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Managing diversity in Indonesia The Role of Local Elites in a Plural Society in Religion

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Abstract

Diversity is a condition that is so in new countries after the second world wars. Therefore, they develop strategies to integrate and minimize differences, from the use of repressive means to the means of hegemony. In a situation of globalization, it is not entirely successful. By taking three local communities in East Java, this study shows that local communities have different strategies from the state. Local elites develop strategies by mixing mythology, developing rules of play in public spaces to superstructure networks.

Keywords

local cultural values; local elites; public arena; ideology

INTRODUCTION

There is a fact revealed by Benedict Anderson that the independent states post-World War II represent the "ideological" and "historical" buildings of colonialism and imperialism. They are actually compound. Due to the need for administrative and technical personnel, the colonial government educated the indigenous elites. The educational process has shaped their consciousness as an independent nation. They liberate themselves. It happened in those countries, including Indonesia. (Anderson, 2006) In the global era, the Internet network also helped form a new nationalist model in a number of diaspora communities, such as: Kurds. (Mahmod, 2016)

As a new country, its integration is very vulnerable. There are various strategies undertaken by the new state government. First, they prioritize political development.

In the reign of Sukarno, for example, in addition to struggling to maintain and gain recognition from the international world, the government built a bureaucratic and democratic system. The democratic process begins with elections. (Feith, 1999) Second, as the Suharto government did. It stabilizes the political structure with an authoritarian technocratic bureaucracy. To avoid division due to ethnic and religious diversity, the government sanctioned the disorder (Vatikiotis, 1993)(Schwarz, 2004).

Conditions are different when post-Suharto government. The use of repressive means becomes unreliable. In fact, the use of repressive means only decreases the expansion of conflict and transforms into veiled.

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Conflict is becoming increasingly open to place in the transition to democracy (Buchanan & Cooper, 2011) (Braithwaite, Braithwaite, Cookson, & Dunn, 2010). It happens when there is a struggle for scarce natural resources. Religious and ethnic issues are used for triggers in conflict. In turn, the conflict as a medium of competition among the elite. (Barron, Jaffrey, Palmer, & Varshney, 2009; Barron, Smith, & Woolcock, 2004; Eklof, 1999; Hilsen & Laing, 2017; Klinken, 2009) However, what Clifford Geertz observed in the 1960s (Geertz, 1968) also occurs in a number of local communities in Indonesia, especially Java. In this study, in the midst of Indonesia's 1997-1999 political crisis, the three local communities in East Java have succeeded in developing harmonious relations between different citizens. This is a pretty interesting question, especially how to manage the daily routine.

METHOD

The article is a meta-analysis of a series of studies with three locations in East Java. The research location is Balun Village community, Lamongan Regency, four villages of Tenggerese communities in the mountains of Bromo and the people of *Mataraman* Javanese in the Glenmore District, Banyuwangi Regency. The study of interreligious relationships in Tenggerese society has been written by FX Sri Sadewo, et.al (Sadewo, Legowo, Artono, & Maliki, 2017) Meanwhile, Martinus Legowo, et.al has written relationships among religious communities in Glenmore District. (Legowo, Sadewo, Maliki, & Pribadi, 2016) Research on Balun society has been written by Zainuddin Maliki and FX Sri Sadewo (Maliki & Sadewo, 2012) and Nais Rufaida Cahya. (Cahya, 2017) The three studies use an ethnographic approach. The interview and observation are techniques for data collection. A number of informants were interviewed in depth, ranging from community leaders to community members. Community leaders include local elites from different religious groups, local government elites, and traditional leaders. Of the three

regions, researchers perform comparisons on the basis of similarities and differences. From the analysis of constant comparisons (Spradley, 1980), researchers concluded the basic things that build inter-religious harmony in the three communities.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The values underlying religious tolerance.

Diversity in a functional structural perspective actually provides the benefit of society. Each of the different units has different functions and in turn, the community benefits from the function. (Ritzer, 2008) The problem is, in the studied society, the diversity that occurs is in the religious field that governs the relationship between humans and their creators. In this case, religious diversity is questioned whether it is the driving factor of conflict or otherwise unifying. Robert K. Merton (1910-2003) observes that social institutions, including religion, in society can have latent functions and manifests, and can even produce dysfunction in society. Religion teaches human beings to behave well and establish harmonious relationships with others in their various religious values. (Ritzer, 2008) In Islam, there is the value of *hablum minallah* and *hablum minannas* (loving God and worshiping Him, as well as a relationship with others). Meanwhile, Jesus Christ commands his followers (Christians) to "... Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind ... and Love your neighbor as yourself ..." At most points extreme, a Christian must be able to love his enemies and not retaliate for the crimes inflicted upon him. The Hindus also believe in *Panca-sradha* (every being possesses a soul loved by God). Therefore, man is obliged to love him. Destruction or destruction of every creature will result in itself (*karmaphala* law). These beliefs have a manifest function to unite every citizen into one entity.

In addition to the manifest function, Robert K. Merton also reminded that there is a latent function in each social institution.

(Ritzer, 2008) Religion has one of the latent functions of which constitutes a social class and social coating. To establish its social function, religion forms a social institution that contains status and role in each position. In short, to perform their religious rituals, such institutions constitute structures filled by people, such as monks, clergy, and *Pandita*. Not to mention, the fulfillment of certain obligations, such as charity and holy travel, in turn, gain more social awards than other members of the people. Therefore, local religious-based elites are established in Balun, Tenggerese in Tosari and *Mataraman* Javanese in Bumiharjo and Tulungrejo, Glenmore, Banyuwangi Regency.

Religion can also be dysfunctional for society. When entering the public sphere or the arena of "state practice," religion becomes the identity of a group competing against one another in the struggle or self-indulgence in positions in the arena. In this state, religion becomes an emotional bond to build cohesion within the community. Religious values are the collective consciousness of the community but must be faced by other communities. Robert K. Merton has given the Irish example a good lesson to understand this explanation. It can be used to understand the "social struggle" of seizing the position of the manager of the *Mbah Balun* tomb in Balun Village, or the seizure of the committee in the Karo ceremony at Tengger society in Tosari District. However,

in reality, the seizure does not make the society disintegrated because there is power-sharing when there are two things, namely: (1) there is loyalty to a group that transcends group boundaries, and (2) there has been a compromise. (Snyder, 2003)

For the Tenggerese community, there is a feeling of external threats to the group also worthy of scrutiny as a unifying factor. The Tenggerese views about the fanatic behavior and the use of violence from the "bottom" region in the transitional period of democracy. It is reminiscent of past political events. (Hefner, 2008) Therefore, when the *Karo* committees are led by Muslims, other Tenggerese are not concerned. This memory of the post-G 30 September became a collective memory of political trauma, especially for minority groups. It is also felt by the community Bumiharjo. Therefore, on many occasions, especially with regard to patterns of interaction among religious people, they prefer to invite the security apparatus, especially the military to discuss and make decisions together.

Myths and Rituals are the Local Wisdoms

Both Balun Village, Tenggerese from Tosari and the Javanese Mataraman from Glenmore (Bumiharjo and Tulungrejo) have myths that bind each other in society. In Balun Village, *Mbah Tawang Alun* (ancestor) represents the "big" people who are down to the

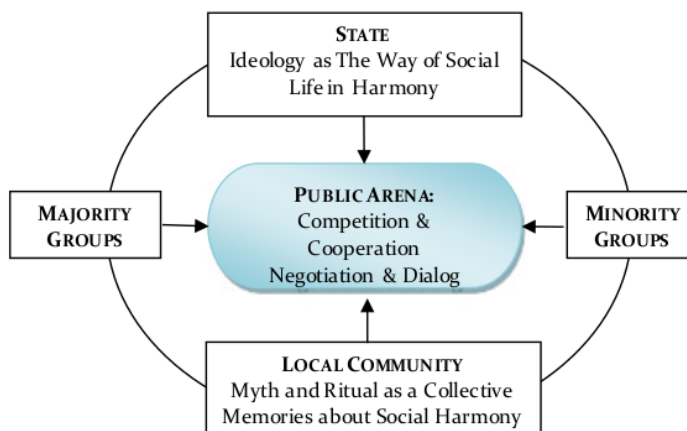


Fig 1. relations between majority and minority groups

wong cilik (ordinary people) world, settling and opening the area. Meanwhile, Joko Seger and Rara Anteng are trying to compromise with the God (*Sang Hyang Widi*) to replace the sacrifices from child to animal and crop. In Bumiharjo, the developing myth is the journey of a *Rsi* to Bali and healing the sick people around him. This mythical belief is shared by society and subsequently develops a ritual that connects the myths of the past and the daily life of the present. More than what M. Eliade says, the myth not only brings humans to do the present but brings close to the religious experience. (Eliade, 1963) The myth also binds citizens into one community as Emile Durkheim says as collective consciousness (Ritzer, 2008).

This formation of collective awareness provides an identity to the community. It begins with the formation of the shared behavior of the community. The village of Balun regularly holds a charity ceremony at

the tomb of *Mbah Alun*. It is not only followed by the natives, but also by newcomers. In addition to alms earth, those who will run a marriage ceremony, for example, should sow the flowers (*nyekar*) in the tomb. The next step, the couple also begged the blessing of the *Lurah* (leader of the village). It applies equally to all citizens, so there is no boundary between majority and minority groups. Tenggerese has a similar way. They are united in the *Kasadha* event. In the event, Tenggerese who settled around the slopes to the top of Mount Bromo gathered to present some of the earth to *Sang Hyang Widi* (*Hong Pukulun*) in his crate. Before dedicating some of the produce, they chose a *dukun* (shaman). *Kasadha* ceremony is used not only to connect the world of the holy and the underworld (profane) but to choose the mediator between the two worlds. Liaisons known as shamans are chosen not on the basis of previous bloodlines but have “more”

Table 1. Interreligious relations in three local communities

	Coastal Javanese (Balun Village, Turi, Lamongan regency)	Tenggerese (Tosari district, Pasuruan regency)	Mataraman Javanese (Bumiharjo & Tulungrejo, Banyuwangi)
Socio-Economic Condition			
a) Main Livelihood	Farmers (Fish Cultivation)	Farmers of Farms	Rice Farmers
b) Socio-Political Stratification	Relatively Egalitarian	Relatively Egalitarian	Stratification on an economic basis
c) Economic Stratification	Equitable Economic Base	Equally	Elite Economics of Minority Groups
Demographics			
a) Dominant Groups	Islam (traditional santri)	Hindu	Islam (traditional santri)
b) Minority Groups	Christian Hindu	Islam (traditional santri) Christian	Christian & Catholic Hindu
The basis of Relationship between Majority and Minority Groups			
a) History and Myth Bersama	Have (Mbah Tawangalun)	Have (Legenda Gn Bromo)	It's in Bumiharjo (traveling Resi to Bali)
b) New Myth	Pancasila Village	The “Upper” community vs the “bottom”	---
c) The shape of Ritual together	A ceremony of “ <i>Bersih Desa</i> ” <i>Malam Tirakatan 17 Agustus</i>	<i>Kasadha</i> dan <i>Karo</i> <i>Malam Tirakatan 17 Agustus</i>	A ceremony of “ <i>Bersih Desa</i> ” <i>Malam Tirakatan 17 Agustus</i>
d) A figure who plays a role in the Past	Mbah Martin	No Have	No Have
e) Supra local network of minority groups	Have	Have	Have
f) Use of Economic Base	Have	No Have	Have
g) Powersharing	Have	No Have	No Have
h) Use of Public Space	Have	Have	Have

wisdom and ability than others.

In addition to Kasadha, Karo rituals provide a sense for the Tenggerese, especially in Tosari. In this ritual, the ancestral spirits prayed together are no longer limited by religious and ethnic barriers. Therefore, when the committees are led by Tenggerese who have converted to other religions, like Islam, they do not question. The success of organizing is far more important than - in debating who the committee is. (Sadewo et al., 2017) Of course, those who have converted to other religions are also tolerant and feel the ritual. As long as it is shared by any ethnic and religious background, the diversity of the Tenggerese in Tosari is not a problem. This is different from the condition of people in the conflict areas of Indonesia, such as BBM in Maluku or Madura in Kalimantan. (Buchanan & Cooper, 2011)

When in terms of demographics ethnic and religious compositions are out of balance, (Barth, 1981) then the public is consciously or indivisibly divided into two poles, a majority, and a minority. Relationships become unequal, often dominating other groups. In this situation, the myths and rituals that follow do not only unite among them in the same community but will be related to strengthening the position of a minority group from the demographic side. It happens when the myth and ritual are connected with the same community outside its territory. The Hindus in Balun, Tengger and Bumiharjo are connected to the Hindu community at the national level, namely: *Pari-sadha Hindu Indonesia* (see fig.1).

Such a process does not mean it takes place calmly and neatly. This scenario resulted from the building of the New Order government's wisdom with an anime building ideology. In this ideology, the more extravagant diversity and cannot be "managed" becomes a threat to the development project. Therefore, the government at that time simplified religious life in Indonesia by grouping into 5 (five) "official" religions, namely: Islam, Christian Protestant, Catholic, Hindu, and Buddhist. Beyond that, their beliefs and ritual activities are categorized into a flow of trust. The five religious followers

are organized under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Religion *Buda Jawi* is integrated into the Hindu religion (Bali). The process is more or less the same as that of some tribes in Indonesia. (Djuweng, 1996)

If in some native tribes, local religious culture is eroded, even marginalized, such as *Kaharingan* (*Dayak, Kalimantan*), not so in Tenggerese. As told by Robert Hefner (1999) that political events resulted in conversion to the majority religion (Islam), but local religious rituals persisted, even being a tourism commodity at the provincial level. Meanwhile, *Rsi's* mythical journey across Bumiharjo not only connects Hindu Bumiharjo and Balinese Hindu but also reinforces the position of Hindus, let alone from the magical side has the ability to keep the village from threats or criminal acts from outside the community. The markers of the relationship with the broader structure can be seen in the inscriptions of the study of places of worship, such as the Hindu Balun Temple which was inaugurated by one government official, while the Hindu Temple (*Pura*) di Bumiharjo was founded and funded not only by local people but by other Hindu communities, especially from Bali. Similar markers were also found at the Jawi Wetan Christian Church (GKJW) in Balun Village, Lamongan Regency. The inscription is handled by the PGI (*Indonesia Church Union*) Lamongan Regency. Meanwhile, the mosque in Balun is only inaugurated by the local religious organization board. That is the relationship with religious organizations to the supralocal level as a form of strengthening the position of minority groups in interacting with other groups. The strengthening of this position cannot be interpreted as a struggle for domination, but rather on mutual respect for each other. It can be realized if each group is in a position more or less the same (see fig 2).

Public Space: Time and Space Togetherness

Not only do they develop networks with supralocal, but by incorporating religious culture into private spaces, these communities meet the public sphere. In Balun,

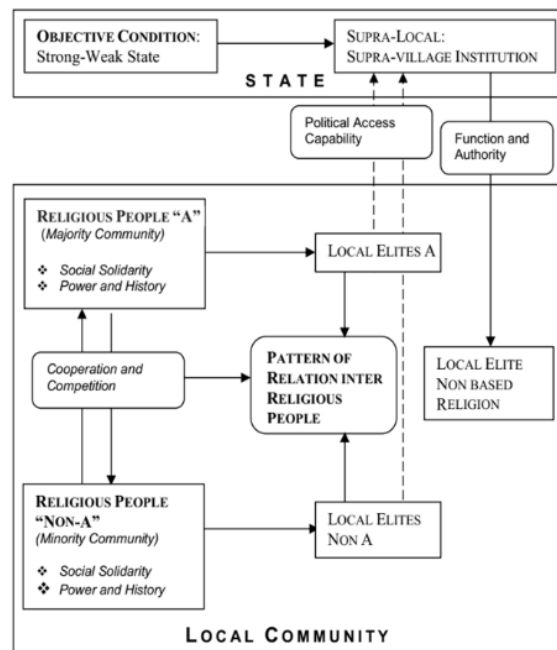


Fig 2. Interaction Process between State and Local Elites in the Plural Society

the public space is at the Village Hall. All activities of religious activity that should not be confined to their own community, they organize in the Village Hall, such as the charitable activities of the Church and Pura. Charitable actions in Islam are known to the Christian community, namely *perse-puluhan*. This action is a form of solidarity with disadvantaged families. That is, in every religion there are universal values. However, the Balun community is different when it is in a location where charity or zakat is handed over. Therefore, they avoid ideology in the general public space, such as village halls. In Tulungrejo and Bumiharjo, public space is also used to demonstrate the loyalty and existence of minority groups. Christian minority groups with faithful support provide strong support to the needs of the village hall and are not reluctant to contribute more funds. Such patterns occur in Tosari and Balun, just not as big and passionate as the Tulungrejo Christians, as in Modjokuto. (Geertz, 1989) It happened also in the village. Every August 17 and a month before, they held various activities of the race and

the night before the day of independence was a joint musing. In the reflection, they are aware of a mutual respect.

The devotional event was held in each neighborhood association (RT). The routine activity of each year was initiated during the New Order (Suharto) government. The event was opened by an event host appointed by the RT chairman. The host conveys the arrangement of events. After that, the speech continued with the speech of RT chairman. Furthermore, the peak event is an afterthought given by community leaders. This character is usually chosen from the senior people. In the 1990s, it was usually chosen from people who had been involved in the struggle for independence. Now, the person chosen is based on a respected job background regardless of his religious background. He, the giver of reflection, expounded on how the history of the struggle of the Indonesian nation, from the colonial period until after the proclamation. There are also movies that play the struggle. From his story, at the end of his reflection, he usually concludes the importance of a sense of

community and mutual cooperation in society. Or, unity is far more important than a power struggle in the life of a country. After reflection, the next event is a common prayer that is usually led by *ulama* (religious elites) from the majority group (although not intended to distinguish the minorities, only as part of the custom). Not infrequently, after a joint prayer followed by eating together that of food brought from home, collected together than divided. The event was followed by all citizens, ranging from children to adults.

CONCLUSION

Living in a pluralistic society or diversity in religious life can be analogous to marine life. The sea is so calm. The sea do not store destructive energy. The Indonesians' recall of the Tsunami in Aceh as a powerful image attaches to how the ocean's forces destroy, destroying all life on land. So it is with religious life in Indonesia. The cases of Ambon and Poso are unpleasant stories not only for the people who experience them but also for the nation of Indonesia as a whole. However, in this article, the reader has presented about three societies that can develop the dynamics of life diverse, although in it also not necessarily calm like the ocean waves. Just like the ocean waves, it may be necessary to agree that the destructive energy does not start from within. Tsunamis come from earthquakes caused by a shift of the plate away from the earth's surface. High waves also come from storms. Storms are caused by wind movement. Wind movement is a consequence of changes in the surface temperature of the earth, and so on as described by marine and weather experts. The same analogy can be implemented to explain the religious life of Balun, Tenggerese and *Mataraman* Javanese communities of Glenmore District, Banyuwangi Regency. These three communities are very clever in regulating inter-religious relations, not infrequently even have to build the same myth, such as the *Pancasila* Village in the midst of doubts the Indonesian people feel like a nation has the same history and fate. Similarly, Tenggerese, and *Mataraman* Javanese who ask

tepa selira for minority groups in order not to force to build a place of worship if in the end will result in disharmony of the community, such as the request of Hindu clerics to Muslims who are in Wonokitri Village, Tosari District, Pasuruan Regency. Similarly, minorities are so obedient and succumbing to the majority. Or, at least follow the procedures for establishing a place of worship by first requesting approval of the surrounding residents as also stated by Joint decree between Minister of Religious Affairs and the Interior.

On the other hand, after 73 years of independence, this nation and nation have succeeded in building a civil religion. The civil religion based on the ideology of the nation, Pancasila. The bureaucracy of government as a social institution has evolved and is recognized as a common space for religious followers. Independence day is a celebration that unites religious communities, and the village hall has become a common place of worship. In that room, the official religions enter into the private sphere of each adherent without having to highlight or compare it. Compassion, politeness and the wisdom of a person, whether they are the implications of his religious values or of his cultural values, are respected and in turn represented as an elder in a diverse society. Moreover, public space is also used to apply religious values without having to specify where the religion is. Charity and charity that are part of the values of each religion can be displayed across people in the space.

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