

**Christoph Behrens (Ed.)**

**Diversity Concepts – Diversity Politics**



**Verlag Dr. Kovač**



VERLAG DR. KOVAČ GMBH

FACHVERLAG FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE LITERATUR

Leverkusenstr. 13 · 22761 Hamburg · Tel. 040 - 39 88 80-0 · Fax 040 - 39 88 80-55

E-Mail [info@verlagdrkovac.de](mailto:info@verlagdrkovac.de) · Internet [www.verlagdrkovac.de](http://www.verlagdrkovac.de)

**Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek**

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation  
in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;  
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet  
über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

ISSN: 1435-6643

ISBN: 978-3-8300-8911-7

© VERLAG DR. KOVAČ GmbH, Hamburg 2016

Printed in Germany

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Nachdruck, fotomechanische Wiedergabe, Aufnahme in  
Online-Dienste und Internet sowie Vervielfältigung auf Datenträgern wie CD-ROM etc.  
nur nach schriftlicher Zustimmung des Verlages.

Gedruckt auf holz-, chlor- und säurefremd, alterungsbeständigem Papier.  
Archivbeständig nach ANSI 3948 und ISO 9706.

Content

---

<b>Preface</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1. Ideas and Stories of Otherness and Diversity</b> Christoph Behrens	<b>11</b>
<i>German Perspectives</i>	
<b>2. Diversity, Heterogeneity, Identity – a German Perspective</b> Uwe Sielert	<b>25</b>
<b>3. Pluralised Ways of Living and Loving: Moving towards Recognition of Sexual Diversity in Germany</b> Anja Henningsen	<b>31</b>
<b>4. 'Gender Troubles' – Gender Discourses and the Politics for Gender Equality</b> Britta Thege	<b>47</b>
<b>5. The Skill Training 'Education in Diversity' at CAU</b> Uwe Sielert	<b>63</b>
<i>Indonesian perspectives</i>	
<b>6. Towards Anomie? The Problem of Political Identity in Indonesia Today</b> Ade M. Wirasenjaya	<b>81</b>

<b>7. Democracy, Plural Society and Social Inclusion – The Example Yogyakarta</b> Sugito	<b>87</b>
<b>8. Individualization and LGBTI – A new Topic for Political and Religious Discourse in Indonesia</b> Takdir Ali Mukti	<b>99</b>
<b>9. The Gender Discourse in Indonesia</b> Nur Azizah	<b>117</b>
<b>10. Learning about Diversity: Experiences from the IPIREL Program at UMY</b> Dian Azmawati, Raih Herningtyas, Grace Lestariana Wonoadi	<b>133</b>
<i>Prospects</i>	
<b>11. Rethinking Bhineka Tunggal Ika: Perspectives for a Culture of Diversity in Indonesia</b> Anwar Kholid, Wulan Widayarsi	<b>143</b>
<b>12. At the Very Beginning</b> Christoph Behrens, Hans-Peter Ehmke	<b>157</b>
<b>Authors</b>	<b>171</b>

---

### **Rethinking Bhineka Tunggal Ika: Perspectives for a Culture of Diversity in Indonesia**

I.

Complexity of Indonesian society is growing along with current global development. Some of the nowadays relevant issues of diversity have been discussed in this volume: particularly the question, how people see themselves as women and as men, how they organize living together and how they share intimacy increasingly beyond the traditional patterns of gender roles, classical family and heterosexual normativity. Diversification of lifestyles is triggered (i) by the logic of liberal market economy; (ii) by the end of Indonesia's intellectual isolation and its opening since 1998 towards the rest of the world in context of democratization and globalization; but also (iii) by a growing readiness of (young) people to create their own ways of living beyond the usual path as majority society, religious groups and other organized interests promote it.

Being cautious and security oriented in general, Indonesians have become more open to taking chances and risks (within a 'risk society' as Ulrich Beck outlined). They experience that alternatives for a succeeding life exist and that they have a choice - If they are willing to take (self) responsibility instead of delegating decision making to superior authorities. Growing self-consciousness has led to experimenting with new social formations. Particularly the young generation is reorganizing its social embedment, has used the new opportunities to act as individuals and not only as parts of a community. Basically we can observe since the end of the Soeharto regime within an ongoing process of democratization and mediatization the individual and collective emancipation from a narrow understanding of be-

longing. This traditional understanding was related to the local and spiritual community and to the family of origin.

Otherness (be different, being individual) is perceived as democratic and liberating by those, who make use of the new opportunities, but as chaotic and threatening by those, who hold on to the proven and known, who refuse change and related uncertainty. Individual emancipation of the privileged, growing spaces for experiments and for engineering of individual lifestyles has thus led to a widening gap in the social reality within Indonesian society, to increasing diversity along new categories.

## II.

Indonesia's official motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* refers to diversities within the country. Ultimately it shall be the foundation for a sense of unity among its people. Since the founding of the Republic, but particularly during Soeharto era, the motto has been used to conceptualize an Indonesian national identity, built on multicultural society. Therefore, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* represents political as well as social aspiration and principle. The diversity that it refers to has been so far defined - if not limited to - the diversity of local cultures, local languages, races and ethnicities, as well as religions and beliefs.

The current modernization as we have outlined it before, has transformed a (politically top down shaped and controlled) society with a self-perception of being highly consistent, into a (bottom up engineered and organized) society that is confronted in social and political interaction with its own heterogeneity as well as with new dimensions of ongoing diversification due to social change and economic development. A gap in the social reality within Indonesian society is experienced personally and continuously reflected medially. The important question is, from our point of view, how this ongoing heterogeneization and dynamification is integrated into the political consensus of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the conceptual foundation of the Republic, and in political activity and culture.



Current conflicts in Indonesia related to diversity are not seldom crossing borders of violence<sup>34</sup>. The conflicts emerge around issues of religious discourse and public representation (f.e.: what interpretation of the Quran is “true”; can churches be built within a Muslim dominated area?), and around questions of morality, criticism of “modern lifestyles”, around the understanding of what is a good life, what is ethical, and linked to it, around struggles of social agents about power and influence. Basically these conflicts lead to questions of inclusion respectively exclusion, and thus to one question: how is the promise of Diversity as fundamental principle of the Indonesian State defined; how is it balanced with (changing) feelings of belonging, with shared values and social practices; and how is it redeemed in political democratic practice.

From our observation, the competition about dominance in this discourse on the understanding of Diversity within the public sphere (Habermas) is currently vibrant. How will it continue? In this context some important questions need to be answered: (i) whether so far unchallenged aspects of the established consensus on Diversity in Indonesia (equality of acknowledged religions/beliefs, ethnics etc.) can be renegotiated: apparent in the claim of fundamental islamistic groups, who question the laizistic character of the Indonesian Republic and demand Islamization; (ii) if there is space within the concept of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* – for new dimensions of diversity, f.e. nontraditional life forms and understanding of Gender: requested by social movements for example of women or LGBTI; and (iii) if the ethical spirit of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* – and its consequences for everyday politics and organization of peaceful coexistence – is really shared by the majority of Indonesia’s people, or if it is rather an abstract ideal, which has been formulated by a small elite group among the founding fathers of the Republic: does democracy, freedom of speech

<sup>34</sup> Two examples: In 2010, the FPI (Islam Defenders Front) threatened to burn down Goethe Institute Jakarta, one of the venues of the 9<sup>th</sup> Q! Film Festival, if screening did not halt. Q! Film Festival is the biggest film festival focusing on movies with LGBTQ and HIV/AIDS topics in Indonesia. This threat forced the organizing committee to cancel several movie screenings. Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/09/29/fpi-disrupts-gay-film-festival.html> @shash GiuL5HTJ.dpuf on Wednesday, 13 January 2016

In 2012, the Ahmadiyah Mosque in Tasikmalaya, West Java was attacked by hundreds of people throwing stones and molotov cocktails at the mosque. Ahmadiyah is a minority sect, which is considered deviant by Muslim majority in Indonesia. Retrieved from: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/04/20/ahmadiyah-mosque-tasikmalaya-under-sack.html> on Wednesday, 13 January 2016

and political activity strengthen and expand the founding principles of the state, or will it open a way to overcome them, leading to Anomie, as Wirasenjaya argues in this volume<sup>65</sup>, to radicalization and to a different Indonesia<sup>66</sup>?

Society often seems confused when being asked about the cultural identity of Indonesia. People often relate their identity to ethnic belonging, mostly associate "being Indonesian" with "being Javanese". A widening of this limited perspective on diversity in Indonesia must target to develop an understanding that diversity is more than ethnic heterogeneity, religion and language.

### III.

Starting point for such a process of change will be from our point of view the young generation that grew up without the pressure for uniformity of Soeharto's regime. It has gained a broadened perspective due to access to information via internet and is building new social relations, supported by new social media.

In our recent research we have interviewed young people on their perceptions of change and expectations for the future<sup>67</sup>. Beside a relatively unquestioned consensus on overall goals to realize an economically better life, education and a professional career, social advancement and linking up to international development, issues of living together, sexuality and gender are often experienced as subject to conflict in the life of young Indonesians. New ways of living that include career for women and related individual independence, unconventional arrangements of community and sexuality are perceived within the social environment of the young people as a challenge for social patterns, for security and as a questioning of the very fundamentals of society (and distribution of power within it). Thereby, modifying of social relations is widely perceived as a 'threat from outside', following globalization (and thus often labelled as 'Un-Indonesian'), rather than as a result of so far unknown new availability of opportunities and free choices due to democratization.

<sup>65</sup> See chapter 6.

<sup>66</sup> More detailed in the recently published article: Kholid *et al.* (2015)

<sup>67</sup> Widyasari, Wulan and Anwar Kholid. 2015. Rethinking *Ibnuca Tunggal Ila*: LGBT Issues as New Social Phenomenon in Indonesia. Presented at the International Conference on Social Politics 26-28 January 2016 in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta



- Young people use social media and “do their thing”

Despite these disaffirmations, social groups of young people in Indonesia are formed easily through modern media, particularly new social media. During the Indonesian Presidential Campaign 2014, Kholid et. al (2015) examined participation of young people in the election process. The research was performed among a sample of students of the Social and Political Faculties at five universities in Yogyakarta. The conclusion was that the young people are becoming more visible in political debate during the election due to social media. In wider context of Indonesia, political debate among young people was then turned into political action: many young people formed volunteer groups and supported actively political campaigns of candidates, while some other established an online watchdog for the election process.

Social media in general have become an important part of everyday life for Indonesian young people. Recent statistics show that the number of Internet users in Indonesia has reached 73 million in 2015 or equal to 29% of the population. Of this number, 62 million people are active on social media<sup>48</sup> of which the majority of users are young people between 18-35 years<sup>49</sup>. Based on data by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), United Nations Population Division, Internet & Mobile Association of India (IAMAI) and World Bank from July 2014, the number of Internet users in Indonesia increased within one year by 9% or about 3,5 million users.<sup>50</sup>

Beyond the use for political debate, social media has also empowered to self-education as well as self-expression. Online groups have been appearing carrying out different missions. The Ikatan Data HIV and AIDS DIY is an online group in Facebook with the goal to educate young people on the prevention of HIV and AIDS. A group called PLU Satu Hati provides peer support and assistance for young LGBTI in Yogyakarta in social and personal problems as member of minori-

<sup>48</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/03/10/internet-users-indonesia-reach-73-million.html#sthash.I9scccbM.dpuf> on Saturday, 9 January 2016.

<sup>49</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.beritasatu.com/digital-life/261297-mayoritas-netizen-di-indonesia-berusia-1825-tahun.html> on Saturday, 9 January 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.internetivestats.com/internet-users-by-country/> on Saturday, 9 January 2016.

ty group. Other groups provide a forum for discussions about living as a woman or a man in Indonesian society.

Our interviews and observations show that social media actually further develop cultural diversity in Indonesia as they provide a basis to establish new social groups with mutual interests and shared values; and they provide an open space for belonging. They reflect an ongoing heterogeneization among young Indonesians.

*"Social media was a catharsis of self, a media to release stress and fatigue, as well as a place to maintain and create relationships."<sup>71</sup>*

Social media are helping young people to voice their aspirations. Especially for minorities, such as LGBTI people, they have become a medium to express individuality, otherness and social criticism. Even though groups and communities such as Arus Pelangi, Gaya Nusantara or PLU Satu Hati have been established for a while<sup>72</sup>, social acceptance of Lesbians and Gays is still low in Indonesia. Social media provide space to build alternative social networks, which allow to make contact with others and carry out social activities, as well as to organize political interests and search for social acceptance. These opportunities are attractive particularly for those who do not have the courage or an opportunity for being open in their real life.

*"The existence of social media is helping me to socialize and exchange ideas with other LGBTI people. Before there was social media I do not have friends, and now I have many friends."<sup>73</sup>*

As sexuality is in general a taboo in Indonesia that is problematic or impossible to be discussed, social media have in fact contributed to extend the public sphere by opening virtual space. As a part of the World Wide Web, they allow access to positive information and inspiring stories from other countries, thus can give encouragement to continue social struggle for a better living situation and social acceptance, and support formation of individual and collective identity.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Ananda (22) on Wednesday, 6 January 2016

<sup>72</sup> See Takdir A. Mukti in chapter 8.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Ian (29) on Wednesday, 6 January 2016

"I can be optimistic because of social media. Although our country is not the same with other countries that have accepted the existence of LGBTI, the situation now is much better than before."<sup>74</sup>

In a similar way, social media have provided space for young Indonesian women for debating marriage and family issues. Even though the younger generation shows more openness to non-traditional life styles and perceives for example to be single as an individual choice rather than individual failure, pressure on young women to marry and to become mother is still high. The older generation, particularly parents, still consider an unmarried woman to live not in accordance with Indonesian culture and therefore socially unacceptable. The question "when will you want to get married" is a common greeting given to single people, but especially to women.

"I get a lot of questions about marriage and it's quite disturbing. At first it was OK, but now it's so disturbing. I think nowadays, it should not be a problem if a woman being single."<sup>75</sup>

"For me, being a single woman is a normal thing because all around me there are lots of single women, the only burden is the pressure from my family."<sup>76</sup>

"To be honest, in my office it's OK if you're single. But in my family, it's quite a challenge."<sup>77</sup>

The presence of social media strengthens the social position of single women within the society as they could show their successful life despite being unmarried. On Instagram for example, we found many profiles of single female travellers or professionals. The situation in urban areas seems clearly easier for women than outside the big cities, where the expectation for women approaching their 30s to get married is much stronger. Modern urban women face this pressure when they visit their family and neighborhood when they are back in their hometown.

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Kris (30) on Wednesday, 6 January 2016

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Nina (31) on Wednesday, 6 January 2016

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Cinta (29) on Wednesday, 6 January 2016

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Tya (29) on Wednesday, 6 January 2016

At the end, gender, sexual orientation and individual choices to live with other and to realize intimacy are part of individuality. The diversity of concepts beyond marriage and traditional family is to be found also in Indonesia, and it becomes increasingly social reality. Social media play an important role in raising awareness for these issues, in supporting to find information and peer groups, and thus in shaping new forms of identity. Diversity sensitive society lives from public discourse on relevant aspects of heterogeneity, and thus it would be an important step forward to acknowledge heterogeneization of lifestyles and to overcome existing taboos such as related to gender role and sexuality.

- The Meaning to be "Indonesian" and the Media

Judgements that it is "Un-Indonesian" to live as a woman alone, without embedding into a traditional family and having children; to pursue a career instead of becoming mother and house wife; to create a family of choice in addition to the family of birth; to be gay or lesbian or live intimacy in alternative forms of relationships – they are clearly rejected by the young people we interviewed. Rather the narrow understanding of what it means to be "Indonesian", designed as a tool for social control and propagated during the authoritarian Soeharto times, is criticized as contradictory to the idea of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.

While political pressure for uniformity is gone, the ideas of Soeharto time are still widely prevailing in Indonesian media, despite the new freedom of opinion and speech that has replaced omnipresent state propaganda since 1998. But the privately owned Indonesian media represent selected interests and narrow views and have not developed an ambition yet to mirror the existing social diversity of Indonesia. Particularly Java-centrism and not seldom racist discrimination of otherness has seen continuity since authoritarian times until today. "Deviating" understandings of Gender and ways of life are disrespected and presented as ridiculous in "jokes" and "comedy". Indonesian society is predominantly interested in entertainment rather than in documentary or even political controversy. This supports a widespread ignorance towards diversity issues and increasing heterogeneization. Necessary for improvement would be here to use the new opportunities of democracy through establishment of critical media and a democratic political education as conceptualized in other countries such as Germany after World War II.



New social media are even more important for a development towards diversity sensitiveness in Indonesia under these circumstances. They have brought opportunities to acquire information, diverse perspectives and opinion as outlined before, but new challenges at the same time, as radical groups use them for propaganda, for disinformation and to sow hate. The competences, particularly among the young urban elite, to make use of the new opportunities has developed in a positive way and new social media have become important tools within Indonesia's public sphere with the potential to contribute significantly to an increasingly critical and politicized public. "New" topics can easier attract attention, and the growing diversity within Indonesia can become visible and relevant.

- Diversity as an issue of political education and academic discourse

To deconstruct traditional myths about what is to be seen as "normal"; to clear up authoritarian times and instrumentalization of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* by the regime for purposes of control and domination; to establish and nurture a democratic discourse on Diversity: all of this, from our point of view, must become an issue of political education and of academic discourse. Particularly university has to play a leading role in reflecting historic burden and aberration and to free itself from undemocratic structures and practices. First examples for better practices within Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta (UMY) have been outlined in this volume<sup>29</sup>, and they may be a starting point.

UMY as an Islamic University upholds the fundamental Islamic values of *Rahmatan lil Alamin*, a blessing for the universe that includes respect towards differences, tolerance and peaceful coexistence. This can be a good basis for a contemporary understanding of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, as Islam advocates that it is part of human nature to have different opinions and should be respected, as well as that conflicts should be solved with constant efforts for mutual understanding and tolerance. A lecturer from UMY summarized it as follows:

"There is a hadith which says that diversity is grace that brought change, because everyone has a different understanding and no single thing in this world is similar."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See chapter 10.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Aly (lecturer at UMY) on Thursday, 7 January 2016



On this background, an important topic for academic reflection would be the concept of "togetherness" that is inherent in the mindset of Indonesians. They tend to follow majority and to neglect minority as well as to avoid problems and confrontation. In consequence, where otherness becomes visible, where differences appear and change occurs, most people have problems to face or even to accept them.

"Indonesia's people still can't accept diversity and change."<sup>89</sup>

This astonishing contradiction to the continuously attested self-perception of "the nation of diversity" needs to become topic for further research and academic discourse. We expect that a lot of reassessment and reflection will be necessary to gain awareness about historical damage, and particularly about the heritage of Soekarno's politics of leveling out diversity for political reasons. Among Indonesians of different cultures and identities a new basic mutual understanding needs to be developed that will replace Javacentrism, forms of racism and discrimination by a new spirit of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. It will find its fundament in a valuing of diversity and heterogeneity.

Target groups for political education and academic discourse are students and lecturers. Beside class-based teaching, public discourses on cultural diversity can take place in context of the community service, which is a compulsory program at UMY. The Department of Communication Studies is organizing an annual program in this context already with selected topics.

An important frame for discussions on diversity can be international networks and partnerships with universities, political foundations and institutions. Given its historical experience of an academic sector compromised by fascism and dictatorship, and the experiences of developing a democratic society in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, based on the idea of the uniqueness of the human being, the dignity of its existence and the mission of the state to protect and support it, partners in Germany with their ethical and political fundament close to our understanding of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* could be particularly interesting.

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

- Indonesia's current political class and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*

Religion plays an important role in public life, but Indonesia's political constitution and its 'founding story' is not based on religion. Center of the political concept is the idea of citizenship and the acknowledgement of diversity as constitutional basis of the Republic. Individuals are recognized in the constitution in their diversity as individuals. The ID card stands for political recognition as Indonesian, not confessing to a certain faith or ethnic group. An Islamic Indonesia, as particularly some radical Islamist groups strive for, is unthinkable. To try to establish it would lead to a breaking apart of the country.

Consequently, the management of Diversity issues by the political establishment, particularly by the President, the government and the parliament, are subject to public attention and, increasingly, criticism and rallying of civil society organizations.

During the Presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhono ("SBY"), an enforcement of law in order to guarantee particularly freedom of religion, was demanded more than once, as the President faced criticism of being too lenient with Islamic radicals. But also attempts to deny LGBTI groups their rights as citizens to be present in the public sphere and to organize events was criticized by urban, internationally oriented media. Since Joko Widodo ("Jokowi") took office, conflicts around diversity hardly appear in public. If this indicates a certain adjustment of society to the presence of heterogeneity in public space, declining support for radical groups or just a priority for other issues in political discourse, remains a subject for further analysis.

Within Indonesia's current political class, economic slowdown and increasing public debts are currently the 'big issues'. It may indicate that Indonesia is on the way to become a 'normal liberal democracy', where the logic of capitalism dominates thinking and heterogeneization of society is rather unquestioned as long as economic stability is not perceived as threatened and individualization of life forms rather as contributing to overall economic success.

#### IV. Indonesia's Future

Given these observations it seems clear for us, that Indonesia cannot and will not step back behind the consensus on diversity established when the Republic was founded. But it has to offer security and perspective to its entire people. The perspective thus can only lay in a widening of the concept of diversity that is defined in the principles of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.

We see that the ideal of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* has not been rooted in Indonesian society so far. Instead, Indonesian society shows irritation when it gets confronted with its own Diversity and with impact of change. Some people react with social stigmatization and exclusion. They try, for example, to force women who live a "modern" life back into traditional roles, to enforce the dominating heteronormative doctrine, and to make LGBTI politically and socially invisible - or even fight them violently. Such violence and discrimination are contradicting with the democratic principles as Indonesia's constitution promises to treat all citizens equally regardless of differences among them. Discrimination and social exclusion to people referring to new aspects of heterogeneity thus is a problem for the democratic fundamentals of Indonesia as well as the guiding principle of statehood represented in *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. The perspective lays in an inclusive approach that opens the understanding of Diversity for new groups.

There is the chance now to develop a fundamental framework of Indonesia's new democratic order, as well as a democratic political culture. We see this as an educational and academic challenge - thus particularly for a university such as UMY - as well as a practical challenge for the political elite and for influential mass organizations such as Muhammadiyah. Definition and implementation of democratic principles are related to politics and may be defined as the art of solving problems<sup>41</sup>. In relation to diversity, politics is the means to manage heterogeneity<sup>42</sup>. Together academics, politicians and all other actors in the public sphere, have the mission to contribute constructively to the shaping of a democratic fundament for a modern Indonesia.

---

<sup>41</sup> Bunge, 2009: 49

<sup>42</sup> Bunge, 2009: 68

A mutual understanding of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* within such as new democratic order is essential from our point of view and links up to the historic narrative that underlays the very existence of the state. It reflects the conceptualization of national identity as a heterogeneous society. It refers to the political program of the founders of Indonesia, who defined a mutual understanding of nation within the huge diversity of cultural reference systems. They created a spirit that reinterpreted diversity as strength rather than as weakness. Such a mutual spirit is the political perspective for an inclusive social order.

#### Literature

- Bunge, Mario Augusto (2009): *Political Philosophy: Fact, Fiction and Vision*. New Brunswick (USA): Transaction Publishers.
- Habermas, Juergen (1989): *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* [Trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence]. MA: MIT Press.
- Habermas, Juergen (1992): *Further Reflections on the Public Sphere* [Trans. Thomas Burger] in Craig Calhoun, ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kholid, Anwar et al. (2015): *The Influence of Social Media towards Student Political Participation during the 2014 Indonesian Presidential Election*. *Journal of Government and Politics* Vol 6/2 (August 2015) pp 246-264. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18196/jgp.2015.0019>
- Ulrich Beck (1992): *Risk Society*. Munich / SAGE
- Wuliyati, Wulan / Kholid, Anwar (2015): *Rethinking Bhinneka Tunggal Ika - LGBT Issues as New Social Phenomenon in Indonesia*. Presented at the International Conference on Social Politics 2016 on 26-28 January 2016 in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta



The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has seen increasing awareness about issues of Diversity and a reflection of its abuse for political interests. This became possible after humankind had faced the experience of losing humanity. On the other hand the establishment of new forms of exclusion was fostered. In the new exclusions, the efficacy of an imagined eternal fight and its intrinsic principle of creating differences with political impact have become visible. Differences still matter, just other differences. Diversity remains to be a political issue – with changing aspects of Otherness which are labeled as politically relevant or not. It seems sound to predict that the ability not only to manage Diversity, but to take advantage of it, and to assume leadership in Diversity Politics in order to initiate processes that open new space for all, will be the most important issue for development of humankind, if the goal remains a prosperous and just society.

**ISBN 978-3-8300-8911-7**