

In addition, participants also visited Muslim settlement in Maumere where majority of the people are Muslim and victims of Tsunami incident in Babi Island in 1992. After the Tsunami, they decided to move to Maumere and live in its coastal area. Although they live as a minority, they manage to live in harmony with local people.

One of the NSD participants who were a graduate student of Boston University, United States, Micah Pece said that this event has increased his knowledge about diversity, "About me and other people who are interrelated with each other, about people from different countries, religions and careers," said Micah.

In regard to learning about diversity, a Priest of GMIT Kauniki, Sam Liubana, said that the most important lesson we would learn on diversity was that we did not only learn to go beyond the difference but also learned to respect the boundaries of this difference. This event was also held in response to the rising issues of religion that often used by certain political groups. It is time for the people of Indonesia to show to those people that we can live in harmony despite our differences in culture, tribe, race and religion.

2. Looking at the Peaceful Spirit of Indonesian Jewish Community

Not many people know about the existence of Jewish people in Indonesia. Most of them do not realize that they managed to fit in Indonesian society. One of the examples of Jewish people coexisting with Indonesian society can be found in Tondano, Minahasa, North Sulawesi.

Apparently there are several Jewish people in a region in Tondano. Their existence is supported by their house of worship known as Synagogue and their religious leader known as Rabbi. Just like other religions, Judaism is not the local religion of Indonesia. "This religion grew in Indonesia due to the arrival of Jewish people from Holland, England and Portugal in Indonesia," said Yaakov Baruch (33)

as the local Rabbi of Shaar Hashamayim Synagogue in Saturday Evening of May 21st 2016.

According to him, during the colonialism era, this religion existed in several regions such as Aceh, Surabaya, Jakarta and Manado. Their numbers at that time were about tens of thousands people. However, their number has now been reduced to less than 1,000 followers. This means that there are problems in regard to the life of Jewish people. Based on the explanation by Rabbi Yaakov, this problem actually came from their ancestors.

“After independence, our ancestors did not register this religion to the government, causing many problems after that,” he said. This impact affected the existence of Jewish people as a citizen of Indonesia.

3. Problem on Population Administration

The main impact of the above situation is the lack of official recognition to this religion. Judaism is not one of the official religions in Indonesia like Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, Buddha and Confucian. According to Rabbi Yaakov, the lack of recognition led to the lack of facilitation by the government for their religious holidays. Up to this date, the government has never provided official recognition to their religious holidays.

The next impact, according to Yaakov, is that Jewish people cannot choose their religion to be posted in their identity card. On one hand, as an Indonesian citizen they cannot simply choose to let their religion column blank as it will make it difficult for them in regard to administration matters and to fulfill their rights as citizen. As such, Jewish people must fill the column with other religion of choice.

It cannot be denied that the government has made no recognition to Jewish people to obtain legal document. As a result, according to Rabbi Yaakov, Jewish people have difficulties to gain official stamp for their marriage, birth and death. He also added that they must organize more than one marriage ceremony. After a marriage process in accordance with Jewish religion, they must also follow a marriage process of another religion.

“So after following the process of marriage in accordance with Jewish teaching, we also held a Christian or Islamic marriage in order to gain recognition from the state,” said Yaakov in May 22nd 2016.

The absence of Judaism in the six religions officially recognized by Indonesia has

reduced its existence. Many people do not even know about the existence of Jewish people. The lack of discourse on Judaism after independence has forced them to introduce this religion from square one. "When we reintroduced this religion around 20 years ago, many people did not understand because this religion was not known at all," said Rabbi Yaakov.

The lack of Jewish discourse in Indonesian society has forced their ancestors to convert to other religion. Many chose to convert other recognized religion. According to Rabbi Yaakov, when they began to register the number of Jewish people in Indonesia, they found many Jewish people who have converted to other religion.

Peace in Difference

Although they were a minority, particularly in Tondano, Jewish people felt no ill-intention. Olva Pinontoan (32), one of the Jewish followers, said that she felt comfortable in a society where majority are Christian. Olva even said that many of them have assisted Jewish people who went to Synagogue.

When receiving an invitation to a marriage of other religion, Olva will definitely attend it. "We respect each other. Not being a Christian is not an excuse to refuse an invitation for their events," said Olva in May 22nd 2016.

However, Olva did face some difficult decisions when she was invited to Christian events. This is due to the foods they provided are mostly forbidden in Jewish teaching. Judaism is indeed very prohibitive in terms of regulating the foods that they can eat.

Even so, Olva did not want to dishonor the people who have invited her. As a solution, Olva will choose foods that are allowed in Jewish teaching. After all, Olva understood that she lives in a multicultural society. People around her do not have the same religion so she must maintain tolerance and good communication with each other.

According to Olva, currently there are more or less 50 Jewish believers in Manado. They maintained good communication with non-Jewish people. "Having a religion is a freedom guaranteed for every person, we do not have to force others to have the same religion as us. The most important thing is to respect each other because the truth belongs only to the God," said Olva.

In regard to the prevalence of religious conflict in Indonesia, Olva hopes that

every religious follower can be tolerant with each other. After all, according to Olva, tolerance is very necessary in maintaining communication with a lot of people to prevent misunderstanding and prejudice such as a prejudice among society that every Jewish person is bad.

In regard to the prejudice from society to Jewish teaching, Rabbi Yaakov regretted the circulation of false information that demonizes Jewish people. “Many people are anti-Jew because of resentment to the colonialists,” said Rabbi Yaakov.

In addition, many people associate Jewish people with Israel that is associated with bad things. Majority of Muslim people in Indonesia assumed they have a lack of access to Israel. However, it is only half true.

Yobbi Ehsel (55), a fellow Rabbi in Shaar Hashamayim Synagogue of Tondano, said that many people do not know about the facts of Israel. He said that many people are only heard about Israel from false rumors. As a matter of fact, many Indonesian Muslims have visited al-Aqsa mosque as part of their pilgrimage. They can easily come and visit there by entering Israel. “My neighbor just recently returned from Israel and they debunked the issue on difficulties to entering Israel. They said that Israeli’s acceptance to Islam is very good,” said Yobbi.

8

The Ever-Smiling Faith

SOFAH D. ARISTIAWAN

What might be the biggest concern and question in your head throughout 2017? If I may, might it be our misguided perspective on how we suppose to see religion? The one that gained the most attention from the world, including Indonesia, in late 2017, is what happened to Myanmar and its effect especially for Indonesia.

In an article in tempo.co, September 4th 2017, Sudhamek AWS (Head of Buddhayana Family Council of Indonesia) said in regret: “The act committed by Myanmar army is barbaric and cowardly ...Myanmar should no longer see itself as a Buddhist country.” What did he mean? It appears that Sudhamek’s rage was caused by the humanity crisis in Rakhine, Myanmar. There might be some economic and geopolitic interests, but it is clear that his fit of rage was exacerbated by the existence of monks that justified that brutality. For example, Monk Ashin Wirathu clearly expressed his hatred toward the Rohingya Muslim by saying: “Now is the time to make your blood boil.”

As a result, many people of Indonesian Muslim made similar condemnation with Sudhamek AWS’ above. Unfortunately, many of those expressed their sympathy with Rohingya through means that, I believe, are plainly wrong: throwing Molotov bomb to Myanmar Embassy in Jakarta. At the same time, some of our people who claimed to know a lot about Islam apparently demonstrated in front of Buddhist’

house of worship: Borobudur Temple.

I believe that such behaviors were harmful for Indonesian Buddhist community. As such, are not those people no better than Wirathu?

Hate, so much hatred. Humanity tragedy or in its smallest level, daily conflict under the name of religion seems to be never-ending. And thus, I keep asking to myself: Why do people love to show the rough side of religion?

I don't know if it is the manifestation of their teaching or simply their bad desire sugarcoated under the name of religion. It is quite difficult to judge it. However, we can trace a bit the perception built upon it and why. I am interested with what Haidar Bagir said: religion can be seen as *nomos*/law oriented religion and also *eros*/love oriented religion. It seems that people gradually began to take religion as something that is always strict with its regulations.

This is true to every religion, without exception. Such thing is not new, nor is it a product of contemporary world or what Pankaj Mishra (Indian litterateur) termed: *The Age of Anger*. The age of anger itself is a product of misguided perspective on religion.

Conflict arises and blood and tear is spilled. As if without remorse, one or two thousands of lives are gone for the sake of divine law. This kind of behavior can be traced back to Europe in Middle Age, where an inquisition to punish God's disbelievers was justified by the Vatican in the name of God's mercy. In fact, people cannot even laugh back then.

"The kingdom of heart can only be pious if it reflects truth and be happy for the kindness it achieves. Truth and kindness is nothing to be laughed about. That is why the Christ never laughed. Laugh creates doubt," said Jorge de Burgos, an old and blind priest.¹ In an abbey in the outskirts of Italy during the winter of late November 1327 AD, the old head priest argued against young priests who brought their distinct arguments.

To summarize, a tragedy arises with series of death to the priests in that abbey. It was later found that the priests died due to their curiosity to an ancient scripture hidden in that church that has been poisoned by Jorge – it was a book no one was supposed to know. Jorge will not let anyone read those ancient texts, which was written in Arabic, Syrian, Greek and Latin, as it contained a passage that invite people

1 Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, trans. Nin Bakdi Soemanto, Yogyakarta, Benteng Budaya (2003), p. 178

to laugh: "When The Lord laughed, seven Gods was born to conquer the world. When He Laugh so hard, light was created, and when He laughed for the second time, water was created. Then in His seventh day of laughing, soul was created."² "Rubbish," said Jorge in regard to that old and damp scripture.

Umberto Eco's (Professor of Semiotics from Bologna University of Italy) Historical Romance, *The Name of Rose*, seems to criticize the dark and gloomy portrayal of religion or, as William, the detective for the death of priest' case, put it, "...a smile-less faith."³ In the context of Islam, the smile-less faith began by the era of Khawarij who claimed to have followed the Prophet's teaching word by word.

To them, everything that is new and improper must be fought against. It was a tragedy when Ali bin Abi Thalib, Prophet Muhammad PBUH's son-in-law was killed by Abdurrahman bin Muljam the Khawarij. At that time, the Islamic Empire was divided as a result of the murder of Caliphate Utsman during a rebellion in June 17th 656 AD in Medina.

To prevent a vacuum of power, Ali bin Abi Thalib was elected as the new and official Caliphate. Muawiyah, the cousin of Utsman bin Affan asked Caliphate Ali to find out the perpetrator of murder to his uncle's son. However it did not work as Muawiyah insist to be the opposition to Caliphate Ali, while the Caliphate himself only want to calm everyone, including Khawarij who made a proposal to kill Muawiyah. They called Utsman's relative as a traitor who do not want to admit Ali as Caliphate.

However, there was an attempt to fix and unite. Love and bond of kinship must be prioritized. Caliph Ali extended his hand to accept an arbitrage proposal from Muawiyah's group – which apparently was not agreed by Khawarij as he said: *la hukma illa li Allah* (the law belongs only to God). Thus, once a traitor remains a traitor, they are allowed to be killed, and the Caliphate did not comply with the literal interpretation of religious law. As such, Caliphate Ali must be fought against.

In this case, *nomos* has been put above *eros*. Slander continues to be spread, there can be no two suns. Thus, in the dawn of January 24th 661 AD, a scheme to murder Ali went in operation. As the history has recorded, Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan managed to survive but Caliphate Ali was stabbed. He passed away three days after that incident.⁴

2 The Name of the Rose, pp. 620-621; p. 634.

3 The Name of the Rose, pp. 620-621; p. 634.

4 This story is taken from Philip K. Hitti, History of The Arabs, trans. Cecep Lukman Yasin, Dedi Slamet Riyadi, Jakarta, Serambi (2013), pp. 224-228 and John 8: 2-11.

It was not all his fault. I attempt to understand this legal oriented religion. However, the religion always presented people or group of people that seem to go beyond rationale when they see religion as an absolute tool – especially in the today’s context of Age of Anger, including in Indonesia. It is as if punishment became a shortcut to restore the honor of religion. Punishment is enacted through humiliation, hatred, hostility, terrorism and murdering anyone who has different faith.

As such, we saw the rise of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) as the new face of Khawarij in the 21st century that spreads like wildfire to the entire world, especially in the Middle East, Philippines and, unfortunately, in Indonesia. The same is also true for the fundamentalist Christian in United States that always urged their country to wage war in Middle East in order to trigger Armageddon and allowing Jesus Christ to descend for His Second Arrival.

The same is also true with the tragedy to Rohingya people of Myanmar that cannot be separated with the hate speech from Monk Ashin Wirathu. As such, is it true that religion preserves conflict? Can there be any other way beside threat, persecution, violence and terror? And why must they use terror and massacre? Is not Siddhartha Gautama merciful (*metta*) and compassionate (*karuna*) to anyone without exception? What about Jesus’ statement: “Let any one of you who is without sin be the first to throw a stone at her.” That morning incident which was witnessed by John can be interpreted as Jesus way of saying punishment will change nothing. Jesus understood the law of Torah (Old Testament). He did not deny the law to stone an adulterer to death. However, there must be a procedure to decide whether or not the woman has committed adultery. In that Baitullah courtyard, the only thing that was clear was Jesus’ words to the allegedly adulterer women: “Then neither do I condemn you. Go now and leave your life of sin.”⁵

Moral of the story, a mercy and compassion from a smiling faith will inspire anyone to immediately change their wrong self. Such things will not be possible if we suddenly humiliate the adulterer by parading them. Looking at the stories of Jesus Christ in His effort to complete the Torah which was also followed by Prophet Muhammad PBUH, I believe that religion is more dominated with its compassionate image or as Haidar Bagi explained above, an *eros*/love oriented religion. All of it is to make us be open-minded and prioritizing peace, not being trapped in a never-ending suspicion to others.

5 John 8: 2-11.

Religion should be positioned as an open reflection. It means that it can view reality, including the new and the contemporary. It is not a product from the past that came from the sky that can be seen as a 'complete' package. In reality, religion is also part of a long human history – history of beings that are actually half-angel and half-demon.

Based on those stories of humility, religion is definitely not justifying conflict, persecution and even war against humanity. Not at all. In actuality, religion provides solution to conflict. Resolving means making consensus. It all begins by having no suspicion: understanding that our religion is not the only religion that brought truth. Everything depends on personal faith. Therefore, people can respect and understand each other not because they were forced but because of the love in their ever-smiling faith. And Indonesia in 2018 will need to be optimistic, despite the fact that we are living in The Age of Anger, because we have a long history of resolving conflict through consensus – that should be a role model for Myanmar. In fact, Indonesia should be the main driver of religious tolerance in the world by promoting an ever-smiling faith. I think that is enough for my take on this angry world today.

December 31st 2017

9

Islam of Nusantara as a Home of Unity in Indonesia

Preserving Diversity through Religion: an Attempt toward Baldatun Toyyibun Warobbun Ghofuur in Indonesia

M. SABAR PRIHATIN

“Diversity in Indonesia is still a big question mark. Religion-based social conflict continues to occur in many parts of Indonesia such as arson of house of worship, religious blasphemy and inter-religion physical conflict or the worst: terrorism. More than often, religion became the source of conflict in this diverse country (...).”

Indonesia is a very diverse country, from its tradition, tribe, race, language, culture, religion and so on. In addition to being our national asset, diversity in Indonesia also has a potential to trigger conflict due to racial, tribal or religious issue. This is possible since difference/diversity often triggers segregation or problem.

The emergence of conflict within Indonesian society can be caused by a lot of things. One of them is ethnocentrism – a belief within certain community that their tribe or race is more superior than others. An excessive ethnocentrism within a society will lead to superiority complex that allows people to humiliate other tribes as they see fit. If that happened, and if the feeling is mutual, then conflict will definitely arise.

In addition to ethnocentrism, conflict in Indonesia can also be triggered by an extreme affinity that one has to their identity, such as religious identity. Extreme could mean a lot of things. In addition to its positive meaning, extreme could mean negative in relation to religion matters.

Islam has continued to gain attention from the world and the media. This is

caused by the intensiveness of terrorism and extremism, such as ISIS, that makes people worried. This is one of the reasons for the emergence of Islamophobia in western countries such as America and Europe where Islam is assumed as a threat.

In Indonesia, religious violence also occurred regularly such as suicide bombing, arson and bombing of house of worship and etc. One of the strong policies that Government of Indonesia has enacted in regard to religious extremism in Indonesia is the disbandment of Islamic mass organizations. This was made in late 2017 to certain Islamic organizations. The policy was made because these organizations have been indicated as potentially dangerous to the unity of Indonesian people. After all, these groups were advocating for the establishment of Islamic Caliphate in Indonesia and rejecting Pancasila and Indonesia's Constitution.

According to some social and religion scholars, the stated mass organizations are historical Islamic groups that have forgotten about the history of national struggle in this country which was made through diversity. Therefore, their existence was considered anti-Pancasila and will threaten the integrity of Republic of Indonesia. In addition, those groups are forcing their idea to establish a *kaffah* (complete) Islamic Sharia in Indonesia and will only lead to the increase of extremism in Indonesia. If we let them to their devices, our slogan of diversity, Unity in Diversity, might just be replaced.

Islam of Nusantara as a Fortress against Religious Extremism

The emergence of extremist Islamic movement in Indonesia has inspired Muslim scholars to review Islam with different perspective. One of their products is an idea called Islam of Nusantara. One of the Muslim scholars that pioneered this idea is Professor Azyumardi Azra, the author of *Transformasi Politik Islam: Radikalisme, Khilafatisme dan Demokrasi* (2016).

The discourse on Islam of Nusantara has gained a lot of attention from scholars, religious figures, and public in general including the *santri* (Students of Islamic school). The discourse on Islam of Nusantara began to gain traction along with the flourishing development of extremist and radical Islamist groups. The emergence of Islam of Nusantara is relevant with the symptom of radicalism or extremism that occurred in Indonesia (Anshori).

Islam Nusantara emerged as a counter-discourse to the extremist and radical Islam – defined as Islamic teaching that only care about the literal interpretation of

religious scriptures, tends to use violence, rejecting multicultural Islam, love to call others infidel, and against Pancasila and Republic of Indonesia (Sopi).

Minister of Religion, Lukman Hakim Syaifudin, in his speech in Frankfurt Book Fair 2015 that raised a theme of “Pluralism, Islam and Media,” said that there is a need to develop “a model of Islam of Nusantara,” or model of diversity in Indonesia. He explained that Islam of Nusantara is the best Islamic model that can be implemented in a diverse society. Islam of Nusantara is an Islamic teaching that prioritizes moderate (*wasatiyah*) principles that can be inclusive and tolerant without making religious truth claim. This is also important to ensure unity in diversity.

Similarly to the Minister of Religion, the Indonesian Muslim scholar, Azyumardi Azra, in BBC Indonesia 2015, has explained that Islam of Nusantara is the Islam that the world needs today since this model of Islam will present a “Third way” and “moderate” perspective to counter the extremist, exclusive and intolerant Islamist ideology. It will allow members of society to coexist in peace.

In addition to the opinions above, KH. Hasyim Muzadi (former chairman of PBNU) said that Islam of Nusantara is an Islam that fuses with culture and it is not a “school of thought” but a typology. Islam of Nusantara is a tolerant Islam that will not spread hatred to non-Muslim. “The discourse on Islam of Nusantara is one of the alternative solutions to create a tolerant and respectful diverse society,” said Drs. H. Anshori, Head of R&D department of Ministry of Religion.

Based on the above definitions on Islam of Nusantara, it can be understood that Islam of Nusantara is not a new school of thought in Islam. Rather, it is a calling to be a Muslim is that capable to act moderately, accepting differences, tolerant and understanding in diversity. Furthermore, it will present the friendly face of Islam, not its angry face.

In order to realize Islam as a blessing to the entire universe (*rahmatan lil alamin*), presenting the friendly face of Islam is the duty of every Muslim people. Spreading peace in diversity is one of the cores of Islamic teaching just like the very definition of Islam itself. Islam will not tolerate violence or coercion. Islam is a religion of love. That is the true essence of Islam.

Promoting Islam of Nusantara is one of the methods to realize Islam as a blessing to the entire universe. Therefore, established Islamic movement in Indonesia such as NU and Muhammadiyah should be a role model to realize this multicultural

concept of Islam in Indonesia in order to educate the Salafi group to deliver a more peaceful interpretation of religion in accordance with the culture of Indonesia (M. Adlin Sila).

In addition, the author also proposed that education on nationalism, multiculturalism and morality must be intensified and introduced to the next generation through educational institutions in Indonesia. This is important so that our next generation will be filled with people that have faith and virtue, able to accept difference and coexist in peace in spite of their diversity.

In order to defend the reality of diversity within our society, we must be a fortress to preserve the existing diversity. If we are attacked, our shields must also be prepared. If our diversity is disrupted by certain religion, our religious shields must also be prepared. Islam of Nusantara is ready to be the counter-discourse and vanguard to fight the enemies who want to destroy Indonesia. Islam of Nusantara will be the glue that will unite our nation and turn it into a civilized and merciful society (*baladatun toyyibun wa Robbun Ghofur*). The rise of Islam of Nusantara is the rise of the true essence of Islam as a blessing to the entire universe that will continue to preserve diversity in Indonesia, forever.

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10

Empowering People: Muhammadiyah's Missionary Work to Deter Extremism and Radicalism

LUTFI NUR FALAQ

Introduction

According to Muhammadiyah's official constitution, especially in its Chapter II Article 4, it is said that the Muhammadiyah is an Islamic movement that work to enjoin the right and forbid the wrong in *tajdid* (reformist) spirit and in accordance with Al-Quran and Hadith. As an Islamic movement, missionary is one of the most important activities of Muhammadiyah. Every activity that Muhammadiyah committed in religious, social, economic, cultural or political dimension can be interpreted as the manifestation of Islamic missionary work.

Missionary is defined as an invitation and attempt to realize a better condition for the society, whether in terms of faith, submission to God, daily life and so on.

The missionary work committed by Muhammadiyah is based on the spirit of *tajdid* or spirit of reformation. As we all know, the reformation of Muhammadiyah is a form of purification. Purification itself can be interpreted as an attempt to dynamize or improvise our life in this world (*muamalah duniawiyah*) so that Islam can go hand in hand with the current times (*sholih fii kulli zaman wa makan*) and will not lose its relevance to the ever-changing reality of the world.

In *The Future of Islam*, Prof. John L. Esposito stated that the challenge of Muslim community in the future is related to the problem of Islamic extremism which includes terrorism and their cause against the Western world. Quoting from Harris in

The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason, the prevalence of violence, conflict and hostility in socio-political realm is ultimately caused by religious problem. He stated that humanity should abandon religion not because of theological reasons but because religion has always become the source of violence now and then.

In actuality, there is a group of Islamic majority that advocates for Islam as a blessing to the entire universe (*rahmatan lil alamin*). This group made their attempts in a peaceful manner in order to present the moderate face of Islam. This group is actually the most mainstream group in the world, including in Indonesia which is represented by Muhammadiyah.

Ever since it was founded, Muhammadiyah has committed their missionary work through programs and activities that went beyond the cultural and structural boundary of the society. One of the missionary activities that has been committed by Muhammadiyah for more than a century is empowering the people in order to deter extremism and radicalism.

Muhammadiyah's Missionary Work and People Advocacy

The reality of impoverished people within our society is a bitter fact that must be solved together. Poverty has weakened the society to the point of being powerless. As a pillar of civil society in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah should be able to provide a solution to empower the society.

In regard to the weakened condition of our people, especially in terms of economic power, one of the missionary works that can be implemented by Muhammadiyah is advocacy. People advocacy is a missionary work that can be implemented through real efforts to help the impoverished people by increasing their standard of living and fulfilling their basic needs. A missionary work that can be implemented by Muhammadiyah is empowering the people.

An advocacy missionary work through empowering the people can be clearly seen from the decision of 46th Muhammadiyah Summit in Yogyakarta. During that Summit, Muhammadiyah's partiality to impoverished people can be clearly seen. There are at least 11 programs that explicitly pay attention to the standard of living in society and also public policy advocacy for the interest of the people (See BRM, 2010).

In other parts of the world, there have been many discourses on the role and duty of religious institutions to provide real solution for the community. One of the examples is the Theology of Freedom in Latin America. Theology of Freedom is a

solution from Christian community to the suffering and poverty in Latin America. Religion provided a solution to the real problem within the society in order to present its function to defend and empower the people.

Empowering People as the Main Choice

The idea that Islam is a blessing to the entire universe, that Islam is a friendly religion, must be socialized and understood by as many people as possible. That is why Muhammadiyah made their choice to empower the people. This attempt can be considered as a soft form of missionary. This method of missionary was chosen because hard missionary will be risky as it will present the rough side of missionary work. Hard Missionary tends to rely on coercion, intolerance and even violence which is why Muhammadiyah chose to avoid it.

An example of Muhammadiyah empowering people can be found in Mrican Village, Umbulharjo Sub-district, Yogyakarta City. This region used to be a prostitution site that worried the society. One of the factors that sustain prostitution in this area was the high level of criminality and gangster activities. However, due to an advocacy by Muhammadiyah as well as the concern from government, prostitution and gangster activities gradually declined to the point that the perpetrators repent for their actions.

Fethali Moghaddam has introduced a theory called Staircase to Terrorism. Moghaddam argued that people became extremists due to certain psychological process that they experienced. He explained that this psychological process involves six phases or stairs. The first step in that staircase is the ground floor which refers to a feeling of being treated unjustly by the society and authority. Many people have experienced this floor but only those that experienced true psychological harm will go on to the next staircase.

People who stepped on the second floor are those who have been treated unjustly by the authority and made an attempt to seek justice by confronting the authority themselves (State, public figure, court, etc.). However, some of them were still treated unjustly despite their attempts. This is where they began to think to commit resistance to the unjust system.

At the third staircase, people began to "attack." However, their attacks will only be limited to verbal attack such as hate speech. It is at the fourth staircase that people began to find a community to harbor their resentment. Thus, they will use their community as a mean to commit resistance, such as conducting sweeping, street protest, riot and

some even answered a call to jihad. This community is what allows them to be strong.

At the fifth staircase, people who have been psychologically harmed will began to create a dichotomy between “Us” and “Them.” Us is perceived as a legitimate group that struggle for certain cause (such as jihad) while Them is perceived as an enemy that must be fought against and destroyed if possible. At the last staircase, people will truly commit physical attacks, destruction or even “jihad” which they defined as exterminating “Them” (sidestepping inhibitions).

In today’s context, Muhammadiyah is urged to play more important role to resolve the real problem within the society. The role that can be taken to answer that urge is by coming directly to the people who need help. Direct approach will be important because people are waiting for real action, not mere talk.

Conclusion

Countering radicalism, extremism and terrorism can be done without complicated means. One of them is participating in simple things such as taking care of each other. Empowering people as missionary work is an effective solution to counter deter extremism and radicalism.

We already know that radical groups are very clever in their movement. For example, they can use social media to deliver their narratives in order to attract the public. The question is, have we delivered enough counter-narrative to be anti-thesis to their ideology? I don’t think we have done a lot in that regard.

Many anti-terrorism and de-radicalization advocates have complained about the effect of social media to influence youth and make them interested to join the cause of radical and terrorist groups. However, it is unfortunate that many of those advocates were still relying on conventional methods. As a matter of fact, many attempts that have been implemented by government or donor institution were only ceremonial without providing any result. Their activities were mostly dominated by seminar, training, workshop or other activities that could not provide significant contribution to the creation of counter-narrative against radicalism and terrorism.

The next step for Muhammadiyah after their summit in Malang is to pay greater attention to efforts to empower society. The great complexity of problems faced by our society will require long-term solution to resolve. This way of empowerment can be likened to walking in a narrow and dark alley but this is the most effective way to deal with extremism and radicalism and it must be continued and developed.

11

Freedom of Worship is Still Under Question

ISTHIQONITA

For eight years from 2007 to 2015, West Java has been the province with highest number of cases of intolerance which includes cases of violation to freedom and worship. Examples of such cases are violence against minority group such as Ahmadiyya and Shia, force-closing Churches, anti-diversity campaigns, discriminative local regulations and civil rights violations.

According to Legal Assistance Institution (LBH) of West Java, freedom of worship for certain religions such as Ahmadiyya is still an issue. In addition, construction of certain house of worships, especially churches, has faced administrative problems, mostly caused by the 2006 regulation. There are almost 20 incidents in 2016 which shows how acts of intolerance have intensified and the government has done nothing and, in some cases, become the perpetrator themselves.

Setara Institute reported that seven cities in West Java are among the top 10 most intolerant cities in Indonesia, i.e. Bogor, Bekasi, Depok, Bandung, Sukabumi, Banjar and Tasikmalaya. In fact, Bogor and Bekasi is the worst two. As a province that directly supports the capital, West Java has become a site for consolidation and mobilization of intolerant groups that have spread their wings to outside West Java.

In regard to cases of intolerance in West Java, Wawan Gunawan, head of Interfaith Network (Jakatarub) stated that there has been cultural shift, especially regarding Sundanese culture that used to be known for its friendliness and

politeness. Culture is no longer pure as it has been mixed with global culture. People nowadays act under the influence of external 'isms'. For example, in the context of Islam, many Muslim are mimicking the Muslim people in Middle East. In other words, they imported the conflict of Middle East to Indonesia.

For example, the case regarding Palestine is (in reality) a land-based conflict but it turned into religious conflict as it arrived in West Java. How could Palestine not be a religious issue? There are Jewish people among the Palestinians that also fight for establishment of Palestine. There are also thousands of Christian people that support Palestine. In other words, Palestine is well supported by Jew and Christian people. However, in Indonesia it somehow turned into inter-religion conflict.

Similar to inter-religion conflict, sectarian conflict is also imported from outside. The conflict between Sunni and Shia people is actually in direct opposition with the culture of Indonesian society, especially in West Java. There is a Museum in Banten that exhibits a sword that reads "There is no Ali without victory, there is no victory without Ali." It is actually a Shia sentiment but we know that Banten is dominated by Sunnis.

Government's intervention to the private act of worshipping is also a big question mark. For example, Mayor of Bandung, Ridwan Kamil, often instructed his people to pray together during dawn. This actually led to political identity since one group's identity is more prioritized than others.

If we refer it to Pancasila, we know that it was not good practice. The same case as Bandung above also occurred in other regions. For example, there is a local regulation in Manokrawi that explicitly mentions the Bible and Hindu-related regulations in Bali. Since regulations are made for the public, government should enact a regulation that can be accepted by the public, not prioritizing only one group's aspiration. As a matter of fact, obtaining legal permission to build a Church in Bandung is very difficult while in Bitung, North Sulawesi, the same happened to building mosque.

Unconstitutional

In essence, the 1945 Constitution of Republic of Indonesia has provided a constitutional guarantee to every citizen to have religion and faith and worship in accordance with their religion and faith. Many of its legal derivatives have also provided the same guarantee.

The same is also true for Law No. 12 Year 2005 on the Ratification of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. One of its articles provided a guarantee to freedom of worship and it is a legally binding regulation in this country. The state through its government has a duty to respect, protect and fulfill the freedom of worship in their jurisdiction, including in West Java.

However, the government did not make any regulation to ensure that freedom of worship is implemented as mandated by the Constitution. Although the Constitution has clearly provided a guarantee to freedom of worship, the implementation is still far from ideal.

The two things are important and they also have different terminology. If people committed violence to a different group, it will be called an act of intolerance. Meanwhile, if the State committed it, then it is a violation. In fact, simply doing nothing is already a violation.

Minimizing Act of Intolerance through Education

Education is one of the right methods to deliver the importance of tolerance. Up to this day, education in Indonesia has not provided enough discourse on tolerance. Meanwhile, the society will only gain more information through education. This is also true for Christian followers. Those who learn more deeply about theology tends to be more tolerant while Christian followers who do not will tend to be more radical. The growth of radicalism is not sustained by people who know deeply about religion, but by people who only just learned about religion. There is no precedence of *Santri* wanting to overthrow Pancasila.

FRAGMENT 6

REFLECTION

1

Interfaith Youth Camp 2018: an Interfaith Meeting in the Land of Kings

ASTARI RATNADYA
(PARTICIPANT OF IYC 2018 FROM DKI JAKARTA)

Dozens of years ago, an unrest caused by a Muslim-Christian conflict has caused the demise of Ambon. I know a bit about the Ambon riot through the book *Carita Orang Basudara*. The material loss of that unrest cannot be imagined. The number of people who lost their lives at that incident was uncountable.

While Ambon used to be destroyed because of conflict, Ambon today is known as the World Music City. In fact, the first Indonesian Music Conference will be held in Ambon on March 7th to 9th.

A month has past since I participated in National Interfaith Youth Camp (IYC). This interfaith meeting that raised the theme “Countering Violent Extremism” on January 25th to 30th 2018 was participated by 120 youths from many provinces of Indonesia.

Liang Beach that has been awarded as one of the most beautiful beach in Indonesia by UNDP became the venue for Interfaith Youth Camp 2018.

Being selected as a participant for Interfaith Youth Camp is a good news of this year. Two times I went to Maluku only to transit in Ambon.

I feel super happy and touched when I arrived at Pattimura Airport of Ambon, I felt like crying. Back in August 2017, I only came for short transit before flying to Saumlaki with Kumparan and other friends to celebrate the independence of

Indonesia as well as my birthday.

It took 1.5 hour to go to Liang Beach from Pattimura Airport by car. One thing that I like from Ambon is its wide and paved roads. This is evidence that infrastructure in Ambon has been getting better.

As I arrived in Liang Beach, a velvet-lined camp has been provided as our dormitory during the event.

Here are some memorable things that I gathered during the interfaith meeting in the land of kings:

1. Learning about Interfaith Tolerance

Ambon that was known for its interfaith conflict can now teach tolerance to other regions, including to us as youth representations of each region. Here I met with youth from different tribes and religions. Some are Muslims, Christians, Catholics, Buddhists, Hindus, Ahmadiyyas and other faiths.

2. Learning to be a good speaker and a good listener

During the event, we were divided into small groups, big groups and also outbound groups. Each group has its own unique people. Some are extrovert while some are introvert. Some are critical while some are humorist. Some are very touchy while some are looking for attention. Everyone was given the same chance to speak about their opinion on the discussed theme. Many were competing to speak, but some of them might need to learn to be a better listener, myself included.

3. Being introduced to *Pela Gandong*

Pela Gandong is one of the local wisdoms that still exist in Ambon today. It is a term that refers to the bond between two countries (like adopted brothers with different faith). Bonds of *Pela Gandong* are the uniting factor of Maluku people that allows them to respect each other in spite of religious difference. *Panas Pela* that we saw back then was between students of SMP Negeri 4 (in which majority are Christian) and students of SMA Negeri 9 (in which majority are Muslim).

4. *Makan Patita*

People of Maluku should be no stranger to the word '*makan patita*'. *Makan patita* is an act of eating together during an important day such as during *panas pela*.

Don't worry about food during *makan patita* because there is so many.

5. Planting Tree as a Symbol of Peace

As an Agriculture Major, I really missed this activity. I hope that the tree planting event back then was no mere formality. Hopefully when my IYC friends and I returned to Ambon, those trees will have already grown.

6. Knowing Great People

There are many great youngsters at the event, all of which with their own achievements. More importantly, I also met with other great people such as Opa Rudi Fofid, Pak Abidin Wakano, Pak Embong Salampessy, Ibu Linda and all of the organizing team that have spent their free time and sweat to ensure the success of Interfaith Youth Camp 2018.

“Dear, people behind Interfaith Youth Camp 2018.

You gave us your time, the most thoughtful gift of all.”

After participating in the Interfaith Youth Camp, I am optimistic that fellow participants will be able to create peace and tolerance through innovative ideas, that they will be able to accept difference and understand each other.

2

Where Did Your Peace Come From?

KURNIATI FADILAH
(PARTICIPANT OF IYC 2018 FROM SOUTH KALIMANTAN)

Man is either your brother in faith or your equal in humanity (Imam Ali bin Abi Thalib)

As a person who was born in a family that adopts different religions, those words are very meaningful for me. To me, those words have meaning beyond the word itself. My interest with social work and humanity issue began with the extracurricular activity that I participated in during my school days. My interest did not waver as I went to university. I made a decision to be involved in a civil society organization that worked on empowering the marginalized. All of those experiences have provided me with deeper understanding on respect and diversity.

People can make a plan, but God's plan will be much more special. In the midst of my attempt to finish my thesis, I was given a great opportunity to visit Maluku. Out of the 3,400s candidates, I was chosen as one of the 120 to participate in National Interfaith Youth Camp 2018. However, I had to make a pretty difficult negotiation to receive blessing for my parents.

Liang Beach became the witness of my introduction to great people of the whole nation that came from different tribes, religions, races and traditions. The amazing beach became the witness of our introduction and discussion about Indonesia. Throughout our discussions, I realized that diversity of Indonesia is not a myth – it is

a reality that must be protected and preserved.

The picturesque Liang Beach can never erase our collective memory on the riot that occurred from December 1998 to December 2000. A problem that began from small number of people was turned into huge conflict that dragged everyone into an inter-religion conflict. One of them was Ihay tribe that I met during our visiting event. At the beginning, Ihay tribe consisted of one tribe. Before the national independence, they decided to divide their tribe into two, one to cater Muslim Ihay and another to cater non-Muslim Ihay. After the independence, the Muslim Ihay was divided again into two. Finally, there are three Ihay tribes. However, during that riot, one of the Ihay tribe was divided again, meaning that there are 4 Ihay tribes today. The last segregation of Ihay tribe was caused by the lack of common ground between the King and Ihay's leader. They told their story as if putting a salt at their wound. Although the Ihay elders have accepted that segregation, they still really regretted it.

Regardless of the bad experience of Ihay tribe, Maluku has proven themselves to be capable to rise again by using their local wisdoms. One of them is *Panas Pela* or *Pela Gandong* which means creating a bond of kinship. I witnessed a *panas pela* between a Christian-majority school and Muslim-majority school in which the two schools made a pledge to become brothers and sisters to each other. They made an oath to be a family – they will do no harm and will take care of each other. *Pela Gandong* is one of the local wisdoms of Maluku people to prevent the reoccurrence of religious conflict.

An impressive testimony was made during the final hours of the event from Kak Mei – a Chinese Christian from DKI Jakarta. She said at the platform that she has changed all of her presumption about Muslim people. Her perception on Islam has changed gradually throughout this event. Due to her meeting with a Muslim participant from DKI Jakarta, she managed to open her eyes about Islam and got her first Muslim friend. All of her questions in regard to Almaidah, Aisyah, Jihad and Khadijah has been answered well. Hearing at Kak Mei's testimony made me tremble and I asked myself: What if that question was asked to me? Will I be able to provide a logical explanation or will I make a truth claim? As such, I feel like I need to learn more to be a better Muslim – a Muslim who is not in name only but able to become a blessing to the entire universe.

In order to create peace, I agreed with what Pak Abidin Wakano said at the end

of the event, “Changing the world will require us to change no one but ourselves. We must be a better person to let others be inspired by our change. By doing that, we have changed the world.” It is clear that initiating peace means making peace with ourselves first. Peace must be started from oneself in order to spread the virus of peace to others. Slowly but surely, will we achieve our dream. After all, result will never betray our effort.

3

The Poor, The Moron and The Arrogant

MEILIANA MULYANI

(PARTICIPANT OF IYC 2018 FROM DKI JAKARTA)

I remembered a story from one of my friend, an Ambon girl who told me about how she must spent her childhood by witnessing a murder in front of her. In fact, she was forced to leave to Jakarta, separated from her parents. These kind of tragic and traumatic stories are common among Ambon girls. It is a result of Ambon's dark history from 1999 to 2005.

Hearing about those tragic stories directly from the land of the kings in Ambon was an experience that has truly opened my eyes. I have heard all of their stories. I stand before the ruins that used to be their home. I met with elderly that preferred to forget all of those tragedies because they can't even bear to be reminded of it. However, behind all of that, they still made an attempt to resolve their past.

"Fed up" might just be the word that can describe my feeling everytime I imagined the tragic and horrifying history of Ambon. Meanwhile, the same thing has happened throughout Indonesia with people being massacred under the name of religion. Religion which was supposed to bring peace and guide people so they will not harm each other is turned into means of violence – such an irony.

This country has already had enough dark history in regard to intolerance, radicalism and terrorism. Peace seems like an impossible dream. Solutions provided to deal with intolerance, radicalism and terrorism are mostly the same. We have heard the same thing over and over again in newspaper, television and in digital

media. However, my opportunity to learn about all of it from people who actually experienced it, to know how they still learn to make peace with the past, was a very precious opportunity. After all, everyone has their own experience and story.

The same is also true for solutions to create peace. We often read or heard about stories of people who tried to create peace in many form, such as art, education, culture and so on. However, the more interesting thing is learning that making peace can be done not only by making big plans but also by doing the simplest thing such as learning to be a better human that will not stereotype others. I believe that nobody in this world can be truly neutral of stereotyping although they know how dangerous stereotyping is.

Having been discriminated several times by Muslim people due to my identity as a Chinese Christian, as well as being exposed to the so-called Islamic radical and terrorist organization, honestly I have developed certain stereotype to Muslim people. Although I have never hated them and always try to create peace, including participating in interfaith events, I still can't suppress my stereotype without truly understanding the inside of true Muslim people. To me, it was a precious experience to discuss with my Muslim brothers and sisters.

More and more I realize about our humanity. We all hate war, we all hate to lose someone, we all hate to be rejected, and we all want peace. You and I are fellow human with heart created by the same Creator. We have conscience to live in peace without conflict. We are no different.

However, how many people have understood and felt this feeling? In reality, our brothers and sisters tend to prefer their exclusivity and homogeneous community. Who is the enemy that has caused all of this? Who can we blame when everyone was easily manipulated by people who know about our weakness just for the sake of their desire?

Living in this difficult world will sometimes make people lose their rationality. They no longer care about anything except surviving today. They have no qualm to eat their own kins. To them who live sufficiently or more than sufficiently, this might be a horror story but it is real for the poor. Poverty is a vicious cycle that will give birth to the moron. The poor are willing to be manipulated for the sake of survival. The moron has no access to education, understand nothing and can easily be manipulated. Finally, the two will create the arrogant who felt that there is nothing wrong with his life. He even thought that the poor and the moron are

disturbing their life and must be exterminated. However, if we were not supposed to exterminate them, whose fault is this? This question resurfaces again.

Perhaps the manipulators and the arrogant actually want peace but they do not want to pay the price for it. The manipulators use identity politics as a weapon to gain profit for their self-interest, without considering the poor, the moron and the arrogant. However, there is the arrogant that has all the resources to create change but they are too lazy and stingy to pay the price of change.

Wake up you arrogant people! You were not supposed to be the arrogant, you are the weapon for the poor and the moron that have been manipulated to eat your own kins! Fight through your jobs, your capabilities, your intellectualities, and your courage to enforce justice and truth in this make-believe country.

Eventually, the poor, the moron and the arrogant will all realize their humanity. At the end of the day, peace will no longer be an impossible dream.

4

Together We Build a More Humane World

RIZKA DWI KURNIA
(PARTICIPANT OF IYC 2018 FROM DKI JAKARTA)

Love is the universal language of every human being. The Lord loves human in many ways to show His compassion. He has sent the prophet to deliver His will, to wake people so they will leave the wrong and return to the right. Love came from the Lord and love will go beyond any boundaries. Such is the pure love that should be developed in each person, especially a person that has religion.

Love of God will also mean love of human as His creation, including those who adopt different religions. An intense relation with the God must be shown in good relation with fellow human beings. Ironically, religious followers are often trapped in a truth claim and salvation claim which triggers conflict and bloodshed. Religion was supposed to guide people to be more humane so they can learn to be servants to each other, so they can have strong solidarity among them and so they can be a blessing for their kind.

Faith is mainly a vertical relation between human and God but it must influence the horizontal relation between humans. We recognize that God will always love His followers and God commands us to love each other. However, we cannot simply love as we must be able to have self-control. Only those that can suppress and control themselves will be able to give true love. The most fundamental thing to love others is humility – this is the strength of people of faith. Only with humility will we be able to forgive everyone or ask for forgiveness for the mistake we made. The

spirit of forgiveness is a spirit we inherit from the God.

Faith should not be a mathematical equation to decide the right and the wrong. Human has no right to be the judge of the religion and faith of others. Such perspective should be developed so we can minimize misunderstanding in regard to religion and faith. Religious believers must realize that religious conflict is not part of religious teaching, rather it is an act of immaturity and inability to adapt to the reality of diversity. There are no religions that will justify violence to other religion. As such, we can safely argue that there has been an improper perspective used by religious people.

In regard to all of the wrongs above, we must immediately increase our understanding to the meaning of diversity among people. Religious tolerance must be built upon an understanding and recognition that every religious believer is a fellow pilgrim in a journey to seek God but each has their own path. In other words, we are all fellow people who try to live in accordance with the will of God to realize peace, happiness, and salvation for oneself and the entire human race. We must truly understand the mission sacre of every religion as the path of good for human being. Appreciating humanity means appreciating the religion and faith of others so they can express themselves in accordance with their nature and religion, whether as a ritual or in daily life, to create harmony and bond of kinship among religious believers.

Meeting with people from other religions will help one to deepen their faith and purify it. That meeting will lead people to a self-reflection in order to review their understanding on religion in a more critical and responsible manner. Understanding religion requires understanding of peace, harmony, kindness and prosperity. Every negative understanding of religion will cause negative social life. The right understanding on religion should be able to bring good impact for social life.

Religious believers are expected to believe in truth especially to live in truth before the God. With their free will, human can plunge into the truth of God along with its meaning in life. The messages that God have delivered unto human are accompanied with human's capability to plunge a bit into it, so that people can live wisely for their whole life. This is the typical characteristic of a faithful person to live in piety before God while still maintaining God's kindness in their life. By having more understanding on the piousness of life, religious believers are expected to be more humane, wise and self-aware wherever they are so they can better understand the will of God and know what to be done in certain situation.

5

I Have a Word

SILVANA HENGENDROP
(PARTICIPANT OF IYC 2018 FROM MALUKU)

I have no confidence as I walked into a tent where many eyes were looking at me with millions of questions in their face. National Interfaith Youth Camp (IYC) 2018 was an activity that brought together every religion and was held in Liang Beach, Maluku.

It all started from an information in social media and a desire to know more people, to learn about diversity in a comfortable situation. I took a leap of faith to register myself. To know that I was selected as one of the participant of this event made me really happy. It appears that to make the next step forward, sometimes you need a leap of faith.

Kak Ria of Aceh

“This is the first time in my life that I can discuss about sensitive things with friends (from different faith). This event has opened my eyes. I used to think that Muslim people of Aceh hates Christian. Apparently it is wrong,” said a Muslim girl from Aceh to me.

I mingled with every participant of IYC 2018, especially those in Camp no. 2. This was the beginning of our friendship. We greeted each other and tried to remember the name of a friend that slept next to me. Of all the people in that tent, Kak Ria of Aceh was the one I paid attention to the most. To her, a harmonious relation

between religions can strengthen tolerance, especially between a Christian (me) and a Muslim (her).

Aceh in my head is a place I would never want to visit, and I can think of nothing but religion as the reason for it. However, after I know more about her, talking about everything from the smallest to the most sensitive, as if we were an old friends that finally can meet after a long time, those prejudices were simply gone and replaced with feeling of comfort and peace. When we only see someone from the outside, a thousand prejudices will be developed in our head. But when we can see someone closer, we can find a hidden jewel to be extracted.

The same is also true with my friend, Kak Rosa of Maluku, who wears Hijab. The law of Hijab is obligatory and it is applied to every Muslim woman in the world. Veil or face mask is a fabric that is part of hijab and wore to hide the face except for the eyes. Usually I can only see them, but at the event I managed to talk, touch and make her my family. With Kak Rosa I can ask about anything and, most importantly, I felt happy to be with Kak Rosa. Thank you IYC for giving me this precious opportunity.

National Interfaith Youth Camp (IYC) 2018 was inaugurated by Deputy Governor of Maluku, ARMC IAIN Ambon as well as PPIM UIN. Every participant of every province and religion in Indonesia hoped to be able to spread peaceful message to everyone wherever they are.

The Heartful Expression of Group 1

We were divided into a small group of 10 members and we sat under a big tree in Liang Beach. Everyone was one, without looking at the difference in our religion. That is why I was happy because I can interact with a Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and also Christian people of different school. From the many themes that we discussed, I was interested with this theme of “The Dynamic of Intolerance, Radicalism, Terrorism and Extremist Violence in Indonesia.” When people told us about the cruel past that can never be forgotten, their voices were trembling and their face were full of emotion. I also felt the same as my childhood in 1999 was turned tragic. I dare you to ask to people who spent their childhood in the 90s, I bet most of them will say “Let the past be the past, we have accepted it, but we do not want to talk about it anymore.”

I hope that this good event can be continued in order to strengthen the harmony between the youth as well as spreading virus of peace throughout Indonesia.

“If God sees this event He must be smiling. God is a casual and humorist guy. If everyone is given an opportunity to pray in temple/mosque/church/monastery, He will not make a deal out of it. We are not humiliating but we are respecting the relations between human because such attitude is the manifestation of respect to God.” Special thanks for friends? We have turned into a family.

6

One Blood for Peace

YULINDA RCL GAOL
(PARTICIPANT OF IYC 2018 FROM BANTEN)

Before going to Maluku to participate in Interfaith Youth Forum 2018, I have a hope that one day I can step my foot in Maluku and learn about the Maluku Conflict that occurred from 1999-2000 through this IYC event. I want to learn how one of the bloodiest humanitarian conflicts in the 20th century can be resolved through mediation and reconciliation and how is it being managed today.

My expectation was fulfilled by this event. Firstly, I learned about the role of media (Ambon Express) in resolving conflict by spreading peaceful, neutral and balanced content. When a society has no third party that can initiate peace, the society itself made an attempt to resolve it. I think this is very courageous and heroic! To me, this is evidence that media can be an instrument to initiate peace not to spread provocation.

The second thing that I still remember is *Pela Gadong*! This local wisdom of Maluku has truly preserved the interfaith harmony in this Island! I feel very envious with it and I hope that every culture in Indonesia can have similar local wisdom.

We were then invited to participate in *Pela Panas* between two schools represented by their president of student council. This event truly touched my heart and I believe that the education provided by *Pela Panas* will be relevant enough to be implemented in other schools. Indonesian youth in the future will definitely

change to be better if they have been taught about peace and tolerance ever since in school.

I was also inspired by the enthusiasm of those students and Ambon people to welcome the participants of IYC that came from all across Indonesia. They sang, danced and showed kindness to us. I felt like I was really welcomed in Ambon and I believe that people of Maluku are good and kindhearted people and I feel them – *Beta rasa, ale rasa* (I feel what you feel).

I really hope that people of Maluku can always be proud of their *Pela Gadong* and will preserve it for the sake of peace in Maluku. A peace for Maluku will mean peace for Indonesia.

7

Ambon, What Can I Learn from You?

SUPRAYITNO

(PARTICIPANT OF IYC 2018 FROM CENTRAL KALIMANTAN)

What do you think about Ambon? This question is especially relevant for people who have never stepped their foot on Ambon, the capital of Maluku. My friends, my family and yours truly has once assumed that Ambon is tumultuous, that people of Ambon is rough, that Ambon is scary and horrifying. Those are few stereotypes that many people might have before they visit Ambon. They have never experienced the harmony in Ambon, the amazing the peace of Ambon and also the beautiful tourism sites and delicious cuisine of Ambon city.

The negative stereotype about Ambon seems to have been reduced by the advancement of this city. Perhaps the negative stereotype on Ambon is because people only know about Ambon from its 1999 riot. They do not know that Ambon is now the City of Music. The 1999 unrest in Ambon has indeed caused negative psychological impact to the people of Indonesia and even the world.

From January 25th to 30th 2018, I had an opportunity to be one of the participants for Interfaith Youth Camp 2018, along with 120 fellow youths of Indonesia in Liang Beach, Ambon. I felt grateful because the selection was quite tight with thousands of people competing.

Behind this grateful feeling, I was also worried about my safety in Ambon. My family even asked me if I was sure to go to Ambon? They asked how long will I be in

Ambon? Where will I sleep? Who is the organizer? Who can they contact? And other questions. It's like they don't believe that my security is guaranteed throughout this event. Even when I participated in other activities abroad, my parents never asked those kinds of very thorough questions. After negotiating with my parents and ensuring them that IYC in Ambon will be safe *Insyah Allah*, finally I was given permission to go to Ambon to participate in IYC and know more about Ambon.

That evening of January 24th, 2018, I and a fellow participant of IYC 2018, Anas Maulana, flew from TJilik Riwut Airport of Palangka Raya. We arrived in Jakarta around 19.00. While waiting for a flight to Ambon which was scheduled for 23:45, we killed some time by walking around Terminal III which is supposed to be one of the best terminals in Indonesia or so they said.

After we had enough of walking around, we checked in again and went to Gate 19. This was the gate for flight to Ambon. As night went on, I felt increasingly nervous. Fortunately, many fellow IYC participants were also in Gate 19 due to having to transit in Jakarta. Some participants became acquainted and talked casually. Although it was the first time we met, we managed to be close and laughed together.

I ate kwaci (which many said to be the best snack ever) that I brought from Palangka raya as we talked to each other. The intimacy that we shared in the gate allowed me to feel less nervous to fly to Ambon. Finally, the clock showed 23:45 and the airport officer called us to go for boarding, practically ending our chit chat in the gate. Apparently, in addition to being my first trip to the Eastern side of Indonesia, trip to Ambon is also the longest domestic flight I have ever experienced. Just imagine, we flew at 23.45 Western Time from Jakarta, then at 03.00 Central Time we made a transit in Makassar, then around 06.00 Eastern Time we arrived in Pattimura Airport of Ambon. This long trip was very exhausting but fortunately I had friends to share it with.

Some of them were sleeping on the plane, I included, and we were woken up by an announcement from the stewardess. As the plane flew lower, a view from my window showed a beautiful sight of Ambon city. The line of hills, the blue ocean and the green forest all of them welcomed our arrival in Ambon. My anxiety to Ambon gradually decreased, and it was practically gone when I met Mas Abha. We used to call him "Bapake." He has stayed in Pattimura Airport to welcome our arrival.

The impression that Ambon people were rough and scary was gone when I met Mas Abha for the first time. He is an Ambon native but he was very friendly

and loved to crack jokes that made us burst in laughter. So perhaps people are only making up stories about how Ambon people are rough when in actuality they are very friendly and funny.

The event of IYC has awaited us. One week of IYC activities has truly changed our mindset and stereotype about Ambon. From the discussion organized by the committee, to the discussion that we initiated ourselves during the night, all of them has provided amazing lesson. I would truly regret it if I canceled my trip to Ambon. There are many wrong stereotypes that have been made about Ambon, about Maluku and even about Indonesia.

Ambon taught me about peace. Ambon taught me that the people of Ambon are very friendly and tolerant. I found out that in Ambon, Muslims and Christians will visit each other during each national holidays. In Ambon, difference in tribe, religion and race is not something to be afraid of as it is a blessing for the people.

In Ambon, I could talk about a lot of things about the story of an Ahmadiyya follower in one of the province of Indonesia. Ambon has taught me about the amazing struggle of Ahmadiyya followers in Indonesia. In Ambon, I learned that Kalimantan is less hostile to Ahmadiyya compared to other province.

Ambon also provided me with direct experience during *Makan Patita*. *Makan Patita* is an event where we eat together as if we are one big family and we ate a variety of traditional foods. During the *Makan Patita*, there was a *Pappeda*, Sago, Sweet Potato, Cassava, Peanuts, Vegetables and many more. Anyone can come and join *Makan Patita* no matter who they are, their religion and their place of origin. The warmness of *Makan Patita* can be an example of how people of Ambon and Maluku really respect difference and diversity in this country. *Makan Patita* brought together difference and made us closer to each other in spite of our different background.

There were also *Panas Pela*, yes, Ambon taught me about this great *Panas Pela*. It was such a cool culture in Ambon and Maluku. I witnessed with my own eyes the *Panas Pela* between the Christian-majority SMPN 9 Ambon and the Muslim-majority SMPN 4 Salahutu Maluku Tengah.

Panas Pela is held to increase and strengthen bond of kinship (*Pela Gandong*). *Panas Pela* between SMPN 9 Ambon and SMPN 4 Salahutu is a reunion because this school has actually held a *Pela* in 2013. The agreement during *Panas Pela* is made under a pledge that can never be broken by each party. This is one of the

amazing local wisdoms that makes me grateful to live in Indonesia with its diversity.

For the first time in Ambon I managed to live with so many people under the same roof although we still took a bath alone (lol). There I can talk with people of different ethnicities and cultures with no problem whatsoever. The house of Kak Joe in Teluk Ambon became a witness of our harmonious relation in spite of our differences. There was I Nengah Agus Tripayana, a Hindu from Bali. Then, Anas and I from Central Kalimantan, Rojaki from South Sumatera, Ady Akbar from South Sulawesi – The four of us are Muslim. Then there was Martin Elvanyus Deppores from East Nusa Tenggara who is a Catholic. There was Ravindra from North Sumatera who is a Buddhist. Finally, we have Kak Georgie Manuhuwa. He is a Christian and we called him Kak Joe. He is the owner of that house. Although there are five religions in that house, we managed to live together in harmony. This is a precious experience as it was my first time to experience such thing – only in Ambon.

Being together with them made me realize that this nation should be grateful for its diversity. Diversity must always be preserved because this is a huge potential that not every country can have.

When in Ambon, I talked a lot with Widy Dinarti, a beautiful girl from DKI Jakarta that prefers to not naming her faith. To her, Islam, Hindu, Buddha, Christian, Catholic, Confucian and other kind of faith is one's own private relation to the God in order to find true peace. As a person that has gone around the world, Widy found peace in not naming her faith. This is a rare thing in this country. However, due to her confidence, Widy can have a faith that God is everywhere and He does not care about the religion and the ritual of His creations.

Ambon allows me to make friends with a great person named Fauzan. Fauzan is a pious Muslim from Aceh. From Fauzan I learned the true commitment of Muslim people whether physically and spiritually. Fauzan taught me to never miss daily ritual. Fauzan is a Hafiz Quran (a person who can memorize the entire al-Quran) and he can read the Quran in a very beautiful voice. The great Fauzan told me about the history of Islam. Fauzan has a big dream to return to Ambon and write about the history of Islam in Maluku after we visited one of the oldest mosques in Ambon, Wapauwe Mosque. Fauzan was also very consistent in wearing his Islamic hat and clothes throughout the event.

I also learned that the history of Islam in Maluku is so great. Unfortunately, due to the past colonization, the history of Islam in Ambon has been lost and destroyed.

One of the evidence of the amazing history of Islam in Maluku is that Wapauwe Mosque still stands even today.

In addition to the formal activity in IYC, I also had an amazing spiritual experience during my visit to Wapauwe Mosque. The mosque itself has lasted for seven (7) centuries. According to an informant, Wapauwe Mosque was built in around 1414 AD. This mosque is also among the oldests mosques in Indonesia. However, the old age of this mosque is not reflected in its appearance.

Although it was built centuries ago, this mosque is still firm and maintained. This mosque is unique. The people nearby have a nickname for Wapauwe Mosque: the Women's Mosque. It received that nickname because a there is only a single line provided for men in this mosque. Meanwhile, there are more spaces provided for women. The other uniqueness of this mosque is that it was constructed only with wooden nails or pegs on each wooden connection.

Wapauwe Mosque was built without cement and brick. Instead it was built from sago stem. The walls of this mosque were created from dried sago stem while its roof was created from rumbia leaf. According to a congregante that I interviewed, this mosque replaced cement with eggwhites.

This mosque also has a Mushaf Alquran which is supposedly one of the oldest in Indonesia – a Mushaf Imam Muhammad Arikulapessy made in handwriting in 1550 without illumination. It is still being preserved neatly in this mosque. Imam Muhammad Arikulapessy was the first Imam of Wapauwe Mosque. This mosque also has a very magical history among the people nearby which added to the amazing history of this mosque.

Another thing that couldn't be less amazing is that I can meet and be a part of 120 strong Indonesian youth family. They are amazing youths with so many potential. In addition to having a lot of achievement and capabilities, one thing that makes them cool is that they have a commitment to be an agent of peace in their own region.

This is quite rare because most of the youth in their age will prefer to have fun and can be easily provoked. However, the 119 youths in this event have a commitment to be a provocator of peace. Yes, they committed to be a provocator of peace in their homes and also in Indonesia.

With their existence, I am very optimistic that the 2045 golden generation of Indonesia can be realized. I am very optimistic that Indonesia can be a huge,

prosperous and peaceful country, one of it is because of the positive things made by the 119 youngsters. Ambon, I am very grateful to you. Apparently there are not one, not two, not three things that I learned from you. I learned so much from you, from the smallest to the biggest things. From you, Ambon, I learned that negative stereotype must be proven not being kept in our head and create fear. Ambon, I will no longer afraid to visit and stay in you. Rather I will now pray that hopefully I can come again and again to this palce. AMBON IS A BEAUTIFUL HEAVEN ON EARTH, I WISH I CAN RETURN TO YOU.

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ANITA WAHYU RAKASIWI (Central Java): This Head of Sobat Bumi Regional Semarang 2017-2018 was born in Kediri on March 1995. She is currently studying in Faculty of Law, Universitas Diponegoro of Semarang. Some of the achievements she has made include second runner up in National Moot Court Competition Piala Mahkamah Agung in 2015, and being champion in Essay Competition held by Universitas Negeri Jakarta.

ARRAYYAN FIRDAUS (Bangka Belitung): Born in Pangkalpinang, Bangka Belitung Province in October 1994. He finished his education and gained his title as scholar

of applied science from Accounting Department in Politeknik Negeri Malang. Ever since 2017, he has been recorded as a member of Pendidikan Himpunan Mahasiswa Bangka, Malang Branch, Founder and Chief Financial Officer Innovator Nusantara (2017-present), and has participated in Program Pengembangan Proyek Angkatan Muda 2030 Indonesia (2017-present).

ASTARI RATNADYA (DKI Jakarta): This alumnus of Universitas Pertanian Bogor and Universitas Sahid Jakarta was born in Palembang on August 1992. Some of the essay from this travel blogger girl has been published in, among others, *Tribun Sumatera Selatan* (2014), *The Jakarta Post* (2015), and *Detik Travel* (2016).

CYNTHIA NOFENTARY PURBA (Riau): A student of Engineering Faculty, Information Engineering Department in Universitas Maritim Raja Ali Haji (UMRAH) who was born in Cilegon on November 1997. She is a Web Programmer in the Computer Cyber Organization of UMRAH Engineering Department, as well as the Head of Environmental Department in Generasi Baru (GenBI) of Bank of Indonesia of UMRAH in Riau Islands.

DEMAS BUNTUMA'DIKA (West Sulawesi): He was born in Nosu, Mamasa District, West Sulawesi on December 1990 and finished his undergraduate study in UKIP Makassar (2009-2013) and his graduate study in STIM Nitro Makassar (2014-2016). He is also a board member of Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Makassar since 2017 to present, and the Head of Solidaritas Party Branch Council from 2016 to present.

DESI APRIANTI (Bengkulu): She is an English Literary student in Bengkulu University and was born on April 1995. She participated in Japan Youth Forum for ASEAN level in 2015 and in Australia-Indonesia Youth Exchange Program (AIYEP) in 2016. She also received XL Future Leaders award in 2017.

DARULMA'ARIF ASRY (South Sulawesi): He is the Coordinator of Science Department in Ikatan Alumni Ponpes Al-Ikhlas Ujung-Bone and was born in Ujungpandang on December 1994. He had participated in Young Interfaith Peace Generation Camp #4 which was held by Makassar International Peace Generation (MIPG) in 2017 in Takalar, South Sulawesi. He also became a presenter in International Conference on Qur'an and Hadith Studies which was held by Faculty of Philosophy of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in Jakarta.

DEVI AFITHASARI (DKI Jakarta): She was born in Demak on April 1996 and currently is a Staff of Commission C (Muslim Women) of Forum Studi Lembaga Dakwah Kampus Nasional (FSLDKN) for 2017 to 2019. She has also made an internship and wrote a report titled “Accompaniment of Child Terrorist by the Social Counselor of Balai Pemasarakatan Klas 1” in South Jakarta from July to September 2017.

DHINAR SARI (Aceh): She was born on July 1995 and is currently finishing her study in English Education Department in Faculty of Education of Universitas Islam Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh. She is active in Islamic Students’ Association (HMI) and Parliamentary Watchdog Forum of Aceh. She had participated in a discussion titled “Preserving Tolerance and Unity in Indonesia” (Governmental Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 2 Year 2017 about Mass Organization), and The 1st International Conference on Stateless Rohingya: Acehness Youth and Understanding the Crisis in Muslim Minority of Myanmar.

EKO PRASETYO (East Jawa): This man’s hobby includes reading, writing, mountaineering, photography and art. He was born in Dili on February 1996 and is currently a student in Universitas 17 Agustus 1945 of Surabaya. For two years straight he participated as a volunteer to empower Jombang people in 2015 and 2016.

FILYADI GUSTI ZAMZAMI (Jambi): He was born in Nipah Panjang on August 1996 and is currently finishing his study in Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin of Jambi. His organizational experience includes: member of DEMA FAH UIN STS Jambi from 2016-2017, board member of BPH DEMA FAH UIN STS Jambi from 2017-2018 and Chairman of Jari Menari Community from 2016 to present.

FITRA UTAMA (Yogyakarta): She was born in Kotabumi on June 1984. She received Indonesian Education Scholarship (BPI) from Educational Fund Management Institution (LPDP) of Ministry of Finance for National Security studies in 2016. Her hobby includes reading, cooking and swimming. She is currently taking a leave from her job as civil servant in order to continue her education in Peace and Conflict Resolution Magistrate of Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta.

GIOVANO BHAKTI MEIZHAR (West Java): This Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Jember Islamic Education Bachelor was born in May 1995. In addition to being an accomplished graduate in 2017, he also made several other achievements including

Champion of KTI PORSENI III IAIN Jember 2017, Champion of MMQ PORSENI III IAIN Jember 2017, Best Participant 100 Pemuda Jatim in East Java 2017, Champion of National Essay Competition in UIN Sunan Kalijaga 2017, East Java Champion of Santri Day Essay Competition in 2017, and Best Speaker in SDGs Conference in UNSOED 2017.

HARY (West Java): He was born on June 1995 and is currently a student in Islamic Philosophy and Virtue Department in the Faculty of Philosophy and Missionary of Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Syekh Nurjati Cirebon. In addition to his daily student life, he is also active in Alang-Alang community that seeks to spread values of peace through music and Hadroh (Genjring).

IDRUS MAULANA YUSUF (DKI Jakarta): He was born in Jakarta on June 1993. The alumnus of Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Syariah Nahdlatul Ulama Nusantara Tangerang was the Chairman of Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia of Tangerang Branch and a member of Counter-Radicalism Department in Ekspedisi Nusantara Jaya 2017.

IIN SOLIHIN (Central Java): This man lives with a slogan “To be beneficial to others” and was born in Cirebon on January 1989. He is currently studying in Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Walisongo Semarang and used to be active in Regeneration Department of LPM IDEA and MPKPK HMI Komisariat Iqbal Semarang.

IKA PUSPITASARI (DKI Jakarta): She was born in Brebes on February 1995 and is currently studying in Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah. In 2017, she participated in Literary Journalism held by PANTAU Foundation and she was also a participant of Sekolah Nusantara Perbedaan in Timor-Flores, East Nusa Tenggara (Sumer School).

IKIN ROJIKIN (West Java): This man was born in Ciamis on January 1996 and lives with a slogan “Life is a Learning Process, so Learn to Live.” He is currently studying Sharia Economics in STAI Al-Ma’arif Ciamis. He was the Champion of Pesta Blogger held by Baju Koprak in 2013 and is now the Regional Head of KAMMI Ciamis for 2017-2019.

IRWAN SAPUTRA (Central Sulawesi): He was born in Kolaka on September 1996 and is currently studying in Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kendari. His organizational experience includes board member of Forum Duta Genre Sulawesi Tenggara (2016), Deputy Leader of Teenage Information and Counseling (PIK-R) of IAIN

Kendari (2017), and Chairman of Generasi Baru Indonesia (GenBI) IAIN Kendari (2017-Present).

ISTHIQONITA (West Java): She has an interest to issues of media, gender equality and diversity. She is currently studying Journalistic study in Universitas Negeri Islam (UIN) SGD Bandung. Ever since 2013, she has been active in Mitra Rahima, an NGO that work to Combat Violence against Women. In addition to being the Chairman of Lembaga Pers Mahasiswa Suaka UIN Bandung (2017), she is also active in Communication and Information Department of Ikatan Pelajar Puteri Nahdlatul Ulama (IPPNU) West Java (2016-2019).

KHAIRUN NISA (Yogyakarta): She was born in Amuntai on April 1996. Ever since 2017, she has been active in Peace Generation community to advocate for religious harmony among students. This community brought youth from different background to educate them with peaceful and tolerant values. In addition, this 2017 Model Student of UIN Sunan Kalijaga is also active in several researched and national competition on peace issue.

KIRANA AISYAH (West Java): She was born in Jakarta on April 1997 and is currently studying in Communication Department of Social and Political Science Faculty in University of Indonesia. Her hobby includes reading books, watching movies and series, listening to podcasts, travelling, hiking, swimming, yoga and pilates. She was also an associate researcher of PT. Talenta Raya Mediatama in 2017 and had participated in Magistrate of Management Research in Communication Research Center of University of Indonesia in 2017.

KURNIATI FADILAH (Kalimantan Selatan): You can call her Nia. She was born in Banyumas on March 1995. She was given the mandate to be the Secretary of Forum Pemuda Peduli Lingkungan (FPPL) of North Banjarmasin Sub-district from 2017 to present. Her hobby includes travelling and reading novels. She is currently serving as the Coordinator of Citra Mitra Remaja PKBI South Kalimantan ever since 2014, and is currently finishing her study in Universitas Lambung Mangkurat.

LUTFI NUR FALAQ (Yogyakarta): He was born in Bantul on September 1995. He is a researcher in Institute of Southeast Asian (ISAIS) of Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta and also Head of Research and Islamic Missionary in PWI Pelajar Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. He is currently finishing his undergraduate study in

Alquran Interpretation Department of Islamic Philosophy and Thought Faculty in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

M. THAHA (South Sulawesi): He was born in Ujungpandang on December 23rd 1996. He is currently a student in Political Science department of Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Alauddin Makassar. In addition to being the Head Coordinator of Logic and Science Department of Dewan Mahasiswa (DEMO) in Philosophy and Political Faculty, he is also the Secretary of Foreign Relations in Badan Pengelolah Latihan (BPL) Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI) of Gowa Raya. He is also the coordinator of Jaringan Aktivistis Filsafat Islam (JAKFI) of Gowa District.

MASITHAH MASHA (Jambi): This Bachelor of Bahasa Indonesia Education in Universitas Negeri Medan was born in Medan on July 1991. He has continued his study in Bahasa Indonesia Department of Universitas Sebelas Maret. His training in interfaith field includes Student Interfaith Peace Camp – Young Interfaith Peacemaker Community (2013), World Common Harmony Week – Young Interfaith Peacemaker Community (2013) and Global Peace Volunteer Campk – Global Dance Festival (2014).

MEILIANA MULYANI (DKI Jakarta): She was born in Jakarta on May 1993 and received her degree in Multimedia Computer from Universitas Bina Nusantara Jakarta in 2015. Her achievement includes Mentor of Duta Binusian Program from September 2012 to February 2013. Duta Binusian is a scholarship program in Universitas Bina Nusantara, in which students with GPA more than 3.75 can participate in this program as a mentor for their juniors.

MOHAMMAD FARIANSYAH (East Java): He was born in Gresik on May 1996 and has studied in Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN Sunan Ampel Wonocolo, Surabaya) from 2014 to 2015 but was unable to finish it. He then moved to Universitas Padjajaran (Unpad) in Jatinangor, Sumedang, West Java since 2015 to present. His organizational experience includes Head Organizer of Konferensi Keilmuan Humas BEM of West Java in 2017, First Chairman of Parade Jurnalistik Epicentrum Unpad in 2017 and is currently the Deputy Chairman of Himpunan Mahasiswa Jurnalistik Unpad.

MUHAMMAD MUFTI MUADDIB (Central Java): He was born in Purworejo District on November 1995 and is currently studying Criminal Law Study in Faculty of Law

and Sharia of Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Walisongo Semarang. His organizational experience includes membership in Serikat Jurnalis untuk Keberagaman (SEJUK), Front Nadliyin Untuk Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam (FNKSDA Semarang) as well as active in PMII Rayon Syariah of UIN Walisongo Semarang since 2015.

M. SABAR PRIHATIN (Central Java): He was graduated from Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Salatiga and was born in Sragen on December 1992. In addition to being the founder and chairman of KATABA Ma'ahad Al-Jamiah Writing Community of IAIN Salatiga (2016-2018), he is also active in Gerakan Kerelawanan Internasional (GREAT) of Indonesia CCIVS France (2016-2018) and a member of Young Peace Maker Community (YIPC) Consortium of UGM, UIN Yogya and UKDW (2015-2018).

MUHAMMAD SAIFUL HAQ (South Sulawesi): He believes in openness and differences and always interested in new things. He is an effective tea player that can crack joke and basically creating fun atmosphere. He was born in Watampone on February 1994. He is currently finishing his study in Magistrate of Psychology in UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. Ever since 2016, he has been a writer in several online media including islami.co, psikologi.uin.malang.ac.id, gubuktulis.com and gusdurianmalang.net.

MUHAMMAD SOLEH (Banten): He has a hobby to do *tilawah*, listen to *shlawah* and *qiro'* and was born in Jakarta on August 1996. He is currently studying Islamic Philosophy in Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Jakarta.

MUHAMMAD REZA (DKI Jakarta): He is currently a graduate student in Universitas Islam Negeri UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and majoring in Islamic Politics. He had been a committee member in a seminar themed "The Birth of Prophet Muhammad and Prophet Isa/Jesus Christ in Love and Unity," which was attended by Muslim and Christian community. He also often organized or attended discussion and seminar on nationalism and religious tolerance.

MULFANDHY GAILEA (North Maluku): He was born on March 1989 and graduated from Information Engineering Department of Universitas Muhammadiyah Maluku Utara in 2011. He had participated as a committee in several creative events, including Jelajah Pusaka Ternate (Kampong Cina-Kampong Tenga-Gamalma-Falajwa) which was held by Ternate Heritage Society in 2017, Teaching and Giving MIN Sasa Ternate 1000 Guru Maluku Utara in 2017, Teaching and Travelling SDN

Kolorai 1000 Guru Maluku Utara in 2017 and Kelas Inspirasi Ternate in 2017.

MUSTOFA (West Kalimantan): This man was born on August 1995 and a board member of LMN Nasdem West Kalimantan since 2017. In 2018, he became a steward of Nasdem Party.

NI PUTU PUTRI PUSPITANINGRUM (DKI Jakarta): She is a valedictorian of Psychology Department in University of Indonesia (2017) and was the runner up of Social Intervention Design Competition in 2nd Annual Psychology Summit in University of Indonesia (2016). Her organizational experience includes initiating Bounce Back Project, a self-developmental program for teenagers (July 2017 – present); Duta Cerita Jakarta of The Habibie Center 2017; Program Coordinator of Gdebook Community, a community to increase reading motivation in school (June 2015 – present); and Research and Educational Development of Universitas Indonesia Mengajar Movement (2016-2017).

NUR HIKMAH (Central Java): She is a student in Sharia Economics Law of Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Walisongo Semarang and was born in Brebes on September 1993. Some of the interfaith event that she had participated includes: At Press Workshop Campus; Visit and Reportage in the House of Worship of Sumarah People in Yogyakarta which was held by Serikat Jurnalistik untuk Keberagaman (Sejuk), Live in Ahmadiyya Village in Banjarnegara which was held by Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation of Semarang, and Pondok Damai which was held by Interfaith Community of Semarang.

NURANI FITRIYAH (East Java): This Champion of National Academic Feature of 2017 and Accomplished Student of Kopertis IV Banten, West Java (2015) was born in Bondowoso on February 1994. She graduated from Telecommunication Engineering Department of Telkom University in 2016.

PERDANA NUR AMBAR SETYAWAN (Yogyakarta): This bachelor of law from Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta has continued his education in the graduate department of the same university. He used to work in Radio Saka FM – Yogya, and was tasked to provide clear, informative and entertaining information, including live reporting.

PRISKA NUR SAFITRI (Central Java): She was graduated from Communication and Broadcasting Department of Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Walisongo Semarang

and was born in Rembang on April 1995. She is currently a member of Masyarakat Anti Fitnah (Mafindo) Indonesia of Semarang, volunteer of Komunitas Sayap (Friends of the Orphaned and the Poor), and volunteer of ACT Central Java.

PUTRA RENALDY SARI (DKI Jakarta): He was graduated from Sport Training Education Department of Sport Science Faculty in Universitas Negeri Makassar and was born in Banua Baru on May 1994. He was the Second Runner-Up of Double Men's Badminton in PORPROV II of West Sulawesi (Polewali Mandar 2015). Some of his achievements include: Second Runner-Up in Student Academic Paper Competition in Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta (UNY Scientific Fair) 2014 under the theme "Strengthening Character Education to Give Birth to Moralized, Humane and Professional People" (Yogyakarta May 11th 2014); and Accomplished Student (Mawapres) of Sport Science Faculty in Universitas Negeri Makassar (2016).

RIZKA DWI KURNIA (DKI Jakarta): She was graduated from Islam Religion Science Department of Universitas Negeri Jakarta (Bachelor Degree of Islamic Studies) and was born in Jakarta on October 1995. Some of the seminar and workshop that she has participated include: International Seminar "Islam Moderation: Effort to Deter Religious Radicalism" which was held by National Agency to Combat Terrorism (BNPT) in 2014, International Conference on Language and Human Thoughts: Language and Social Sciences in Civilization Development held by Universitas Negeri Jakarta and Indonesian Arabic Teacher Association (IMLA) in 2016, and International Seminar on Education: Fostering Young Creative Talents through Integrative Thinking which was held by Research and Development Department of Ministry of Education and Culture in 2017.

SILVIA ANANDA (North Sumatera): She was born in Medan on June 1995 and is currently a student in Universitas Sumatera Utara. She has been chosen as part of XL Future Leaders Batch 4 and was chosen to be one of the 3000 participants (from 13,000 candidates) in Ekspedisi Nusantara Jaya in Aceh 2017.

SOFAH D. ARISTIAWAN (West Java): He is a student of Public Administration Department in the Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Padjajaran Bandung and was born in Bandung on January 1994. In 2017 he was elected as the Program Director of Teleportation History Community and went to be an activist of Turun Tangan Community of Bandung Raya. Also in 2017, he participated in some

number of workshops and camps, such as: Anti-Corruption Youth Camp (ACYC) 2017 held by KPK-Gusdurian Network-Youth Proactive, Workshop and Science Writing and Critical Thinking Class held by Qureta-GITA, International Seminar on Pancasila as a Way of Life: The Path to Bhinneka Tunggal Ika held by STF Driyarkara, and Sekolah Pemikiran Pendiri Bangsa (SPBB) VII held by Megawati Institute.

SONYA YULISTAN ANDOMO (Padang): He was part of the Indonesian Youth Reactor Team of National Nuclear Energy Institution (BATAN) and was born in Lintau on July 1995. In 2015 he participated in National Secondary Leadership Training held by UNAND to bring students from every part of Indonesia in an FGD session to discuss about global politics.

SULTRIANA (South Sulawesi): She is active in Interfaith Srikandi of Yogyakarta and Ikatan Keluarga Mahasiswa Pascasarjana Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta and was born in Jenepono on June 1992. She is currently a graduate student in Islamic Philosophy and Virtue, majoring in Religious and Conflict Resolution Studies in Faculty of Philosophy and Thought, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

SUPRAYITNO (Central Kalimantan): This guy whose hobbies include writing, organizing and travelling was born in Magetan on January 1990. He is currently a manager of Human Resources, Research and Public Relations in Menara Insan Cita (MIC) of Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan. He was graduated from Public Administration study of Social and Political Science Faculty in Universitas Palangka Raya (2009-2013) and finished his graduate study in Magistrate of Public Administration, Social and Political Science Faculty of Universitas Lambung Mangkurat (2014-2016).

SYIHABUL FURQON (West Java): He used to be an assistant lecturer for Kalam class in Hadith Studies of Philosophy Faculty, UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung and was born in Sumedang on March 1992. He received his bachelor degree in Virtue and Philosophy from UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung and he finished his master study at the same university in 2017.

SILVANA WILHELMINA HOGENDORP (Maluku): She was born in Selat Cina on June 1996. She is currently studying in Legal Studies of Universitas Borneo Tarakan (UBT). Her organizational experience includes: Board Member of GMKI Tarakan (2016-

2018), Campus Reporter, LPM Universitas Borneo Tarakan, Young Member of UBT's Nature Lover Student Association, Steward of Student Council in Faculty of Law, UBT (2016-2017), and a Girl Scout ranked Saka Wira Kartika 0204 Jenderal Sudirman. She was the champion of Lomba Parade Cinta Tanah Air in North Kalimantan (2017) and a champion of Student's Speech Competition in North Kalimantan in 2016.

WIDHYKA FAKHRIYAKANSA (West Java): This man lives with a slogan "You must do good things today for the sake of better tomorrow" and was born in Bandung on September 1996. He is currently finishing his study in Universitas Padjajaran (Unpad) of Bandung. He was elected as the Leader of Islamic Economics Student in 2016 and he was elected as a Division Head of Islamic Economics Student Association in Unpad.

WIDIA MUNIRA (Aceh): She was born in Aceh Besar on July 1992 and had taught several schools in Banda Aceh such as SMAN 3 Banda Aceh, SMAN 12 Banda Aceh, and SMAN 16 Banda Aceh. She finished her undergraduate study in Historical Studies of Universitas Syiah Kuala, Aceh in 2016. Then, she continues her graduate study in Historical Education of Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta from 2016 to present.

YOSSIKA DWI PERMATASARI (Central Java): She was born in Lumajang on April 1996. She used to be a Deputy Coordinator of Geophysics Students' Association (HMGI) Region IV from 2016 to 2017. For 2017-2018 period, she was elected as the Chairman of Science Student's Press Organization (ALPHA), before being elected as Advisor of ALPHA for 2018-2019.

YUSTIANTO T. (West Sulawesi): He was born on March 10th 1993. He finished his study in Universitas Bosowa Makassar from 2012-2017. He was elected as the Chairman of Ikatan Persaudaraan Pemuda Pelajar Mahasiswa Sesenapadang (IP-PPMS), a local organization in Mamasa District, for 2015-2016 period, and a branch steward of GMKI Makassar from 2015-2017.

YULINDA R. C. L. GAOL (Banten): She received her Bachelor of Law degree from University of Indonesia and she was active in several organizations such as Indonesian Red Cross, Student Regiment of University of Indonesia, and Young Interfaith Peacemaker Community Indonesia (YIPCI). She said that she was very enthusiastic to work in issues of humanity and peacemaking and will continue to be

a peacemaker and involved in peace projects in Indonesia.

ZARIQOH ANNAYAH SILVIAH (West Java): She was born in August 1995 and is currently studying in Islamic Counselling Department in Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Syekh Nurjati Cirebon from 2014 to present. Throughout 2017 to today, she is active as a secretary of Islamic Counseling Students' Association, Head Advisor of Merpati Putih Kolat in IAIN Syekh Nurjati Cirebon, and member of Forum Djalan Juang.

ZUMROTUN NAFSIAH (East Java): She is a student in Universitas Merdeka Pasuruan and was born in Pasuruan on February 1995. She used to be the village consultant in Jalin Matra Program in Wonorejo, Pasuruan, in 2017. From 2015 to present she has been active as a teacher in SMA Excellent Alyasini of Pasuruan.

The voices of youth written in this book are reflecting their strong anxiety, conscience and also hope to nurture the diversity of life in order to build an Indonesia and a world without extremism and violence. The concern of millennial kids “*zaman now*” in this book to many forms of contemporary conflicts and violence in the name of religion, tribe and class is due to their realization that those phenomena of extremism, terrorism and violence are a deviation to the *mission sacre* of religions, as well as the wisdoms contained within every culture in the world.

