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Encountering Religious and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia: Recalling the Needs for Education and Intercultural Dialog to Initiate Peace Building

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**Encountering Religious and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia:
Recalling the Needs for Education and Inter-Cultural Dialog to Initiate
Peace Building**

By:

Dr. Marcella Elwina Simandjuntak and Fandy Kevin M. Pandiangan*

Diversity of ethnic, religion, customs or cultures lead Indonesia to be potentially vulnerable to social conflicts. As we know, each social conflict has its own unique characteristics. According to Blagojevic, some social conflicts happened in society are simply caused by a major structural crisis. The other ones are triggered by the presence of historical memories of inter-ethnic-religious grievances or by institutional factors that promote ethnic religious intolerance. Some are manipulation of historical memories by political entrepreneurs to evoke emotions such as fear, resentment, and hate toward the 'other'. Rather than seeing as an asset of a country, diversity is sometimes inevitably seen as something that lead more to a conflict.

This paper will outline some of the ethnic and religious conflicts in Indonesia and the resolutions, including the resolution using the norms and provisions of existing laws. In addition, this paper will explain how education and dialogue turned out to be an important key to prevent conflicts and initiate peace building in society.

It has to be understood that in dealing with social conflicts occurred and can potentially occur in the future, people need to get adequate knowledge about the causes of conflicts and the effects perceived if a conflict occurs. People also need information how to minimize casualties in the event of a conflict. Continuous quality dialogue involving various parties must also be conducted with emphasis on mutual trust and understanding of each other.

Keywords: diversity, religion and ethnic conflict, education and inter-cultural dialog, peace building initiative

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Encountering Religious and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia: Recalling the Needs for Education and Inter-Cultural Dialog to Initiate Peace Building

By :

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A. Indonesia: a Pluralistic Country with High Potential Conflicts

Indonesia is a very fertile and rich archipelago located on the equator path that stretches from Sabang to Merauke. Indonesia is not only overwhelmed with natural resources such as mining, natural gas, tropical forest, and flora-fauna, but it is also endowed with cultures, ethnicities, customs, languages and religions diversity. With a population of over 240 million people, Indonesia is the 4 (four) most populous country in the world.

There are 5 (five) major islands in Indonesia; i.e. Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Irian (Papua). The total population of Javanese is the largest, approximately 95.2 million people or 41% of the entire population in Indonesia. The other largest tribes are Sundanese with the number of 36.7 million people (15.5 %), Batak 8.5 million people (3.6 %), and some tribes from Sulawesi 7.6 million people (3.2 %).¹ Although they mostly live on the island of Java, millions of Javanese tribe have been migrated to various islands throughout the archipelago.

Figure 1
Map of Indonesia by Population Density



Source: http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berkas:Bev%C3%B6lkerungsdichte_Indonesiens.png

The map is done by: Marcel Krüger from de.wikipedia.org

Based on the mapping and data from the National Statistic Bureau in 2010, there are 31 ethnic groups in Indonesia with an overall reached more than 1,300 ethnics spread in the various islands in Indonesia. With these conditions, Indonesia can be named as a diverse country with varied cultural differences for each existing ethnic. Indonesian is the official language or the national language of Indonesia. In addition to the national language, Indonesian society also speaks at least one local language which commonly is the original language or mother tongue. In some isolated areas, Indonesian is even their second language. According to the data from the ethnologue,

¹ Source: bps.go.id

9 the number of individual languages listed for Indonesia is 719. Of these, 706 are living and 13 are extinct. Among the living languages, 21 are institutional, 97 are developing, 248 are vigorous, 265 are in trouble, and 75 are dying².

Figure 2
Map of Indonesia by Ethnic Distribution



Map of Indonesia in the Ethnography Room of the Indonesian National Museum.

Source: http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suku_Bangsa_di_Indonesia

There are six (6) official religions used in the demographic statistics in Indonesia, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. However, people in certain areas still hold cults. The following table of population in Indonesia by religion was collected from the statistic data published by the National Statistic Bureau in 2010:

Table 1
Total Population by Religion in Indonesia

No	Religions	Number	%
1.	Islam	207.176.162	87.18
2.	Christianity	16.528.513	6.96
3.	Catholicism	6.907.873	2.9
4.	Hinduism	4.012.116	1.69
5.	Buddhism	1.703.254	0.72
6.	Confucianism	117.091	0.05
7.	Others	299.617	0.13
8.	Not answer	896.700	0.38
	TOTAL	237.641.326	100%

Source: National Statistic Bureau 2010 (bps.go.id)

From the percentage shown in Table 1, Indonesia is one of countries with the largest Muslim population in the world, followed by India and Pakistan which is the country with the second and third largest Muslim population in the world. Muslims in Indonesia, according to the above statistics, reach nearly 88% of the total population with over 200 million people³.

² <http://www.ethnologue.com>

³ While the number of Muslim population is the highest and generally dominates the field of government and politics, in reality most of the economic life is dominated by the minority ethnic

Being aware of this diversity, since the independence, the founding fathers chose the country motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which means Unity in Diversity. This motto is consciously chosen by the founding fathers in order to maintain national unity. However, in reality, the watchword believed to be a unity reflection is not always able to prevent conflicts in society.

The description of plurality mentioned above naturally puts Indonesia as one of the conflict-prone states. In reality, indeed, there were various types of conflicts happened in Indonesia. Some conflicts involved the state, such as the separatist movements happened in Aceh and Papua. There were also conflicts due to lands caused by the seizure of natural resources. Since the era of regional autonomy, the elections of Head of Regions also often led to conflicts and violence in society. However, of the various conflicts occurred in Indonesia, the most conflicts occurred were horizontal conflicts caused by the issues of identity such as religions and ethnicity issues. Ichlasul Amal even stated that Indonesia's modern history is the history of conflicts⁴.

Inter-religion and inter-ethnic conflicts in Indonesia were ups and downs and even occurred in the days of the New Order regime under Suharto's authoritarian rule⁵. This conflict continued in transition period exactly after the fall of Suharto and the period after the reforms era. Granting autonomy to the regions after the reform also triggered many new conflicts which were regional in nature.

Actually, state has a very important role during conflict primarily to prevent loss of life and loss of property. Unfortunately, according to Mahfud MD, states are often powerless, or even by the activists, it is said that state is very often being absent in conflict situations⁶. When state is present, it usually comes with a repressive-militaristic way in order to stop and abolish existing conflicts. In fact, the critical point that must be presented before a conflict occurs in a plural society, like Indonesia, is a mutual appreciation, understanding, tolerance and consideration. Such a condition would not likely be present in the absence of adequate education about the nature of pluralism. A quality inter-cultural dialogue becomes an important part in order to maintain a favorable climate and in order to maintain peace and harmony in society.

This paper will outline some of the ethnic and religious conflicts in Indonesia and the resolutions, including the resolution using the norms and provisions of existing laws. In addition, this paper will explain how education and dialogue turned out to be an important key to prevent conflicts and initiate peace building in society.

groups of Chinese who are mostly Christian and Catholic. This is one of the reasons considered as one of the main triggers of conflict in Indonesia. It was recorded that a lot of worship places of Christians and Catholics are closed, vandalized and burned because of inter-religion conflicts.

⁴ See Ichlasul Amal in Bambang W. Soeharto, 2013, *Menangani Konflik di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Kata Hasta Pusaka, p. xv

⁵ The New Order regime under Suharto administration gives priority to economic growth. For this purpose, the depoliticization of society and authoritarianism deemed necessary. The presence of opposing ideologies (including Islam) and some political parties (including the Islamic parties) were seen as obstacles to development. Pancasila, the basis of the state, was propagated as the only ideology and 'single principle' for political parties in Indonesia. Although they suppressed all forms of Islamic expression, the New Order government really gave support to the implementation of pure worship aspects. Many mosques were built with the help of government, rapidly growing Islamic religious education, religious holidays were celebrated with government support, even Musabaqah Tilawatil Quran (MTQ) was sponsored by the government, see the van Bruinessen Matin, 2013, *Rakyat Kecil, Islam dan Politik*, Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, p. 241.

⁶ Ichlasul Amal in Bambang W. Soeharto, *Op. Cit.*, p. xi

B. Inter-Religion and Inter-Ethnic Conflicts in Indonesia

Although most Indonesian people generally states that Indonesian people are patient, 'nrimo' (submissive), communalist, and considerate and have high tolerance, conversely history proves that religious and ethnic conflicts in Indonesia have been going on for a long time, even since the early days of independence. This condition peaked around the last two decades. The conflicts occurred because of moral, sectarian, communal, terrorism, political-religious and other issues such as the issues of the mythical 'witches' or 'dukun santet' occurred in East Java⁷.

Moral issue is an issue involving gambling, alcohol, drugs, sexual misconduct, etc., and sectarian issue is an issue related to dispute involving the interpretation or understanding of the teachings of a religious community and leadership status. Communal issue is an issue involving inter- religious enmity, such as the conflict of Muslim-Christian, and the enmity between religious groups and other social groups, including the issue of religion defamation (such as in the case of the caricatures of Prophet Muhammad). Terrorism issue is an issue associated with acts of terror attacks targeting religious groups or the property of any particular religious groups, as well as a terror attack directed against foreigners or foreign government property. the political-religious issue is an issue involving the attitudes toward anti-Western policies or any other foreign government and the contra attitudes against Western or other foreign culture/ideology⁸.

Generally, the most casualties that fell from the various conflicts in Indonesia were minorities (both for communal and sectarian issues). It was mentioned above that the inter-religions and inter-ethnic conflicts in Indonesia had occurred since a long time, even since the early days of independence. Below are the descriptions of worship place destructions (especially church) that afflicted the Christian and Catholic minorities that took place in the period 1945-1999:

Table 2
The Number of Closed, Destroyed and Burned Church in the Period of 1945-1999⁹

Period	n	%	Means
1945-1954	0	0.00	0
1954-1964	2	0.33	0.2
1965-1974	46	7.53	4.6
1975-1984	89	14.57	8.9
1985-1994	104	17.02	10.4
1995-1999	370	60.56	92.5

Source : Paul Tahalele et.all (2000)

The distribution of church destruction incident occurred in several provinces in Indonesia during 1945-1999 is also described below:

⁷ These categories are taken from Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, Rudy Harisyah Alam, Samsu Rizal Panggabean, 2009, *Pola-Pola Konflik Keagamaan di Indonesia (1990-2008)*, Research Report, Jakarta: Collaborative Research between Paramadina Wakaf Foundation (YWP), Master Program of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Gajah Mada University (MPRK-UGM), and the Asia Foundation (TAF), pp. 9-10

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10

⁹ Paul Tahalele, Frans Parera, Thomas Santoso (et.al), 2000, *Indonesia di Persimpangan Kekuasaan: Dominasi Kekerasan atas Dialog Publik*, Jakarta: the Go East Institute, p. 203

Table 2
The Distribution of Church Vandalism Incident in Several Provinces in Indonesia in the
Period of 1945-1999¹⁰

No.	Province	n	%
1.	West Java	174	28.48
2.	East java	122	19.97
3.	Central Java	65	10.64
4.	South Sulawesi	49	8.02
5.	Jakarta	47	7.69
6.	Maluku	43	7.04
7.	Kalimantan	36	5.89
8.	North Sumatera + Aceh	20	3.27
9.	Yogyakarta	13	2.13
10.	Irian Jaya (Papua)	13	2.13
11.	South and West Sumatera	12	1.96
12.	North Sulawesi	5	0.82
13.	Bali	5	0.82
14.	Nusa Tenggara Barat	3	0.49
15.	Central Sulawesi	3	0.49
16.	Timor Timur	1	0.16

Source : Paul Tahalele et.all (2000)

For more than two decades, a series of religious (and ethnic) nuanced violence and conflicts continues to occur in Indonesia: ranging from religious nuanced riots in provincial towns in 1995-1997, the campaign against witches in Java and the inter-religion conflicts in Central Sulawesi and Maluku in 1998-2001, and the mobilization of the faith-based army and terrorist groups carried out bombings in the name of 'jihad' in 2000-2005. Moreover, the conflict and sectarian violence that afflicted the Indonesian Ahmadiyya and other religious sects had added arithmetically the incidents of violence and conflicts in religious nuances in Indonesia¹¹.

Of many conflicts occurred in Indonesia, many conflicts were even occurred with unclear trigger. One of large-scale conflicts occurred in Maluku, in the year of 1999-2000 were triggered only by a trivial quarrel between two (2) persons from the two (2) different religious communities.

Some samples of religion and ethnic based conflicts on large scale that had occurred in Indonesia during the transition and after the reform period are presented as follows:

1. The conflict in Maluku and North Maluku¹²

The inter-religion conflicts in Maluku and North Maluku between Muslim and Christian communities that occurred during 1999-2001 was one of the greatest examples of religious conflict in the history of conflict in Indonesia. The incident

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 205

¹¹ Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, Rudy Harisyah Alam, Samsu Rizal Panggabean, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2

¹² Source : The Document of Religion-Based Discrimination: the Riots in Maluku and North Maluku, without year, issued by the Denny JA Foundation for Indonesia without Discrimination. Of the documents issued, the Foundation considered that the conflicts in Maluku and North Maluku were one of the worst categories of religious-based conflict 1.

reportedly was triggered by a simple issue, which was a bicker between a Christian city transport driver and his Muslim passenger who was a newcomer. This quarrel instantly turned into a big incident because both came with anger to their respective communities. The incident suddenly turned into communal clashes between the Muslim community residing in Kampung Batu Merah which is the home of Islam and the Christian community in the neighboring village, Pasar Mardika.

This conflict lasted for three days in a row. The conflict spread to other areas in the city of Ambon in either Christian or Muslim villages: in Batu Gantung, Waringin, Benteng Karang, Passo, Nania, Wailete, Kamiri, Hative Besar and others. The conflict in Ambon eventually spread to other areas outside of Ambon. In February 1999, Christian versus Muslim conflicts spread of to Central Maluku, in the land of Seram, and Saparua. In March 1999, a large-scale conflict broke out in Ambon and both, the Christian and Muslim, finally declared Ambon as a "war zone".

In April 1999, the Muslim-Christian community conflict also occurred in Southeast Maluku district, including the capital: Tual city. In fact, in this region, especially Tual city, the kinship-based ethnic/customs between Islam and the Christian community has long been strong. In history, Tual community with the Catholic majority is rarely had conflict with the Muslim community in this area.

The conflict in Maluku province also spread to North Maluku province. In North Maluku, Christian-Muslim conflict occurred the first time in August 1999 between Malifut village (Muslim and Makian ethnic as the largest ethnic in North Maluku) and Kao village (Christian). The conflict began with a territory dispute regarding the expansion plan of a new district in the area, which made Malifut as the capital. The dispute led to the expulsion of Malifut Muslims from their territory. The majority are evacuated to Tidore and Ternate which is the symbol of Muslim community power for a long time (the Sultanate).

In November 1999 the Muslim-Christian conflict broke out in Ternate and Tidore due to the suspicions and the emotions ignited by the riots in Ambon and Malifut-Kao. It was recorded that about 20 people died. Ternate and Tidore which predominantly are Muslim forced the minority Christian community fled the island of Ternate and Tidore. The majority of them fled to Manado and partly to Tobelo. On December 26, 1999, the conflict broke out in the mainland of Halmahera, especially Tobelo and the surrounding areas. Tobelo is the base area of the Christian community in Halmahera. In this conflict, many minority Muslims were the victims. This conflict then spread to several districts around Tobelo, such as Jailolo and Galela.

From several sources, it was noted that about 907 died as a result of this conflict. From the data made by various parties, the conflict in Maluku was divided into 4 phases. The first phase occurred from January to April 1999, the second from July to October 1999, the third from December 1999 to January 2000, the fourth from April to December, 2000. There were also the studies that show the presence of large-scale conflict in April 2002 in Soya, Ambon. For the number of victims - in the absence of official data - it was estimated that the phases of conflict in Maluku had caused 5.000-9.000 deaths, 300.000 - 700.000 people displaced, and around 29.000 houses burned.

In North Maluku, Kesbanglinmas data shows the great number of fatalities and property losses. They were about 2.052 people died, 1.769 people injured, 2.315 people lost/ran into the woods, 23.336 houses broken/burnt, 127 churches destroyed,

114 mosques damaged, 95 shops/kiosks burnt, 106 government facilities damaged, 66 educational facilities destroyed, and 7 health facilities also damaged. The total number of the refugees was around 197.327 people.

Most of Christian or Muslim people in Maluku and North Maluku province were involved. The nature of the conflict, the expansion (active attack), and the mobilization involving all local residents of the community caused this conflict. The people were commanded by each religious leader. They used church/ mosque to be the place to organize the attack and defense.

In this conflict, the security officials, who were unable to control violence, were also accused of not being neutral. They are accused of being supported certain groups. Various reports and public testimony showed that security units were involved in the conflicts.

Mobile Brigade (Brimob) of the Regional Police was accused by Muslim groups to help the Christian community. In contrast the units of the Army Strategic Reserve Command (Kostrad) was suspected of favoring the Muslim community. At that time, Kostrad troops were deployed from Wirabuana Military Command (Makassar). Many were Muslim people of Bugis and Makassar who have emotional relationship with the Ambon conflict victims and military command was led by an Army officer from the Ambonese Muslims.

2. Inter-ethnic conflict between Madurese and Dayak in Sampit and Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan¹³

The conflict in Central Kalimantan was basically not a partial event, but rather a series of some previous events involving Madurese and Dayak ethnic. The conflict originated in the territory of East Kotawaringin, Sampit regency. On February 18, 2001 around 10:00 in the morning, a group of senior Dayak were involved in fighting with a group of Madurese people on Padat Karya street, Sampit. In this incident, five Madureses were killed and one was badly injured.

Starting from this event, a group of Madura residents took vengeance by killing, burning and damaging three (3) houses owned by Dayak people. In addition, Madurese performed sweeping of Dayak people across Sampit town.

It was calculated that since 18 to 19 February 2001 the city was practically dominated by Sampit Madurese. Dayak people who fear eventually fled into the Sampit Cultural Center building, the Parliament building and the house of East Kotawaringin Regent. So far, there were 2.850 Dayak people were displaced and 8 died.

On February 20, 2001, a group of Dayak people did a counterattack. The action got a resistance from the residents of Madura and the fighting in some open locations could not be avoided. Many prominent residents of Madura died at that time. Without being able to control their emotions, Dayak people continued to chase and kill the residents of Madura. They swept and burned every houses of Madurese.

On February 24, 2001, the assault and murder of Madura residents extended to

¹³ Source: Bambang W. Soeharto, 2013, *Menangani Konflik di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Kata Hasta Pusaka, pp. 88-106. Bambang W. Soeharto is one of the members of the Human Right Commission appointed to handle many Human Rights Violation cases in Indonesia.

Palangkaraya and other cities in Central Kalimantan such as the Districts of Kapuas and West Kotawaringin.

In the event, it was listed that 38 Madurese died with the detail; 12 people in Palangkaraya, 15 people in Kapuas and 11 people in West Kotawaringin. The riot persisted and eventually it was recorded that 419 people died, 93 injured, 1.304 houses and 250 motorcycles were burned and damaged, and 88.164 people had to be evacuated.

This disturbance appeared unfinished and went to Bundaran Besar in front of the official house of the Governor of Central Kalimantan on March 8, 2001. This unrest started just after President Abdurrahman Wahid and his entourage returned after a visit to see the situation of conflict and had a dialogue with the government officials, security forces and local people. There were 4 (four) local residents; i.e. Friedes Mahaga, Hardiman Wilson, Karliansyah and Hartono joining the dialogue with the President in the official home of the Governor of Central Kalimantan at that time. There was a peaceful mass demonstration in front of the official house of the governor.

After the dialog and the President left the place, Friedes Mahaga presented the outcome to the mass waiting outside. They were not satisfied with the dialogue, especially concerning their demand to release 84 Dayak people arrested at the police headquarter of Central Kalimantan District. While delivering their opinion, there was a mutual pushing action between unarmed mass and the police forces. A truck full of armed soldiers (Brimob), without formal procedures such as shield and club as well as tear gas or warning shots into the air started to shoot the masses. Four civilians were killed and 6 others were injured. As the impact of the police forces' behavior, the mass made a barricade using woods and swept the police members crossing the streets. One police member was killed and 3 others were wounded.

The tragedy was not over and continued in the Km. 41 of Sampit - Pangkalan Bun. On 6 April 2001 around 11.00 am, a platoon of Brimob Regiment of Kelapa Dua had the road patrol duty on the road of Sampit - Pangkalan Bun on three (3) cars. Around Km. 41, the patrol saw three (3) youth carrying a firearm being alert on the road. Police Inspector Asep who led the patrol was down and seized their weapons. About 100 meters from the location, the police found a portal and looked about 20 people with sharp arms. Asep tried to negotiate to open the portal. Back to the car, Asep was stabbed from behind and his car tire was punctured to blow out. This made the other members of Brimob angry and fired the warning. In this riot, 4 injured police officers were brought to a hospital and 3 were rumored to have been killed. One of the dead casualties was a civilian. It is mentioned that at the same day, the members of Brimob performed revenge. Three civilians were killed, 3 others were injured, 17 house and 1 police station were burned.

3. The violence against the Ahmadiyya group¹⁴

In 2010, there were at least 13 cases of violence against the Ahmadis (Ahmadiyya people). The violence continued in 2011.

The following was the chronology of violence against the Ahmadis (Ahmadiyya

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-163

people) in several places:

On July 14, 2010, hundreds of anti-Ahmadiyya movement sealed some local government offices and did the sweeping in Garut. It is said that approximately 10 % of the number of civil servants in Garut were Ahmadiyya disciples and had strategic positions.

On July 29, 2010, thousands of anti-Ahmadiyya people had a rock war with Ahmadiyya in Manis Lor village, Kuningan Regency, West Java. This incident took place after the police stopped thousands of mass who intended to drive out Ahmadiyya congregation. This action was a continuation of the action of the Municipal Police Task Force (Satpol PP) who eventually managed to seal 1 mosque and 7 mushala owned by Ahmadiyya .

On August 10, 2010, hundreds of the mass of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and the United Islamic Movement (GUIB) destroyed Ahmadiyya signboard placed at Masjid An Nur, Jl. Bubutan Gang 1 No. 2 Surabaya.

On October 1, 2010, approximately 6 buildings belongs to Ahmadiyya in Kampong Cisalada, Ciampea, Bogor were burnt. Several buildings burned were mosque, *surau* (small mosque), Madrasah primary school and several houses. This unrest had been the third time since 2008. In 2007 the joint decree was signed by the head of Ciampea sub-district, the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), and the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) which prohibited Ahmadiyya activities. This decision was later reinforced by the joint decree signed by the Regent of Bogor District, Military Commander and other Muspida (regional leader forum).

On October 4, 2010, there was a termination action to Ahmadiyya activities in Tampan sub-district, Pekanbaru, by the Government of Pekanbaru.

On October 11, 2010, the Government of Garut, West Java, banned the Ahmadiyya to be in its territory. It was expressed as a result of the meeting between the Legislative Council with the Coordinating Board of Beliefs Monitoring.

On October 29, the FPI with the mass organizations seek of Garut District attempted to seal Ahmadiyya mosque in Gayam street, Ciamis. The sealing plan failed as the police guarded the location of the mosque tightly.

On November 5, 2010, the mass of the College of Islamic Da'wah in Tanjung Priok demanded sealing Nuruddin Mosque in Jalan Kebun Bawang X, Tanjung Priok, North Jakarta. According to them, the mosque was used by Ahmadiyya. The Mosque officials denied that the mosque was exclusively for the Ahmadiyya congregation.

On November 26, 2010, dozens of houses belonging to the Ahmadiyya were burned in Ketapang village, West Lombok. The destruction was performed by the residents who did not want their village inhabited by Ahmadiyya. The Regent of West Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara finally ordered Ahmadiyya disciples not to stay in Ketapang village to prevent undesirable incidents.

On December 3, 2010, at approximately 00:37 local time, a group of men on motorcycles attacked and vandalized an Ahmadiyya mosque in Ciputat Raya. There were no fatalities in this incident.

On December 8, 2010, the local government of Tasikmalaya city decided to close a

number of facilities belonging to Ahmadiyya congregation.

On December 10, 2010, approximately 1.000 students in Sukabumi, West Java broke Ahmadiyya's mosque in Kampong Panjalu, Warnasari Village. The demolition was carried out after the Supreme Court decision (affirming Cibadak District Court's decision) stating that the mosque did not belong to Ahmadiyya congregation, but to the people around it.

On December 27, 2010, a primary school of Madrasah Al Mahmud owned by Ahmadiyya in Kampung Rawa Ekek, Sukadana, Cianjur was burned by an unknown person. So far, the school was used for the educational activities of Ahmadiyya. The week before, a mosque was also burned.

On January 29, 2011, dozens of mass of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) rallied after knowing there were activities in a mosque belonging to Ahmadiyya in Makassar. They forced the pilgrims to go. As a result, the congregation was evacuated to Nushrat Mosque, on Jalan Anuang 112, Napier

On February 6, 2011, the residents attacked Ahmadiyya congregation in Cikeusik, Tangerang Regency, Banten. It was noted that 3 persons were killed in the incident.

4. Violence against Syiah Group in Sampang Madura¹⁵

The conflict between the school of Syiah and Sunni occurred in Sampang Madura around 26-27 August 2012. Before this, at the end of December 2011, Tajul Muluk's house, a Syiah disciple, had been burned by the masses of anti- Syiah.

Here are the details of the occurrence:

This case began early in the morning (around 06.30) local time. Approximately 20 Syiah families were to to some places outside the village to visit their families and to Islamic boarding school. At the same time dozens of non-Syiah with sharp weapons came to them and forbid them to leave their village. The car they were riding was threatened to be burned if they insisted to go. Like the 'prisoners of war', the group of children were herded back to the village and forced to return to their homes. Some parents tried to resist, but eventually they returned to their respective homes.

Not long afterward, the number of non-Syiah people increased to hundreds of people. The words went out that they would attack and burn all the houses of Syiah people and the Syiah who opposed would be killed.

The attack started from the Ustaz Tajul Muluk's house inhabited by his mother, wife and children. Tajul himself was reportedly in Sampang prison serving a two year imprisonment on the charges of blasphemy. Around 09.30, 20 adult males of Syiah gathered at the house of Ustaz Tajul Muluk try to protect women and children living in that house.

At around 10:30, about 500 adult male residents of non-Syiah armed with various kinds of weapons, stones and fish bomb (the explosive used by fishermen to catch fish in the sea) moved to surround Ustaz Tajul Muluk's house. A war of words occurred followed by throwing stones. When the conditions heated up, one Syiah man, Moch.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-163

Kosin (Mr. Hamama) went forward to the middle of the mass of non-Syiah trying to calm the masses. Unfortunately, his good intentions even triggered masses' anger.

At least six (6) adult males with sickle, swords and batons assaulted him. His body was covered with blood, spilled his stomach and he died at the scene. Seeing this, Tohir, his brother tried to intervene and protect his brother. Unfortunately, Tohir was also attacked and seriously injured in his back and wounded all over the body due to the blade of the sword, sickle and thrown stones.

Non-Syiah masses started to throw the house of Ustaz Tajul Muluk (with women and children inside) with stones. Ustaz Tajul Muluk's mother, Ummah, fainted because of a thrown stone. Children were crying, and some of them are also fainting. In addition to Ummah, 3 other people suffered serious injuries as a result of thrown stones.

Felling surrounded, Ustaz Tajul Muluk's family finally gave up. They went and brought their wounded and died relatives to Gayam Elementary School building within a few hundred yards from the house. The attackers let them go and then burned down the house. After that they started to burn one after another Syiah's homes in the area. There were about 60 homes of Syiah people burned until evening around 18:00 local time. In the evening, a number of Syiah people were evacuated by the police to Sampang Gymnasium. The other hundreds of Syiah ran into the woods and hid into the rice fields located around their homes.

Based on some information, the police seen at that time was only 2 or 3 although the residents had submitted a report via telephone since morning. The police should have known a few days earlier that the situation in this area was heating up, but they did nothing.

Some Syiah people interviewed by Kontras (National Human Rights NGOs) stated that they were banned to do *takbiran*. They were always asked whether they were Syiah followers. When the answered is 'yes', they were then being threatened. Their house would be burned and they would be killed when they resisted.

The description mentioned described multiple forms of destructive conflict that caused casualties and property losses. Meanwhile many conflicts arise as a result of discriminatory policies and constitute a form of pressure from one religious group to another religious group. One form that appears is a ban on the establishment of worship houses of particular religion in one area and the prohibition to worship. It was done by a group of people with or without the support of government officials and security forces such as police forces and police civil service.

The following descriptions illustrates the complication to integrate various diversities covered by the frame of religious conflict in Indonesia.

5. The Prohibition Cases to Worship and the Building of GKI Taman Yasmin in Bogor¹⁶

The Indonesian Christian Church (GKI) Taman Yasmin, Bogor, is the development of GKI Bogor. The process of planning the reconstruction of GKI Yasmin church began in 2001 due to lack of space to accommodate the congregation of GKI Bogor and

¹⁶ Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, Rudy Harisyah Alam, Samsu Rizal Panggabean, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 51-55

inadequate parking space.

Taman Yasmin complex is located in a strategic area, in a new growing residential neighborhood. GKI building committee received the offers of a commercial land lot in the complex and decided to buy a land covering an area of 1720 m². The funding sources to purchase the land were from the donations of congregation and the GKI church Center. In addition, PT. Inti Inovaco, the developer of Taman Yasmin also provided a relief payment in installments for one year.

After the land purchase was completed in 2002, the committee began with the socialization to get the residents permit. The permits were obtained and shortly thereafter, the Mayor issued a recommendation. But to get the Building Reconstruction Permit (IMB), the committee still had to administered number of requirements, such as the recommendation of the Department of Environment, Department of Land, Traffic Department, City Planning and Landscape, and the Department of Roads and Streets (Bina Marga).

After receiving a recommendation from the relevant parties, July 13, 2006, the IMB for the worship house of GKI Taman Yasmin was issued. On August 19, 2006, the committee invited the relevant authorities for laying the first stone. The groundbreaking was attended by some military and local government leaders.

However, for various unclear reasons, the IMB of GKI Taman Yasmin was then suspended by the City Government on February 14, 2008. Not just protests, mass action also suppressed Bogor city government to cancel the IMB of the church construction. The suspension factually was initiated by the Head of Curug Mekar Village. In late 2006, the Head of Curug Mekar Village asked for a delay of the church building with a variety of reasons including the arrival of George W. Bush and the plan of Aa' Gym's Tabligh Akbar. He was worried that the church construction would bring uncontrolled protests and conflicts. By several considerations, the committee complied with the delay of church construction.

GKI Taman Yasmin then performed a legal resistance to the State Administrative Court Bandung. GKI sued Bogor city administration. The verdict number 41/G/2008/PTUN-BDG, Sept 2008, states "In the Exception (Objection): Rejecting exception of the defendant (City Government). In the Case of Lawsuit: (1) in favor of the Plaintiff (GKI) entirely; (2) to declare that the IMB suspension is null and; (3) order the defendant (City Government) cancel the IMB Suspension Letter; and (4) Punish the Defendants to pay the law costs".

Bogor City Government filed an appeal to the Higher State Administrative Court (PT - TUN). PT-TUN Jakarta gave the verdict: "Upholding the verdict of Bandung State Administrative Court Number 41/G/2008/PTUN.BDG". This means that Bogor city administration still must cancel the IMB suspension. Bogor city government persisted to suspend the IMB and filed an appeal in September 2009. Upon the request, Bandung State Administrative Court issued a letter dated June 11, 2009, number W2.TUN2/696/HK.06/VI/2009, stating "the case does not meet the formal requirements for the proposed appeal". Thus the decision of the lawsuit was "final and binding".

Although there has been a court decision, the municipal government remained to seal the church. The police were not supportive. By the reason protect the church from the Indonesian Muslim Community Forum (Forkami), a forum set up to reject the church,

the police made a strict guard. Bogor police chief at the time of the service went forward the podium and asked the church to stop the service. Another disappointment experienced by the congregation was when the police let the acts of vandalism to the church building and the persecution to church legal counsel, H. Ujang Sujai, a Nahdliyin. Ironically, a deacon who actively fought for GKI was even processed in criminal by the police. Regarding the two things, the Human Rights Commission wrote to the Bogor Police and the Indonesian National Police headquarters twice, issued on February 9, 2010. The first letter to the chief of Bogor police was about "Human Rights Violation Complaint". The second letter to the Chief of Indonesian National Police regarding "Professional Action Request of Police Officers".

Other government officials hampering the construction were the Civil Service Police Unit (Satpol PP). On 12 April 2010, GKI Yasmin wanted to hold a service in the church location. The plan was announced publicly to the GKI congregation around Taman Yasmin. Without notice, the day before the service, 11 April 2010, Satpol PP padlocked the gate. Finally, the service had to be done on the sidewalk in front of the church.

Political factors complicated the issue. On March 11, 2010, Satpol PP padlocked the GKI fence on the orders of the Vice Mayor, Ruhiyat Ahmad, an Islamic party cadre, PKS. PKS's involvement in this case was seen in the early mobilization. PKS cadres posted the flyers of anti-church at mosques and prayer houses of Curug Mekar. The opponent mass movement taking its name of Forkami also received the blessing of the Vice Mayor of Bogor.

6. The Case of the Building of Santo Yohanes Maria Vianney Church in Cilangkap, East Jakarta¹⁷

The embryos of Santo Yohanes Maria Vianney parishioners in Cilangkap originated from Santo Robertus Bellarminus Parish of Cililitan and the Parish of Santo Aloysius Gonzaga of Cijantung. As the people who existed in two parishes have already been too many, there was an idea to split them and forming a new parish.

In a joint meeting of the Parish Councils of Cijantung and Cililitan on March 3, 1998, it was agreed to form a new parish from some areas in Cilangkap. Eventually, this parish became the 53rd parish in the area of KAJ (Jakarta Archdiocese) with the protector name of St. Yohanes Maria Vianney.

By 1996, this parish embryo attended the tourism church of TMII. Then from 1996-1998 they moved to Mekar Wangi Kindergarten Church and the Primary School Church of Nusa Melati (the mass was conducted in the classroom and school yard). Because in April 1998 the celebration of worship in Kindergarten and St. Anna School were protested by throwing stones, the worship was moved to Melati Catholic School in Cipayung and the Economic Vocational School (SMEA) belonged to the Christian Foundation of Budi Murni. Then, for the good favor of KRMT Sinambela, the worship was moved to SD (Primary School) Budi Murni in 1998. The worship was performed by using the mounted tent every Saturday and dismantled on Sunday after the service was completed. Budi Murni hall was built in 2002 and until today, the eucharist and worship activities each week were held in the auditorium of the Budi

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-77

Murni School.

The Parishioners themselves were newcomers. Initially about 3,000 people, and are now growing into 5,600 people. There was no native people to the area who became the parishioners of the parish for 12 years because there was never a baptism stand for new people. Local residents knew that the hall was a house of worship, although they also knew it was not a church. They felt there was no problem with the church in that place. In fact, they worried if the church would be moved, because so far most of them relied their living on the church, such as the parking attendants and street food vendors. Cilangkap parishioners were also on average at the lower middle class, as well as other people around the place. There was no inequality between the parishioners and the people, because on average people live on small streets/ villages, not in a residential complex.

In the early stages of socialization and construction, an issue emerged that the church building was the construction of Doulos 2. The communities around Cipayung and Cilangkap had a history of the invasion case of the Doulos Christian Foundation on December 15, 1999 which killed one person and several were injured. The assault and arson of Doulos complex were triggered by the issue of Christianization. Due to the collective memory of the community against the case, the Parish of St. Maria Vianney got the impact.

The Parish then bought a plot of land of 8000 m² on Jl. Bambu Wulung, Bambu Apus. The Parish also bought a house around the ground as the rectory (priest residence) temporarily. As performed previously, the Parish involved local people in the process of purchasing the land and fencing. Some people involved in church opposition claimed that they had rejected the existence of the church at this location early.

The land on Jl. Bambu Wulung was apparently problematic, because it was in the green line defined by the local government in East Jakarta. After going through the process of negotiation, finally the parish performed a land exchange with the local government. The land on Jl. Malaka was given to East Jakarta Mayor as green belt land while the church still owned the land on Jl. Bambu Wulung.

The party of Cilangkap Parish started the licensing process since 2005. The filing was based on Jakarta Governor Decree No. 137 of 2002 on the building of houses of worship. The regulation states that the general requirements about the prerequisites of building a church, namely: 'based on the actual needs of the congregation'. This regulation also requires consents obtained from the residents/community living near by. Although it did not mention the standard number of approval, the parish got almost 300 signatures of local people who approved the construction of the church.

Because the approach and socialization were quite good, the village officials from the neighborhoods and the local village chiefs also expressed their support. There was only one neighborhood leader who refused. The party of Parish also had a very close relationship with the Head of Cipayung subdistrict H. Iwansyah Ali, who was also a chairman of Forkabi East Jakarta. IMB submission process went relatively smoothly, and the Parish managed to get a recommendation from the mayor of East Jakarta in 2007. On the basis of the mayor's recommendations, the following year the Parish also got a recommendation from the Inter-Religion Harmony Forum (FKUB) East Jakarta.

Basically, the rejection reason of the church has never been clear. They realized that

Catholic is included in the 'recognized religion' by the government. Several times they used the issue of Christianization, but after it was answered by the fact that for 12 years the Parish has never practiced baptism for local people, they diverted the reasons for refusal to the matter of licensing. Later, the rejection of the church construction was driven by the FPI. At first FPI did not exist in the region. However, because in the approach process there were those who were disappointed, FPI was then invited to enter the region.

The trigger could be considered a simple problem. After successfully buying a land on Jl. Bambu Wulung, the parish was committed to involve local people in the construction process, through H. Deni. When building a church fence, there was a figure who had been promised to be involved, but because of the limitations, he was not involved by H. Dean. H. Soleh (not his real name), the figure, who initially supported the building of the church and signed the agreement, turned around and invited the FPI. Several times H. Soleh made a recitation event that invited the members of FPI. Through the recitation, FPI also called for the rejection and hatred toward the church. Until recently, there are several flags of FPI and NU around the construction site and the rectory. Some banners of rejection were also mounted in front of Majelis Ta'lim Dzikir Mudzakah Ar-Rahman, Bambu Apus Branch right the opposite of the church construction site.

(As of this writing, the Church has begun to be built).

Although being a majority, in certain areas, Muslims more or less are also experiencing the same discrimination. They also find difficulties in building a new mosque in some non-muslims area such as Bali or Manado. Thus, it can be concluded that the portraits of discriminations overwrite all kinds of religion groups. In fact many of these discrimination depend really on the area in which they live.

Since the transition time, the nature of conflict in Indonesia has undergone a change. In the period of 1999-2004, the issues of identity (religious and ethnic) dominated, and recently moral issue is increasingly prominent. Some of the conflicts, persecution incidents and fights were also causes of deaths in recent years.

One of the moral issues frequently echoed by certain religious groups is the issue of sexual misconduct, pornography, liquor, gambling and illegal amusement places. In reality, some conflict occurred because there was a certain group, in the name of morality and religion weld, strived to be a 'moral police' and with anarchy actions they did sweeping and destruction in the places of amusement under the guise that the entertainment venues provide liquor, and the gambling places allow the occurrence of sexual misconduct.

C. Norms and Provisions of Indonesian Existing Laws in Dealing with Conflict

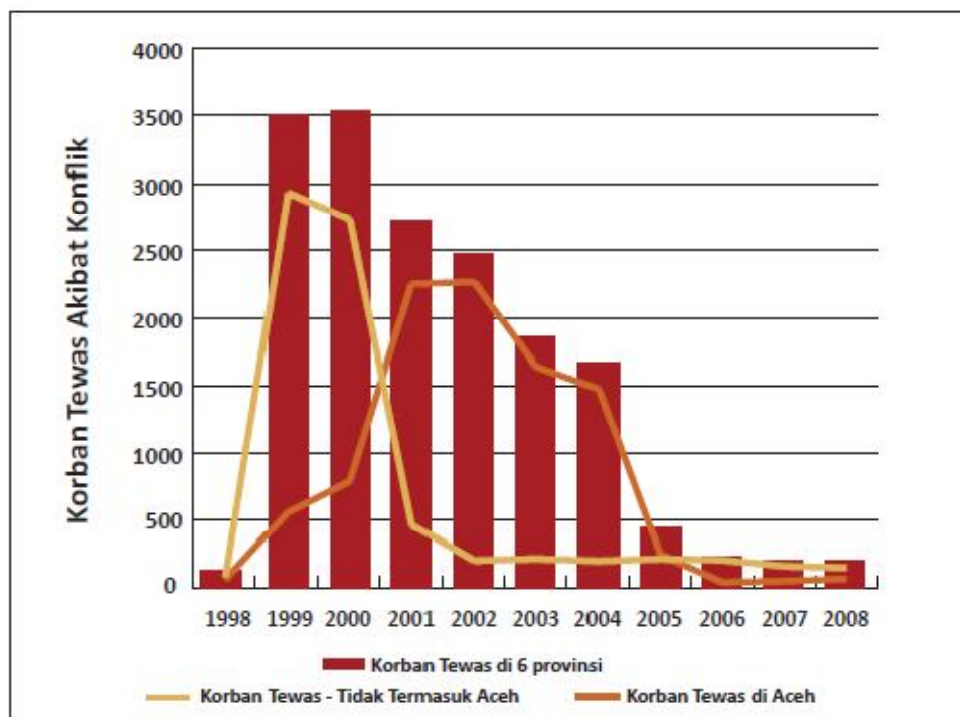
Blagojevic says that social (ethnic and religion) conflict occurs when a particular set of factors and conditions converge: a major structural crisis; presence of historical memories of inter-ethnic-religious grievances; institutional factors that promote ethnic religious intolerance; manipulation of historical memories by political entrepreneurs to evoke emotions such as fear, resentment, and hate toward the "other". Further he says that each conflict has its own unique characteristics and. In different contexts, some of these elements will be more prominent than the others, but all of them, according to him are the "common denominators" necessary for conflict to occur. Regarding ethnic conflict, the 'primordialist' approach helps explain the role of

emotions and the conflict potential of ethnicity. The institutional, political entrepreneurs and competition over resources approaches explain how the interaction of institutional and political factors with *ethnic emotions* leads to ethnification, ethnic intolerance, competition, and eventually –violent conflict¹⁸. According to Simonsen, ethnic and religion identities are dynamics both in their salience and in their character. Important opportunities for peace-building may be lost if intervening actors fail to acknowledge the dynamic nature of ethnicity and religion¹⁹, especially in such diverse situation like Indonesia.

In current situation, conflict resolution system developed in Indonesia is more directed to militaristic and repressive models. Generally the conflict response by security forces was only when the conflict has occurred by using a model of force to end the conflict that has already enlarged and caused casualties and property losses.

Figure 3 presented the study of the World Bank about the number of casualties in the conflicts occurred in 6 (six) provinces in Indonesia:

Figure 3
The Data of Casualties in the Conflicts in six (6) provinces in Indonesia



Source: The World Bank Policy Brief (2010)

Although there were such involvements of the security forces against the conflicts occurred in six (6) provinces in Indonesia described in Figure 3, the world bank study said that the response of the security forces to violent conflict was still weak. The military and police, including Brimob, only intervened in 7 per cent of all violent incidents recorded during 2005-2008 in six provinces. For all incidents of violence, when officers attempted to intervene, the intervention succeeded to stop only 66

¹⁸ Bojana, Blagojevic, 2009, *Causes of Ethnic Conflict: A Conceptual Framework*, Journal of Global Change and Governance, Volume III, Number 1, Winter 2009, New York: Rutgers University, p. 3

¹⁹ Simonsen, Sven Gunnar, 2005, *Addressing Ethnic Divisions in Post-Conflict Institution-Building: Lessons from Recent Cases*, Security Dialogue vol. 36, no. 3, September 2005, Norway: International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), p. 297

percent of the violence. However, the interventions striven to stop the beatings and rioting actions were less successful, with a success rate of only 32 percent for the incidence of beatings and 57 percent for rioting incidents²⁰.

So far, the rule of law used to handle conflicts in Indonesia was the Penal Code which is a product of Dutch colonial heritage. The articles used to punish rioters and conflict actors were the articles of murder, destruction, fire and melee, and persecution resulting in death and serious injuries, as well as the articles on sedition and blasphemy. Various verdicts show that the rioters were indeed sentenced by the article of persecution and murder. But such a settlement remained a latent danger because the most important point that should be done is to develop mutual understanding between the warring factions.

It is true that the perpetrators of the conflict must be punished in accordance with the applicable laws. However, through the enforcement of the provisions in the Penal Code, it can be assumed that the conflict handling was only done by a fragmentary, partial, repressive and unsustainable means. With such treatment, it is not impossible that the remains of revenge between the rival groups still exist and pose a danger in the future. Although it is clear that in conflict situations, there were some attempts to prevent and solve the conflict, but prevention and conflict resolutions through reconciliation, mediation, and peace building initiatives have not become a top priority.

From the above explanation, it could be understood that the inter-cultural dialogue and education are vital components of any conflict resolution strategy, with the assumption that the educated and informed citizens are more effective in preventing any kinds of conflicts.

D. The Importance of Education (and Inter-cultural Dialogue) in Encountering Religious and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia

Cultural diversity is a standard characteristic of contemporary society. It refers to a situation where contemporary person is doomed to live in the environment of neighbours having different skin colour, speaking different language or with different accent, praising different God (or none). Cultural differences may become the reason of alienation and distrust between people, though the ideal for contemporary society is cultural diversity to be a treasure to celebrate and be proud of, rather than a problem to overcome²¹.

Cultural diversity requires development of an adequate policy and education policy is one of the major aspects of it. On the one hand, it should imply respect of different ethnic and religious groups, while on the other hand, provide equal opportunities for success to everyone despite their origin and beliefs in a given society. To combine these goals is not easy. Many countries, even those with better established liberal values and democratic institutions, face difficulties²².

Alan Smith also stressed in his paper that education plays an important roles in both peaceful and conflict situation. But somehow, in reality, education could also turn out

²⁰ The World Bank Policy Brief: *Memahami Dinamika dan Konflik di Indonesia*, 2010, *Pola-pola Baru Kekerasan di Indonesia: Data Awal dari Enam Provinsi dengan Pengalaman Konflik Berskala Tinggi*, the World Bank, 3rd Edition

²¹ Caucasus Institute of Peace, 2010, *Cultural Dialogue and Civil Consciousness : Religious Dimension of the Intercultural Education*, Tbilisi: CIPDD, p. 5

²² *Ibid.*, p. 6

to be a part of the problem. This is why Smith and Vaux emphasized that policies and practice, at all levels within the education system needed to be analysed in terms of their potential to aggravate or ameliorate conflict²³.

Both in peace and in conflict-affected situations, education is more than service delivery because it is a means of socialization and identity development through the transmission of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes across generations. The two faces of education in ethnic conflict challenges a widely-held assumption –that education is inevitably a force for good. While the provision of good quality education can be a stabilizing factor, Kenneth Bush and Diana Saltarelli show how educational systems can also be manipulated to drive a wedge between people, rather than drawing them closer together. In short, education reflects the society around it. The attitudes that flourish beyond the school walls will, inevitably, filter into the classroom²⁴.

Further, education, according to Smith, may therefore be a driver of conflict (fuelling grievances, stereotyping, xenophobia and other antagonisms), but can also be a way of contributing to conflict transformation and peace-building. Therefore education is a fundamental right that should be maintained at all times, even in the most difficult circumstances such as in conflict situations. Where the opportunity of education has been lost due to conflict, it is not just a loss to the individual, but a loss of social capital and the capacity of a society to recover from the conflict. So, education can be both, a part of the problem as well as a part of the solution²⁵.

Smith noted that there are a number of points to acknowledge from the outset in analyzing the role of education in relation to conflict transformation and peace-building. Firstly, the relevance of analyzing education from a conflict perspective is not limited to any particular phase of a conflict. There are benefits to analyzing the role of education before, during and after conflicts. For example, within relatively peaceful contexts an analysis of the education system may highlight aspects of education that could become sources of grievance between groups or between the state and sections of society and this provides an opportunity to adjust education policies and programmes in a *preventative* way. He further argues that in situations where violent conflict already exist education may have a *protective* role, for example, by providing points of stability and daily routine for children if it is possible to keep schools functioning, by helping understand underlying causes of conflict and by strengthening messages within society about the negative impacts of violence. It is a means of educating people about other, non-violent ways of responding to conflict. In situations where peace processes are underway, education may also be a means of contributing to *social transformation*, for example, through reforms to the education system itself and by educating people about new arrangements for political representation, justice and policing. Education is the fundamental tool that makes institutional change in other sectors possible by educating personnel currently in post or those who will shape future institutions. Education is also the most powerful tool to develop the economic and social skills necessary to generate sustainable livelihoods for successive generations²⁶.

²³ Alan Smith, 2010, *The Influence of Education on Conflict and Peace Building*, Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011, UNESCO, p. 1

²⁴ Bush, Kenneth D. and Diana Saltarelli (ed.), 2000, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peace Building Education for Children*, Florence Italy: UNICEF, p. v

²⁵ Alan Smith, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 1

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2

Rohmat Mulyana indicated that in such diversity like Indonesia, education as a sub-system of culture cannot be developed through single perspective of certain community. One community cannot cope and monopolize others, even though the community constitutes a major race, ethnic, culture or religion. Related to this, the most important issue is not laid down on superiority of one citizen to others, but on how to create a multicultural understanding and mutual respect among them. People should understand the right of citizen by which the differences of way of life take them for granted²⁷.

Further Rohmat Mulyana said that one of the weaknesses of teaching religion in senior secondary school in Indonesia is the poorness of systematic exploration to find the meaning. Learning religion was isolated by the wall of classroom, restricted by memorization, and jailed by imperative notion of how religion inheritance be taken for granted. Even the latter problem is not always incorrect, the process of learning religion is claimed to be more capable to balance the effort of tenet exploration and the process of translating it into real life situation. Learning the religion (of Islam) in Indonesian schools and madrasahs by emphasizing the descriptive, creative, and inductive teaching technique is a challenging work.

Rohmat Mulyana in his research paper noted that actually the national education curricula in Indonesia has been developed a basic principle for religious education that touches parts of universal as well as particular values and the policy of teaching-learning process of religion has been taken for very long time. Should a student of a public school in Indonesia learns religion about 90 minutes a week, he will have studied his religion in classroom formally for at least 864 hours by the time he finishes his senior secondary school. In addition, he also gets some religious teaching and training from several extracurricular activities conducted by school. Meanwhile, *madrasah*, as Islamic educational institution, introduces Islamic teaching more than public school does. There are five Islamic subjects which are separately taught in madrasah i.e. Islamic Theology, the Koran Interpretation and Prophet Traditions, Islamic Jurisprudence, The History of Islamic Culture, Islamic Ethic, and Arabic Language. Each subject matter is conveyed for 90 minutes classroom meeting in a week. So, it can be said that a student of madrasah learns about Islamic teaching in classroom for 4.320 hours in a year²⁸.

Regarding these problems, according to Rohmat Mulyana, the teaching-learning process of the religion (of Islam) as a subject matter in schools and madrasahs (Islamic primary school) needs a breakthrough. In a very specific approach, a breakthrough for learning Islam concerns with modification of classroom interaction such as modifying imperative to descriptive, normative to creative, deductive to inductive, and memorization to comprehension. Related to this, classroom interaction should be made as such to enable students to broaden their ability of understanding real life issues and to engage them in making value judgment. It is, of course, a challenging effort for teachers who often use traditional and monotone techniques such as memorization in teaching Islamic doctrine. The future of the religion of Islam classroom ought to promote a novel learning situation and a meaningful interaction rather than a mere memorization of sacred text. Besides, it is likely that the

²⁷ Rohmat Mulyana, 2005, *Case-Based Value Learning: A Challenging Issue for Teaching Religion in Indonesia*, Paper Presented at International Conference on “*Redesigning Pedagogy: Policy, Research, and Practice*”, Organized by National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore 30 May - 01 June 2005, p. 1

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2

understanding of religion can be attained through pointing some examples of either positive or negative conduct done by people around us²⁹.

Besides elementary and high school, every university in Indonesia should also give education on religion (or religiosity). Recognizing the importance of religion education in order to build national character, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia makes religion education as the compulsory subject of national curriculum held in the education of all levels, including universities.

Over 2 (two) years (2011-2012), my colleagues and I had an opportunity to study the different impact of student studying religion and religiosity at some universities. The theme was *Inter-Religious Understanding and Peace Building Initiative: Religiosity Teaching in Indonesian Pluralistic Society* - funded by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. For about 2 (two) years, the team tried to find evidence that religiosity teaching is an alternative to religion education that is expected to complement the shortcomings and weaknesses of religion education. The data gathered were both qualitative data done by in-depth interview and focus group discussion and quantitative data done by questionnaire³⁰.

A clergy and education observer criticized the religion education in Indonesia focuses more on how to have a religion rather than how to be religious. Having a religion is very formal and statistical, just fill-in the columns of ID cards, forms, etc., but does not reflect the attitudes and behaviour of the person concerned. Religion education is still often seen as merely an obligation that must be done. For students themselves, they consider it as secondary education, despite the mandatory categories at universities because the education is often seen to have no connection or relevance to their field of study. Therefore, the motivation of students studying religion education is based more on to get a passing grade rather than to absorb, to understand and then to apply their knowledge substance. Conversely, being religious is a more ideal conditions for the creation of communal life that is tolerant, orderly, and mutually supportive (synergistic)³¹.

For state universities or universities with national background or the background of minority religion (Protestant, Catholics, etc.) religion classes are usually conducted separately, differing one religion from another. This fact, as a matter of fact, has a potential to cause tension and to create frictions within the student community. This is understandable because the population of students at the universities is very heterogeneous. The result of the study showed that the situation is slightly different from those who study at the college with the background of majority religion, particularly Islam (the same case also happened in some Christian and Catholic

²⁹ *Ibid*

³⁰ FGDs were conducted in 11 universities in Java and Bali with 357 students and 33 lecturers involved as the participants. See in Yustina Trihoni Nalesti Dewi, Heribertus Hermawan Pancasiwi, Octavianus Digo Hartomo, Yulita Titik Sunarimahingsih, Bernadeta Resti Nurhayati, Marcella Elwina Simandjuntak, 2011, *Inter-Religious Understanding and Peace Building Initiatives: Religiosity Teaching in Indonesia Pluralistic Society*, Research Study (Final Report), Soegijapranata Catholic University in Cooperation with United Board for Higher Christian University.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12-14. The results showed that as the whole, the religiosity teaching model has greater influence on inter-religion understanding and attitudes to build harmony among students having different faiths rather than the model of religion education taught at many universities in Indonesia. The study also produced the religiosity teaching module. The core of the module is the communication of faith among students, both the same religion and different religions so they can be human beings (religion, moral, open) and expected to become actors of social change in society. The module content is also expected to encourage cooperation across religion/belief in the spirit of true brotherhood.

Universities). At some religion-based universities, the religion education and even get the share of up to 4 times (400%) more than what is required by the government. However the team found some weaknesses in the teaching of religion education as such as this kind of focus makes the religion education having the nature of formal and normative, and tend to be cognitive. The substance of religious education is only limited to one particular religion studying history, law (what is allowed and forbidden), the liturgy arrangement that results in exclusive religious education, tend to be dogmatic and potentially chauvinistic³².

The research study also showed that religiosity education can be an alternative to replace the religion education that is assumed exclusive and fragmented. In religiosity teaching, all students of different religions are gathered and they receive same learning material. Table bellow would show the differences between religion education and religiosity education studied³³:

Table 4
The Comparison between Religion Education and Religiosity Teaching
in Some Universities

	Religion Education	Religiosity Teaching
Taught in the Universities	Udayana Bali, National Education, Warmadewa, Dian Nuswantoro, UKSW, Unissula, UMY, UII	Unika Soegijapranata and Sanata Dharma University
Focus of Interest (touched matters)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agency services - official and normative (legal) - Symbols - Reward and punishment - Scriptures Interpretation Organization - Order of society (<i>gesellschaft</i>) - Tend to be cognitive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Personal (private) - an intimate soul of each individual - The totality of the depth of human content in person (reason and humanity) - Moving on a more intimate community (social) (<i>gemeinschaft</i>) - The universal values struggled by all religions - Dimensions of emotional depth and touching human soul and a sense of the meaning of life (Nurcholis Madjid) - Relationships: man and God, among humans, humans with nature and with themselves (Mgr. Suharyo)
Substances	- Students are isolated in their own way of thinking based on their religion (and the religion	- Students are open to friends of other religion, including in communicating the faith

³² Yustina Trihoni Nalesti Dewi, Heribertus Hermawan Pancasiwi, Octavianus Digdo Hartomo, Yulita Titik Sunarimahingsih, Bernadeta Resti Nurhayati, Marcella Elwina Simandjuntak, 2012, *Religiosity Teaching as a Model to Intitiate Peace Building in Indonesian Pluralistic Society*, Research Proposal, Soegijapranata Catholic University in Cooperation with United Board for Higher Christian University, p. 3

³³ Yustina Trihoni Nalesti Dewi, Heribertus Hermawan Pancasiwi, Octavianus Digdo Hartomo, Yulita Titik Sunarimahingsih, Bernadeta Resti Nurhayati, Marcella Elwina Simandjuntak, 2011, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 13-14

	education they get) - Underestimate the friends of other faiths	- More easily and openly in the cooperation for the more general purposes (humanitarian, social and cultural issues, etc.) - Students may be able to express and experience their faith, either to friends of the same religion and different religion - Religiosity teaching is placed within the framework of the service paradigm of religious education (Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, etc.) resulted in the transformation of life, personally and collectively.
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The study produced the conclusion that the learning model of religiosity teaching makes students to become more open to friends of other faiths (including in communicating the faith), more easily and openly in the cooperation for more general purposes (humanitarian, social and cultural issues, etc.) as well as having better capability to express their faith experience, both to friends of the same religion and different religion, compared to students who obtain conventional nature of religious education. It means, it can be concluded that the religiosity teaching model has a greater influence on inter-religious understanding and attitudes to build harmony among religious communities when compared with the model of religion education.

Indeed, the result study that is shown above only discusses the study of religion and religiosity. It did not show the study of ethnicity and thus could not be generalized. However, the result of the study may also be developed for the benefit of building tolerance and inter-ethnic peace-building.

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