

Religion Intolerance, Multicultural Citizenship and Political Violation in Indonesia

:Case Study of the General Election 2014

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A. PREFACE

Indonesia as the multireligion an multiculture state often gets great examination. Some forms of violation in the name of religion, and in the name of ideology come to replace each other to attack the republic which has just aged 68 years old from the freedom. There are cases of violation named religious intolerance happening in many places in Indonesia which are not solved well. Even later, by the presidential election and after the legislative election in our country, political violation became political commodity coloring our political atmosphere most. We can say that some of our politicians leave the ethic and prefer to the interest. The dirty political practice becomes the part of all of our democratization process. Religious education is hoped to be able to give pattern in keeping the ethic of the politics in Indonesia.

Indonesia is a state which is multireligious, either internal (In Islam there are some madzhab/sects) or external. From the external we know that there are six "state religions", those are Christian, Catholic, Hindu, Buddha, and Konghucu. Whereas the non formal religions such as the tribe religions and local beliefs such as Kaharingan in Borneo, Sunda Wiwitan in Cirebon, Parmalin in Sumatra, Wetu Telu in Lombok are not recognized as religion. Together with the Penganut Pengasih (Mercy Follower), Sapto Dharmo, and the others in Java are known with the follower of the people who comprehends to God and the part of the culture. Whereas there are so many of them are not including in the "state religions" based on law PNPS in 1965 which just recognized six state religions; Christian, Catholic, Islam, Hindu, Buddha, and Konghucu, beyond of them are not included religion or valid sect in Indonesia. In Indonesia itself, such as in PNPS (State Regulation and Civil Officer) in 1965 said that religions recognized in Indonesia were just five, those are Christian, Catholic, Buddha, Hindu, and Islam. (Hikmat Budiman, 2007) (*Hikmat Budiman, Masyarakat Multikultur: Kebebasan dan Kewarganegaraan, Tifa Foundation dan Yayasan Interseksi, 2007*)

If we, even, take attention since 2005, when MUI gave fatwa (Islamic instructions) of forbidden and infidel of some religious understandings in Indonesia such as Ahmadiyah (Qodan), Salamullah, Isa Bugis, LDII, JIL, and Islam by taking prayer with two languages by Yusma Roy. The sects in Islam become more and more which are the variation of Indonesian Islam. Even, the most sensational was the Syi'I Islam in Indonesia since 2013, mainly since Sampang Event, Syi'I was accused as the wrong sect and some Islamic people gave punishment to the follower of Syi'I. whereas we know that there are many Muslim scholars and Syi'I clergies giving inspiration of the development and enlivening of Islam in Indonesia. We can

mention their names such as Alamah At Thabathai, Imam Khaoemani, alamah Murthada Mutahari, Syayed Hosein Nashr, Ali Syariati and so on. Why is the Syi'I Islam in Indonesia right now accused as the wrong sect? off course it makes the serious question for Islamic people in Indonesia. (Zuly Qodir, 2014) (*Zuly Qodir, Radikalisme Agama di Indonesia, Pustaka Pelajar, 2014*)

We may concern the development of intolerance behavior in Indonesia since five last years which increases continuously. By 2013, it was found the bad raport (red) in case of religious life. Some surveys gave red raport of the religious freedom, mainly related to the minority such as the follower of Ahmadiyah, Syi'I Indonesia, Christian minority in certain palces, until the minority of people who comprehends to God, the Only One.

B. Methodology and Study Focus

The study in this writing focuses more on symptom of religious behavior (follower of the religion) which are in five last years shows the signs of violations (intolerance), by the time we are hoping the growth and development of inclusive, democratic, 'globed' behavior and religious understanding which are not horrified. In fact, we find the contrary symptom in the field when a group of people does violation and spreads coercion toward the people who have different religion in the name of the people who have the same religion. Of course, we have critical question, what is happening with the religious people (umat) in our country? What is wrong with our religious understanding so the violation tends to be the solution of the inter-religious relation by some religious people?

In another side, the study of this writing wants to draw attention to problem related to violation of the political practice, mainly those were happening by the time of the legislative election and by the time of the presidential election. The political behavior of the nation also showed the tendency of the non-ethic political behavior, less civilized and less democratic, so the politic seemed to allow any ways. The politic, as if, didn't have relation to the public ethic, and the other social ethic. This is the one making uas worry about the future of our nation if the political behavior tends to the violation which is full of intimidation, law violation, and black campagne of running-mate candidate or the political enemy.

Violation in the name of religion and political violation becoming the focused study of this writing are related to the matter of citizenship politic being the part of the political right of the citizen, either the majority or minority. How the people's behavior toward the other citizen is so important to be madde as the study related to the political right of the civil society in Indonesia.

The study in this writing is based on field fact happening for the last two years related to the violation in the name of religion and politic of the citizen in the frame of the citizen politic and political practice of the legislative election and by the time of presidential election that would be lasting on July 9. What are heppening for the last two years and when the legislative and presidential elections becomes

special notes I this study using political sociology perspective and perspective of religion to digest the matter of religious intolerance happening.

Religion pluralism and multiculturalism, in this country, constitutes the empirical reality which can't be denied. Pluralism, so, since a long time ago is known as the potent of the nation and the state, so founding fathers decided this state not to be the state of religion of the secular state. The choice is in the centre of both of them. The problem is who introduced and gave meaning after that so the fact of pluralism becomes complicated, such as keeping unstopping revenge. In the field of life, there are many aspect of society those can't express the multiculturalism easily. This is the fact which can't be denied.¹

If we see it from the language, pluralism has clearly shown to the meaning of more than one, variety and it means about diversity. So, pluralism is diversity in ethnicity, religiousity, organization and so on. There is no homogenization and coercion in it. Homogenization and coercion are the enemies of the real pluralism. Whoever, in this state, is forbidden to take action that violates principle of pluralism which has been given by God the human being of Indonesia, in particular. God's mercy of this state is clear enough by giving pluralism for our state, beginning from Merauke to Sabang. However, multiculturalism shows more for cultural diversity, including political culture. Recognition becomes the key word of pluralism or multiculturalism. There we know the term, then, recognition to others.

That's why, in the relation to Indonesia, the choice of our founding fathers can be said the right one, for not saying absolutely right. What would happen if this state was declared with the form of state of religion, or the state of secular totally? It could be disunity, the challenge of the nation intergration, and the like which had appeared since the beginning of independence declaration of our country. However, the choice can be changed, following the development and the era demand by appearing fundamental turbulence about the contemporary political ideology in the developed states and developing states such as Indonesia. But, the choice of some ideology may not change the principle of our state easily if it's just based on the contemporary willingness from some elements of people (either the majority or minority). The choice of changing the ideology, if we need to do it, must be democratic and according to the constitution, because this state was found constitutionally. So, the unconstitutional ways can't be received (right). The choice to be the state of non-religion at the time, indeed, gave strong bases for this nation to be tolerant, to appreciate diversity and to give high respect for the diversity. Whereas

¹Academic discussion of multiculturalism can be checked in the book belongs to Bhiku Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, Sage Publication, 2007. This book gives very well theoretic frame to elaborate multiculturalism moving in the political, social, and cultural arena. How to express the diversity in the life, including the minority becoming attention from Bhiku Parekh in his study. Read chapter 4 and 5 from the book Bhiku Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*.

the choice not to be the secular state clearly proved that society of this state could be said religious society, society who believed in God, not the atheist.²

Accuracy and intelligence of founding fathers to formulate well the what became the common need such as that was erased or cut by the coming of the totalitarian regime holding power for about 32 years. Public space which should have been created so every one might have expressed his/her belief was, in fact, pressured by many kinds of regulations that tortured, manacled, or in the term of "regulated" the society, so the real freedom from the multiculturalism and the right of any citizen was almost nothing at all. The religious people must have followed the way of the ruling regime. The choice to have religion beyond the "state religion" was the impossible choice. The power of the state to force its willingness toward its society was the power based on the totalitarian state with the support of political power which couldn't be touched by common people. The state controlled people totally in any aspect of life, including in the aspect of creed and religion. The appearance of the State Order of the society belief couldn't be denied. So, if there was any society wanted to make any free choice of religion became so difficult. The choice such as this would just make the one (who wanted to choose religion freely) in the difficult situation, feeling of indignity that had been made by the regime. Shortly, to be free of choosing religion and expressing belief and politics beyond something wanted by the state indirectly put someone to be in "the hole of grave" dug by themselves.³

From the constricted wrestling, it's understood if intolerance, parochial, and ethnocentric behavior grow massively in the society. Among the followers of the same religion, there are conflict, enmity, and even massacre almost every day. Ironically, the religion is always brought to legitimate it all. Finally, the religion is never immune from the long lasting conflict for the sake of the follower interest. So, we may say that New Order regime was succeeded in making the religion as mass ideology, not as the agent of the society transformation. In such as context, presenting Islam in the debate of state ideology is very important because Islam is the majority religion of the others. Inhabitant of Indonesian Muslim is always drawn to any situation for the sake of the interest of State Ideology by some communities so the social transformation of the Muslim society runs slowly, even in

²Study about Indonesia becoming Pancasila State has been done in detail by Ahmad Syafii Maarif in his book *Islam dan Negara: Perdebatan Tentang Konstituante, LP3ES*, Jakarta, 1987. This book gives basic of the clear argument that Indonesian choice to be the Non-religion State was the choice which can be said as the brilliant choice because at the time was the difficult situation in debating the fundamental basic of the State that would be made as the basic in living as a state and nation then.

³The book clearly questioning ideologies of Islamism in Indonesian contemporary was done by Haedar Nashir when discussing ideology of the Islamism community such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Majelis Mujahidin and Komisi Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam Sulawesi Selatan, in the book *Islam Syariah: Membongkar Ideologi Kaum Islamis di Indonesia*, PSAP, Jakarta 2008.

some contexts it stops totally so the stupidity and backwardness become the reality in the Muslim society. So, the most important thing to have attention is the right of the citizen as the nation citizen obtained truly, not just the political commodity of the elite.

C. Theoretical Perspective : Multiculturalism of the State Citizen

Multiculturalism is the precise term which represents to give description about Indonesia. No expression which is more precise to give description about the fact of Indonesia but naming it as the plural state in the real meaning. That's why, by borrowing the expression of the Muslim writers such as Farid Esack, Abdul Aziz Sachedina or Syed Hasyim Ali that multiculturalism constitutes the one thing showed by Islam since the beginning, it's something which can't be denied. Multiculturalism has been the God' willingness (Sunnatullah), something given, so denying it means denying God who has willingness with what He has created. Islam as the religion coming after the big religions such as Jew, Christian, but Hindu and Budha also Zoroast, of course has characteristic which can be said different from the religions before, however there is similarities in its substance, that's fidelity.

Let's give attention to the Farid Esack's statement (1997) about multiculturalism: "Multiculturalisme is one's condition that can receive and aknowlagde about diversity and plurality. Multiculturalism passes tolerance of diversity because multiculturalism exists in one's self which is sincerely in the action toward someone in the different side".⁴

Syed Hasyim Ali also said the same thing that multiculturalism is "Condition of the society where the cultural, religious, and ethnic community lives side by side is a nation (state). Multiculturalism also means that the reality consists of many basic substances. Multiculturalism is also the belief that there is no single understanding or view about the reality which can define whole life realities".⁵ This one can explain that multiculturalism doesn't have any problem with the real religious belief.

Let's give attention also to the Abdul Aziz Sachedina's statement (2001) in hos writing about pluralism. There Sachedina uttered about multiculturalism, "Pluralism is the term or the brief word to name new world order where the cultural difference, system of belief and values

⁴Farid Esack: 1997, *Quran, Liberalism and Pluralisme*, Sage Publication, London Publication

⁵Syed Hasyim Ali, 1999, *Islam and Pluralism*,1999: 49, Sage Publication, London

generate enthusiasm of some human's expressions which will never finished while inspire of solving conflict that can't be overcome. ⁶

Concerning the expressions from the three Muslim scholars above, something which is worried by the religious follower related to the matters of he deviating religiosity, minimal religiosity, liquefy religiosity and so on doesn't appear in the substantial explanation about multiculturalism, however sometimes it appears in some views or informal discussion occurring in the academic forums beside in the recitation Islamic forums that multiculturalism is vehicle toward the trivialization of one's faith in the religion and toward the unity of the religion so the religion appears as if it doesn't have diversity. This one must be responded prudentially and carefully because if it's responded wrongly, what will occur then is not the productive discussion but misunderstanding that will happen and develop again in the society.

The explanation of the three scholars above can be made as abutment that multiculturalism is not contrast with the religion at all, even Islam. Multiculturalism is the objective condition in the field which obliges Muslim and the followers of the other religions to understand each other, to appreciate, and to keep. The objective condition can be created and among the people embracing religion must deny hard and prevent if there is group of people wanting to destroy the objective condition of the multiculturalism. This is the multicultural behavior that wills colour multicultural life in Indonesia so it can run well. By that ways, it's clear that misunderstanding about multiculturalism always occurs because of less knowledge of conceptualization developing in the society and in the academic society so far.

That's why, actually we don't need to worry about multiculturalism because nothing that can be worried about of relating to one's creed and religion. Multicultural condition, following the theory developed in Islam by the scholars above, doesn't have intention to make the religion we embraced to fuse in another religions. Even, what's found in the concept of multiculturalism is to keep in order the objective condition of the multiculturalism remains kept and may not be destroyed by whomever. The exaggerated worry about multiculturalism is the worry that can be said that it doesn't have objective fact in the field. Anxiety appearing is always just the myopic views which doesn't have theoretic base about the fact in the field occurring. The myopic view also indicates the narrowness of embracing religion, besides as the way (form) of denying toward God's destiny of His hetererogen creature (ummah). Will we make the religion as the fetter of

⁶*Abdul Aziz Sachedina, 2001: 34, Berbeda tapi Setara, Serambi Jakarta.*

humanity, as the torturer of the human being or will it made as the religion of giving freedom to the human being cause of fighting for justice and pluralism? All depend on the followers because God has caused religion to go down for the human being, not for God Himself.

Based on the explanation of the three Muslim scholars above also, it can be said simply that the explanation about multiculturalism practices and pluralistic in Islamic society through the Islamic education is the onething which may not strange to do by teachers. Islamic education is viewed important because it's one of the educations hoped to be able to build multiculture and multireligious attitude and behavior of the students in Indonesia. Religious education appreciating toward the difference of religion and cultural difference will give impact of the students to the human ready to appreciate diversity and make the diversity as the part of their life. This makes the multicultural and pluralism perspective in religious education must be made as the base for the teachers and the Islamic educational managers in Indonesia in general, because Islamic people in Indonesia is the majority and its maximal contribution is hoped in developing multicultural and plural perspective. Based on statistic data of 2010, the population of Indonesia has reached about 237,4 million. Right now, it's predicted that the population has reached 240 million people, where the muslim citizen is about 88,7%. Whereas citizen of Muhammadiyah and NU sect is about 25% from the total Islamic citizen.⁷

Whereas, the term of citizenship can be found in the book written by Manuelle Castles and Will Kymlicka, Manuel Castles, by quoting Coulhoun, said that none who doesn't have name, doesn't have language, culture in any difference foun in the society. They are different to another individual, we and they, and all of them can't be made similar. Knowledge about oourselves always constructs the feeling of subjectivity about who we are actually to be found. However, none of us may claim that we are specifcily different from the others (Manuelle Castles, 2004: 6, *The Power Of Identity, Blackwell Publishing, 2004*)

Coulhoun's question actually can be said that every one needs identity, either individual, community, or nationality. From that, it can be understood if in a region, either the society in a group or individual, moreever nationally in a state needing aknowlegment of identity as something neede to be the specific knowledge based on togetherness feeling in the society.

What is the relation, then, with the citizenship which is related, of course, to the public space? Here, Will Kymlicka's opinion explains that citizenship is the culture made the ideal by the citizen which is plural of the ethnic,

⁷ Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Moderat*, Gramedia Jakarta 2010

religion and tribe. (Will Kymlicka, 2002) (*Will Kymlicka, 2002*) *Kewargaan Multikultural, LP3ES, Jakarta*)

D. Case of The Religious Freedom Violation

Survey of The Wahid Institute in November 2012 said that there were 193 violation cases of the religious freedom done in the forms of coercion, forcing and forbidding. Whereas, Setara Institute, in 2012, said that there were 103 violation cases of the religious freedom by any kinds of threat, destroying, coercion even killing.

Another interesting thing is the survey result of LSI and Yayasan DENY JA saying that, in 2012, society's belief and satisfaction toward State institution was very low. The unsatisfaction of the society of the Presidential Institution reached 62,7%, The unsatisfaction of the police institution reached 64,7%, and The unsatisfaction of the political party reached 58,1%. The low satisfaction of the society toward the State institution was caused by low work, apatic, and it allowed some cases of human right violation of the religious freedom in Indonesia.

At the same time, based on the annual report of the religious and believed freedom of The Wahid Institute 2013, it was said that from January to December 2013, the account of violation or religious intolerance were 245 events. It consisted of 106 events (43%) involving state actors and 139 events (57%) involving non-state actors. While total of the coercion and intolerance action reached 280, where 121 actions (43%) were done by the state and 159 actions (57%) were done by non-state actors. (*The Wahid Institute Januari 2014*)

Based on the field fact delivered by *The Wahid Institute* above, there is fundamental question which must be answered by every citizen of the state recognizing to have religion. What does make the violation behavior and the action of violating the law related to the religious freedom happening subsequently? Isn't it the freedom of embracing religion constitutes the human right which can't be replacet by anything in Indonesia?

The most crucial thing if we refer to the field fact found by *The Wahid Institute* is the behavior of forbidding and coerced action toward the people having religion done by the actor named State, not just the citizen. Whereas, we know that the State must take the role to guarantee and to keep the freedom of belief in embracing religion and doing ritual based on their own belief.

Based on the survey done by two institutions above, we may learn much for the next 2014 that if this state relay wants to make fundamental change in the freedom of the religious life, the state may not be careless or even more

cruel meaning to take active role in the violation of the religious freedom in Indonesia by just seeing the violation happening in our country.

E. Factual Matter: The Importance of the Inclusive Education

One of the causes of the stronger religious intolerance is assumed cause of the less understanding of the proper religion in our society so it's very easy for the society to be "trapped" and to be provoked to violate the law and to be intolerant. Some actions of violating the law done by the society such as destroying religious facility, like burning, sealing, and throwing.

Whereas the intolerance action of the religion done by society such as hindering religious assembly (jamaah) to have ritual at the place which has been built and available with the reason that it disturbs public order and harmony in the religious life. Even the intolerance action is also by religious people by doing terror actions in the name of religious people who have same creed and who embrace different religion.

The question that may be raised here is why are religious people so easy to be "trapped" and provoked by someone guides hatred toward the different one? Isn't the difference objective condition which can't be denied? Must the difference be omitted and made as the arena of quarrelling and massacring? Doesn't God Himself create the difference as His Sunnah? If it's right that one of the main causes is the "narrow" and less religious understanding factor, mainly related to the understanding of plurality, opened to the other people of religion (ummah), so the inclusive education constitutes the solution which can't be postponed anymore. Inclusive education is the education giving understanding toward the public that diversity is the destiny (sunnatullah). Diversity is God's blessing of this nation, not the disaster. This state were built because of the difference and plurality.

Thus, diversity is the one thing which may not make us hate the others who different from us. The diversity doesn't need to hindrance us to do divine and to respect each other. Even, with the diversity it's compulsory for us to respect and to appreciate because of that the quality of our religiosity will appear. The quality of the religiosity is not just seen from belief of embracing religion without concerning someone else who is different. Individual creed is the absolute one, but the result of the individual creed is the social creed or what is always name with social piety as the implementation in the creed, it is ritual and its practice (muamalah).

Educations such as that must be triggered and implemented by any teacher either in the formal or non-formal way. Formal teacher is one who indeed becomes teacher from the Play Group to University, because she or he faces

the student directly who is very plural of ability and background. We hope that the religious teacher, mainly at the level of the Baby Education (PAUD), senior and junior high school (SMP-SMA), really can give more tolerant, inclusive, and comprehensive religious understanding. At least the teacher of the PAUD, Elementary School, SMP and SMA level have the ability to give religious understanding (mainly about Islam) who don't judge the diversity as a curse and arena of blaming and making infidels image (mengkafirkan), but the diversity is really a blessing from God. (*Abdul Munir Mulkhani, Kesalehan Multi religious, PSAP, 2009*)

Whereas, non-formal educator (teacher) is the one who has profession as the religious proselytizer, giving khutbah, ustadz, Quranic teacher and the like who has religious community and has big influence toward his/her community. The non-formal teacher must have "public language" not just the domestic language (specific for his/her community) because it will have a victim if saying something wrong. Here, what's needed so much is the existence of the religious proselytizer (missionary) who can make the religion as the guidance, enlightening, and the critical awareness of the religious community belief, not to provoke the community (ummah) to suspect each other, to spread worry and envy in the public space. Individual fanaticism indeed is needed so someone in embracing the religion is not careless and not serious, but in the public space he/she must support that beyond our religion or belief there are a variety of religion influencing our belief.

Thus the formal and non-formal teachers should have the skill of the domestic language while having public language (speaking) so what's said will be suitable to the social context faced. The educator should have multidisciplinary abilities in giving understanding of the religion for the religious community, not just having single understanding which is dogmatic. Domestic language is the language of the internal religion (belief) which is homogenous for the intrinsic deepening. Public language is the religious language to interact and to communicate with some religious followers in the plurality in Indonesia under the shelter of the State of Indonesian Republic which has valid constitution of UUD 1945 and State Fundamentals, that's Pancasila (Amin Abdullah, Pendidikan Agama di Era Multikultural, PSAP, 2009)

F. The Importance of Understanding Democracy

In the loose language, educator (teacher) must be able to understand and to give meaning of the democracy. The democracy gives plurality and diversity. The educator may not come as the proud, tyrannical one who gives hatred spirit of the others. The democracy is viewed as the arena to make the life more meaningful, more prosperous and more comfortable. The democracy is

understood as the arena to keep peacefulness and politeness, so democracy means non coercion and civility (Robert Hefner, *Democratic Civility*, Boston University, 2004)

So, in my perspective in the state of multireligions (either internal or external), it's important to develop the ethic of the religious people. Every religious state citizen should be brave to formulate belief and ritual publicly. Publicly religious ethic is the way to embrace the religion which is brave to present understanding of the creed in the mid of the pluralistic society to judge belief and ritual of someone having different religion such as the belief and ritual we have. We don't need to feel disturbed with existence of the variety of the religious life practice because not on the practice appearing in the public as the symbol, but what's the most important is the substance of the belief.

In my opinion, the citizen is brave to give critical opinion of the belief and religious ritual which has been embraced critically so far, the matter of the religious freedom which is the most fundamental human right in Indonesia, following the time, will be enjoyed together, either the majority or the minority. So far, freedom of the religious belief and having ritual based on the belief is better if it's addressed toward the majority, in the other word the mainstream community, not the non-mainstream (*Mustaqim Pabajjah, Islam Non Mainstream, UGM, 2012; Greg Fealy, Jejak Kafilah, 2009, Bernhard Platzdasch, Islamis in Indonesia, politics in the emerging democracy, ISEAS, Singapore, 2009*)

Program of making seeds germainate of the multicultural educational development done by Centre for Political and Islamic Studies making development program in Gunungkidul Regency, in Yogyakarta City, and in Magelang, Centre of Java found clearly that most of (approximate 80%) the teachers following the program of making seeds germainate of the multicultural education at the Yuniior and Senior High School (SMP and SMA) counting 90 teachers. The teachers teaching Islamis lesson didn't understand multiculturalism as the life reality so they were confused when they had to teach Islamic Lesson in the multicultural perspective. This is because the teachers got wrong understanding related to multiculturalism in the society, that multiculturalism perspective is the way of making faith narrow.

With such as that condition, it's clear that multiculturalism education that we need to develop, as one of the educational perspective appreciating the other people having different religion, ethnic, tribe, and tradition needs serious attention. There are many social and institution problems that can't be understand well by the Islamic teacher in Indonesia, so the perspective used in transferring Islamic education is the monolithic perspective, not the multi perspective, including multicultural perspective.

We, of course, don't need that inthis 2014 religious life in Indonesia gets red raport because the religious community (ummah) who are plural hate each

other, make terror and do violation caused by the educators and the absent of the state apparatus. All the actions of hatred, terror and destroying must get serious attention from the state apparatus which are viewed weak by public, even as the failed state, so public don't obtained satisfaction of the service given so far. May this 2014 and five years later become better for the religious life in Indonesia. We know that Islam is the majority reaching 88,18% from the total population of Indonesia 237.641.326 (BPS, 2010). Next in series is Christian: 16,5 million/6,96%; 6,9 million/2,4 % Katolik; 4 million/1,69 % Hindu; 1,7 million/0,72% Budha, 0,11 million/0,05% Konghucu and the others 0,13 %. At present, it's predicted reaching 240 million, where Java ethnic is the dominant one, 207 million, but it doesn't mean that the other religious communities are not important of their existence in Indonesia because the meaning of this plurality (multireligions and multiethnics) makes Indonesia rich and should be great (read citizen sensus penduduk of BPS in2010)

G. Political Violation in Facing Presidential Election

In its relation to democracy life in Indonesia, when people were waiting presidential election of the 9th July 2014, we always got many kinds of black campaign, done by the political enemy such as the issue of SARA appeared, racial issue, issue of the beaten and so on. What is happening in this nation about democracy? How the political violation appearing must be responded by the society, what kind of responded should be done by the state apparatus and also the general election committee (KPU) of many kinds of political violations?

Some matters we faced in the legislative election like what we have known were something that had been predicted and would be prevented by the election committee and the volunteer of the general election, but it remained happening, even some analysts such as Haris Azhar and ICW, Ray Rangkuti, from Lingkar MAdani Indonesia, said that the general election of 2014 was the most snafu legislative election and the most apprehensive legislative election. Some matters of legislative election of April 9th , last year, are in the following:

First is the glowing of the money politic. Money politic really became the decisive factor in the legislative election which has just been held by Local General Election Commition and General Election Commition (KPUD-KPU). The society voting obtained "political money" to choose one of the legislative candidates fighting to get chair in the legislative election. That the society then didn't choose was one of the strategies of the voters in deciding his/her choice.

However, money politic, usually, can't be proved but some because the modus of doing that way is more sophisticated, following the development and the era lasting to the present. None of them gives receipt by the time giving "political money" or if joining MUI the legislative candidate through his/her success team give "forbidden money". Money politic is like fart that can spread its smell to anywhere, but none wants to acknowledge he/she does it.

Both society of voter and the legislative candidate do what is named the insulted politic, but the society usually doesn't receive to be given bad image that what he/she does is the insulted action, society sees that "political money" or money politic or "forbidden money" is the part of his/her effort which must be done by the legislative candidates to be the members of the house of representative with high salary but always forget the society voting for him/her. While the legislative candidate say that there is no money politic, moreover "forbidden money". All are the "political charity" which must be taken in order to have sympathy and reward for moral conduct from the society. Thus, it's the action which has relation each other of having compromy and "cooperation". This is the real politic of "*wani piro*" (how much the money is). If there is money, there is vote. It's exactly similar with the mafia world and the narcotic channel.

Third is chaos of the permanent voter list (PVL/DPT). The permanent voter list having chaos at the legislative election is potential to be the big problem if it's not solved well until the presidential election. Count of the permanent voter list which is not listed is about 9,6 million and some 'ghost voters' because the men are not existed anymore but they are still listed. It must be solved soon because it has possibility to be the problem among the voters and success teams of the running-mate presidential and vice presidential candidates (Bawaslu, 2014).

The snafu PVL/DPT must be given attention soon. There should not be three institutions (BPS, BKKBN, and Domestic Department (Depdagri)) giving citizenship data refered by General Election Commitment (GEC/KPU) in deciding PVL/DPT. It should be one gate of taking citizen list which will be used as the reference of PVL, wheter BPS, BKKBN, or Domestic Department. If the the Domestic Department right now gives information that E-KTP becoming the PVL/DPT project is having problem and there is the corruption issue, so it's suggested not to use citizen data from Domestic Department, but the others viewed to have credibility in front of the society and GEC/KPU.

Fourth is the chaos of vote letter which is exchanged or broken (technical and political chaos). About the chaos of the letter vote, either it's exchanged to another region or sub-district, or also the broken letter vote may not be repeated anymore. This will show that GEC/KPU is actually not professional.

There should not be any reason anymore of the very short time taking citizen data (PVL) and the short time had to print out the letter vote. GEC should not say again that human resources belonged by GEC are few (not many) so the distribution is late. Is not the budget for the general election committee very big (much), more than 4 trillion rupiahs?

The most important thing is we need to prevent in order the chaos doesn't happen because of political motives from the general election committee such as what was done by PPS and PPK also Local General Election Commition (LGEC/KPUD) cooperating with one of the running presidential and vice presidential candidates in the general election. If this one occurs such as what happened in the legislative election, where many general election committees were the success team or became part (member) of the legislative candidate in the region where they became the committees. Recruitment of PPS and PPK team must be more selective and must be observed.

Fifth is law careless. Many of the success teams and the voters don't care about law punishment because the punishment threat is always just the threat, it's not really implemented. Many events of the money politic and coercion also the violation of the legislative are just reported by Bawaslu and Panwas, they are not followed up. So, the voters and success team, in my opinion, will not be afraid of and care of law threat through learning from the accident of the last legislative election.

The case of the law carelessness, for example, is hown by former Cheap of the People's Consultative Council, Amien Rais, called by Board of the Election Controlling (Bawaslu) of Yogyakarta Provincial in the Tabligh Akbar in the aim of winning Prabowo-Hatta at Sportorium of UMY, didn't attend the call by the reason of being out side of the city for the campaigne of Prabowo-Hatta. The same thing happened with Hatta Rajasa, Presidential Candidate Prabowo, who didn't come for the call related to the hidden campaigne at UMY, Sportorium, as the speakers, with by the reason of campaigne busniness of both.

Seemingly the law cases raised by Board of the Election Controlling (Bawaslu) will not get serious concern from the campaigne team or the politician in this state. Before, when Legislative Election of April 9th last, there were many cases about money politic in Yogyakarta, such as what was done by the Hanafi Rais' team who was caught directly to bring money which would be given and shared in Gunungkidul, the fact that it didn't punish anyone (Media Indonesia, 2 Juli, 2014)

From those cases, we may say that law upholding in relation to Legislative Election and also Presidential Election tends to be blunt. It isn't sharp to snare the political elites. It's just the "flavor in the general election of Indonesia". The law upholders related to the general election will be appear

very cruel if all of them have “much money”. When it doesn’t have much money, it looks as if it was not concerned, or the case will be omitted with the reason it has been out of date to report it.

Sixth is the black campaign toward the presidential candidate. Case of the *Obor Rakyat* magazine, becoming a funnel of the black campaign toward Jokowi-JK running candidate, was known (spread) in all over Indonesia. Even though it had been found and studied that *Obor Rakyat* magazine was one of the *Bodong Magazines* (tabloid), which was not legal from the press regulation, and the Redactional Cheap was had been invited by Bawaslu and police, but it remained the funnel of the black campaign toward Jokowi.

Respond from the State Palace (SBY) toward his member becoming Redactional Cheap of the *Bodong Magazine* just kept quiet. That Setyardi Budiono and Darmawan Sepriyossa were as personals not as the presidential staff that’s why Palace didn’t need to take special action of the *Obor Rakyat Magazine* (Julian Adrian Pasha, 30/Juni/2014). Police also kept quiet and would study it first before taking explicit action, whether *Obor Rakyat* case was really the criminal one or not, so the police was viewed to play politics of the magazine involving State Palace staff.

Case of the black campaign was not just done by *Obor Rakyat* magazine, but it was also done by *Inilah.com*, and Faizal Assegaf, Cheap of *Progress 98*, spreading lie transcript of the conversation between Megawati and Basri Arief, Attorney General. PDI P reported Faizal Assegaf but there was not clear explanation of this case. Some cases of the political violation occurring in facing the presidential election actually could be said as the form of the strongness of the moral damaged from the politicians fighting in the democracy party in Indonesia. Many politicians are not ready to propose ethic and political morality, and also the public morality in political participation so what is made priority is the winning and just political prouddness. The arrogant behavior is clear enough there.

H. Conclusion

An anthropologist from Netherland, Stroey said that the State which has high spirit citizen of embracing religion is Indonesia. From the total population of Indonesia, in 20120, namely 237 million, there just 0,2% is atheist, or saying that they don’t have religion. However, from many religious followers, the most sensitive of having conflict cause of religion and ethnic is Indonesia. This is caused these two entities are assumed the most influencing in representing feeling and the body of Indonesia as a nation. Islam is the majority in Indonesia (John Stroey, 2011, *Religion and Cultural Society*, Nedherland, UVA, 2010)

For the amount of the population under five hundreds million, Islam of Indonesia can be categorized the fantastic one in the count. However, some aspects and Muslim intellectual in Indonesia say that Islamic people in Indonesia is like foam above the ocean, it doesn't have influence at all, even it's waved by the politically social condition and the economic development in Indonesia. Such this condition sometimes makes envy of some Muslim citizens in Indonesia which is the majority one. Big population but they have low qualification so they are always lost in competing with the other. Because they are lost, the different one always becomes the address of the wrath. Whereas, what all the targets of the wrath don't understand and don't enjoy nationally politic and economic policy. It's always said by Buya Sfafii Maarif.

Sociologically, Indonesia constitutes the archipelago state forming a nation consisting of the multi ethnics, religions, social classes, culturs and local languages. The pluralitiy or also always named as the heterogen state, but some anthropologs and social scholars haven't been able to find the pluralistic culture as building of the multicultural state. Multicultural spirit is still far from the reality, so what is happening is the sectarianism and fundamentalistic-extreme in the religion, and also in understanding the ethnicity. Ethnic conflict always happens because the understanding and the implementation of the multiculturalism still become question for many people. Pluralistic reality is something given, but the multicultural spirit still needs social creations. And here is the basic problem because many aspects of people understand the words of pluralistic, pluralism, and multiculturalism as the words which are politic and dangerous.

Here are some findings in the field related to the intolerance activity like coercion of the religious community and the fact found in the fielf by the time presidential election of 2014 last. Many people hope that General Election Commition (GEC/KPU) can work well, voter, and the success team can work well so the presidential election on July 9th coming soon is really meaningfull in order to give prosperousity for the society and the dignity democracy. We need the ethic in the political participation in Indonesia, so the Indonesian politic can be meaningfull and dignity.

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