

SOCIAL RELATIONS ON MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL CHANGE: INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE

H. Tobroni

University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Indonesia
nitobro@yahoo.co.id

Abstract

Indonesia is one of the world mosaics. Vast archipelagic territory from Sabang to Merauke, there are hundreds of ethnics and languages and religions, making Indonesia one of the world's wonders. Develop appropriate patterns of social relations in a multi-cultural society such as this to be an important issue that horizontal conflicts and separatism can be avoided.

Social change and social transformation in the political system from the bureaucratic system of the New Order authoritarian to democratic reform era in the setting-liberal globalization has implications for horizontal conflict, mass rioting and even separatism in various areas. Religious differences also play a role in increasing the scale of the conflict. The solution is not enough just through security approach and structural approach, but also takes a cultural approach and other approaches are more humane. develop the mind set of multiculturalism, tolerance and inter-religious cooperation and humanitarian projects and humanizing become more effective and more eternal in creating social resilience in a multi-cultural society in Indonesia.

Key words: Indonesia, Multiculturalism, religious, Tolerance

1. Introduction

The development of post-modernism and globalization in the context of social relation affects several aspects of life including the structural, cultural, and behavioral aspects. Some of the structural changes include the democratization urgency and autonomy based on the cultural identity. The cultural changes show the development of pluralism and multiculturalism at the same time. While the pluralism emphasizes the equality of several different cultures and ethnics including religion, multiculturalism emphasizes the importance of co-existence of many different cultures. Contrarily, the behavioral changes are in the form of perception shifts, action, and meaning between one group and another.

Those changes take place in many parts of the world, be it in underdeveloped countries and developing countries. The changes in the developing countries one different from the one in the developed countries, as it could be controlled well and elegantly since it has already own good social, cultural, political, economic, information, and defence systems. On the contrary, changes in developed countries are quite uncontrolled and sometimes lead to revolutionary changes.

2. Social Relations in Multiculturalism

The social relation in multicultural society can cause a lot of possibilities. First, it might bring harmony, dynamism, and cooperation in several cultures that result in the formation of new cultural treasures. Next, it may also invite a hidden conflict that creates dynamism, competition and equality, and may also trigger open conflicts among many different cultural groups where each group tries to dominate (establish its hegemony), to undermine a cooptation, or even deny the existence of other groups.

There is no guarantee that multicultural society can always maintain a healthy social interaction. Prejudice, suspicion, and sentiment are latent phenomena that can come up in a sudden and can potentially spread conflicts and violence. In the context of religious multiculturalism, an esoteric religious mindset and multicultural communication pattern between religious and the elites are needed in order to perform a good society; the one endorsing pluralism, equality or egalitarianism, and tolerance.

In this globalization era, we could barely find a homogenous country. Diversity is a new reality that must be faced by nations in the world. And this diversity is also the centrality of multiculturalism around the world.

In the context of national life, diversity can show a positive meaning as the treasure of the nation's socio-cultural richness, if it is managed well. Diversity can bring about a nation's positive image (harmony, beauty, and exoticism) among the world, and can also attract foreign visitors. However, diversity can save an enormous destructive power when it is loaded with social jealousy sentiment, social distance, disrespects, and demolition.

Diversity has set up the conditions of a nation's society that can change it into a plural society with citizens that are multiethnic, multicultural, and having syncretic religious behavior. Absolutely, this has been a point in such a long journey of the history of cultures from a certain nation. This has brought the nation's diverse cultures and some forms of traditional wisdoms. The wave of history and politics has helped several cultures to survive, change, syncretize, and acculturate up to now. Each of them has wisdom that sticks and is believed to be a culture and habit. Local wisdom as the basic tradition of a society and nation that includes traditions, traditional law, and language is maintained by the supporting societies as the traditional wisdom.

From the point of view of tribes, ethnics, cultures, language, traditions, natural resources, plants diversity, and numbers of islands, Indonesia and Malaysia are part of the natural wonders in the world. Indonesia and Malaysia together consist of approximately 400 tribes, and each of them is holding its own traditions while also living together as a nation. There are several factors in the surface of this achievements. These are: (a) putting harmonized life's happiness above human over possessions, (b) concerning about ethics rather than achievements, (c) stressing on social harmony rather than on rivalry in material wealth, (d) respect for self identity rather than wealth, (e) running altogether with time than running after by time, (f) human relationship based on mostly temperate feelings, etc.

Globally, the traditions of Indonesian and Malaysian ethnics are oriented more on the social life rather than on material wealth or economic orientation. But social changes with transformation of the global culture have changed this condition, therefore, causing anxiety. The understanding of cultural values that are most respected by certain tribes and most regarded by other tribes and other cultural values according to some certain tribes are needed in relations to this multiculturalism. Every culture has its own value system determining what's good or bad for the society. The fact shows that some value systems are harmonious, and some others are different from each other.

Even though members of certain ethnic groups have dissolved into another one and are living their daily lives based on the principle of togetherness and social relation, they may eventually show up their true identities through their behaviors, habit and likeness, their own value systems, and also handicrafts that represent their cultural elements. This is very normal since the ethnical identity is a biological construction and also a construction of socio-culture in some physical boundaries.

In Indonesia, the political change from the bureaucratic-centralistic New Order regime into the democratic-centralistic Reformation era has brought a great impact on the socio-political system in the country. Several interest groups and political parties, especially at local level, are competing for power in order to achieve good position and public facilities. Religious groups, ethnics (often called as “putra daerah”/the local) and certain interest groups which can cause sentiment over other groups are usually involved, or invited to involve, in political processes.

As a result, changes in political system are always painted with many religious, ethnical, and cross-groups issues. These religious issues will later cause conflicts, such as Christianization, the implementation of Islamic *Syari'a*, Islamic governance, and so on.

3. Concept of Multiculturalism

The *World Book of Encyclopedia* (2005) states that the concept of multiculturalism is developed from the United States. Immigrants from many different parts of the world are mixed in such a melting pot that later creates the American culture without losing their cultural identities which couldn't be altered by relational and external powers. Liliweri (2005:68-69) said that multiculturalism includes an understanding, tribute, and evaluation upon someone's/ a group's culture, and also a respect for and curiosity about other people's ethnicity. Multiculturalism is a belief that say that different ethnic groups and cultures can live peacefully side by side on the principle of co-existence marked by the willingness to respect others' cultures. According to some, the core of multiculturalism is the faith that cultural differences are already blue print, or *sunnatullah*, and the best, functional, and wise attitude towards it is accepting each other's existence, regarding, respecting, and helping others. Besides, we must be able to fill in one another in order to live with others peacefully (co-existence). Cultural differences are the nation's wealth and such a blessing from God that we must preserve. This includes an evaluation upon others' cultures. However, it doesn't mean that we will agree with every aspect of those cultures, rather we will try

to perceive how the original culture is expressing value for its own members. The key element to multiculturalism is different arguments. The educational values for such multicultural society are anti racism, multiculturalism and cross-race community.

In Indonesia, the multiculturalism concept has been becoming popular after the occurrence of a horizontal conflict based on cultural differences including religious differences since the beginning of the Reformation era till the present day. Multiculturalism is characterized as “medicine” which is believed to cure the wounds after the conflicts, which Bloom and Reilly would call as “conflict within the Country”. Based on this idea, several studies on multiculturalism in every aspect, especially in its relation with conflicts between tribes, religion, race, and groups are conducted. However, research on the multicultural relation between Muslims and Christians is still very limited. Meanwhile, a research that is specifically designed to study about multiculturalism in its relation to religion has been conducted by Tobroni. In his research entitled “The Pattern of Inter Faith Followers Multicultural Relation in Malang, Cooperation Problems, Conflicts, and Competition”, he said that the great tradition of each religion is actually very supportive for multiculturalism (Tobroni 2004). In the next Tobroni et al’s research entitled “The Contribution of Religion Leaders into Multiculturalism in East Java”, it is expressed that the religious community has such limited ability and experience to handle multiculturalism in religion (Tobroni et al. 2005). Therefore, further research on the multiculturalism theology construction to the efforts in developing multiculturalism in religious followers relations needs to be conducted.

Multiculturalism is an ideology and a tool or instrument to enhance human’s pride and its humanity. For that reason, culture should be seen in perspective and in its function for human lives. Culture as the perspective guidance for human live for similar opinions and understanding is how the culture operates through social rules (Lee & Baruth 2004:246).

Kamanto Sunarto et al. explained that the meaning of multiculturalism is shown in the –ism suffix, and is referring to the significance of normative doctrine or ideology of society’s diversity in living together. It is said...” multiculturalism as a doctrine or policy should be translated into sets of systematic and consistent action to involve people of the society or nation...” (Sunarto 2004).

Multiculturalism emphasizes the diversity of cultures in equality. Multiculturalism is different from diversity concept in ethnicity of

ethnicity cultures which has become the characteristics of pluralistic-society. Multiculturalism will be supported by ideologies like politics and democracy, justice and law enforcement, chance to work and effort, human rights, the community culture rights and minority, ethics principle and morality, and also productivity quality.

Multiculturalism is not only a context but also an ideology that should be sought for, because it is needed as the foundation for the successful democracy, human rights, and the wealth of its society. Concepts that are relevant to multiculturalism are democracy, justice and law, cultural values and ethos, togetherness in equal differences, tribes, ethnics, ethnics cultures, religious faith, cultural proverbs, private and public domain, human rights, community cultural rights, and other relevant concepts.

Liliweri (2005) mentioned that multiculturalism is the ideology of multicultural society that comprises ethnics' diversity or culture in more global meaning. The multiculturalism ideology is taken as a form of mutual respect from one ethnic into another. Multiculturalism is a concept explaining two differences with related meanings. Multiculturalism acts as a condition of cultural-pluralism or culture pluralism from certain society. This condition performs tolerance. Multiculturalism is a set of government's policy that is designed significantly, so that the people will give their attentions to the culture of every ethnic group or tribe.

One of the requirements for the establishment of democratic modern society is the realization of a society which respects the plurality of the society and nation. A plural society has different aspirations, but they should have equal positions, which means that there is no superiority over one tribe, ethnic or social groups into another. Each group has the equal right to participate in social and political lives.

Pluralism exists in a multicultural society. It is a theory that opposes monolithic nation power; and on the other side, supports decentralization and autonomy for main organizations representing the individual involvement in society. It also supports the existence or ethnics' religious tolerance or cultural groups in certain society and faith plurality or behavior in an organization. Those two things reflect the meaning of political pluralism, social or primordial pluralism.

The multiculturalism model can be activated to lose its face from plural society and to enter gradually the Indonesian multicultural society. The model refers to a society that is based on multiculturalism ideology or the multicultural *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, (unity in differences) which

bases the structural patterns of Indonesian society at both local and national level. Besides, we need to fill the structures or rules and social organizations included in Indonesian societies. These social structures and rules include reformation and reformation on existing cultures, cultural values and ethos, ethics, and renovation on law and law enforcement for justice. The physical and cultural rooms for the diversity of culture at local and national level with its various dynamic patterns should be stimulated. The effort in constructing multicultural society in unity and pluralism does not need any political recognition from the government over the elements forming a country's nation, adoption to several cultural identity, ethnics, and religion under the spirit of freedom; however we need the cultural strategy to accommodate, adopt, and adapt those diversities.

4. Multiculturalism and Challenge for Diversity

Tension and conflict that continually affect the religious followers, especially Islam and Christianity (Catholic and Protestant) in many parts of the world became an indicator that tolerance (*tasamuh* and *mindfulness*) among religious followers has not been formed yet. On the other hand, Ta'assub, Prejudice, and stereotype are developing. Each of religious group tends to be dishonest in communication and dialogue, reactive, and interprets the dogma and others group behavior based on the group perspective. As a consequence, trust between one group and another is low. This condition is truly harmful in national context which is yearning to have multicultural life together.

Applying multiculturalism to religion often causes obstacles. It is caused by:

- 1) Religion is about principle, personal and important problem because it addresses the safety of life on earth and in the future. The similarity of principle, belief, and experience in this religious problem will create good brotherhood, solidarity and emotional feeling. The name of this community in religious life is known as *jamaah*, *jemaat* or belief sibling, strong group of *jamaah* in sociologies discourse born as *in group* or in *Cultural Studies* which is called as *the self* or *minna* (our group). On the other hand, those who are different are called as the *out group*, *the other* or *minhum* (*their group*). This condition can hamper the growth of multiculturalism.
- 2) Each religion, especially Islam and Christianity is proselytizing religions which command their followers to say the truth about

their belief to other people. Proselytizing activity is always based on the belief that their religion is the correct one and the other religion is wrong and diverges. They called the other religion as infidel, polytheist, or lost sheeps that always disturb communication flow. This proselytizing basic thinking becomes obstacle for multiculturalism perceptive. The rationale saying that *the mission abstruse dialogue and dialogue betrayal mission* needs to be analyzed more detail (Darmaputera 1991:157).

- 3) Multiculturalism in religion has a meaning that a good understanding is not only from their own beliefs, but also religion and faith of others. In fact, the understanding of each religious community is still low. Therefore, the interfaith dialogue is needed. The purpose is not only to understand other religion deeply, but also to develop the communication and solidarity of interfaith and find the meeting point of each religion.
- 4) The ability of each religion in source (human, financial, organization, technology, tool, and facility) is proselytizing or in managing the different economic sources. As a consequence, it is hard for a meaningful and mindfulness of communication, symbiosis mutualism cooperation and fairness competition. On the other hand, the different ability and religion will prosper the *mindlessness, ta'assub (fanatic), prejudice, and conflict communication*.
- 5) Conceptually, religious multiculturalism is easy to accept, as each religion taught mercy, brotherhood, help for each other, and benefaction. Interfaith relationship does not stand in an empty room, but in the historical, economic, political, social and cultural dimensions. The history of cross war and conflict that involves many religions around the world will always be an obstacle which causes a deep frustration. In this case, Cardinal Newman (1801-1890) said that "Oh, we all hate each other just for God's Love" (Schuon 1975).

This condition is worsened by the fact that Indonesian social system is polarized in vertical way based on the cultural identity or cultural variant (Geertz 1969; Nasikun 1993). In civilization this social cohesion is hard to maintain because of each group stays in exclusive environment so communication among cultures is not effective. As a result, *ta'assub, prejudice, and stereotype* are developing, not *tasamuh* (tolerance).

The central position and the plurality of religion in human being developing in society makes interfaith relationship become a crucial issue to be analyzed. Research on the relationship between religious followers in general can create harmonious, dynamic, tolerant environment to avoid conflicts or violence. To find the correct pattern of interfaith relationship, we need the development of analysis and research about new paradigm of inclusive religion, philosophy and culture (behavior) pluralism religion (Coward 1985) and management of roles and functions of institution and religion leaders (Latief 2002). Besides, it can be done through developing multireligions project and advocating obstacles (Alwi 1998).

In sociological discourse, the pattern of group relationships in society has a certain term which describes their characters and characteristics. Suprayogo dan Tobroni said, if the relationship between two or more groups is equal, then the term used is the cooperation pattern, conflict, and competition. If the relationship of two groups is imbalance, the term used is domination, hegemony, and cooptation. If relationship pattern is viewed from the numbers of the members, the terms appear are majority dictator and minority tyranny. If the relationship is shown from employees to employers the pattern will be loyalty, critic, and rebellion (Suprayogo dan Tobroni 2001).

Cooperation between two groups appears if there is a trust mutualism, common interest and belief so that the cooperation can achieve its aspiration. In interfaith relationship, cooperation can be done. Through, seminar on improving the education quality. For example, Shihab explains that the good relationship between KH.A Dahlan and missionaries of Christian is not restricted to its elite relationship; rather it is expanded to project development such as nursing course for medical people of Muhammadiyah by Christian doctors and nurses (Alwi 1998; Alfian 1989).

Interfaith relationship is also colored with cooperation and conflict. In Indonesia, NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), which at first disagreed with Christian mission now, has a good relationship with Christian people especially among the youths or followers of KH Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). This cooperation is not only limited on the social matters such as friendship, research, publishing journals, seminar, and training, even in politics. For example, the collaboration of Love Party (now Peace and Prosperous Party) into the Fraction of Nation Awakening Party (PKB) in 1999 election. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah which at first always developed good cooperation with Christian is no longer in cooperation with Christians.

According to Dharmaputra (1991), conflict between Islam and Christian basically occurs on deviant groups. Conflict among believers usually happens because of proselytizing activity. Since almost all the Indonesians and Malaysians follow religion, proselytizing activity with a mission to persuade someone to join in their religion tends to get a reaction from the groups which feel that they will lose their members. Religious groups which intensively do proselytizing activity which aims to add the members are considered deviant group or usually called as fundamental action especially in Islam and Christian.

Interfaith relationship is also colored with competition. According to Ali, competition between religious people happens between two religious groups, who have equal power. Ali gives an example, the competition between religion members in Indonesia happens between Muhammadiyah and Christian through the activity in education, health service, and charitable institution (Ali 1998). Similar comment also comes from Syihab who that says only Muhammadiyah is consistently ready to have competition with Christian (Alwi 1998). This is an exclusive view that is not healthy for any society aims at promoting tolerance.

5. Multiculturalism and Conflict

Indonesian civilization, which is complex with ethnic, class, group, and interest, has a big potential to face a sharp social conflict. Meanwhile, the complexity also has high integrative potential if the civilizations build and develop it. Ethnic complexity (Indonesia have more than 400 language regions/ ethnic group) religion complexity (Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, Buddha, Khonghucu and belief in God), has big potential to social conflict. A conflict will arise if a different group has no power to live together in one social community. Similar social community on the one hand, is a place to grow the local identity and belief, but on the other hand, it will give an opportunity to politic social integration process, economy, and culture in broad level.

Every culture has value systems, which determine anything of good or bad according to the society. The fact shows that the value system is compatible, different and contradictory among cultures. The similarities and differences of cultural value in every society grow from their experience, history, belief system, nature environment and social environment. Social intercourse among cultures whether individually, institutionally, and socially, will find other cultural value and related priorities and how the value can be differentiated from their own cultural value. With their own value, it can also find a value and other priorities.

Bahtiar (1984) stated that there is a right to defend the culture in social life. He said that basically every class is a part of a country, not only the class which comes from the offspring or new comer such as China, India, Arab, Europe. Further, they have right to defend certain culture which is shown from their supporter and reveal it in their daily life.

In multicultural dialogue, society cannot be separated from individual aspect which has different cultural background because of genetic, sociological and cultural factors which are often called as race and ethnic. The word *race* comes from Arabic language which means 'offspring'. Herman Frederich Kohlbrugge stated that race is a group of people which has similar body and spiritual feature. Meanwhile, Groose defined race as a group of people which has similar body and spiritual characteristics so that it can be distinguished between one and another. Race is grouping a group based on the physical characteristics and geographical background of that group.

Anderson (2000:355) explained that racial understanding refers to sociology which includes social definition with race concept according to physical anthropology as biology categories, so it can be defined that race is a group or people who identify themselves and it is identified by other people as social difference based on the physical and biological features. As opposed to race, ethnic group is used to refer to a group or social category which are different culturally, not in biologically. In fact, racial and ethnic groups often overlap. A group with biological difference can also be different culturally. Although it is often used interchangeably, race and ethnic concept can be analytically separated.

Pier Van Berghe, in Anderson (2000:355) stated that there are two types of relationship in stratification race/ethnic of society with material facilities and broad social structure aspects according to systematic comparative typology concerning stratification society based on their race and ethnic. This typology also assures an evolutionary historical research of stratification patterns of ethnics related to their strength, which lead to evolutionary changes. Moreover, Van Berghe opposes paternalistic and competitive in stratification race and ethnic. According to Van Berghe for the type of paternalistic and competitive race relationship, the indicators are economic, job division, mobility, social stratification, numerical ratio and value conflict, whereas, the aspects or race situation components can be identified through race relationship, character, role and status, ethics, aggression, mixing, segregation, psychologist syndrome, lower caste stereotype, and prejudice. The deviations of race can be categorized into three namely individual, institutional racism and cultural racism. Racism analysis

model involves (1) Individual racism which consists of behavior, socialization attitude, personal interest, (2) Institutional racism which consists of labor, law, health, economic, politic, housing, and (3) Cultural racism which includes a esthetical, religion, music, philosophy, value, interest and belief. Character interaction of multicultural doers with their behavior in trading and merit in the cultural value frame is described as follows (1) cultural value which is appreciated by X culture according to their own opinion and other people Y; (2) Other cultural value (v,w,x) according to other people Y; (3) Value priority according to cultural x, y, z, (4) Cross generation value which is appreciated by cultural people x in traditional feature or even new modern generation.

However, in terms of building cultural sensitivity, the first phase includes listening, observing, and feeling; then continued to the second phase that includes responding, taking part and growing, and the third part includes adjusting behavior, sharing, and experiencing and the fourth is enjoyment.

Next, the process to handle resistance and to make people feel bound to each other as the consequence of living together in multicultural society can be started by the needs of shifting from treating everybody equally into accepting and respecting each others. In this case, individual and organizational change process is needed. The change is considered as an adjustment toward external and internal pressures or an initiative to anticipate the development in the future. Shifting should be done not only in the cultural scope but also in terms of value, attitude, and individual behavior; the increase of awareness and individual knowledge, individual skill development to communicate effectively in a culturally diverse team.

Umar (1989) stated that culture is always open and flexible. It means that culture is always dynamic and will develop its own mechanism of sensitivity when signs in the society start to tell that few of the supporting elements are in fragile condition. Culture understands by itself when it has to start renewing its elements. All prenatal or institution born from the development process of that value system also constructs, gives limits and colors the society structure. Structure, *jultur* and culture will always develop dialectally and affects each other in limiting and developing society format.

In achieving an established level, culture will be able to develop an established value system that becomes a society guard. Society consists of people who will not be apart from their own culture. People in society will always refer to an established value and since they are

creative creatures, they will be able to create facilities to support the established value itself. Relating to the existence multiethnic and temporary society condition, Soemardjan (1991) stated that culture is forbidden to be identified by tradition, but there is also a culture with tradition that has a little role, because basically the effect of another community discovering can stimulate the creation of non traditional building projects in a tradition-oriented community.

Regarding the culture transformation, all culture arrangements are transformation from production culture to consumption culture. In production culture, mode of production will be born and society is managed from production side. It will also create obedient ethic. Thus, culture is totality or culture is behavior. Meanwhile, in the consumption culture, class ethic or principle to become a class (*mode of consumption*) – how one's consuming activity can change all designs – will be developed. An economic center or trading in a city is a new culture that fulfills a public facility need. It creates the meaning of process of living with values. Economic orientation center and market make culture as style that causes the difference in society.

In everyday life, society has social interaction between one another, between one ethnic with another. It causes such consideration, prejudice or stereotype toward ethnic which is different from individual. Warnanen stated, stereotype develops from someone's acts that are not based on direct introduction on the real society condition, but it is based on his own opinion or an opinion given by someone else. With regard to a certain ethnic, ethnic stereotype, Warnanen stated further that ethnic stereotype is a trust that is believed by most followers of an ethnic group about special characteristics from an ethnic group including individual ethnic. There are four important elements that consist of ethnic stereotype: (1) stereotype that includes a trust category; (2) stereotype that is believed together by most of society from one ethnic group that is called consensus; (3) special characteristics that is attributed as essential and not essential; (4) their own ethnic can get stereotype that is called otostereotype. Some ethnic stereotype dimension consists of (a) special characteristics that build stereotype, (b) similarity about special characteristics that are shown, (c) the direction from such stereotype that shows preference, (d) intensity means degree of consideration from a respond (Suwarsih 2002:117).

The change from production custom into consumption custom involves a contact condition (influence) on the shift between ethnic group relationships. In certain cases, if there is a contact, there will be behavior changes as the effect of contact. The change sometimes is limited to a

certain aspect like a work situation which cannot be generalized in other aspects. Prejudice is one of the forms of contact between ethnics. Prejudice can occur if (a) contact situation creates a competition among groups, (b) if the existed contact is not good, forced and tense, (c) if the contact affects the pride and status of a marginalized group, (d) if an ethnic group is frustration or in failure, so contact with another group can create an opinion (ethnic shaped-goat), (e) if contact exists among ethnic groups that have different and contradict one another, (f) if in the contact between the majority and minority, the minority status is lower than the majority.

Contact among ethnics sometimes causes conflict. Conflict can occur because of identity, culture crisis, and culture transition. For that reason conflict management between ethnics is needed. Conflict can be divided into vertical and horizontal conflict. Basically, conflict is a protest toward powerless of ethnic, religion, politic, economic life and social asymmetry. Sometimes a conflict also occurs because of historical reason which leads to actions and rebels. In the conflict management, balance relationship among groups is needed, for example between the haves and the haves-not, ethnics, religions, and customs. In terms of organization culture, conflict can be managed based on principle of corporate culture, for example balancing ideological principles with cultural beliefs in cognitive, evaluative, and symbolic dimension.

In the conflict management between ethnics, several things need to be taken into consideration - (a) routine behaviors, (b) agreed norms, (c) dominant values to be learned, (d) basic of philosophy to be understood by consumers and (e) creating social organization atmosphere. John Naisbit predicts that in the future the feeling of followers of a certain culture will strengthen, then it will blend, even release. Then, conflict management between ethnics will impose on society rules and identity confirmation as symbol of variety. Identity revolution is a basic change when limitations between groups that firstly mild become hard, so they create symbolic limitation that can be negotiated. Rohwan refers to sensitivity that is based on economic life. An economic problem has shifted to a more basic problem; that is identity confirmation of an ethnic or a nation. In few cases in Indonesia conflicts can be categorized as close conflicts and open conflicts. It shows ethnic awareness disturbance, solidarity between ethnics and ethnic symbols that are not understood yet.

Practically, a conflict management between ethnics can be done by referring to its process and its consequence. In transition process, the consequence is to facilitate the role transition, minimize the differences

on how to play the role. In the degradation process, it can be done by not showing up the identity among ethnics. In strengthening process of consequence, stressing conducive behaviors is needed, while, in integrity process, the consequence is to bind the feelings between ethnics.

6. The Change of Structural Background and the Change of Relationship among Religions

Political condition in Indonesia, especially in every political system changes and leading regime is always faced with tension and conflict among religions, especially between Muslim and Christian; either the conflict is caused by religion itself or by people using religion as a reason. The change from “*Orde Lama*” (the government with Soekarno as a President) to “*Orde Baru*” (the government with Soeharto as a President) caused tension and conflict between Muslim and Christian that are triggered by religion conversion in big size from former Indonesian Communist Party member that moves from Muslim to Christian. Regime change and political system from “*Orde Baru*” to Orde Reformasi (a government after Orde Baru), more appropriate if it is called transition era, to Democracy is not able to avoid tension and conflict between Muslim and Christian. Even, according to Rahardjo, the conflict has reached the highest prejudice level in the form of extermination - prejudice expression that is made in the form of death sentence without court (*lynching*), mass murdering that is organized (*pogroms*) mass murdering (*massacres*), and eviction and annihilation toward ethnic (*genocides*). Ambon and Poso conflict are a proof that is the most real from this externalization action.

The question is why during the transition era to democracy, conflict among religious tends to be larger and higher intensity? The relationship among religious followers is always influenced by external and internal factors. External factor is the change of structural background, and internal factor is the interpretation and re-actualization of religion doctrine. The change of structural background is especially about the change of the leading regime, system and culture of politic to more democratic one that causes a value and social arrangement change. Meanwhile, values and social arrangement and regime that are new do not exist in any appropriate place and are not able to be accepted well yet. The result is that religion and its followers who basically have supreme values like brotherhood and affection are affected by power which is used by “political entrepreneur” for their own sake. In this situation tension and conflict among religious followers can happen more easily.

Meanwhile, internal change that is in the form of interpretation and re-actualization of religious doctrine influences religious social behavior. Because political passion of “religious man and politician” (politic entrepreneur), they give justification who is (considered as belongs to the group) in group and who is not (out group). Since each religion and a group of religion usually have their own business and different political affiliation, people usually think that different religious behavior is hostile.

Transition era to democracy that is followed by regional autonomy policy along with low understanding toward culture variety strengthen cultural identity that is understood narrowly in the form of religious fanatic. In the study on intercultural communication, action or non pluralistic behavior happen because people, individually or a group, often express strongly and cause weaknesses in intercultural, that is ethnocentrism, stereotype, sentiment, and prejudice when people involve in conflict with other people for any profits. Sentiment can be activated to create social solidarity when facing foreigner in a competition. In competition between strength and political party in this regional autonomy era, religious sentiment is fomented by political entrepreneurs.

Another analysis about inharmonious relationship between Islam and Christian in this reformation era is equity of followers and unbalanced distribution of economic resource. Statistic data shows that Muslim followers in Maluku (before it is divided into Maluku and North Maluku), Poso, Sampit and West Kalimantan are majority group. However, economic resource especially public officials are dominated by Christians. In democracy era, logically, a majority group will be able to dominate established minority group. When unbalanced distribution collide with cultural identity difference conflict will appear easily. According to Bloomfield & Rielly (1998) conflict covered by cultural identity especially religion, tends to survive in long term and it is likely unbreakable because of emotional issue.

7. Religious Tolerance

Conflict and harmony among religious followers have very large dimension. However, the point or keyword from all of them is “integrity”. Integrity among religious followers will bear tolerant attitude (*tasamuh*); it means being open toward the existence of other religious groups that is followed with respectful attitude without looking for similarities and differences. As Mukti Ali said, “the more we look for the similarities, finally the more difference also appears” (Ali 1998). Each religion is clearly different, but each is also clear as a religion. It means,

although the teachings and worship ways are different, they have the same functions; they offer to save human life in this world and hereafter. “Tasamuh” (living harmoniously among different religion followers) among religious followers will develop if each religion discusses to solve a problem. According to Ali, something that is discussed is not about each religion, but the religious universal mission. Dialoguing faith and the teachings of each religious theory will not be useful and will show the difference. However, by discussing each religion universal mission and how to realize it, they will get the heart of religion. This variety system, according to Schuon (1975), is called esoteric variety system. By this esoteric variety system a dialogue that is based on integrity can be developed, and this kind of dialogue can create friendship, help each other, and make cooperation. If, we compete, it will create a competition that is scary.

Another theory stated in order that religious followers can contend sincerely, and not to attack each other is stated by Buber in his theory that is called *Martin's Buber Dialogic Ethnics*. Buber stated two types of relations: *I-it* and *I-Thou*. In *I-it* relation, treatment to other people as a thing or an object is manipulated so that something that happens is not understood, and they are not honest each other. However, in *I-Thou* relation other people are treated as a subject. The relationship that is the most appropriate among subject, according to Buber, is through dialogue. Dialogue is communication that is ethical (communication). Religion itself also commands that someone must do dialogue that is full politeness (wisdom, advice, and argumentation). The Buber theory is disputed by an idea that said that mission rejects a dialogue and a dialogue betrays mission. Mission that is good is mission that is done by dialogue (Liliweri 2005).

According to researchers, the relationship among religious followers that is developed until now is the relationship that has a prejudice (*ta'assub*), monolog, and mindlessness. Insulting and destroying that often occur toward holy symbol of any religion, conflict among religion followers and mission strategy that is not feary but by material blandishment is not a win-win solution among religious followers that clearly shows the existence of prejudice (*ta'assub*) and insincerity. To state other religious groups that develop until now is still negative and it does not accept the existence of others and respect for diversity. Religious mission that is holy should not be stained with the acts that are not holy or ethical.

References

- Alfian. 1989. *Muhammadiyah The Political Behavior of Muslim Modernist Organization Under Dutch Colonialism*. Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Ali M. 1998. *Agama dalam Pergumulan Masyarakat Kontemporer*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Alwi S. 1998. *Membendung Arus Respon Muhammadiyah Terhadap Penetrasi Moso Kristen di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Anderson S. K (trans. Farid Fajidi). 2000. *Makro Sosilogi Sebuah Pendekatan terhadap Realitas Sosial*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.
- Bachtiar H.W. 1984. Integrasi Nasional Indonesia Beberapa Catatan. *Majalah Analisa* 11: 853-860.
- Bloomfield, D. and Ben Reilly 1998. „The Changing Nature of Conflict and Conflict Management,“ *in* Peter Harris and Ben Reilly (eds.), *op. cit.*
- Coward H. 1985. *Pluralism, Challenge to World Religion*. New York: Orbis Books.
- Darmaputera E. 1991. *Konteks Berteologi di Indonesia*. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia.
- Geertz C. 1969. *The Religion of Java*. New York: The Free Press.
- Nasikun 1993. *Sistem Sosial Masyarakat Indonesia*, Jakarta, Rajawali Pers.
- Latief W. 2002. *Carok Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura*. Pengantar : Dr. Huub de Jonge. Yogyakarta: LKis.
- Lee M.M. and Baruth L.G. 2004. *Multicultural Education of Children and Adolescents*. Boston: Person Education, Inc.
- Liliweri. 2005. *Prasangka dan Konflik, Komunikasi Budaya Masyarakat Multikultur*, Yogyakarta:LKIS..
- Nasikun. 1993. *Sistem Sosial Masyarakat Indonesia*. Jakarta: Rejawali Press.
- Schuon F. 1975. *The Transendent Unity of Religions* New York: Harper Torchbooks.

- Soemardijan S. 1991. *Perubahan Sosial di Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Sunarto K. 2004. *Multicultural Education in Indonesia and South East Asia Stepping into the Unfamiliar*. Depok: Jurnal Antropologi UI.
- Suprayogo I. and Tobroni. 2001. *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial-Agama*. Bandung: Rosdakarya.
- Suwarsih W. 2002. *Stereotipe Etnis dalam Masyarakat Multietnis*. Yogyakarta: Matabangsa.
- Tobroni H. 2004. *Pola Hubungan Multikultural Antarumat Beragama di Malang Raya, Masalah Kerjasama, Konflik dan Kompetis.*, Malang: Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang (unpublished).
- Tobroni et al. 2005. *Kontribusi Pemuka Agama terhadap Multikulturalisme di Jawa Timur*": Menko Kesra dan Lemlit UMM (unpublished).
- Umar K. 1989. *Transormasi Budaya Kita*. Pidato Pengukuhan Jabatan Guru Besar Fakultas Sastra UGM. Yoyakarta: UGM.

