Managing religious diversity for the sake of social harmony

Maarif Institute, An Indonesian Example

Annisa van der Vusse

651086

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Faculty of Humanities, Tilburg University

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. H.L. Beck
Second reader: Dr. H.G. Siebers

Background Information

Name: Annisa van der Vusse
ANR: 651086
Telephone: +31623899711
Email: a.vdrvusse@tilburguniversity.edu

Mastercircle: Frans Seda Foundation

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. H.L. Beck
Second reader: Dr. H.G. Siebers

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Abstract
The aim of this case study is to explore on the policies on religious relations of the Maarif Institute and the implementation of the policies. Furthermore, the research was also aimed to explore more on the effect of the policies on religious leaders in Indonesia. In addition, this study provides an insight on the religious relationships, in particular the relation between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia. The research was conducted in Jakarta, where the headquarters of the Maarif Institute is based. The research involved interviews with employees of the Maarif Institute and religious leaders. Based on the results, the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia is considered to be good. However, this seems to be only on the elite level (government etc.) The relationship on the grass-root level is disturbed by religious intolerance that is caused by radical elements. The Maarif Institute intervenes by implementing two policies on religious relations. The first policy concerns the educational program that is based on (religious) pluralism, human rights and tolerance. The educational program is developed for high school students. This program was often rejected by schools as the content was regarded as controversial. Teachings of human rights were considered a product of the 'West'. The second policy is the Maarif Awards. The award is meant for local leaders, activists or social workers from the grass-root level who show commitment and sincerity of faith in their various socio-humanitarian work for the community. The implementation of these policies were studied on the basis of the policy cycle developed by Kroon (2000). Maarif Institute followed the policy cycle to a certain point. Several phases were fused into one phase. This led to the fact that there were no clear boundaries between the process of policy. With regard to the religious leaders, the effect of the policies on them varied. Several religious leaders were emotionally affected, while others did not feel any effect as they considered themselves to be like-minded with the Maarif Institute. The religious leaders perceived the Maarif Institute to a respected and influential organization. The Maarif Institute aims to create a more prosperous and a safer Indonesia. In addition, the Maarif Institute hopes to strengthen the capacities of the community. Finally, Maarif Institutes aims to create a harmonious place for people with different (religious) backgrounds to live peacefully.

Keywords: Religious relations, Policy implementation, religious leaders, Maarif Institute

Word Count: 25.693

'We want to give them a little candle so they can see the issues. If it is dark, you cannot see what issues are going on, while there are big issues.' (An employee of the Maarif Institute, 2014)

Preface

Seven years ago I started with Cultural Anthropology, because that was my first interest. However I continued with Business Communication and eventually ended at a Master that involved cultural diversity. In a way, the interest of culture keeps coming back to me, which is not a surprise as I grew up in a multicultural family. And now after seven years of studying which was full of ups and downs, my life as a student has come to an end. It is time to step into the next phase of life with probably enough ups and downs, but definitely full of adventure!

This thesis is the final product of a dual thesis project supported by the Frans Seda Foundation. The project involved a few months of data collecting in Jakarta and a few months of finishing touch in Tilburg. It must be said that it was a tough journey. However, I enjoyed every bit of it as I was able to do my final research in my motherland. I feel very lucky to have had this opportunity and therefore I would like to thank the Frans Seda Foundation for giving me the tools and support to do this project.

I further would like to take this opportunity to thank those who have supported me and have given me confidence during this tough journey. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Dr. H.L. Beck for his advice and encouragements. And of course for bringing the Maarif Institute to my attention. I would also like to thank my second supervisor and reader, Dr. H.G. Siebers, for the help, support and tough questions that I've received during this project. I also want to thank the Maarif Institute for letting me into their organisation. A special thank you to Jauharul Anwar and Khelmy Pribadi, who helped me get in touch the Maarif Institute and with my respondents. And of course I would like to show my gratitude for the respondents who have given me their trust and answers. I would like to thank my parents, Wim and Nunung van der Vusse, for their unconditional support, love, and prayers. And for being patient when they had to live with their daughter again after seven years. I would also like to thank my boyfriend, Tjeerd Engels, for his patience and his encouragements to never give up. I want to thank Abellia A. Wardani, my thesis-project partner, for her support and advice. Of course I want to thank my cousin, Anggia Murni, who helped my with my Bahasa Indonesia, which severely needed an update. And of course a big thank you to my friends for listening to my complaints during my final days of my thesis writing. And last but not least, I would like to thank Pak Dadang, who drove me around to my interview appointments. He might not know it, but his opinion on religion and politics have given me a better insight on what is going on in Indonesia.

I wish you a pleasant and inspiring reading.

Annisa van der Vusse

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction

1.1. Research problem

Cultural diversity is a concept that keeps governments and companies engaged. Kossek and Zonia (1993) define cultural diversity as "differences in language, religion, dress and moral codes that exist between people according to race and ethnicity". With various definitions and various methods to manage cultural diversity, the concept is one that requires some attention. According to Magdaleno and Kleiner (1996), in order to manage cultural diversity successfully, individuals should be able to be in an environment where they can become a cohesive unit in which they respect and understand personal differences. This advice is quite important for governments as they have to handle cultural diverse nations.

In a country where there are different ethnicities or religions, it is important to create an environment where people are able to understand and respect each other. These issues, especially religion, can become part of a conflict in certain parts of the world. In religious diverse countries, governments have difficulties in managing the religious diversity and in creating harmony within the cultural diverse groups.

An example of where religious diversity turns to conflicts can be found in Africa and in Indonesia. According to Voll (2003) the clashes in Africa have a strong sense of competition and potentially open conflict among Muslims and Christians. The civil wars in Sudan and Nigeria have been frequently identified as being wars between Christians and Muslims. Voll (2003) adds an example of civil war that occurred in 2000 in Ivory Coast. The civil tension began as part of a protest against the election. Not long after the protest, it turned into a war between Christians and Muslims. Recently, in Central African Republic, conflicts between Muslim and Christian militia and rebel groups have caused fear that the sectarian violence will end in genocide (www.bbc.co.uk, 8 January 2014).

In Indonesia, there are similar religious conflicts. However, it must be mentioned that there is a difference in context between the conflicts in Indonesia and in Africa. The conflicts in Africa are mainly caused by the growing Western ways of life and thought and the economic orientation towards Europe (Hock, 2003). According to Hock (2003) African Muslims started to see disintegration of the traditional Islamic institution. This disintegration seemed to cut the Muslim community off from the *Umma*, which is the worldwide Muslim community (Hock, 2003). In Indonesia on the other hand, the conflicts are more in the context of power struggles and politics. According to Noorhaidi (2010), these power struggles occur when religious groups try to maintain their power. Gordon (as cited in Deegan, 2011) explains that "religion is not the cause of the violence; it is sparked by issues who gets the job (and) political office'.

According to Husein (2004) the relation between Muslims and Christians started to have struggles during the start of independence of Indonesia and it worsened during the New Order period when Suharto was the president. During the Old Order, when Sukarno was the president, the Pancasila was implemented. The Pancasila is a state ideology that made sure that every

acknowledged religion could exist. The ideology was a middle way in order to prevent Indonesia becoming an Islamic state or a secular state (Nahrowi, n.d.). During the New Order, the Pancasila was kept and was added with the SARA (Suku, Agama, Ras, Antargolongan/Ethnicity, Religion, Race and Inter-group) policy that was implemented in 1965, in which was stated that the government banned any discussions on religion, race ethnicity and inter-group relations (Husein, 2004). Suharto implemented this policy to prevent discussions that might lead to conflicts and eventually the destabilization of the unity of the Indonesian state. However, these conflicts did occur, but only after his own fall in 1998. After his fall the relation between the religions changed. There was an increasing demand for the implementation of the Shari'ah and hardline Muslim groups emerged, which often used violence that caused social clashes (Arifin, 2012). According to Noorhaidi (2010) the discourse on the hatred against Christians gained more and more currency in the Indonesian public sphere. In fact, just prior to the fall of Suharto, there was already an increase of anti-Christian violence (Noorhaidi, 2010). In an interview with the Jakarta Post (2013), the executive director of the Maarif institute, Fajar Riza Ul-Haq, explains that Indonesia was built on the principle of pluralism and equal rights. However, this was no longer the case as he believes that in the past 10 years "Indonesia has been slowly doing away with pluralism and has turned more sectarian and exclusive". In 2008, the Majelis Ulema Indonesia (MUI, Indonesian Council of Ulema) issued eleven *fatwas* (an Islamic religious ruling) that included inter-religious praying, intermarriages, pluralism, secularism and liberalism (Magnis-Suseno, 2010). The issuing of the fatwa brought pluralism right onto the centre stage of public discourse in Indonesia. As a country with very diverse cultures and diverse religions, pluralism is needed to keep the nation together. Therefore, the condemnation of pluralism by the MUI was heavily criticized by religious leaders such as, Masdar A. Ma'sudi, one of the leaders of Nahdlatul Ulama and Syafii Ma'arif , former head of the Muhammadiyah (Magnis-Suseno, 2010). Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are the two largest socio-religious organizations that are highly involved with the State. The Nahdlatul Ulama was founded in 1926 as a socio-religious organization with traditional ideas. Nahdlatul Ulama derives its strength mainly from the religious leaders and their followers (van Dijk, 1996). Religious leaders are key figures in Nahdlatul Ulama (van Dijk, 1996). Muhammadiyah is a socio-religious modernist organization with the aim to bond trusts and to generate the social capital that is the basis in engaging in successful collective action in pursuit of public goods (Collins, 2004). Both organizations have important influence in Indonesia politics.

As stated before, the policies implemented by the Indonesian Government have not reached the point in which the adherents of all acknowledged religions are satisfied with. This lack of success leads to other organizations to make an attempt to solve the problem. One of these organizations is the Maarif Institute. The institute was founded in 2003 by Ahmad Syafii Maarif, former chairman of the Muhammadiyah and was considered as a 'Guru Bangsa'('nation's teacher') (Burhani, 2012). The institute encourages interreligious dialogue and cooperation by using Islamic values and aims to create more harmony and religious equality within the society. Furthermore, the institute wants to

develop a dialogue and cooperation to bridge inter- and intrareligious, inter-cultural and inter-civilization, in order to realize the civilization, peace, mutual understanding and constructive cooperation for humanity. Few of the basic values of the institute are tolerance, no discrimination and equality. The institute is interesting for the research as it is established as a post-Suharto organization with the aim to fight radicalism. The award-winning institute is praised by political analyst Hamdi Muluk. The analyst said that the nation needed more organizations like the Maarif Institute to curb Islamic radicalism (Jakarta Post, 2013).

Previous literature has shown that there are numerous studies on the relation between Christians and Muslims. The focus of most of the studies was on how the government tried to react to the conflicts through policies and ideologies. In addition, other related studies have their focus on the radical religious groups their actions. In other words, the focus was merely on governments and the adherents. Very few literature show how other organizations, such as non-governmental organizations have tried to solve the struggle between the Muslims and Christians through policies. Therefore the aim of this research is to gain knowledge on how the policy on inter- and intrareligious relations is implemented and how this affects the religious leaders (Christian and Muslim) as they have important influence in the Indonesian politics. In line with this aim, the research question is as follows:

What is the policy on inter- and intrareligious relations of the Maarif Institute, how is it implemented and what impact does it have on religious leaders?

In order to answer the research question, the following sub-questions are needed. The sub-questions are based on three notions that are integrated in the research question: Policy, Policy implementation and Impact religious leaders.

Religion

- How is religion perceived in general?
- How is the Islam perceived?
- How is the Christianity perceived?
- How are other religions perceived in general?

Policy

- What is the policy on inter- and intrareligious relation of the Maarif Institute?
- What was the main argument to form the policy?
- What is the aim and motivation of the policy?
- How is the policy formed?
- How is the information needed for the policy gathered and analyzed?

Policy implementation

- How is the policy implemented?
- Who are the actors that are involved with the implementation of the policy?
- Who is the target group of the policy?
- How is the policy put into practice?

Impact religious leaders

- What is the opinion of religious leaders on Maarif Institute?
- What is the opinion of religious leaders on the policy?
- What is the impact of the policy on religious leaders?

2. Theoretical Background

In the following chapter the theoretical background is explained. The theoretical background consists of concepts and factors that played a role as they have influenced the relation between Muslims and Christians. Furthermore, in order to fully understand why these concepts have been of influence, I will elaborate on these concepts in full. As the topic of this research is related to events in Indonesian history, the concepts have a narrative twist.

2.1. Religion and policy

2.1.1 Religion

Defining religion is quite a challenge. However, some do try and define religion in several ways. Dobbelaere (2011) states that there are two types of definitions: substantive and functional. Substantive definitions describe what religion 'is'. An example of substantive definition is that of Peter Berger (as cited in Dobbelaere, 2011): "Religion is the human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established." Functional definitions can be described through the definition given by Yinger (as cited in Dobbelaere, 2011), where religion can be seen as "a system of beliefs and practises by means of which a group of people struggle with … ultimate problems of human life". Another definition of religion in terms of functional definition is that of Boyer and Bergstorm (2009). They define religion as a mental representation of nonphysical agents, with artifacts that are associated with the mental representation and rituals that are linked with the artifacts. This type of definition describes religion as a function or a system, while the substantive merely looks at the idea of religion in terms of spirituality.

There is a difference in how religion is perceived in the Western and Eastern society. The Western perspective of religion was a form of obligation, which now has changed into a form of consumption (Davie, 2004). According to Davie (2004), this form of obligation comes from the time when going to church was imposed, inherited or in some cases, such as in England, a teenage rite of passage. Nowadays, it has shifted towards the notion that performing religion is part of your personal choice. The Asian perspective on religion differs from the Western perspective as it is seen as a life-style (Sastrapratedja, 1984). According to Sastrapratedja (1984), this lifestyle helps people to attain the reality. The religion has therefore become a firm basis for daily life.

In addition to the definition, there are different types of views that define how adherents perceive their religion. There are three types of views: Exclusive, inclusive and pluralism. According to Husein (2004) certain characteristics can be used to label the views. Exclusive adherents apply the literal approach of the texts used in their religion, for example the Quran or the Bible. Furthermore, according to her, exclusivist adherents hold the view that salvation can only be done through their religion. Exclusivist adherents support the idea that state and religion should not be separated. Inclusivists have different views on religion. Husein (2004) define inclusivists as adherents who apply a contextual approach of religious texts. Furthermore, they believe that their religion is the best for them. However, they also believe that salvation can also achieved outside their own religion.

In contrast with the exclusivist adherents, inclusivists believe in a separation of religion and state. The third type of view is pluralism. Husein (2004) explains that pluralists claim that all religions are the same. Beck (2013) explains that pluralism is an ideological and dynamic concept that appreciates and accepts religious diversity. He explains that it is an ideological concepts as "it presumes that the adherents of different religions (..) communicate with each other".

2.1.2. Policy

The definition of policy has been a challenging one. Policy has been defined as a course of action or a web of decisions that takes place over a long period of time (Hill, 2009). Meehan (1985) defines policy as "a guide to action, and especially collective action". Another definition, given by Jenkins (as cited in Hill, 2009), describes policy as "a set of interrelated decisions… concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation..". Kroon (2000) adds by simply defining policy as "an answer to a problem". The notion of problem is further described as "a discrepancy between a norm and an impression of an actual or expected future situation" (Hoogerwerf, as cited in Kroon, 2000).

There have been many definitions on policy. According to Hill (2009) it is difficult to define policy as a " very specific and concrete phenomenon." Policies can be identified in many ways. It can be identified as an orientation or a guideline. Or in some cases as a decision (Hill,2009). Governmental institutions may use policies as a web of decisions, while a hospital may use it as a guideline.

Despite the variety of definition, there are some clear commonalities. The given definitions above have the common aspect that policy is a group of decisions. Another common aspect is that policy is an action. Meehan (1985) defines action as "the exercise of power or the capacity to produce change." According to Meehan (1985) these actions are there in order to "produce a change that would not otherwise take place or prevent a change that would otherwise occur."

After defining policy, it is important to know how policy is formed and implemented. Kroon (2000) has developed a policy cycle in which eight phases of policy formation are described. It is called a cycle, due the fact that a policy is a process that is constantly changing. The phases go as follows: (1) Ideology formation, (2) Agenda formation, (3) Policy preparation, (4) Policy formation, (5) Policy implementation, (6) Policy evaluation, (7) Feedback and (8) Policy termination.

Ideology formation involves reaching the agreement within a political community (van de Graaf & Hoppe, 1992). Agenda formation is a process in which (societal) issues and/or problems are brought to the attention, in particular for the policymakers or the public. In this manner, the issues can be considered as urgent and put upon the (political) agenda. Raising awareness is also a part of this process. After these two steps, the preparation of the policy commences. Kroon (2000) explains that in this step, the main activity should be the gathering and analysis of relevant information, based on empirical research or relevant reading. This is necessary as it refines the issue or problem that was brought to the attention. The next step is policy formation, in which the final decisions

concerning the policy's content are made. During this phase, the policy plan is written. According to Kroon (2000), at this stage the policy plan contains a statement and an analysis of the problem or issue. He adds that it is essential to have "an explicitly formulated policy plan, containing all the information…". It would be impossible to evaluate and control the implementation of the policy and the outcomes if the policy plan was not explicitly formulated. The fifth phase is the policy implementation. Van de Graaf and Hoppe (as cited in Kroon, 2000) consider this phase to be an important phase within the policy making process. Beforehand, all the energy went to the gathering and analysis of the information, the formulation of policy plans. Now, the idea is to put the policy plans into practice. Furthermore, Kroon (2000) adds that the actors who implement the policy have a stable relationship with the target group to which the policy is directed. Without the cooperation, the policy will not be implemented successfully. After implementation, the phase of policy evaluation commences. Hoogerwerf (as cited in Kroon, 2000) states that this phase deals with the policy content, the implementation and the effect based on a fixed evaluation criteria. This evaluation criteria is based on the information in the policy plan. After evaluation, the next phase is feedback. During this phase, feedback is given based on the evaluation given in the previous phase. The feedback enables the policymakers to change or adapt the original policy plan (Kroon, 2000). Eventually, after evaluation and feedback, it is time for the final phase: policy termination. The termination of policies does not necessarily mean that this is due to negative outcomes or feedback. It might also be because the goals have been achieved within the proposed time. Kroon (2000) adds that policies, in most cases, do not always fully terminate as they gradually change into a new policy. And in the case of changing a policy into a new one, it is needless to say that the policy cycle will start over again.

2.3. Religion and politics in Indonesia

2.3.1. Religion in Indonesia

Religion is important in Indonesia. The importance can clearly be seen in the Pancasila, which is a state ideology implemented during the time of former President Sukarno. Steenbrink (1999) points out that the Pancasila is "where the belief in the One and Only Deity is formulated as one of the five pillars for the political life of the nation". The Pancasila was established to make Indonesia neither an Islamic state nor a secular state (Husein, 2004). Furthermore, it was also introduced in order to keep the other the Hindus, Buddhists and Christians within the Republic (Steenbrink, 1999). The Pancasila was also a credo of pluralism (Pringle, 2010). It was formed to improve the national unity by praising Indonesia's diversity.

Currently, the Indonesian law acknowledges only six religions. Anything outside of these six religions, is not acknowledged or even considered as a valid religion. In an interview with the Jakarta Globe (Pasandaran, 2014), the deputy chairman of the Setara Institute, which advocates religious freedom, Bonar Tigor Naipospos accuses the Religious Affairs Ministry of being discriminative and exclusive. According to him, the Indonesian Constitution never mentioned official religions. He

mentions that "it only said that people are free to hold a religion or belief and worship according to their religion and belief". Furthermore, according to Sulaiman and Turnbull (2012), the founding principles of the Pancasila guarantees religious freedom and tolerance.

Another issue that shows how religion is integrated in the Indonesian life is the obligation to include religion on Indonesian identity cards. Currently, this issue has been often been raised. Jakarta Deputy Governor, Basuki Purnama, has raised the question of the purpose of this obligation (Jakarta Post, 2013). According to Purnama, Indonesia is not a country of religion (Jakarta Globe, 2014). Furthermore, he considers himself not having a religion but a God. His reaction was a response to the governmental plans of leaving out the religion on identity cards for those having a religion outside the official six. According to Palupi (2014), despite this change, Indonesians are still required to affiliate with one of the six acknowledged religions. In the news article of Palupi (2014), the reactions of Indonesians are various. Christian student, Pradhana, believes the change would help minorities to become more accepted. According to him, the change would guarantee equality among all Indonesian. In contrast to the Christian student, a Javanese cleric believes the change does not make a difference as it will not change the behaviour of people.

2.3.1.1. Christianity in Indonesia

Christianity in Indonesia has its roots back to the 7th century. According to Aritonang and Steenbrink (2008), in 671 Persian Christians came from Canton to Palembang, where they established the 'Church of the East'. Despite the early arrival of the Christians, many Indonesians believe it arrived during the colonial era. In 1815 the territory of what is now called Indonesia became part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008). The Christians were mainly present due to missionary. Aritonang and Steenbrink (2008) explain that between the 1800 and 1900 fifteen missionary societies were established in the Netherlands-Indies. The Protestant Church started to send out missionaries to unoccupied territories such as the Mollucas, Timor and Sulawesi. Several other areas, such as Flores, were already Christian due to the Portuguese occupation that ended in 1859. The mission work consisted of preaching the Gospel, establishing schools and baptising the converts. The mission work succeeded in some cases. In Papua, the inhabitants were impressed due to the help the missionaries gave them when neighbouring rivals attacked. Or people were told in their dreams to become Christians. Or in some cases they were attracted to the missionary preaching (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008). Despite the small successes, the majority did not accept the mission work. They were reluctant to leave their traditional religion or they simply did not understand the message the missionaries tried to deliver.

During the time of New Order, the Christianity experienced a spectacular growth in terms of quantity (Husein, 2004 ;Aritonang & Steenbrink 2008). Christian were active in politics and there were many interreligious marriages. However, this harmony changed in time. Churches and Christians were targets of attacks and victims of intimidation. The reason behind these struggles could have been jealousy. According to Schwarz (1997), during the Suharto's presidency, Christians have held important military and governmental posts. After the fall of Suharto, many Christians

believed the discrimination and intimidation would cease. Unfortunately this was not the case as many churches were forced to close down. A recent example occurred Bogor in 2010, where the Yasmin church was forced to close down due to public pressure (Khouw, 2011).

2.3.1.2. Islam in Indonesia

About 205 million Indonesians are Muslims, which makes it the largest Muslim country in the world (Schwarz, 1997; Pringle, 2010). The history of how the Islam entered Indonesia is one that many still argue about. According to Pringle (2010), Muslim merchants brought the religion through the trade routes in South-East Asia. But which group of Muslim merchants or when Islam exactly becomes part of the archipelago is still a puzzle. One notion that is clear is that it came through trade as Indonesia was rich in spices and therefore very interesting for traders (Pringle, 2010). The Muslim merchants established ports for trade, that gradually became Muslim communities.

In the first few decades of the 20th century, two Islamic organizations were established: Muhammadiyah and Nadhlatul Ulama. According to Pringle (2010) both organizations represent what one calls 'Mainstream Islam'. Despite the similar label, both organisations differ in how they present themselves. The Muhammadiyah is considered modern and reformist, while Nadhlatul Ulama is merely traditional (Husein, 2004).

Being the largest Muslim community in the world, one might expect that the Muslim community in Indonesia would play an important role during the New Order. However, they played a role that they did not expect. The Muslim community endured some setbacks. Being the largest community it expected at least the majority of important governmental positions during the New Order era of Suharto. Furthermore, there were wishes of making Indonesia an Islamic state (Husein, 2004). Despite being a majority, many Muslim felt being treated as a minority group (Schwarz, 1997). The Muslim community was suppressed and were restricted in having discussion on their own religion due to the SARA-policy (Husein, 2004).

After the fall of Suharto in 1998, these restrictions were lifted and the Muslim community was free to discuss their religion. One might expect this freedom would have led to a decrease of conflicts. Unfortunately this was not the case. In 2000, a religious conflict in Poso, Central Sulawesi, led to a bloodshed. This sectarian-torn region has been prevailing since 2000 (Jakarta Post, 2006). Many killings have been done of which one was the murder of a Christian reverend (Jakarta Post, 2006). And later on, three Christian men were executed and accused of a killing series (Jakarta Post, 2007). Furthermore, after the Bali bombings, the radical groups increased and started spreading hatred (Pringle, 2010). And this was again, a setback for the Muslim community.

2.3.2. Religion and economy in Indonesia

McCleary and Barro (2006) claim that "religion has a two-way interaction with the political economy". According to them, religious beliefs affect the economy due to traits such as work ethic, honesty and thrift. Furthermore, salvation and the detailed description of heaven and hell influence the way adherents live their lives. The Koran gives graphic and explicit details of the suffering in hell

and the pleasures of heaven (McCleary & Barro, 2006). The New testament provides similar description, but less graphic and detailed. These descriptions make heaven and hell real to the believer, therefore the adherents have the motivation to live life to the fullest in order to be saved from hell. In Indonesia there is a high percentage (99%) of belief in hell (McCleary & Barro, 2006).

Additionally, Chen (2003) gives an example that economy also affects religion in Indonesia. In his study, Chen discovers the effect of economic distress on religious intensity. His findings showed an increase of religious intensity when there is economic distress. He gives examples of parents sending their children to an Islamic school and to Koran lessons. According to Chen (2003), in situations where there is economic distress, Indonesians perceive religion as a social insurance.

2.3.3. Indonesian Politics

There is a clear distinction within the Indonesian politics after their independence in 1945. There is the era in which former president Sukarno took the lead, the era in which Suharto was president and there is the post-Suharto era. The Maarif Institute was established during the post-Suharto era, also known as the Reformasi. As the latter two eras are of importance for the understanding of the Maarif Institute, an elaboration of both eras will be given.

From 1966 to 1998, General Suharto ruled as the second President of Indonesia. This period of time is also known as the New Order. Indonesians look at this period of times with mixed feelings. The presidency of Suharto has done many things right. The economy of Indonesia bloomed as investments in rural infrastructure, schools and health clinics increased (Schwarz, 1997; Pringle, 2010). Despite the positive side of Suharto's presidency, the downside of his ruling is remembered the most by the Indonesians. During the time of the New Order, Suharto was more a dictator than a president. According to Schwarz (1997), Suharto did not see democracy as an 'Asian value'. He put strict rules on the media and groups and maneuvered political opponents out of power (Schwarz, 1997). Suharto was a strong supporter of the doctrine of 'dual function' for the army (Sitorus & Budhwar, 2003; Pringle, 2010). The army was given equal roles in defence and in the government. In his last decade as president, Suharto started to lose control of the state (Pringle, 2010). In 1996, the office of Megawati, who was known to be pro-democracy, was attacked by government-organized thugs. This event stimulated the pro-democracy opposition even more. Soon after, the Asian financial crisis hit Indonesia in 1997. The combination of both events led to the downfall of Suharto. According to Pringle (2010), his army chief, General Wiranto commanded him to resign.

After the fall of Suharto, a new period of time commenced. This period of time was known as the Reformasi. Suharto's vice-president Habibie succeeded him immediately and managed to guide Indonesia in the transition to democracy, including its first elections in 1999 (Pringle, 2010). Furthermore, Habibie managed to replace Suharto's close associates who took seats in his cabinet. Furthermore, Habibie granted business elite more access and was advised to adopt the "people's economy". The latter was meant to redistribute economic assets that were previously in the hands of Suharto's companions (Fukuoka, 2014). The transition is towards democracy was a struggle. The

democracy became an arena for power and patronage (Fukuoka, 2014). According to Fukuoka (2014), despite the slow transition towards a "greater liberal democracy", the scholars were still optimistic about Indonesia's future.

2.3.4. Politics and Religion in Indonesia

In a country where religion is evidently part of daily life, it is inevitable that religion is linked with politics. There have been events in which both politics and religion have played an important role.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs has played a very important part within the politics and therefore has to be mentioned. The Ministry of Religious Affairs was founded in 1946 and was mostly dominated by traditionalist Muslim until 1970 (Steenbrink, 1999). The Ministry of Religious Affairs was responsible for implementing religious policy (Husein, 2004). However, the policy changed with every new minister of Religious Affairs. At the beginning of Suharto's presidency, K.H.M. Dachlan was the Minister of Religious affairs. According to Husein (2004), Dachlan plead for "tolerance between followers of different religions". He emphasized that this tolerance would be beneficial for the "stability of economic and political life in Indonesia". At the same time the Ministry of Religious Affairs signed a joint decree with Internal Affairs that the State had to ensure that every citizen was free to follow his/her religion and conduct worship according to that religion. However, at the same time this freedom was limited as establishments of places of worship required permission from the governor of the particular province.

In 1971, a modernist Muslim, Mukti Ali, became Minister of Religious Affairs. Mukti Ali wanted to apply the theory of Max Weber to religion in general and to Indonesia (Steenbrink, 1999). According to Steenbrink (1999) Ali wanted all religions to "become stimulated to participate in socioeconomic development'. In addition, he also invited foreign development organizations to help Islamic school with small-scale development projects (Steenbrink, 1999). Furthermore, he had sympathy with other religions and was a supporter of the concept of inter-religious tolerance (Mujiburrahman, 2006). However, this concept would only be beneficial for certain aspects of a religious community (Husein, 2004).

From 1978 till 1983, Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara was the minister of Religious Affairs. According to Steenbrink (1999) he initiated a threefold program of religious harmony that consisted of (a) internal harmony among various factions within a certain religion; (b) harmony between the various religions; (c) harmony between the various religions and the government. However, he did not succeed in the latter. Just before his years as minister, Suharto proposed to establish the Majelis Ulama, which is a council of Islamic Scholars/Leaders (Steenbrink, 1999; Husein, 2004). It was established to represent Islam towards the Indonesian government and to promote unity and solidarity within the Muslim community. In 1978 the Majelis Ulama supported a governmental decision taken by Alamsyah. The minister decided to limit the number of foreign aid given through churches and foreign missionaries (Husein, 2004). This restriction had effect on the Christians in Indonesia. Furthermore, this decision in contrast with the programme of religious harmony that was

initiated by Alamsyah. In addition to the restrictions, the Majelis Ulama issued a fatwa which prohibited Muslims to participate in Christmas celebrations (Steenbrink, 1999). The government intervened and forced the Majelis Ulama to adjust their fatwa that participating in Christmas celebrations was not prohibited as long as there is no involvement of ritual aspects (Husein, 2004). The addition of this fatwa became part of an affair that caused a clash between the former chairman of the Majelis Ulama, Hamka, and the minister of Religious affairs, Alamsyah Perwiranegara. Alamsyah accused the former chairman of Majelis Ulama of acting agains the Pancasila, the state ideology. Hamka on the other hand accused the government of interfering with religion (Steenbrink, 1999).

The next minister of Religious Affairs was Munawir Syadzali, who was minister from 1983 till 1993. In contrast with his predecessor, Syadzali's goal was the internal promotion of the Islamic community through religious education and religious courts (Steenbrink, 1999). At the same time, more restrictions were put upon the policy of mixed marriages.

In 1993, President Suharto nominated Tarmizi Taher, who was a medical doctor with a career in the army. Taher was an active supporter of Indonesian religious harmony (Husein, 2004). However, his promotion of religious harmony did not succeed as there were various conflicts between Muslims and Christians (Husein, 2004). Furthermore, according to Steenbrink (1999), his time as minister was fairly known for "return to denominationalism". There was a reduction on the number of Christians on governmental position. The Muslims were given most of the position. This was considered as a step in the direction of 'Penghijauan' ('greening') of the Indonesian Government (Steenbrink, 1999; Pringle, 2010). The colour green is considered as the colour for the Prophet Muhammad and Islam.

With having various kinds of ministers, the Ministry of Religious Affairs has played an important part in relation to religious harmony in Indonesia. There might have been true intentions of creating and promoting religious harmony, however due the variety of ministers, the Ministry of Religious Affairs was not able to maintain a clear policy.

The formation of political parties is also inevitably linked to religion. When in 1955 the first national election were held for the House of Representatives and Constitutional Assembly, ten political parties based their ideas on the Islam (Baswedan, 2004). Despite the amount of Islamic parties, only two of them gained significant votes. The Islamic parties have tried and struggled for the adoption of the Islamic divine law, the Syariah, into the Indonesian constitution (Baswedan, 2004) . These attempts have been going on since the early days of independence in 1945. The latest attempt was in 2002 during the annual session of the People's Consultative Assembly. The attempt failed again (Baswedan, 2004).

During the presidency of Suharto, politics was considered as opposition against the government and a threat against the unity of the nation (Collins, 2004). After the fall of Suharto in 1998, new chances for religious political parties were created. The third president, Habibie, gave permission for the formation of more political parties (Riddel, 2002). This led to an increase of

political parties with an Islamic background (Riddel, 2002; Baswedan, 2004). Despite the large amount of Islamic parties, the secular and nationalist parties won a plurality of the votes (34%) in the 1999 elections. The Islamic parties may be the majority in existence, but there are Christian political parties. The Christian parties are in the minority and struggle to participate in the elections. In order for the Christian parties to be able to participate, they joined forces (Friastuti, 2012).

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Design: Case study

The amount of research designs, especially qualitative design, is quite extensive. It is therefore important to find the appropriate research design. The type of research design is dependent on the type of research question (Cresswell, Hanson, Plano Clark & Morales, 2007; Yin, 2008). According to Yin (2008), research questions that contain 'what' require an exploratory research. For research questions that focus on 'how', a case study is advised (Yin, 2008).

Creswell et al (2007) define case study as "a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple systems (cases)". Denzin and Lincoln (as cited in Creswell et al, 2007) define case study as a comprehensive strategy. Furthermore, Cresswell et al. (2007) also state that the method of case study studies issues that are explored through cases in a bounded system (e.g. in a context or setting). Yin (2008) defines 'cases' as organizations, individuals, institutions, neighbourhoods and even events. The data collection of a case study research method consists, to a large extent, of interviews, observation and documents (Fidel, 1984; Creswell et al, 2007; Yin, 2008). Rowley (2002) stated that strength of the case study is "the ability to undertake an investigation into a phenomenon in its context". This means that it is not necessary to replicate the phenomenon in another setting, such as an experimental setting, in order to understand it. Yin (2008) adds another strength of the case study method, which is the ability to deal with the size and variety of data. In contrast to the strength of the case study method, Rowley (2002) stated that the case study method lacks rigour. Due to this lack of rigour, the case study method demands more of the researcher's emotions, ego and intellect (Yin, 2008). This is also due to the fact that the data collection procedure is not routinized (Yin, 2008). Therefore, the case study method demands the researcher to be more adaptive and flexible.

For this study, the choice for the case study method is based on three reasons. First, there is little known on how the Maarif Institute proceeds in implementing their work and their policies. In this situation, the case study research design allows me to develop an in-depth understanding of the institute's manner of working and implementing. Second, the holistic approach of the case study method ensures a helicopter view (Rowley, 2002). In this manner, the case study method will provide a comprehensive overview of the Maarif Institute and its impact on others. Finally, the fact that data collecting procedure is not routinized and that the demand of the researcher is to be flexible and adaptive, ensures that every aspect of the case can be covered. The extensive manners of the case study method will create a clear and comprehensive answer to the research question. Therefore, the case study method is the appropriate research design for this study.

3.2. Sample strategy

The procedure of data collection involves interviews, observations and documents. The data in this research was collected through interviews and documents given by the Maarif Institute. There were two groups of respondents needed for this research: employees of the Maarif Institute

and religious leaders. For both of the groups, a set of criteria was set up in order to be able to identify the participants. For the Maarif Institute, the respondent had to be involved with the policies or strategies of the Institute. By setting up this criteria, employees such as drivers, receptionists and cleaners were filtered out. These employees were not involved in the process of policy and strategy and are therefore not compatible for the research. The institute consists of administrative personnel, managers and an executive board. The amount of compatible respondents was therefore small. In order to have more respondents from the Maarif Institute than religious leaders, associate researchers of the Maarif Institute were also considered as part of the Maarif Institute. These associate researchers are individuals who occasionally carry out research for the Maarif Institute. Furthermore, they also provide the institute with advice in the field of research.

For the religious leaders there was a different criteria. The religious leader needed to be a Muslim or a Christian and had a function or a status within the religious community. It should be mentioned that the latter criteria was not exactly followed. This was due to the fact that not all religious leaders were easily approachable. Therefore, if the respondent had a major role in a religious community, but was not considered a leader, in the research the respondent was considered a religious leader. Furthermore, the selection of the religious leaders went through a different approach than that of the Maarif Institute. In the literature, there was no clear definition of a 'religious leader'. According to Anshel and Smith (2014), religious leaders are individuals "who have strong influence on the behaviour of others". In another research, religious leaders are referred to as 'pastor' and 'minister' (Mattis, Mitchell, Grayman, Zapata, Taylor, Chatters & Neighbors, 2007). Due to the unclear definition of religious leaders, it has been decided to use the approach of 'snowball sampling'.

Goodman (1961) defines 'snowball sampling' as follows: "A random sample of individuals is from a given finite population". In other words, each individual is asked to name a different individual from the given population. During the research, the employees of the Maarif Institute were asked to name a person who they believed to be a religious leader. Furthermore, the religious leaders were also asked to name a person who they perceived to be a religious leader. In this manner, the definition of a religious leader is defined by the respondent and not by literature. After naming the religious leaders, the respondent gave the mobile phone number of the religious leader in order for me to contact and approach them.

3.3. Data collection

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the procedure of 'snowball sampling' was used. Before this procedure could commence, the first contact with the Maarif Institute was necessary. The first contact with the Maarif Institue started with the help of my thesis project-partner of the Universitas Indonesia, who was acquainted with an employee of the Maarif Institute. The approaching of the respondents went through the use of a mobile phone. The respondents were approached through a text message or a phone call. This manner of approaching was recommended to me by the student

from Universitas Indonesia and one of the managers of the Maarif Institute. In Indonesia it is common to contact respondents via texting or calling. Approaching via email was not recommended as Indonesians tend to check their email once in two weeks.

After the first contact with the Maarif Institute, the collection of data could commence. As mentioned in the section of 'Sample strategy', the procedure of data collection involves interviews, observations and (governmental) documents.

First, the collection of documents. The Maarif Institute provided me with books and documents that were considered useful for my research. The books were published by the Maarif Institute themselves and consisted of articles on issues they have done research on. Another book consisted of an overview of what the Maarif Institute achieved in their first decade. In addition to the documents given by the Maarif Institute, I have also collected several (electronic) newspaper articles concerning the elections that were taking place at that moment. The elections took place on the 9th of July. My stay in Indonesia lasted from the 12th of February till the 12th of April. This meant that my stay was during the campaign of the presidential elections.

The second method of data collection is interviews. After the first contact with the Maarif Institute and receiving the documents, the first interviews with the employees of the Maarif Institute took place. The interviews took place at the office of the Maarif Institute. To prevent any distraction, the interviews were held in a closed office room. However, it must be mentioned that one interview took place at a different location, but still in a closed office room. After the second interview with the Maarif Institute, I commenced the interviews with the religious leaders. The interviews with the latter group started later in the process, as I needed their contact through the Maarif Institute. The interview settings for the religious leaders varied as it took place at different locations. In some cases the interview took place at their office but not in a closed room. In one case the interview took place in the lobby of a hotel.

Each of the target group, consisting of five male employees of the Maarif Institute and four male religious leaders, were guided by a different set of interview questions. In order to ensure that the interview questions were comprehensible, some pilot interviews were conducted. In addition to the comprehensibility, the pilot interviews were also to ensure that the question were not offensive or provocative. Furthermore, the interview guideline of the religious leaders was adapted after several interviews with the Maarif Institute. The interview guideline was set up before any knowledge on the policy of the Maarif Institute. Therefore, the interview guideline of the religious leaders had to be adapted after I had gained knowledge on the policies of the Maarif Institute through the interviews and documents given. Furthermore, both interview guidelines were set up in English. However, it was not sure whether all respondents could speak or understand English. Therefore, with the help of a native speaker of the Indonesian language, an Indonesian version of both interview guidelines was set up.

Before every interview, the respondent was given an explanation of the research and what they could expect during the interview. After the explanation, the respondents were given the chance

to ask questions concerning the interview or research. Furthermore, before each interview, two copies of a consent form were signed. Two sections of both the interview guidelines were identical. These sections concerned the bibliographical information and the perspectives on religion and religious relations. Other sections differed for both the interview guidelines. In the interview guideline of the Maarif Institute, the sections focused on policy, vision, target group and impact. The interview guideline of the religious leaders was focused on the Maarif Institute and the impact.

3.4. Data Analysis

All of the interviews have been recorded and transcribed. The interviews that were taken in Indonesian are transcribed in Indonesian and the English are transcribed in English. After transcribing, the coding process started. In this process, the data is analysed and identified. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998) there are three types of coding: selective, open and axial.

The first step was selective coding, in which the codes were based on the topics that were presented in the interview guide set. Selective coding was chosen as the first step due to the structure of the interviews. The order of the data was based upon the questions in the interview guide set. The selective coding made it easier to find a storyline in the data. During this coding process, remarkable interview excerpts were identified and categorized.

The next step was open coding. During this coding process, new categories were identified from the already existent categories that were identified during selective coding. The open coding process ensures the data to be more specified. The third and final step is the axial coding. During the process of axial coding, comparisons of data are made in order to identify relations between categories and concepts. This sequence of coding was chosen in order to get a clearer overview of the results. Lastly, in order to maintain and ensure the high quality of the data, the coding and analysis of the transcripts happened simultaneously.

3.5. Research Quality Indicators

In this research, two quality indicators were used: reliability and validity. Reliability is a question of whether repeated investigations of the same phenomenon will give the same results (Kvale, as cited in Brock-Utne, 1996; Rowley, 2002).

In order to keep the reliability high, I have tried to be consistent as much as possible. I have tried to create trustworthiness through several ways. During the research, I have always presented myself as a student of the Tilburg University doing research for my masterthesis. In Indonesia, one is identified not only by ethnicity, but also by religion. In order to stay neutral, my religion (Islam) was never revealed. If a respondent did ask my religion, I gave an answer in order to maintain the relationship between me and the respondent. Not answering the question might have caused suspicion. Another way of creating trustworthiness, was the guarantee of anonymity. The respondents were given a consent form, which had to be signed by me and the respondent. In this consent form, it was stated that the interview would be only be done by me and that their names would not be used in the research. By giving the respondents anonymity, the chances of giving

political correct answers would decrease.

To approach the Maarif Institute, I received help from a student of Universitas Indonesia, who was an acquaintance of one of the managers. When I contacted the manager, I mentioned that I've received the contact through this student. This manner was also used when approaching other respondents. As mentioned before, the approach of snowball sampling, in which the respondent recommends another respondent, created more trustworthiness among the respondents as they were introduced by acquaintance or friends.

Furthermore, during the interviews, respondents have shown signs of trustworthiness. In one of the interviews, the respondent asked if the answer needed to be a friendly version, meaning it should be political correct. After explaining that this concerned the personal opinion, the respondent continued with answering according to his own opinion. The fact that the respondent did not give a political correct, is a sign that the respondent believed the interview was trustworthy. Several other respondents, despite signing the consent form, indicated having no problem with revealing their names in the document. However, giving permission to reveal their names can be seen as a sign of trustworthiness but does not necessarily mean that the answers given were safe from political correctness.

With regard to personal opinion, several notions must be mentioned. A remarkable pattern of answers was found during the coding. One of the notions is that there is a difference in how the respondents give answers to the interview questions. Remarkable were the questions regarding own opinion. When a respondent was asked to give an opinion, they did not understand the question or were hesitant in answering the question. After the explanation that the question was about their personal opinion, several respondents were still hesitant. One of the respondent even dodged questions regarding his personal opinion and answered them vaguely or with a different topic.

Furthermore, several respondents have spoken in the 'we'- form, whilst other respondents gave the opinion in 'Í'-form. The speaking in we-form and being hesitant on giving their own opinion might have been due to the SARA-policy, in which Indonesians were not allowed to talk about race, religion, interreligious relations or ethnicities. By speaking in we-form, the respondents cover up their own opinion. However, when speaking in 'I'-form, the respondents emphasized the fact that it is their opinion. They often used the phrases "according to me" or "this is how I think".

Also a remark must be made about the answer given by the respondents. There is a possibility that the answers given by the respondents were disguised. The reason behind this could be the fact that during the interviews the elections were about to take place. During the period of time prior to elections, religious diversity or religious relations are perceived as sensitive issues. Therefore, respondents may have chosen to disguise their answers.

According to Briggs (1986) validity refers "to the accuracy of a given technique, that is, the extent to which the results conform the characteristics of the phenomena in question." The National Council (2002, as cited in Cho and Trent, 2006) state that validity is the expectation that the studies are replicable. In order to guarantee validity, a semi-structured interview was used. Furthermore,

another way to guarantee validity is the use of definitions and concepts that were described in the literature into the interview guide set. Concepts such as policy implementation, policy formation etc. were used in a consequent manner.

4. Context: Maarif Institute

4.1. Maarif Institute

The Maarif Institute is an Islamic organization founded in 2003 by the former chairman of Muhammadiyah, Ahmad Syafii Maarif. In the jubilee book 'Catatan 1Dekade' (translated: 'notes of a decade'), Ahmad Syafii Maarif mentions that the Institution was founded by those who were involved with the reformation in the year of 2003. The institute acts under the Muhammadiyah, as its founder is a prominent member of the Islamic organization. The motto of the Institute is 'Maarif Institute for Culture and Humanity'. This motto was created in order to put more emphasis and focus on issues of culture and humanity and not on political power. Furthermore, the foundation of the Maarif Institute in 2003 was also a response to socio-cultural development of politics and religion on three levels: national, international and Muhammadiyah. On international level was the development of anti-Islam, which was back then caused by the 9-11 attacks. This development was closely interrelated with the development of religion in Indonesia (Ghazali, Fanani, Maarif & Ul-Haq, 2013). During the reformation, five years after the fall of Suharto, the Indonesians were given freedom of expression and religion. This, however, led to an increase of conservative religious groups and post-reform extremists (Ghazali et al, 2013). With the anti-Islam attitude from the West, the extremist groups emerged rapidly. In response to this, liberal Islam started to expand as well. The Maarif Institute has the aim to find a middle ground among the religious groups.

Currently, the organization structure of the Maarif Institute consists of four groups: foundation, board of trustees, executive and associate researchers. The foundation is formed by three members who perform the roles of president, secretary and treasurer. The board consists of nine members, which is also the case with the executive. However, within the executive group there is a differ in roles. Within the group there are managers as well as administrative employees and office boys. In addition to the previous three groups, there are also seventeen associate researchers who provide aid to the Maarif Institute. These associate members are Indonesian who work as researchers in different universities in Indonesia, Netherlands, Germany and the United States.

4.2. Muhammadiyah

As mentioned before, the Maarif Institute was found by the former chairman of the Muhammadiyah, Ahmad Syafii Maarif. The Muhammadiyah is one of the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia. As he was the founder, many of the ideals of the Maarif Institute is based on the ideals of the Muhammadiyah.

The organization was found in 1912 as a modern-reformist organization (Hefner, 2013). The Muhammadiyah is the second largest Muslim social organization in Indonesia. The organization is well known for its provision of education and healthcare (Fuad, 2004). Muhammadiyah has an extraordinary vast network of at least 10,000 schools, 172 institutes of higher learning, 450 hospitals and over 11,000 mosques and prayer rooms throughout the nation (Hefner, 2013). Their aim is to both modernize Islam and shape modernity in terms of Islamic values. They were known as

reformists as they believed that sticking to tradition and old ideas would held the Muslim community in Indonesia back (Fuad, 2004). Furthermore, to prevent being accused of receiving (financial) aid from the government, Muhammadiyah took an official stance of being a non-political organization. Despite being a non-political organization, they have been times that politics was needed in order to achieve their goal. Muhammadiyah took part in several political formation that consisted of Islamic parties and organization. However, it was short-lived. Despite the absence of Muhammadiyah in political formation, according to Fuad (2004) voices within the organization encourages the Muhammadiyah to "transform its social and cultural power into a political one." This encouragement was openly critized by the young intellectuals of the Muhammadiyah (Fanani, as cited in Fuad, 2004). They believed the Muhammadiyah should be kept clear from political powers and focus on contemporary issues such as multiculturalism and pluralism. Fanani (as cited in Fuad, 2004) adds that Muhammadiyah should present itself as a tolerant organization.

4.3. Jakarta

The headquarters of the Maarif Institute is based in Jakarta. In the book 'Catatan 1 Dekade', the choice for this location is based on the motivation of being a node in the cultural centre in Jakarta. This is in line with their motto: 'For Culture and Humanity'. Also, Jakarta is the business and governmental centre of Indonesia (Widjaja, East & Pierre, 2013). For the Maarif Institute it is therefore beneficial to be located close to the business and governmental centre as they are important stakeholders.

Moreover, Jakarta has played an important role in religious relations. The capital city has played a significant part within the conflicts between Christians and Muslims. In 1999, a communal conflict arose between Muslims and Christians in the Mollucas. These conflicts were led by Jakarta preman (Indonesian gangsters) who were sponsored by close friends of Suharto (Noorhaidi, 2010). Later in the years, the radical Islamic group Jemaah Islamiah started to bomb and attack Western hotels in Jakarta, such as JW Marriot in 2009 (BBC News, 2009).

The events that occurred in Jakarta and the city's function as a business and governmental centre, makes it an ideal location to address religious relations. Due to this combination, the Maarif Institute is able to stay close to the source.

5. Results

This chapter includes the results from the research. The chapter consists of four sections. The first section, the definition and perceptions of religion and inter- and intrareligious relations will be discussed. The second section includes the policy implementation of the strategies of the Maarif Institute. Next, the section discusses the Maarif Institute from the perspectives of employees themselves and from the religious leaders. In the last section, the impact of Maarif Institute on religious leaders will be discussed.

Several interviews were conducted in Indonesian. Therefore I have translated their quotations into English. Furthermore, the results are presented in the order of the subquestions and also the interview guide sets. And in addition, I will use the respondent's age and religion, or the name of the employer when presenting their quotes. Names or functions will not be given, as I guaranteed my respondents anonymity. Only in the section where the policies of the Maarif Institute will be discussed, fictitious names will be used as the answers were given by employees of the Maarif Institutes. The religious leaders will not be given a fictitious name as their identity is not easily traced.

5.1. Religion

As the focus of the research question is on religious relations, it is necessary to know how religion itself is perceived. Furthermore, the purpose of this section is to answer the subquestions concerning religion: *'How is religion perceived in general?'*, *'How is the Islam perceived?'*, *'How is the Christianity perceived?'* and *'How are other religions perceived in general?'* The questions on religion were asked to form a clear idea on what perception or definition the respondents have of religion. They were asked to give their definition or perception on religion in general, their own religion, other religions, the (current) relationship between Muslims and Christians and the possible reasons of struggle between the two religions.

5.1.1. Religion in general

The respondents were asked how they perceived religion in general. The answers given were diverse, but with some similarities. An employee of the Maarif Institute, defined religion as follows: *"Well yes, religion is a system of values. A system of values that is to be believed (..)."* Many of the respondents perceived religion in a similar way. They perceived religion as a system. A Christian leader adds this notion by defining religion as *"a system to worship God"*. Religion here is defined in a functional way, which means that it provides a function for people. Another respondent, a 28-year-old Muslim, defined religion differently. He said: *"Religion is according to me… what is it called… a spiritual institution. (…) Religion is an institution and through this institution people want to approach that what is said to be God."* This respondent perceives religion merely as a spiritual notion. A Muslim leader feels the same way. He believes religion is a way of obedience for humans towards something that is supernatural. Both respondents define religion as a notion that is beyond ourselves. Therefore

these perceptions are considered substantive.

According to a Muslim leader, religion is a way of humans to subject themselves to a supernatural power. Perceiving religion as a supernatural power is an example of defining religion in a substantive manner. One of the Christian leaders defined religion as *"some whole structured belief system with believers believing that human life and the whole cosmos is part of a greater transcendent reality"*. This is a quite remarkable perception as it is both functional and substantive. The perception of religion being a system of believes can be seen as a functional definition. The perception that the cosmos is part of a greater transcendent reality can be seen as a substantive definition.

Also remarkable was that some of the respondents perceived religion as an inspiration or a way of life. An employee of the Maarif Institute said: *"According to me, religion is something that can be used as a guideline for our lives. Religion guides people so they have something to hold on to. Because if we don't have religion, our destination is not clear."* According to this respondent religion is considered a guideline that can help people to get to their destination. In addition, he believes it also provides people something to hold on to in life. A 36- year old Muslim man said: *"But religion in social system is something like that give you like a way of life, in term of your activities, your behaviour and your (..) or something like that, yeah."* He perceives religion in a similar way with the previous respondent, but defines it more as a social system. According to this respondent religion is merely like a social system where one is given a way of life and a guide in how one should do their activities and how to behave.

A Muslim leader said: *"But in Indonesia a definition of religion is not enough. It should have an organisation, of any kind."* This respondent made remarkable notion of religion. He believes that religion cannot be seen without a sort of organization. His notion is supported by an employee of the Maarif Institute: *"But according to me, if we want our lives to be useful…eh.. useful for, there I think organized religion is very important."* According to these two respondents, just having a definition is not enough. An organization or organized religion can be helpful as it may help people to have a clear view on what to expect and to do.

These definitions show that religion can be perceived in a functional and substantive way. And it can even be defined through both in a functional and substantive way. Religion is defined as a system of beliefs or values, while it also can be defined as a manner for humans to subject themselves to a supernatural power. In addition to these definitions, religion can also be perceived as a way of life, an inspiration or a guideline to life. However, a definition only is not enough. It is necessary to have organized religion as this will help people to have a clear view on expectations and goals.

5.1.2. Religion from a Muslim point of view

The Muslim respondents share the idea that Islam is the ultimate religion. They perceive their religion to be the truth and something to hold on to in order to live life to the fullest. A Muslim said during the interview: *"I believe by embracing Islam, I could attain real happiness in my worldly life and also in the hereafter."* The Muslim leader believes Islam can bring him happiness not only in his life on earth, but also in the hereafter. He is not alone in this idea. A 28-year old Muslim respondent thinks

in a similar way. *"I am confident that with religion also, I will survive the world and the hereafter."* Both respondents perceive religion as something that guides them through life and the hereafter and that it gives them happiness in life. In addition, others perceive it as a guideline through life. A Muslim employee of the Maarif Institute said: *"I think the Islam is very broad so we can make the Islamic religion to be our guideline for more inspiration to be a better human being."* According to him the Islam can become a guideline for inspiration but also to become a better person. A 30-year old Muslim respondent adds:*"Often they say Islam becomes 'a diin wa daulah', for example. .... It means to control all aspects of life, economy, politics and even the smaller things are managed through the Islam."* According to this employee, the Islam in a way manages every aspect of life, that it becomes a way of life.

Next to a guideline, the Islam is also seen as a tool. What kind of tool is perceived different as well. A 28-year old Muslim respondent said: *"But it can also provide a basic foundation of humanity, how should I live as a human being and live the life."* This respondent sees the Islam as a tool for coping with humanity. The Islam gives this respondent the basics of how he supposed to live his life. It can be seen as seen as a guideline, however this respondents sees it merely as a tool in life. Another respondent, a 36- year old Muslim said: *"yeah, religion, Islam for instance, it is in the context of Indonesia, is, you want to like change society, you need something that already embraced or belong to the society that make you easier for instance, to change that society into a better community, better society or something like that."* This respondent sees Islam merely as a tool of communication. According to him, if you want to change something in the society or in a community, you have to use something that is already part of the community. And this respondent believes that by using the Islam, you are using something that is already part of the society and therefore makes it easier to bring the change into the community.

5.1.3 Religion from a Christian point of view

As there were only two Christian respondents, this section is not as elaborate as the previous one. Despite the difference in quantity, there is a clear distinction in how Christians perceive their religion and the Muslims perceive their religion.

The Christian respondents believe that their religion has a clear association with Jesus Christ. One of them said: *"And the beliefs that Jesus is God's revelation and that people following Jesus are saved."* He perceives his religion as something that can save people. Despite that the respondent does not elaborate on the latter, it can be interpreted that saviour means that those who believe in Jesus are saved in the world and in the hereafter. The other Christian respondent also refers to Jesus Christ. *"But I think traditionalist speaking, at least from the Christian point of view, God is as we know, we knew him in Christ. That is from the traditional point of view."* According to him and the more traditional point of view, God is perceived in Christ.

5.1.4. Perception of other religions outside own religion

The respondents were asked to give their opinion on how they perceived other religions outside of their own religion. It was up to the respondents themselves to interpret what was meant by other

religions, as I did not refer to the acknowledged or non-acknowledged religions. Furthermore, during the interviews, it was noticeable that the topic on other religions was considered a sensitive one. Some respondent paused before answering and one even started to speak softer while answering this question.

A Muslim leader said: *"Although I say that Islam is true, but I don't have to blame other religions"*. He gives an example to explain his perception. He said: *"Just for example, if I say my wife is beautiful, for example. Well fine, that is just it. I don't need to say that your wife is ugly. My wife is beautiful. Just like that. My religion is true. Just that. I don't need to follow in saying that your religion is wrong."* This respondent explains that he doesn't have to blame other religions for not being the true religion. Many of the respondents perceive other religions in a similar way. This kind of point of view is an inclusivistic manner of perceiving religion. The respondents believe that they follow the true religion, but acknowledge that there are other religions that are considered to be true for others. The majority of the respondents respect other religions and believe that they can learn from each other in terms of cooperation or prevention of war or poverty.

An employee of the Maarif Institute said: *"I think, if we read the history books that the religion Islam, Jewish and Christian are all originated in the Abrahamic religion, like that. So actually, between Islam, Jewish and Christian we are actually like brothers and sisters, like that."* Other respondents had similar views. This perception illustrates another form of an inclusivistic point of view. They perceive Christianity and the Jewish religion to be part of their roots and do not consider them to be wrong.

A Christian leader said: *"But you see, beside these six religion, there are another local or tribal religions. But they are not included in this definition. …. And according to us here, (…) the community in Indonesia, they are also religion. They have also right to be acknowledged as a religion, because they have their God. Regardless you acknowledge or not this God. But they have their own God. And these must be respected, also by the government."* The respondent here refers to the fact that the country officially acknowledges six religions. According to this Christian leader, all religions should be acknowledged as they have a God, just like the other six official religions. The fact that a religious leader brings this issue up, indicates that the exclusion of non-acknowledged religions is an issue that is still considered to be worried.

5.1.5. Inter- and intrareligious relations

The respondents were requested to give their opinion on religious relations in general. Thus the respondents had to interpret the questions themselves. This, led to a diversity of answers. Most of the respondents interpreted religious relations as the relation between Muslims and Christians, while others kept their answers more in general. Their interpretation is quite remarkable as the questions regarding Christians and Muslims were asked after this question. It might be that that when asked about inter- and intrareligious relations, the respondents directly associate the relations with those between Christians and Muslims. Furthermore, despite the generality, looking at the context the answers are given in, the relation the respondents speak about is between Muslims and

Christian. Therefore, the religious relation discussed in this paragraph is that of the Muslims and Christians.

The answers given varied from describing the history of the relation to how it has integrated to various levels in the society. Religious relations, especially the relation between Muslims and Christians, has brought people on many thoughts. It can be said that this topic is in a way so broad, that it allows for a variety of aspects.

A 35-year old Muslim respondent said: *"The relation of Islam and Christian in Indonesia is also dynamic yeah….There's is fluctuation. Somewhat up, somewhat down. Sometimes there are phases that are bad, and also sometimes there are phases that they are good yeah. In Indonesia itself I see a development that is tending towards positive."* The relation between Muslims and Christian is seen as a dynamic and fluctuating one. Another respondent, a 34-year old Muslim, agrees with this notion. According to this respondent, the relationship has a long history with many fluctuations. A Muslim leader adds that the phases in which the relation was good, Christians and Muslims have cooperated and were involved in the process of mutual learning and gaining knowledge. The latter is agreed upon by a Christian leader. He believes that both religions should understand and learn from each other.

A Christian leader believed that the relationship was good. He said: *"And if you ask me, about the relations here, it is very good. We have a very good relationship with the leaders. The leaders of the religions here in Indonesia."* The respondent explains that he believes the relationship is good. However he only mentions the relationship among (religious) leaders in Indonesia. This gives us the notion that in addition to the relations between the (religious) leaders, there is also another level of relation. A 34-year old Muslim adds: *"For example, the level of elite, for example in Jakarta and wherever, they have dialogues. In case of the level below, there is the judgement that Islam is the true religion."* According to this 34-year old respondent, the relationship between Muslims and Christians occurs on two levels, the elite and the lower level. Both respondents elaborate that the relationship on the elite level is good as they have dialogue. In the lower level, however, the relationship is different. The respondent explains that in this level, the judgement is that Islam is the true religion. Here, it can be interpreted that the lower level considers their religion to be the only true one and not any other religion. Therefore, there might be no or hardly any dialogue at the lower level.

In addition to the previous elaborations, according to a 30-year old Muslim respondent, the relationship is perceived in a theological way as well. People tend to look at theological issues and judge the relationship on perceptions of theological elements. According to the 30- year old Muslim respondent, one should also look at how sociological elements can be perceived in a religious relationship. What the respondent exactly meant with sociological elements is not clear. In my opinion, the mentioned sociological elements are aspects that concern how society deals with religion. Furthermore, the same respondent also adds that the relation should not be about theological doctrine, but should build on cooperation. However, despite the fact that the focus should not be on theology only, a 34- year old Muslim respondent mentions that theology is a way to have a relationship as both religions have the same Abrahamic roots.

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5.1.6. Current relation between Muslim and Christian

The following issue was covered through three questions. The respondents were not only asked to give their opinion on the current relation but also the most important aspect of the relation and which aspect should be given more attention. By covering these aspects, we can look at the current status of the relationship and how it can be improved. Furthermore, it provides an overview of the position of the relationship within Indonesia.

"The relationship has improved very much from a very inauspicious beginning", a Christian leader said. *"And people are now building better relationships between Christians and Muslims. Because of the many initiatives of cooperation from both parties"*, a Muslim and employee of the Maarif Institute responded. Both from the Christian and Muslim perspective, the relationship is considered good. The relationship has improved due to cooperation. However, this is the relationship in general. A Muslim leader said: *"Actually I am.. here I am optimistic that the relationship between Muslims and Christianity in Indonesia that…there are groups that promote peace and conscious."* He continues: *"But I am also not denying, on the other hand, there are also groups that feel threatened by people of different religions"*. Despite the fact that the relationship is considered good, there are still groups of people that do not feel comfortable with being in contact with people from different religions. A Christian leader adds: *"I think the current relation is quite good, but it is still of course disturbed by growing intolerance on the grass-root level."*.. *"The intolerance is of course on the grass-root level specially. But the relations have improved"*. The group that does not feel comfortable is on grass-root level. There is a growing intolerance on the grass-root level that disturbs the relationship between the Christians and Muslims. According to several other respondents, this growing intolerance becomes a distrust that is not only on religious bases, but also on the fact the different backgrounds that people have in Indonesia.

As mentioned previously, the relationship occurs on two levels: the elite level and the grass-root level. On each level the relationship is established differently. A Muslim leader said: *"So there is a group of Muslims and Christians who want to build bridges of peace. It is usually among academics, NGO groups."* The academics and NGO's try to maintain a good relationship. They are considered the elite level as they operate on a level with government or other organisations. The elite level is therefore willing and even taking initiative in building a good relationship between Muslims and Christians. Looking at how the relationships are on the elite and grass-root level, it can be said that the setting of the level (elite or grass-root) defines the relationship.

The relationship on the grass-root level is striking. Compared to the elite level, the relationship between Muslim and Christians on the grass-root level is unbalanced as it is disturbed by intolerance. The cause of this intolerance will be discussed in the next section concerning the struggles between Muslims and Christians. However, in this paragraph I will continue on how the grass-root level is being perceived by the respondents. An employee of the Maarif Institute said the following: *"I think it should be given more attention in the relationship between Muslims and Christians in how to understand religion that is open, understand religion that is inclusive and understand religion that is*

pluralistic…it is disseminated to the grass-root (..)". He continues: *"Secondly, the understanding needs to be given to the grass-root."*.. *"Because there will be a gap between the elite and those at the grass-root level. If the elite understands and accepts it but the grass-root does not know, it could cause a conflict."* The grass-root levels requires attention as there is a lack of understanding on inclusive religion, openness in religion and pluralistic views on religion. Another employee of the Maarif Institute gave an example of how a program with teachings of human rights and pluralism was rejected by the grass-root level but accepted on the elite level. The lack of understanding and the rejection of pluralism brings the people on the grass-root level to a disadvantaged position with respect to the relationship between Muslims and Christians and between them and the elite level.

In addition to the extra attention towards the grass-root level, respondents stated that there were more aspects in the relationship between Muslims and Christians that were important. *"That is, communication aspects and social aspects. We must multiply the cooperative relationship between religions at level of social issues and joint issues. We will look for common ground…or common… common issues, yeah"*, a 35-year old Muslim respondent said. Communications and social aspects are considered important as they enhance cooperation within the relationship. Furthermore, looking for common ground or values that religions can agree on is essential for the relationship. A Christian leader agrees with the notion of communicating. He said: *"Those relations have much improved, but we have to intensify communications the whole way. The communication is the most important thing."* The two aspects are being perceived as important as they will create commitment, cooperation among the adherents and space to learn from each other. The latter is regarded as essential as many of the respondents have acknowledged that there is a lack of knowledge on how other religions are put together. A Christian leader added to this notion that theology is also important in the relationship. According to him, shedding light on the theological aspect will encourage adherents to try to understand what the other religions means.

A Muslim employee of the Maarif Institute said: *"I think in Indonesia since the beginning there is religious identity, national identity"*… *"The impact of institutionalization of our nation, Indonesia, that is, religion is on their identification card. Hence, the identification of (people – ed.) is religion, not identification on nationality."* According to this Muslim respondent there is too much focus on religious identity than on national identity. Indonesians prefer to identify themselves as a Muslim or a Christian, rather than an Indonesian. The same respondent believes that the focal point should be on national identity. A Christian leader agrees with this notion. He said: *"my opinion is that we should not have a dialogue about religious differences."* The Christian leader believes that focal point should be shifted away from religious differences. By putting spotlight on national identity, the centre of attention will no longer be on religious differences.

5.1.7. Struggle between Muslim and Christian

This paragraph will discuss the possible causes of struggle between Muslims and Christians. The respondents were asked what they think was the reason behind the struggles between both religions.

"According to me it is politics", a Muslim leader said. *"There (are - ed.) political issues, there is the burden of past history. It is between those two. Burden of the past history that is also a political issue. The political question that is related to the issue about…what…to seize power."* Burdens from the history and political issues are the reasons of struggle according to this respondent. Other respondents have answered similar. According to a 35- year old Muslim respondent, religion is often victimized in politics. It is usually used as a tool or for justification.

Politics have been mentioned several times as a reason for struggle. But it is also very frequently mentioned together with power and economics. These three aspects have been mentioned together several times by the respondents. According to a 30-year old Muslim respondent, it is a matter of competition. Each community wants to be superior. It is also a case of majority and minority. According to this respondent, the Muslims might be the majority in quantity, but in quality it might be the minority. He also said that it is matter of jealousy in terms of economy. A 37-year old Muslim respondent said: *"So, poverty is usually used as a reason to be not harmonious in society or something like that."* The competition in terms of economy might have led to poverty in communities. Being the minority in economic situations, might have brought situations where there is no place for harmony. As mentioned before, the growing intolerance is at the grass-root level. The people living on the grass-root level are those who are a minority in terms of economy and power. The people at the grass-root level are therefore in a position that causes them to have jealousy towards communities that have a top position in the competition.

A Muslim leader said the following: *"Because people who are migrated there, are some of them or most of them are civil servant. They have good knowledge, they have good education and they go there as government official that work in government bureaucracy."* According to this Muslim leader, migration is the reason for competition. People come to a place and a get a good job position in the government. They have had a good education and have good knowledge. Migration as a reason for a clash have been mentioned by others as well. A 37-year old Muslim respondent believes that this migration creates exclusivity or enclaves in societies. People move to villages or other residences where they have the same religion. Most of these places have one religion and do not accept people that have a different religion as that is not considered to fit in their homogeneous community. This rejection of people with a different religion might be seen as a factor for conflicts.. Next, a 34-year old Muslim respondent said: *"For example what happened before…what is seen in Mindanao...overseas. There back then there were a lot of Muslims from the sultanate of Solo. And after that there were government policies that do big expansion..eh no not expansion but a massive migration. Christian people moved to Muslim territory, eventually the Muslims were displaced. And then they made it a religious issue."* What this respondent mentions is that people migrated in to areas where there was already a large community. This migration of the Christians to a Muslim territory caused Muslims to move away. The fact that the migrating group were Christians and the displaced community Muslims, caused the situation to become a religious issue. is seen as a possible cause for conflicts. However, based on what the respondents have said on migration, it can be stated that there is a difference how migration causes

conflicts. In the case of migration of people who try to find a good job, the cause might be the competition in terms of economy, politics and power. Furthermore, people tend to migrate to places that have the same religion or are homogeneous. The other case is of forced migration where the arrival of another religious community is causing a religious conflict.

Furthermore, a Muslim leader said: *"This kind of tension happen because of lack of communication. And because of, again, I think in my view, misconception."* He continues: *"What is happening now, because of the lack of communication, because of the misunderstanding".* According to the respondent, the lack of communication creates misunderstanding. People do not know much of the other religion. The same respondent continues: *"Some Muslims believe that a Christian has been unfair in many cases, do not obey or follow the regulation with regard to religious missionary. But to some extend it is mainly because of lack of communication."* The Muslim leader gave an example of how miscommunication can lead to believing that others are doing wrong. Other respondents have mentioned Muslims and Christians having feelings of fear and distrust towards each other. Christians have fear that Muslims want to convert them and vice versa. This is often the case at the grass-root level. The fear and lack of communication caused those on the grass-root level to be more suspicious towards people with a different religious background. According to a Muslim leader this fear and distrust have been influencing the relationship since generations back.

A Christian leader gives another argument for the struggle between Muslims and Christians. He said: *"The problem now is, that by the coming of the radical elements from abroad, from maybe Middle East."* He continues:*"And they come to Indonesia, disturbing the good relationship between the different people of different religions. And that is why we very worried of this. And by we, I mean not only the Christian, but also the Muslims. The Muslims themselves. Because war is the goal of this radical elements. The goal is to purify Islam from traditional elements."* The Christian leader mentions radicalism or radical elements as a cause of disturbance. He further believes that this radicalism is a way to make Indonesia an Islamic state. According to him there are still people who strive for an Islamic state. An employee of the Maarif Institute mentioned that there was a document found with notions that nationalism and nationalistic views are considered as enemies of the Islam. Furthermore, other respondents believe the goal of the radical groups is to disseminate their religious views. According to a 30-year old Muslim, the dissemination of these views start at school. They believe young children have shown tendencies towards radicalism as they are easily reached by these radical groups. A 30-year old Muslim said: *"(…) because the issues of radicalism (..) this kind of teachings are sensitive. Just as sensitive.. when a favourite public school…yeah .. a favourite public school… for example, a kid uses drugs. Of for example this, a girl gets pregnant out of wedlock. It has the same sensitivity, so the school covers it up. So it doesn't tarnish their good name."* This respondent compares the sensitivity of the topic of radicalism with a popular public school with drug addicted or pregnant children. The people are ashamed and try to cover it up. According to the same respondent, the issue of radicalism is considered as a sensitive topic, especially at school. Schools are afraid to have a negative reputation if they are perceived as a hatchery of radicalism. The bad reputation might lead to students leaving the school

or a decrease of student applications. However, many respondents believe that radicalism truly starts at these schools. Several respondents have mentioned that radicals groups have succeeded in penetrating through schools by applying for a job as (religious) teacher or as part of extracurricular activities. In addition, teachers are also considered to be involved in spreading radical views.

In addition to the previous causes, a Christian leader said the following: *"I think by people both from the Muslim side and from the Christian side were disillusioned by the government of Suharto."* He continues. *"There were Christians, including myself, who thought that, our Christian minority here in Indonesia will only have a future if we can come in our relations with the Muslims from a win-lose relationship into a win-win relationship".* This quotation from a Christian leader gives a view of the relationship between Muslim and Christians during the New Order. According to him there were expectations that went unfulfilled. They expected the relationship to go from win-lose to win-win. Nonetheless, the relationship stayed in a win-lose status. This disillusionment ensured that there were still struggles in the relationship between Christians and Muslims.

5.2. Maarif Institute and policies

The following section covers a large part of the sub-questions concerning the policy cycle and the expectations of the Maarif Institute. Next, the purpose of this section is to elaborate on the steps taken by the Maarif Institute to prepare, form and implement their policies. Furthermore, the Maarif Institute uses the term of strategies instead of policies. However, to prevent confusion and constant switching of terms, the strategies of the Maarif Institute are referred to as policies. Furthermore, as mentioned previously in this chapter, fictitious names instead of age will be used due to the fact that the answers were given by employees of the Maarif Institute, since age would make their identity traceable.

Moreover, in this section two of their policies will be discussed. During the interviews, the policy cycle of these two policies were asked. The contents of the policies will be discussed in the next paragraph.

5.2.1. Educational program on pluralism and the Maarif Awards

In order to understand the policy cycle and the policy implementation, it is necessary to have an idea what the policies are about. Furthermore, the purpose of this paragraph is to answer the sub-question: *'What is the policy on inter- and intrareligious of the Maarif Institute?'* Before continuing on what the policies are about, it must be said that this result was through other sources than interviews. Before the interviews took place, I was given several books on what the Maarif Institute was about. Therefore, the information in this paragraph is retrieved from those books. Finally, it can be said that the information from the books can be perceived as the official vision of the Maarif Institute. This differs from the information in other sections. They are perceived as personal views.

In the book 'Catatan 1 Dekade' (Translation: Notes of a decade) they mention four strategies or programs that are considered successful. The four strategies/programs are: education on tolerance and pluralism, Maarif Awards, movement of interfaith leaders and the film 'Mata tertutup'

(translated: Eyes closed). The focus of this research is on the first two strategies/programs.

As a pluralistic state, it is necessary to develop an education that is based on (religious) pluralism and human rights. This type of education can be seen as a prevention of religious-based violence. With this thought in mind, the Maarif Institute initiated, together with a department of the Muhammadiyah, a program for Muhammadiyah high schools. In 2007, 120 schools from West Java, East Nusa Tenggara and Central Sulawesi became the first to have this program. Within two years, three books were published and religious teachers were taught with this book. The books concerned the teachings of Islam with an insight of the Human Rights (HAM, Hak Asasi Manusia). The combination of HAM and Islam led to a discussion. A deputy secretary of the assembly of sermons and preachers believed the books indicated that religious teachings were a subordinate of HAM, while according to the secretary it should be the other way round. This controversy led to the fact that several schools rejected the books. During the interview, Eddi, an employee of the institute, explained that the program was rejection due to the content. The combination of human rights and religious teachings was considered controversial. According to Eddi, people perceived the teachings of human rights as a product of the West. Due to this, the program was rejected. Furthermore, they had the impression the books were compulsory. The purpose of the program was to give students an insight on human rights in the context of the Islam next to the religious teachings at school. It was not the intention to make this program a compulsory. Later on in the program, the Maarif Institute added a component that put the focus on tolerance, anti-violence and inclusive views.

The second policy is the annual Maarif Awards. This policy was initiated in 2006. The award is meant for local leaders, activists or social workers from the grass-root level who show commitment and sincerity of faith in their various socio-humanitarian work for the community. These people are considered to be one of the pillars that strengthen the process of political democratization, public education and conflict mediation at local level. In order to win the award, there are a few criteria. One of the criteria is that their initiative should contribute to the struggle for pluralism and social justice. Another criteria is that the receiver of the award has the ability to bridge plurality, whether it be religion, ethnicity or culture. And finally, the candidate receiver can only be nominated by others and not by themselves.

5.2.2 Target group, policy aim and motivation

Before a policy is initiated, formed or implemented it is necessary to know who the target group is, what the aim of the policy is and why it was formed. Also, behind ever policy there is a motivation that become the drive of creating a policy. This paragraph will provide an answer on the sub-question: '*What was the main argument of the policy?*' and '*What was the aim and motivation of the policy?*' Before continuing on the aims and motivation, a note of observation should be mentioned. When asked about the aims and motivation, the employees reacted excited and driven. The passion of the employees to help the nation was clearly visible during these questions.

A policy needs a target group. The Maarif Institute has different target groups for their policies. The policy of educating tolerance and pluralism has different target groups: teachers, department of education and students/pupils. However, their main target group is the youth. Eddi explains why: *"Because we are concerned with the younger generation. Who….if we want to change this country then who else if it is not the younger generation?"*. The youth is where the institute wants to start as they will become part of the future. By educating the youth, the institute will be able to help them in creating a better future. According to Andy it is also to influence the youth with good morality and humanity. Harto explains it from a different perspective. *" (Furthermore – ed.) they will become part of the history and become actors of history who do good for the Indonesia that is ahead."* Harto perceives the youth differently. He regards them as part of history of the future Indonesia. In the future, they will be considered as actors from the history that have done good for the Indonesian community.

For the policy of the Maarif Awards, the institute has a wider target group than the previous policy. *"In villages, in cities, in villages that become part of our program.",* Eddi said. What he meant is that the target group of the Maarif Awards can be in villages or cities. The purpose of the awards is to celebrate those who have shown commitment in their socio-humanitarian work for the community. Despite the wide target group, there is a criteria which narrows the target group down to only people from the grass-root level. People from the elite level are not eligible as the institute want so put the focus on the grass-root level.

When asked what their aim and motivation was, the answers were varied and elaborate. Each of the policies has a different aim and motivation. The aim for the Maarif Awards is quite simple. The policy was created with the aim to raise awareness that there are people from any religion, who have shown commitment in their socio-humanitarian work for the community. The Maarif Awards will show that there are communities with people of different religion or background who live together. According to Harto this is important. People will see that regardless of religion, they still can live next to each other and cooperate.

The aim for the policy of educating tolerance and pluralism is more elaborate as it involves the youth, teachers, schools and the government. The policy was created with the aim to strengthen the moderate values and views of the younger generation. Eddi said: *"We don't want our younger brother and sister at school to be a victim. Actually they are victims of unclear views."* What Eddi implies here, is that the younger generation does not know what views they need to have. According to Eddi, the Maarif Institute sees it as a competition. On one side there are the radical elements who want to disseminate radical views of the Islam, and on the other side there is the Maarif Institue trying to disseminate moderate views of the Islam. Therefore, the aim of the policy is to provide the younger generation with guidance on tolerance and pluralism so that they do not have radical views.

As discussed before, each policy has a different aim. However, the employees have responded with motivation and aims that apply to all policies. Therefore, the following paragraph will be an overview of the aims and motivation of the Maarif Institute. It must be said that the aims and motivations differ. The Maarif Institute not only has focus on schools but also on the Indonesian

community.

The Maarif Institute has big plans for Indonesia. Previously, Budi mentioned that the Maarif Institute acts like a facilitator. Budi elaborated further on this by explaining that they want to close the gap between policy and practice in the field. The Maarif Institute aims to have the government communicate with the community and vice versa. At the moment, both levels do not comprehend each other which leaves an empty space in between them. In addition to the act of bringing government and community together, the institute wants to focus on capacity building of the people of Indonesia. Harto said: *"Because in Indonesia, if you refer to the constitution of '45, it is plainly obvious that there are no 1st class citizen, 2nd class citizen, (we – ed.) are all the same. So from there, the Maarif Institute feels it needs spirit… it should awareness, it should be disseminated and it should be developed. We feel that not everybody own this view."* Harto states here that in the Indonesian community, there are people who still believe in 1st and 2nd class citizenship, while the constitution of '45 states that everyone is the same. The Maarif Institute want so disseminate the idea the everyone is the same and that this class citizenship does not exist. By disseminating these thoughts, the institute want to strengthen the community. Harto adds: *"We dream and aspire that the future Indonesia is Indonesia that is more prosperous, a safer Indonesia and Indonesia that is more peaceful. And Indonesia that provides everyone a place and protects the minority, like that."* Harto exemplifies the motivation of the Maarif Institute to make Indonesia a better place for all. The institute aims to make the country a prosperous, safer and more peaceful place. In addition, Andy said: *"And then the way to do all the activities in the Maarif Institute is creating, two of (our – ed.) objectives, creating society with morality and humanity that have a good relationship with other people that have a good attitude, that have a good morality or something like that."* What Andy mentions here, is the basis of the Maarif Institute. According to him the activities, or in this case policies, of the Maarif Institute is to create a society with morality and humanity and where people have a good attitude. According to Arief this is due to the three basic values that were conveyed by Buya Syafii Ahmad Maarif: *Islam, Indonesia-ness and humanity.* For the Maarif Institute it is important that a community understands Islam. Furthermore, the institute also wants to motivate the community to create a better Indonesia and to have humanity.

In addition to creating a better Indonesia, the institute aims for a place where everyone, regardless of religion, can have a harmonious place to live. The Maarif Institute aims to encourage the Muslim community to be more inclusive. Furthermore, to provide the Muslim community with ideas concerning diversity and pluralism. According to Eddi, the institute wants to give the community more confidence and let them build trust among the different communities. He also said: *"Actually, this is not for us. It is how the they can live a harmonious live in an environment…yeah at local level."* What Eddi exemplifies here is that the institute is not doing these policies for themselves, but for others, such as to those at the local level. According to Harto, the Maarif Institute can be seen as a partner in crime. An institute that can help people in aspects of a harmonious life.

5.2.3. Policy cycle

This paragraph will give an overview of the policy cycle used by the Maarif Institute and their future expectations regarding policy and the institute itself. Furthermore, the purpose of this paragraph is to answer the following sub-questions regarding policy: '*How is the policy formed*?', '*How is the information needed for the policy gathered and analysed?*', '*How is the policy implemented?*', '*Who are the actors that are involved with the implementation of the policy?*', '*Who is the target group of the policy?*' and '*How is the policy put into practice?*' The order of representation of the results is based on the policy cycle mentioned before. Also several of the phases are grouped together as they are similar to one another and can therefore be discussed in one section.

5.2.3.1 Ideology formation and agenda formation

One of the first phases in the policy cycle are ideology formation and agenda formation. According to Arief, an employee of the Maarif Institute, every year they come together to work on strategic planning in the form road maps. These road maps gives them an overview of what needs to be done, where they want to go and what activities they want to do that is in accordance with the vision and mission of the Maarif Institute. The ideology formation commences at the Maarif Institute itself by looking what needs to be done and what way they want to go. Andy, another employee of the Maarif Institute, said: *"And also, you know, the initiative sometimes not from inside, but also the demand from society to, I mean like the issue of morality, the issue of terrorism."* According to Andy, the initiative is not only from Maarif Institute themselves but also from outside. When there is an issue that the society demands, then the Maarif Institute responds to the demand. Budi and Eddi, both employees of the Maarif Institute, explained that the Maarif Institute invites people over or in some cases visit them and discusses and listens to what the people need. During the process of finding out what these people need, they use minimal brainstorming or mapping in order to create an overview of what is needed for these people. Harto, an employee of the Maarif Institute said: *"The initiative, for example it uses dialogues. We use two approaches from top down or bottom up. When people have a revolution, there is a revolution from above and revolution from below, right."* With this quote, Harto gives an idea of how the institute approaches those who are relevant for agenda preparation. The institute does not only approach people on the grass-root, but also those on the elite level. Eddi explains how they approach the elite level. According to him they have meetings with ministries. When they have the support from the ministries, they receive a letter of support or a letter of approval. According to Eddi, with this letter of approval they can go to the lower level, for instance department of education. The confirmation from a higher level opens doors for the institute. And from that point, Eddi said, they can start to make a commitment and start to cooperate. According to Arief, this commitment is important for the Maarif Institute as it cannot work on its own. Furthermore, the institute also creates forums or workshops where they invite stakeholders that are involved with the issue and discuss the matter.

5.2.3.2 Policy preparation

The next phase is the policy preparation. Eddi elaborates on how they find information that is necessary in creating a policy. The information they try to find within the society is quantitative but also qualitative. The latter is mainly about the relationship between the people in the society. In addition to the qualitative and quantitative information, the institute tries to find information from other institutes that have had similar policies or programs. By looking at similar programs, they believe they can learn from the policy's advantages and disadvantages. Furthermore, he mentions that the institute always conducts research before they continue on a policy.

5.2.3.3. Policy formation and policy implementation

The following phase is the formation of policies. Eddi elaborates what happens during this phase: *"First, actually we try to build communication and collaboration with stakeholders and that will be part of the strategy that we want to build."* During this phase the institute starts communicating and cooperating with stakeholders. The cooperation will lead to something that will be part of their policy. Eddi gives an example of how they prepared a part of the policy that concerned the teaching of tolerance and pluralism. He explains that in this policy they have books that are written by teachers themselves. The teachers are considered stakeholders as well. By cooperating with the teachers, the Maarif Institute is able to form a policy that is well fit for the pupils. Forming a policy is important according to Harto. *"If we don't formulate a strategy, then it is difficult."*, he said. *"Sometimes the goal is good, but the strategy is not good, then we understand it wrong."* He believes that designing a policy is necessary as it will ease the acceptance. When a goal is clear but the policy is not clearly formulated, there is a chance that the policy is understood incorrectly.

In addition to the collaboration and formulation of strategies, Harto elaborates that the Maarif Institute launches small pilot projects before implementing a program. Next to the collaboration with stakeholders and the launching of pilot projects, it is not clear how the institute proceeds in the phase of policy formation. It seems that the institute proceeds directly from collaboration to the process of implementing policies. However, according to Eddi and Harto, the institute does take steps in policy formation, but these steps are not as elaborate as in the previous phases.

During the implementation of a policy it is considered important to communicate and have a persuasive approach. According to Budi, there is also a third key factor and that is participation. Communication, persuasive approach and participation are considered essential and also part of the basis of all policies of the Maarif Institute. The institute communicates their policy with a persuasive approach and with participation from the target group. If one of the key factors is missing, then the policy will fail.

The Maarif Institute implements their policies in different ways at the same time. Budi explains that the Maarif Institute is more like a facilitator. They coordinate and help both the elite and grass-root level with communication and collaboration. When implementing, the Maarif

Institute approach their actors that are important for the process. When there are Christians involved in the policy then they implement by cooperating with Christian leaders. For the policy of educating tolerance, they implemented it through two different ways. From top-down, the institute cooperates with actors that are involved in the government, for example the department of education. From the bottom-up, they approach actors that are involved with education, such as teachers or school directors. For both approaches, the institute uses gatekeepers or as they call them 'keypersons'. *"Usually when we go straight to them, they don't trust it"*, Harto said. According to Harto, by using gatekeepers, the institute will have access to the target group as they are considered trusted by the gatekeepers. When they have made contact with important actors, the institute starts to present themselves to the target group. Eddi gives examples of visits to annual teacher forums and youth jamboree camps where they present their policy.

In addition to collaborating with gatekeepers and actors, according to Andy there is another way of implementation that is considered important. He said: *"To get it through media or to discuss it more with publicly, more like writing an article or journal or something like that."* According to Andy, the policy is sometimes implemented through media or by discussing it publicly. The Maarif Institute often organizes meetings where issues are discussed with prominent figures and journalists. During my visit in Indonesia, I was invited to one of these meetings. To give a better idea of what these meetings are I will describe the meeting I was invited to. The Maarif Institute presented a topic on law and the history of Indonesia. For the topic, they invited to prominent figures who were experts on this field and journalists. The prominent figures were encouraged to start the discussion with the journalist. Afterwards, the journalists publish what is discussed during the meeting. By organizing this type of meetings, the Maarif Institute is able to disseminate their ideas or policy through the actors of media.

Looking at how the Maarif Institute implements their policy, the similarities between certain phases in start to become clear. It seems that the phase of policy formation and policy implementation are one phase. During the process of policy formation, Maarif Institute starts their collaboration and building commitment with their actors. This is similar to what happens during the implementation of a policy. As mentioned in the previous paragraph on policy formation, it seems the case that the institute skips the phase of policy formation and immediately continue with implementation. It appears that the institute has fused both policy formation and implementation into one phase.

5.2.3.4. Policy evaluation, feedback and policy termination

The final phases are policy evaluation, feedback and policy termination will be discussed. These three phases will be discussed together as they represent the final steps of the policy cycle.

Arief explains about a procedure concerning evaluation: *"Well every year the Maarif Institute uses strategic planning. Now there, we measure the stages and phases of development that we have accomplished since the beginning until that year."* What Arief explains here is the evaluation of what Maarif Institute

has accomplished since its beginning. It is not an evaluation of a certain policy. However, it does give an insight on how the Maarif Institute evaluates their policies and achievements in general. Furthermore, evaluation at the institute often occurs during the implementation of a policy. According to Eddi, it often happens that their policy is rejected by their target group. The rejection is often due to the content. The Maarif Institute tries to find out the argument behind the rejection by communicating with the group. Next to communication, the institute does not change the policy. Similar to a previous phase, the policy formation, the evaluation of a policy seems to be left out. However, it must be said that during the interview, there was no specific question regarding the evaluation of policies. Therefore, there is a possibility that the Maarif Institute does evaluate every policy, but it is not brought out clearly.

The next phases are feedback and policy termination. As mentioned before, the institute received negative response during the implementation of a policy. However, response differs from feedback as response is a reaction and feedback is a form of advice. Many of the employees have mentioned that during the implementation, they have received reactions that differ from negative to positive. But these were responses and not necessarily feedback. Similar to the previous phase, during the interview there were no questions regarding feedback. Therefore, it is not clear if the Maarif Institute receives and processes feedback. With regard to policy termination, during the interview the focus was on the two policies that were still active. Thereby, there were no specific questions regarding policy termination. Therefore, little can be said about how the institute processes policy termination.

5.2.4. Expectations Maarif Institute

The expectations are in general high, but very diverse. Eddi said: *"I hope that the next generation, the younger generation could look forward to the future with optimism and with yes.. yes…eh positivity yes."* Eddi exemplifies the institute's hope that their policies will bring the next generation optimism for the future. Another employee mentioned that he expects they will continue supporting their stakeholders and continue doing research. He believes it this is necessary due to their support. Without their support and help, he believed the Maarif Institute is nothing. Furthermore, Budi hopes the Maarif Institute will be accepted by the community. He believes the Maarif Institute needs to be perceived as part of the community. Arief keeps it simple. He hopes and expects the goals soon to be realized. He said: *"Because we are all tired with the (current – ed.) conflicts."* In addition to the previous expectations, Andy has higher expectations of the Maarif Institute. He believes the institute will be able to uplift Indonesia in such a way, that they can compete with other countries.

5.3. Religious leaders and the impact

In the following section, the perception, the expectations, the opinion of the religious leaders and the impact of the policies will be discussed. Also, they were asked on how they believed the policies had effect on the religious relations in Indonesia. Moreover, the purpose of this paragraph is to answer

the following sub-questions: *'What is the opinion of religious leaders on the Maarif Institute?'*, *'What is the opinion of the religious leaders on the policy?'* and *'What is the impact of the policy on the religious leaders?'* Furthermore, in contrast to the previous paragraphs, the respondent will not be given a fictitious name. They will be presented with their religion and function.

5.3.1. Perception on Maarif Institute

The religious leaders were asked to give their opinion on the Maarif Institute and on their goals and achievements. In general, the religious leaders have a positive impression of the Maarif Institute. The arrival of the institute is considered as an important step towards tolerance among adherents of different religions. A Christian leader describes them as an institute that tries to create tolerance and good interreligious relations. A Muslim leader said: *"Maarif Institute consist of young, dedicative and very idealistic activist intellectual that make this institution also becoming very well respect and very influential."* The religious leader believes the institute to be influential due to the young activists who are considered to be intellectual, dedicative and idealistic. The same respondent believes the respect is also due to the good name of Syafii Ahmad Maarif. A Christian leader said: *"I think they are also motivated by their love of their country, Indonesia. And Indonesia can only flourish on the basis of tolerance and acceptance of the others"*. According to this religious leader, the institute is also driven by their passion and love for Indonesia. In addition to what the Muslim leader said, the Institute is also perceived as a group of people that are motivated to create a better Indonesia.

A Muslim leader said: *"(…) I worry that if a group like Maarif Institute does not exist, it will create a public space, a public space that later will be dominated by intolerant groups."* This Muslim exemplifies what will happen if an organisation like the Maarif Institute does not exist. He continues to say that the Maarif Institute is one of the important buffers in issues that are related to interreligious dialogues. Furthermore, he also mentions that these kind of institutes are needed in Indonesia due to the growing intolerance towards religion. The religious leaders believe that this type of institute is of importance when trying to fight against the growing intolerance.

In addition to their opinion on the Maarif Institute, the religious leaders are also impressed by the goals and achievements of the Maarif Institute. The religious leaders perceive their goals and achievement particularly as a message and as a prevention. A Muslim leader said: *"But I think they want to see that becoming a Muslim does not mean becoming intolerant."* He continues, *"they want to empower society, especially young people. It is bring a very strong intellectual message and to some extend also theological awareness on the importance of respecting others or the importance of including others despite our personal commitment to be a good Muslim"*. This Muslim leader perceives their goals as messages towards Muslims, especially the younger generation, to become more tolerant. In addition to the strong messages of the Maarif Institute, a Christian leader believed the goals are *"to prevent youth from the influence of this radical group"*.

In contrast to the previous opinions, a Muslim leader said: *"The idea that is carried by the*

Maarif Institute can only be captured by group of scholars. To the top tier class. But it cannot be absorbed yet by the people on the grass-root." What the Muslim implies is that the ideas and goals of the institute can only be reached by the scholars or by the elite level. The grass-root level is not yet able to comprehend their ideas. His argument is that the people on the grass-root are occupied with other thoughts that concern their job, the education of their children and how to survive. According to him, they don't have time think about the ideas of the Maarif Institute.

Looking at how the Maarif Institute is perceived, it can be said that they play an important role in the fight against (religious) tolerance. The Maarif Institute can therefore be recognized as an essential organization.

5.3.2. Perceptions on policy

This paragraph will give a brief overview of the religious leaders' perceptions on the two policies. They were asked to give their personal opinion on the policies. Before continuing, it must be said that not all of the religious leaders were aware of what the policies' exact content.

The first policy discussed is the one concerning the education of tolerance and pluralism. A Muslim leader said: *"I think it is quite successful, though some of the programmes have been controversial. Especially the Pendidikan Agama Islam, perspective HAM. Because to some extend it result in controversy and rejection by some communities."* The Muslim leader believes the policy to be successful despite the controversy. The HAM is the teaching of human rights. This was rejected by many communities as the human rights teachings were considered to be Western. A Christian leader is also positive about the policy. According to him there was a survey once that found out that the tendency of intolerance started at school. He confirmed that this was also the case at Christian schools. According to him this is because at schools, the negative aspects of religion are more promoted than the positive aspects. Another Muslim leader believed the policy to be positive as it changes the thoughts of children. However, he believes that the outcome is not measurable yet, as you cannot measure thoughts straight away.

The second policy discussed was the Maarif Awards. As mentioned before, this policy is simple. It raises awareness that there are people who try to encourage others in the community to work and live together, regardless of their background or religion. A Muslim leader jokes and says that he perceives as a mini Nobel prize for a mini-society or for the micro-environment. Despite the joke he believes the award is good as it puts a light on those who serve the community. Another Muslim leader believes the Maarif Awards is good as it encourages people to do better. Both leaders do say that these people do their work not to receive an award. They do it to for the community. A Christian leader adds that he is also positive as the awards promotes the relationship of people with different religious background.

5.3.3. Expectations of the Maarif Institute

This paragraph will give an overview of what the expectations are of the Maarif Institute. Both the employees and the religious leaders were asked what they expect of the Maarif Institute in the

coming future. In this paragraph, the fictitious names will only be used for the employees of the Maarif Institute.

The expectations are in general high, but very diverse. Eddi said: *"I hope that the next generation, the younger generation could look forward to the future with optimism and with yes.. yes…eh positivity yes."* Eddi exemplifies the institute's hope that their policies will bring the next generation optimism for the future. Another employee mentioned that he expects they will continue supporting their stakeholders and continue doing research. He believes it this is necessary due to their support. Without their support and help, he believed the Maarif Institute is nothing. Furthermore, Budi hopes the Maarif Institute will be accepted by the community. He believes the Maarif Institute needs to be perceived as part of the community. Arief keeps it simple. He hopes and expects the goals soon to be realized. He said: *"Because we are all tired with the (current – ed.) conflicts."* In addition to the previous expectations, Andy has higher expectations of the Maarif Institute. He believes the institute will be able to uplift Indonesia in such a way, that they can compete with other countries.

The religious leaders have high expectations too. A Muslim leader has varied expectations. He expects the institute to be more independent as it relies too much on the good name of Syafii Ahmad Maarif. In addition, he said: *"They have to think of the programme that is sustainable and of course, the consequence of this is selecting a real community and this might be very small rather than doing so many different places at the same time."* What the Muslim leaders exemplifies here is that he expects the Maarif Institute to narrow their focus. The focus would then be more sustainable. In addition, another Muslim leader expects the institute to have stamina, endurance and courage in order to fight against the growing intolerance. According to him, many institutes fail as they do not have these three properties. Furthermore, in addition to his previous on the goals of the institute, he expects the Maarif Institute to have policies that is directly involves the grass-root level. A Christian leader keeps it simple. He expects the Maarif Institute to influence non-Muslims as well.

5.3.4. Impact on religious leaders

Despite the fact that the religious leaders have a positive impression, there is a clear differ among the degree of impact. The impact goes from not having an effect at all to a confronting self-reflection of their own religion. A Muslim leader said: *"It has not changed my perception, because I think I have the same frequency (level – ed.) with them. They didn't affect me."* The Muslim leader does not feel affected as he considers himself like-minded with the Maarif Institute. However he mentioned that he gained more respect for the institute after he was aware of the policies. The impact on this respondent is quite different with that of others. During the interview it became clear that this Muslim respondent was positive about the Maarif Institute and nothing more. The questions on personal opinion were answered shortly while the questions on religion were elaborate. This was similar to one of the Christian leaders. Religion and religious relations were issues that the Christian respondent did not fear to answer. However, when it came to questions on personal opinion, the answers were political correct and superficial. When he was asked how it affected his personal point of view, he answered

that there was mutual influence from both sides. There might have been a possibility that the Christian respondent did not understand the question. However, looking at his others answers, the Christian respondent is consistent in giving vague and superficial answers.

These two religious leaders, both Muslim and Christian, differ from the other two respondents, both also Muslim and Christian. The other Christian leader believed that the Maarif Institute gave him *"hope and positive feeling towards Islam"*. He continues: *"So having an Institute like Maarif is a positive asset for us Catholics too."* The Christian leader feels that the institute does not only affect him, but also other Christians. In addition to the emotional effect on the Christian leader, the other Muslim leader felt emotional impact as well. He said: *"Sometimes it struck my very traditional understanding of Islam. And it makes me think more seriously to see new interpretation of Islam. And to see more alternative perspective to look at teaching of Islam from different angles."* He continues, *"And to some extend I also not always easy to be in agreement with that understanding, but of course it is part of the intellectual discourse."* What happened to this religious leader is that the policies of the institute sometimes struck his own tradition understanding of his religion. The new perspectives on his religion was not always in agreement with his understanding of the Islam. The Maarif Institute has personally affected both the Christian and Muslim leader. It is clear the impact quite different among the respondents. However, the reason why the impact is different, is in my opinion, not linked to religion. The respondents with the deepest impact were both Muslim and Christian. However, it must be said that these respondents felt more connected to the institute than the other two religious leaders.

5.3.5. Impact on religious relations

Before continuing, it must be said there is a possibility that the question regarding impact on religious relations was not fully understood. Some of the religious leaders have answered the question vaguely or with a different topic than the questions. It is not clear why this has happened.

The impact on religious relations is perceived differently among respondents. In general, the respondents believe the Maarif Institute has positive effect on the religious relations. However, none of the respondents could give concrete examples of the impact. A Muslim leader said: *"We cannot see the relationship between religion in Indonesia from one institute alone."* The Muslim leader believes that the relationship should be perceived from different institutes or organisations. According to him the impact would be greater if the issue of religious relations is tackled by several institutions. However, he believes that the Maarif Institute could be one of the *"strong pillars of the foundation (for – ed.) religious tolerance in Indonesia"*. A Christian leader agrees upon this notion. He said: *"But you see the Maarif Institute is not this all institution in Indonesia. There are many."* The Christian leader believes that the Maarif Institute is not alone in Indonesia. There are many similar institutions.

Furthermore, one of the Christian leaders found it difficult to answer this question. He narrows the Indonesian community down to the Muslim. He believes if the Maarif Institute support tendencies, then there will be good relations with other religions and other minorities. What he

means with positive tendencies are the positive attitudes towards other religions. In addition to his answer on impact, the same Christian leader believes that in order to create impact on religious relations, the focus should not be on creating harmony. The Christian respondent believes that harmony is not applicable in Indonesia. According to him, *"harmony is for static situations, not a moving situation."* Indonesia is a society that is diverse and continuous. The Christian leader believes that harmony is not applicable when a society is like this. He believes harmony is more applicable in societies that are more static. In static societies there is no room for continuity. This is an interesting note as one of the motivations of the Maarif Institute is to create harmony. However, there might be a possibility that both the Christian leader and the Maarif Institute have different ideas of what harmony is.

6. Conclusion and Discussion

The following section has five different parts. The first part will be the conclusion in which I will summarize the results and answer my research question. Next, in the discussion section I will link the results of the study with the theoretical background. The third part will discuss the recommendations for further research. The fourth part of the section will consist of recommendations for the Maarif Institute. In the final part of the chapter I will discuss the limitations that I've experienced during the research.

6.1. Conclusion

Before summarizing the findings, the research question needs to be reintroduced. The research question was as follows: *'What is the policy on inter- and intrareligious relations, how is it implemented by the Maarif Institute and what impact does it have on religious leaders?* This research question was established in order to explore the policies of the Maarif Institute regarding inter- and intrareligious relations, the implementation of the policies and the impact of the policies on religious leaders. In other words, the study will give more insight on how the Maarif Institute operates with regard to religious relations, policy implementation and how these policies have influence on the religious leaders.

In order to understand what inter- and intrareligious relations are, it is necessary to understand how religion is being perceived and how religious relations currently are. According to the gathered data, religion is being perceived as a guideline, but also as something to hold on to in life on earth and the hereafter. Religion outside of their own are considered to be similar due to the Abrahmic roots and the comparable goals of life. The relation among religion, such as Muslims and Christians, are considered good, despite the inauspicious beginning. Even though the relationship between Muslims and Christian is considered good, the relationship on the grass-root level cannot be considered as a positive one. Results have shown that relationship is good on the elite level, but not on the grass-root level. On the grass-root level there is a growth of intolerance. The disturbance is considered to be caused by radical groups. In addition to the radical groups, politics, power and economy are considered to be reasons for struggle. The three aspects are part of a competition. Communities compete in order to be superior in at least one of the aspects. Furthermore, lack of understanding and knowledge of the other religion is also considered a reason for struggle among the adherents. Communication, sociological and theological aspects are considered important for the relation between Muslims and Christians as they create commitment, understanding and space for learning on how other religions are put together. As mentioned before, the radical elements are causing intolerance. According to the respondents, these radical groups disseminate their radical views by example through school. And this is where the Maarif Intitute steps in with their policies.

The Maarif Institute currently has two policies that focus on religious relations. The first policy is where the institute tries to teach young students at school about human rights, pluralism and tolerance. The institute has developed an educational program that is based on (religious)

pluralism and human rights. This program was considered controversial due to the combination of human rights and pluralism with religious teachings at school. Later on in the program, the Maarif Institute added a component that had the focus on tolerance, anti-violence and inclusive views. The second policy is the annual Maarif Awards. The awards are meant for social workers, activists or local leaders from the grass-root level that have shown commitment and sincerity in faith in their socio-humanitarian work for the local community. These people are considered to be one of the pillars that strengthen the process of public education, political democratization and conflict mediation at local level.

With regard to the policy cycle, the Maarif Institute does follow the policy cycle to a certain point. The institute does go through the phases of the policy cycle almost in a similar order. Several phases seem even to be less elaborate than others and some even fuse into one. Before continuing on the latter, a brief summary will be given on how the Maarif Institute proceeds in the policy cycle.

First, the institute uses road mapping and minimal brainstorming in order to see what is needed and what needs to be done. In addition, when the society demands attention to be given on an issue, the Maarif Institute will react on this as well. Next, the institute invites or visits stakeholders for a workshop or a meeting where they discuss issues. Second, the searches for information that is needed for the policy preparation. Here, the institutes searches for two types of information: quantitative and qualitative. The latter is information that concerns the relationship among the people in the target group. Next, an analysis of similar policies done by other institutions is made. Hereby, the Maarif Institute learns from the advantages and disadvantages of these policies. In addition, the institute also conducts surveys before forming a policy. The next phase would be policy formation. However, the gathered data have shown that the phases of policy formation and policy implementation are fused in to one. The boundaries between the two phases are barely present. In the phase of policy formation, the Maarif Institute first begins with building commitment and collaborations with stakeholders. Next, they launch small pilot project. In the phase of policy implementation, the institute continues with this collaboration, only with more actors. The Maarif Institute implement their policies through top-down and bottom-up approach. They approach both the government and the people on the grass-root level. In addition, they also implement through media by e.g. inviting journalists to discussions about issues that are actual at that time. Important for the implementation are three key factors: communication, persuasive approach and participation. Without these three key factors, the Maarif Institute believe they cannot implement their policies. Furthermore, it is not clear how the Maarif Institute proceeds in the final three phase of a policy as the discussed policies are still active.

The policies have different impact on the religious leaders and on the religious relations. With regard to the religious leaders, several of them have acknowledged that it has impact on them. To several of the religious leaders, the impact was personal and emotional. The policies of the Maarif Institute gave them positive feelings towards religion, but it also struck their own traditional views of religion. For one of the Muslim leaders, it had no personal effect as the Maarif Institute was

considered like-minded. However, he did gain more respect towards the Maarif Institute.

With regard to the impact on religious relations, according to the religious leaders the policies have had a positive impact on the religious relations. Unfortunately, they could not give an example of the impact. According to one of the religious leaders, the impact would be greater if there were more institutions like the Maarif Institute. Furthermore, a Christian religious leader believed that if the Maarif Institute would support positive tendencies, there will be good religious relations and relations with minority communities. Finally, the same Christian religious leader believed that the impact would be greater when the focus is not on harmony. According to him, harmony is only applicable in static situations and not in moving situations. This is a remarkable notion as the Maarif Institute strives for harmony in the Indonesian community.

The Maarif Institute has big plans for Indonesia. The institute hopes to create a country that is more prosperous, safer and more humane. The Maarif Institute also hopes that the next or the younger generation enters the future with optimism. Furthermore, the Maarif Institute intends to act as a facilitator, by bringing the government and the community together. Bringing them together will close the gap between the government and the community. Religious leaders considered the Maarif Institute to be an influential and respected institute. They are considered to be essential in the fight against radical groups. Without the Maarif Institute, the public space would be dominated by them.

6.2. Discussion

In the following two sections, I will link the findings with the theoretical background. The findings concern religion, politics and policy.

6.2.1. Linking findings with literature

Defining religion as a way of life or a guideline as previously indicated in the theoretical chapter became clearly evident. The respondents considered religion to be a way of life and a guideline for their lives on earth and in the hereafter. This perception is in line with what was stated earlier in the theoretical chapter regarding Asian perspectives on religion. According to Sastrapratedja (1984), in Asian perspective, religion helps people attain their life.

Dobbelaere (2011) stated that there are two different types of definition for religion: functional and substantive. According to Yinger (as cited by Dobbelaere, 2011), in a functional description, religion is considered to be "a system of beliefs and practises by means of which a group of people struggle with … ultimate problems of human life". Peter Berger (as cited by Dobbelaere, 2011) gives an example of a substantive definition: "Religion is the human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established." Both of the types of definition have been found in the result section. Respondents have defined religion both as a system of beliefs and as a sacred cosmos.

McCleary and Barro (2006) pointed out that religious beliefs affected the economy due to traits as work ethic and thrift. Furthermore, the graphic description of heaven and hell gave the adherents motivation to live life to the fullest in order to be saved. In the results, I have not

identified the notion that was indicated by McCleary and Barro. The data did not show any evidence that religious beliefs affected the economy. What I did discover, is the motivation to live life to the fullest in order to be saved. This concept was clearly evident as the respondents believed that religious beliefs attained them happiness in the worldly life and the hereafter.

In a news article of the Jakarta Post (2013) the Deputy Governor Basuki Purnama raised the issue of the obligation of religion on identity cards. In addition to name, gender and date of birth, religion has become part of the identity. This notion of identifying Indonesians through religion was brought up during the research. I have found that people believe there is too much focus on religious identity than on national identity. Indonesians tend to identify themselves and others too much on religion. This is similar to what the Deputy Governor of Jakarta mentioned in an article in the Jakarta Post (2014). He stated that Indonesia was not a country of religion.

Next to the obligation of putting religion on the identity cards, there is also the issue of non-acknowledged religions. First, Steenbrink (1999) pointed out that the belief in the One and Only Deity is formulated in the Pancasila In addition, Sulaiman and Turnbull (2012) stated that the founding Pancasila guarantess religious freedom and tolerance. Both sources indicate that anyone can have a religion, with the condition that there is only one deity in the religion. Bonar Tigor Naipospos, deputy chairman of Setara Institute, stated in an interview with Jakarta Globe (Pasandaran, 2014) that the Constitution never mentioned official religions. Naipospos made this statement due to the fact that the Indonesian Law only acknowledges six religions. During research, I have found that the exclusion of non-acknowledged religions is an issue that is still considered to be a concern as it was brought up clearly by a one of the religious leaders. Religions outside of the six acknowledged ones are also considered to be a religion by the religious leader as they have a God in which they believe.

As indicated by Schwarz (1997), many members of the Muslim community felt that they were part of a minority group, despite that they were the majority in Indonesia. Schwarz (1997) indicated that this was due to the fact that during the New Order, Christians have held many important governmental and military posts. During research, I have found this notion of feeling like a minority while being a majority is still considered to be an issue. One of the respondent confirmed this notion even to be a reason for struggle.

Furthermore, during research I have found that several arguments for struggle among Muslims and Christians is in accordance with what is stated in the literature. Noorhaidi (2010) mentioned that power struggle occurs when religious groups try to maintain their power. Gordon (as cited in Deegan, 2011) stated that "religion is not the cause of the violence; it is sparked by issues who gets the job (and) political office". What is indicated by both Noorhaidi and Gordon was stated during the interviews. The struggle among Muslims and Christians was considered to be caused by power. *"Each community wants to be superior"* is what the 30-year old Muslim respondent stated. It was also mentioned that getting the job is the what people really strive for as they are even willing to migrate for it.

In the chapter of theoretical background, Steenbrink (1999) and Pringle (2010) both mentioned the 'Penghijauan' ('greening') of the Indonesian Government. Muslims were given most of the positions and there was a reduction of in the number of Christians on governmental positions. This was in contrast with what Schwarz (1997) previously stated. He mentioned that during the New Order, the Christians were given many of the governmental and military posts. In the results, I have identified a statement that is related to these events. A Christian religious leader made the statement that both the Muslims and Christians were disillusioned by the government of Suharto. According to the Christian leader, the Christians were hoping for a win-win relationship with the Muslim. The win-win relationship would have been established if the governmental and military positions were spread equally. What Steenbrink (1999) and Pringle (2010) stated, is that this win-win relationship never happened.

Regarding policy and the policy cycle, I have identified several similarities in my findings and the theoretical background. Hill (2009) indicated that policy can be defined as a course of action or a web of decisions that takes place over a long period of time. Kroon (2000) added that policy is defined as "an answer to a problem". Subsequently, Hoogerwerf (as cited in Kroon, 2000) defined problem as "a discrepancy between a norm and an impression of an actual or expected future situation". In my findings I have identified the definitions stated by Kroon, Hoogerwerf and Hill. The policies of the Maarif Institute are in fact a web of decisions that were made by the institute. The policies were planned for a long period of time as they were initiated in 2006 and 2007. Furthermore, the policies are an answer to a problem. In the case of the Maarif Institute, the problem is the discrepancy between the norm, religious intolerance, and the expected future situation, which is (religious) harmony in Indonesia. The answer to this problem are therefore their policies.

As mentioned previously, I have identified similarities in my findings and in my theoretical background. These similarities concern the policy cycle. As Kroon (2000) indicated, there are eight phases in the policy cycle. In the first two phases, ideology and agenda formation, Kroon (2000) , van de Graaf and Hoppe (as cited in Kroon, 2000) explain that there are two important actions. First, ideology formation involves reaching an agreement within the political community. Second, agenda formation involves bringing societal issues or problems to the attention to the public. Both actions have been identified in the findings. The Maarif Institute invites stakeholders from communities that are involved to discuss the matters. Subsequently, the institute brings the issues to the attention by having meetings with ministries and stakeholders who are considered relevant.

The following phases are policy preparation and policy formation. According to Kroon (2000), policy preparation involves the gathering and analysis of relevant information, while policy formation involves the writing of the policy plan.In my results, I have only identified the first action. Maarif Institute gathers and analyzes relevant information by conducting surveys and inquiring other institutes. With regard to policy formation, I have not identified the action of writing a policy plan. According to Kroon (2000), policy formation also involves decision-making and creating a statement. These actions I did identify at the Maarif Institute. During the policy formation, the

institute decides who they need to commit and collaborate with in their policy formation. And by choosing their collaborators, they make a statement.

Next phase is the policy implementation. Van de Graaf and Hoppe (as cited in Kroon, 2000) considered this phase to be an important phase as the policy plan is put into practice. Kroon (2000) also stated that actors who implement need to have a stable relationship with the target group. This notion has been identified in the findings. The Maarif Institute uses gatekeepers to reach their target group. These gatekeepers are not only considered to be the representatives of the target group, but also as the actors that help with the implementation.

The final phases of the policy cycle are policy evaluation, feedback and policy termination. According to Kroon (2000) and Hoogerwerf (as cited in Kroon, 2000), these phases involve evaluation of content, implementation and effect. Furthermore, it also involves receiving feedback and terminating a policy. None these actions were identified in the findings. As stated earlier in the conclusion, these phases were not discussed due to the fact that the policies are still active.

6.3. Directions for further research

Further research on this topic is advisable. This study offered a view on religious relations through the perspectives of religious leaders and the Maarif Institute. Many of my respondents have indicated that the relationship among Muslims and Christians is disturbed on the grass-root level. The information given concerning the grass-root level was provided by the elite level (religious leaders) and the meso-level (Maarif Institute). The concept of grass-root level is quite broad and there is not much is known about those on the grass-root level. Therefore, not knowing how the grass-root level is structured can make us biased. Results have shown that there is enough going on that level. The Maarif Institute has already shown that gaining access to that group is difficult. My argument for putting the focus only on the grass-root level, is based on the fact that there is little known about the grass-root level. Conducting more research on for example on demographics, migration or economic background would benefit the government and even the Maarif Institute as they can adapt to the needs of the grass-root level. Finally, conducting further research on the grass-root level will provide a clearer overview of how this level is structured.

6.4. Recommendations for the Maarif Institute

In this paragraph I will discuss several recommendations for the Maarif Institute based on the results and the literature. The recommendations should be seen as an advisory rather than an obligation. Furthermore, the recommendations only regard the policy, as I cannot advise the Maarif Institute how to handle religion and religious relations.

As mentioned previously in the conclusion and in the result section, the Maarif Institute follows the policy cycle to a certain point. Furthermore, in the result section it became clear that certain phases of the policy cycle were fused in to one. Next, the beginning and end of a phase are not clear as one action flows in to another. It must be said that fusing certain phases into one or following a policy cycle to a certain point is not considered to be wrong. The purpose of the

recommendation is to provide advise that will enhance the use of the policy cycle and eventually the efficiency of starting a policy.

As stated by Kroon (2000), a policy cycle consists of eight phases: (1) Ideology formation, (2) Agenda formation, (3) Policy preparation, (4) Policy formation, (5) Policy implementation, (6) Policy evaluation, (7) Feedback and (8) Policy termination. Each phase has a purpose and a main activity. , For example, during the phase of agenda formation, the issue needs to be brought to the attention and to be put on the (political) agenda. Raising awareness is also part of the phase. When this has been done, the next phase starts. And when the main activity of that phase has been done as well, the next phase of the policy cycle is initiated. By going from phase to phase, pitfalls are prevented as the activities of the previous cycles have been handled.

The policy cycle is called a cycle due to the fact that a policy is constantly changing. I understand that by proceeding through the phases step by step makes the process slightly static. However, as it is called a cycle, one can stop in the middle of the process and start over with previous phase. What is meant with taking the phases step by step is to prevent being side-tracked. When being side-tracked, the goal can be put in to the background or even disappear. Therefore it is important to have the focus on the phase of the policy cycle that one is currently in. A Muslim leader stated a similar notion. He said: *"They have to think of the programme that is sustainable and of course, the consequence of this is selecting a real community and this might be very small rather than doing so many different places at the same time."* What the Muslim leader stated here does not concern the policy cycle. He believes that the focus of the program should be narrowed down. Instead of focusing on many different places at the same time, the institute should focus on one small community. What is meant with this example is to show that it might be useful to focus on a small thing rather than many other things at the same time. With regard to the policy cycle, it might be useful for the Maarif Institute to focus a phase at a time and to make a clear distinction between the phases. A policy cycle checklist or manual would make the process easier as one can control if all the activities of the phases have been done.

To conclude, it is recommended for the Maarif Institute to take the policy cycle step by step. By handling the phases one by one, pitfalls may be prevented and the focus will prevent them from being side-tracked. Furthermore, clarifying the distinction of the phases would make it easier to focus on what needs to be done in the phases. Finally, it must be mentioned that the current process of policy is not considered to be wrong. The purpose of this recommendation is to enhance the use of the policy cycle and the efficiency of starting a policy.

6.5. Limitations

In this paragraph I will discuss the limitations I have experienced during research. Despite that I've tried to reduce or prevent issues that could influence my research, there are some limitations that need to be discussed. The first limitation concerns my position as a researcher. To the respondents I presented myself as a Dutch student with an Indonesian background. The latter was necessary to

mention in order to explain to them that I was able to speak and understand Indonesian. Further information such as my age or religion was never revealed to the respondents. Not knowing my religion would make me neutral as a researcher. However, as mentioned previously in the result section, the Indonesian people identify others based on their religion. The fact that I am Dutch could have made my respondents believe I was not a Muslim but a Christian. In the results there is no evidence that this notion has influenced my respondents' answers, but there is still the possibility.

The second limitation is related to the duration and the timing of the research. As this was a part of a pilot project of the Frans Seda Foundation, I was limited to a certain amount of time. Getting in touch with the Maarif Institute and the respondents took approximately one month. The gathering of data and conducting interviews took also a month. Due to the limited time I was only able to get in contact with a smaller amount of respondents than planned. The latter was also due to the timing of the research. During my stay in Jakarta from February till April, Indonesia was just starting to prepare for elections on the 9th of April. Due to the preparations and campaigning, many of my potential respondents were not or barely available. Furthermore, the fact that the elections were about to happen led to another limitation of this research. The third limitation is related to the elections. During the run for elections, certain topics become sensitive to discuss. As religion and religious relations is still considered a sensitive topic, there might have been a possibility that my respondents were not fully open about the topics. As mentioned before, there is a possibility this has to do with the SARA-policy, which is a policy that forbid any Indonesians to discuss issues concerning Suku (race), Religion (agama), Ras (ethnicity) and Antargolongan (Intragroup relation). This policy in combination with the run for the elections might have influenced the respondent's openness and answers.

The last limitation is related to language. Some of the respondents preferred to answer interview questions in the Indonesian language. As my Indonesian language skills are not at the level of a native speaker, I have asked a native speaker to translate my interview questions. Despite the translation, the questions might have been interpreted differently in Indonesian than when it was in English. Therefore, this translation might have influenced the answers of my respondents.

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Appendices

1. Interview guide set: English version

Interview guide Maarif Institute

<u>Opening of the interview</u>
Introduction of myself and of the research
Explanation of the purpose of the interview
Length and content of the interview
Explanation of the informed consent form concerning anonymity and confidentiality
Additional questions from the informant

<u>Bibliographical information</u>

- What is your age?
- What is your religion?
- What is your function and what are your responsibilities within the Maarif Institute?
- When did you start your career at the Maarif Institute and why?

<u>Religion</u>

- What is your definition or perception of religion in general?
- What is your definition or perception of your own religion?
- How do you define other religions?
- What is your perception of inter- and intrareligious relations?
- In your opinion, how is the current relation between Muslim and Christian?
- What is your point of view on the relation between Muslim and Christians?
- The Maarif Institute sees the relation as a holistic issue. In your opinion, which aspect is the most important in the relation between Muslim and Christian?
- Which aspect should be given more attention?
- In your opinion, what is the reason behind the struggles between Muslim and Christian?

<u>Policy (What)</u>

- When was decided that the strategy needed to be formed?
- How was the initiative to form a strategy formed?
- Who were involved in the preparation of the strategy?
- What information was needed to form the strategy?

<u>Vision</u>

- What was the motivation to form the policy?
- What is the aim of the policy?

<u>Process (How)</u>

- What steps were undertaken to implement the strategy?
- Who were or are involved in the implementation of the strategy?
- Who are the actors or were involved in the implementation of the strategy?

Target Group (Who)

- For whom is the strategy intended?
- Why are they your target group?
- What are the plans concerning approaching the target groups? How do you intend to reach them?

Impact

- What impact do you want the strategy to have in general?
- What impact do you want the strategy to have on the target group?
- Why is that the desired effect?
- What are your expectations regarding the effect?

Interview guide Religious Leaders

Opening of the interview
Introduction of myself and of the research
Explanation of the purpose of the interview
Length and content of the interview
Explanation of the informed consent form concerning anonymity and confidentiality
Additional questions from the informant

Bibliographical information

- What is your age?
- What is your religion?
- What is your profession and what are your responsibilities?

Religion

- What is your definition or perception of religion in general?
- What is your definition or perception of your own religion?
- How do you define other religions?
- What is your perception of inter- and intrareligious relations?
- In your opinion, how is the current relation between Muslim and Christian?
- What is your point of view on the relation between Muslim and Christians?
- In your opinion, which aspect is the most important in the relation between Muslim and Christian?
- Which aspect of the relation between Christian and Muslim should be given more attention?
- In your opinion, what is the reason behind the conflicts between Muslim and Christian?

Maarif Institute

- In what way are you familiar with the Maarif institute? (Work, private etc.?)
- What is your perception or opinion of the Maarif Institute?
- What do you think are the goals of the Maarif Institute? What do you think they want to achieve?
- In your opinion, to what extent does the Maarif Institute have effect in general?

Impact

- The Maarif Institute's strategy is to try to create more tolerance and dialogue by educating students and teachers on being open-minded. What is your opinion on this?
- To what extent does this affect your opinion on religious relations?
- Another strategy of the Maarif Institute is to award extraordinary people who have created harmony, cooperation and dialogue among different religions. What is your opinion on this?
- To what extent does this affect your opinion on religious relations?
- To what extent will the strategy affect your point of view of your own religion?
- In your opinion, to what extent will the strategy affect the religious relations in Indonesia?
- In your opinion, what are your expectations on the strategy of the Maarif Institute creating more tolerance and dialogue?

2. Interview guide set: Indonesian version

Interview guide Maarif Institute

<u>Opening of the interview</u>
Introduction of myself and of the research
Explanation of the purpose of the interview
Length and content of the interview
Explanation of the informed consent form concerning anonymity and confidentiality
Additional questions from the informant

<u>Bibliographical information /Biografi Narasumber</u>

- Berapa umur Anda?
- Apa Agama Anda?
- Apa jabatan Anda serta tanggung jawab pekerjaan Anda di Maarif institute ini?
- Sejak kapan Anda memulai karir Anda disini, dan kenapa Anda tertarik bergabung disini?

<u>Religion/Agama</u>

- Apa definisi dan persepsi Anda tentang Agama secara umum ?
- Apa definisi atau persepsi Anda mengenai agama Anda sendiri?
- Bagaimana Anda menanggapi Agama lain di luar agama Anda?
- Apa definisi atau persepsi Anda mengenai hubungan antar agama dan hubungan inter agama Anda?
- Menurut opini Anda, bagaima hubungan antara Muslim dan Kristen saat ini ?
- Apa sudut pandang Anda sendiri mengenai hubungan Islam dan Kristen?
- Menurut Anda, diantara semua aspek dalam hubungan Islam dan Kristen ini, aspek terpenting apa yang harus diperhatikan untuk membina hubungan Kristen dan Islam?
- Aspek apa yang harus lebih banyak mendapatkan perhatian?
- Menurut opini Anda apa alasan dibalik ketegangan yang ada antara Islam dan Kristen?

<u>Policy (What)/Kebijakan</u>

- Kapan waktu yang paling tepat untuk menerapkan sebuah strategi?
- Siapakah yang berinisiatif menentukan strategi?
- Siapa sajakah yang terlibat dalam hal ini?
- Informasi apakah yang dibutuhkan untuk bisa menyusun strategi?

<u>Vision/Visi</u>

- Kebijakan yang ada sekarang dibuat dengan motivasi apa?
- Untuk apakah kebijakan dibuat?

<u>Process (How)</u>

- Langkah apa yang sudah dibuat untuk mengimplementasikan sebuah strategi?
- Siapa sajakah yang terlibat dalam pengimplementasian strategi tersebut?
- Siapakah aktor/tokoh yang terlibat ketika mengimplementasikan strategi tersebut?

<u>Target Group (Who)/ Kelompok Sasaran</u>

- Untuk siapakah strategi ini dibuat?
- Mengapa mereka sebagai tujuan target Kelompok Anda?
- Apa yang Anda lakukan agar bisa mendekati mereka ?

<u>Impact/Dampak</u>

- Dampak apa yang paling Anda inginkan dari strategi yang Anda terapkan?
- Dampak apa yang paling anda inginkan untuk kelompok yang menjadi target sasaran Anda?
- Kenapa ini Efek yang diinginkan?
- Apa harapan Anda?

Interview guide Religious leaders

<u>Opening of the interview</u>
Introduction of myself and of the research
Explanation of the purpose of the interview
Length and content of the interview
Explanation of the informed consent form concerning anonymity and confidentiality
Additional questions from the informant

<u>Bibliographical information /Biografi Narasumber</u>

- Berapa umur Anda?
- Apa Agama Anda?
- Apajabatan Anda serta tanggung jawab pekerjaan Anda di organisasi ini?
- Sejak kapan Anda memulai karir Anda disini, dan kenapa Anda tertarik bergabung disini?

<u>Religion/Agama</u>

- Apa definisi dan persepsi Anda tentang Agama secara umum ?
- Apa definisi atau persepsi Anda mengenai agama Anda sendiri?
- Bagaimana Anda menanggapi Agama lain di luar agama Anda?
- Apa definisi atau persepsi Anda mengenai hubungan antar agama dan hubungan inter agama Anda?
- Menurut opini Anda, bagaima hubungan antara Muslim dan Kristen saat ini ?
- Apa sudut pandang Anda sendiri mengenai hubungan Islam dan Kristen?
- Menurut Anda, diantara semua aspek dalam hubungan Islam dan Kristen ini, aspek terpenting apa yang harus diperhatikan untuk membina hubungan Kristen dan Islam?
- Aspek apa yang harus lebih banyak mendapatkan perhatian?
- Menurut opini Anda apa alasan dibalik ketegangan yang ada antara Islam dan Kristen?

<u>Maarif Institute</u>

- Bagaimana Anda pertama kali mengenal Maarif Institute?
- Bagaimana persepsi Anda mengenai Maarif Institute?
- Menurut Anda, apa tujuan dengan adanya Maarif Institute? Apa yang Anda pikir mereka ingin capai?
- Menurut Opini Anda sejauh apa efek dibentuknya Maarif secara umum terhadap pembahasan ini?

<u>Impact/Dampak</u>

- Strategi Maarif Institue adalah membentuk dan mengembangkan pola toleransi beragama melalui pendidikan sekolah menengah dengan para Guru yang *open minded*. Apa pendapat Anda mengenai hal ini?
- Sampai sejauh mana hal ini mempengaruhi pendapat Anda tentang hubungan agama?
- Strategi lain dari Maarif Institue adalah memberikan award atau penghargaan kepada orang yang bisa menjaga harmonisasi antara agama dan dialog antar agama, apakah opini Anda terkait hal ini?
- Sejauh apa keberadaan Maarif Institute mempengaruhi hubungan beragama ?
- Sejauh apa strategi yang diterapkan Maarif Institute mempengaruhi sudut pandang Anda pribadi (tentang hubungan beragama) ?

- Menurut pendapat Anda, sejauh apa strategi Maarif institute mempengaruhi hubungan antar agama di Indonesia ?
- Apa harapan Anda untuk masa depan Maarif Institute?

3. Coding scheme (Indonesian and English)

Code/Category	Interview excerpts

Religion

Religion in general

"Ya Agama itu kan sistem nilai. Sistem nilai yang dipercayai dan itu lembaga yang namanya agama ya. Dan sebenarnya pada tingkat tertentu..ya orang menghayati nilai nilai agama itu tidak harus beragama juga. Karena agama itu perlembagaan system nilai." (Muslim, 35 years old)

"Sebenarnya yang level lebih tinggi adalah orang yang religious. Jadi saya melihat orang religious itu jauh…lebih inklusif, lebih universal daripada orang yang agamis." (Muslim, 35 years old)

"a way of life that men can live in, rely on. And always refer to, for their life. And it is the inspiration, the spirit of life." (Muslim religious leader)
"I believe this is the divine revelation from god" (Muslim religious leader)

"some whole structured belief system with believers believing that human life and the whole cosmos is part of a greater transcendent reality". (Christian religious leader)

"kalau saya agama itu tunduk untuk manusia kepada kekuatan supranatural. Kekuatan yang supra luar kita. Itu untuk saya sudah bisa disebut sebagai agama. Tetapi kalau di Indonesia definisi agama seperti itu enggak cukup. Dia harus mempunya organisasi, segala macam."(Muslim, 43 years old)

"You can quote it, but religion I think, from my point of view, is a system to worship God. Or it is up to you, how you see your relation of God. Because in this modern time there are so many perceptions on God or about God and something like that" (Christian religious leader).

"Ya Agama itu kan sebetulnya sebuah system yang ehhh….ya…ya diinspirasi dari.. apa wahyu ya yang trensedental. dan itu menjadi landasan bagaimana orang orang hidup di dunia ini." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Bagi saya sih agama masih bisa dijadikan inspirasi untuk apa bagaimana kita menjalani kehidupan politik dan sosial. Meskipun sekarang ini kan orang sering menyalah gunakan agama dalam bentuk…ya. Banyak sekali politisi politisi misalnya yang berjubah agama politisi yang memakai..apa istilahnya itu.. doktrin agama..dia (..) doktrin agama tapi sebetulnya dia menyimbangkan doktrin agama itu" (Muslim, 30 years old)

"cuman mungkin kita tidak bisa meletakkan itu secara apa istilahnya itu… leterlek, ya secara kaku dalam kebangsaan kita. karena kita hidup disini tidak sendirian. Kita tidak satu kelompok disini. Kita hidup bersama dengan komunitas yang berbeda. sehingga kita harus cari platform

bersama yang bisa menyatuhkan semuanya. Yaitu yang saya anggap bahwa mungkin agama masih… saya kira agama masih bisa menjadi insiprasi saja." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Menurut saya agama itu kan sesuatu yang bisa menjadikan pedoman bagi hidup kita. Agama itu kan menuntun orang agar punya pegangan dalam hidup ini. Kalau kita hanya tidak beragama, itu kadang kadang tujuan hidup tidak jelas" (Muslim, 33 years old)

"Bagi saya agama itu, apa namanya itu, institute spiritual. Jadi tempat dimana hal-hal yang tidak bisa dijawab dengan logica, akal saya" (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Tapi kalau menurut saya, kalau kita pengen hidup kita bermanfaat..eeh useful for, kepada orang, disitu saya kira organized religion itu penting. Karena kita bisa mempengaruhi orang orang, mengajar orang orang terkuat baik" (Muslim, 33 years old)

"agama adalah sebuah institusi yang melalui institusi itu manusia ingin mendekati apa yang di tersebut dengan Tuhan"(Muslim, 30 years old)

"And then make people follow this stuff and teaching and then so that they believe that after this, in this world, they have a better future in the afterlife or something like that. But religion in social system is something like that give you like a way of life, in term of your activities, your behaviour and your (..) or something like that, yeah." (Muslim, 37 years old)

Religion Muslim point of view	"I believe that Islam is the true religion" (Muslim religious leader)

"I believe by embracing Islam, I could attain real happiness in my worldly life and also in the hereafter." (Muslim religious leader)

"So becoming a Muslim in my view, is part of a subjective, it could be a choice" (Muslim religious leader)

"Ya saya pribadi ya memang pada awalnya saya mempercayai itu agama menjadi pedoman… satu satunya pedoman dalam hidup. kan sering tuh di katakan Islam itu menjadi "a diin wa daulah" misalnya itu, agama dan apa….politik..kekuasan itu. artinya menguasai seluruh lini kehidupan, ekonomi, politik itu semua di bahkan sampai yang kecil kecil saja diurusin oleh Islam." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Saya sebagai muslim yah saya tentu meyakini bahwa jalan keislaman yang itu saya anggap dan mewakili kebenaran menurut saya." (Muslim religious leader)

"Saya kira, Islam sangat luas jadi kita bisa membuat agama islam itu sebagai pedoman hidup kita dan bisa menjadi lebih inspirasi untuk kita untuk berbuat yang lebih baik manusia yang lebih baik." (Muslim, 34

years old)

"Islam adalah agama yang final."… "Saya yakin bahwa dengan Agama juga saya akan selamat dunia dan akhirat. Selain itu, Islam tidak hanya mengajarkan bagaimana manusia itu punya kewajiban untuk beribadah kepada apa ya, beyond some point dari semuanya. Tapi juga bisa memberikan dasar dasar kemanusiaan, bagaimana semustinya saya sebagai manusia itu hidup dan menghidupi kehidupan." (Muslim, 28 years old)

"yeah, religion, Islam for instance, it is in the context of Indonesia, is, you want to like change society, you need something that already embraced or belong to the society that make you easier for instance, to change that society into a better community, better society or something like that." …. "yeah, to get involved with, to get involved with the people, with the communities, something like that." (Muslim, 37 years old

Religion Christian point of view	"And the beliefs that Jezus is God's revelation and that people following Jezus are saved." (Christian religious leader)

"But I think traditionalist speaking, at least from the Christian point of view, God is as we know, we knew him in Christ. That is from the traditional point of view." (Christian religious leader) |
| Perceptions of other religions | "yaa..Mereka meyakini dan mengerjakan dengan hal yang sama seperti yang saya yakini juga. Cuman mungkin caranya dan jalannya yang berbeda." (Muslim, 35 years old)

"God does not create mankind to believe in one single religion but rather, you know God give human beings an option" (Muslim religious leader)

"it is part of free will, it is part of human personal endeavor for their life. Therefore, diversity of religion is part of the evidence that God revelation" (Muslim religious leader)

"Meskipun Saya mengatakan Islam benar. Tapi saya tidak usah menyalahkan agama lain." (Muslim religious leader)

"Jadi sebagai muslim yang meyakini jalan keislaman adalah jalan yang benar, sebagai pribadi saya meyakini itu, tapi pada saat yang sama tidak…ehh..kemudian saya harus mengatakan salah terhadap agama orang lain. Sama misalnya kalau saya mengatakan istri saya cantik, misalnya. Ya udah sampai disitu aja. Tidak perlu saya katakan pada istri kamu jelek. Ya udah istri saya cantik. Gitu aja. Agama saya benar. Ya udah. Enggak usah saya ikutin mengatakan pada agamamu salah" (Muslim religious leader)

"I think they have also their own definition. And I think, according to me, they are worshipping God as I worship him." (Christian religious leader)

"Ya kalau menurut saya itu Saya ya…percaya bahwa agama itu kan sebetulnya cara itu. Cara kita untuk mencapai suatu tujuan. saya percaya bahwa tujuan setiap orang itu sama, cuman caranya saja yang berbeda. |

Nah ini lah agama itu menurut saya itu adalah cara bagaimana kita mendekati diri kita kepada tujuan yang sama itu. Tujuan bisa lewat kanan, bisa kiri, bisa lewat apa.. (..).”(Muslim, 30 years old)

"But you see, beside these six religion, there are another local or tribal religions. But they are not included in this definition. And that is why they are not official acknowledged as (?). And according to us here, (…)the community in Indonesia, they are also religion. They have also right to be acknowledged as a religion, because they have their God. Regardless you acknowledge or not this God. But they have their own God. And these must be respected, also by the government." (Christian religious leader)

"I think it is point of view.. not only in point of view but we already (?) it. According to us, Muslims or Islam is our brother. And we have the same root. Theological root. Abrahamic. We are all Abrahamic religion." (Christian religious leader)

"Jadi dalam beragama, saya kira semua agama kan mengajar hal hal yang baik. Misalkan untuk tolong menolong, mencegah perang, mencegah perbuatan mencuri, mencegah saling membunuh, dan sebagainya" (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Saya kira kan kalau kita baca buku-buku sejarah agama itu kan antara Islam, Yahudi dan Nasrani kan itu semuanya berpangkal pada satu yaitu Abrahamic Religion seperti itu. Jadi disitu sebetulnya, kan antara islam, yahudi dan Kristen itu kan sebetulnya saling bersaudara, seperti itu." (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Saya mempercayai bahwa setiap manusia punya caranya sendiri untuk mendekat kebenaran" (Muslim, 28 years old)

"Kalau ada 1000 manusia menafsirkan tentang Tuhan bisa ada 1000 bentuk. Di dalam Islam sendiri bisa berbeda, penasfirannya. Pehamannya itu bisa berbeda." (Muslim, 28 years old)

"Pun demikian saya pemahami orang orang yang berbeda agama. Mereka juga punya saya punya kesempatan yang sama, seperti saya, untuk selamat dunia dan akhirat." (Muslim, 28 years old)

"Agama diciptakan untuk manusia untuk saling mengenal. Menurut saya begitu. Begini aja ya, kalau memang Tuhan mau bisa saja Tuhan menciptakan satu agama, tidak usah berbeda –beda. Tidak usah ada Islam Kristen dan sebagainya. biar tidak menimbulkan pertengkaran iya kan? Tapi ada banyak agama di dunia ini, karena menurut saya ya agama itu diciptakan, diadakan untuk manusia saling mengenal" (Muslim, 28 years old)

"Other religion, other than Islam is also, in my understanding, a way to find, like to find god, to find better future, better… to create a better (..). Actually, in term of, I say, in term of goal, every religion has the same thing. What I mean by this, for instance with, we as Muslim want to (..)

create a better society or better future. For people that other religion have it is the same objectives, the same (..). So there is no difference, perhaps only the way to achieve that one is different to Muslim and other religion."(Muslim, 37 years old)

Religious relations

"Hubungan Islam Kristen di Indonesia itu juga dinamis ya…. Ada fluktuasi.. agak naik, agak turun. Kadang ada fase fase yang buruk, juga ada fase fase yang mereka membaik ya. Di Indonesia sendiri saya melihat perkembangannya justru mengarah ke yang lebih positif" (Muslim, 35 years old)

"The first is social interrelation, the second maybe political interrelations and the third is theological interrelation"… "theological interrelation: one has to be very committed to their own religion or in other words you can say, one has to be puritan with the theology. So, we cannot become half Christian or half Muslim or half Buddhist. We have to be a truly Muslim, We have to be let's say full Muslim. Just like other people they have to be full Christian or let's say committed Christian. This is in theology" (Muslim religious leader)

"They should also try to understand each other in order to at least be able to appreciate each other." (Christian religious leader)

"Begini, hubungan antara itu tidak bisa dilihat dalam satu fase. Ada fase-fase dimana hubungan antara agama itu mesra. Ada fase dalam secara dimana antara hubungan agama itu (..) ketegangan. Terutama Islam dan Kristen, misalnya. Islam Kristen itu, ada masa dimana antara Islam dan Kristen itu terlibat proses saling belajar, saling menimba pengetahuan"(Muslim religious leader)

"And if you ask me, about the relations here, it is very good. We have a very good relationship with the leaders. The leaders of the religions here in Indonesia."(Christian religious leader)

"Saya kira baik-baik saja. Karena mereka berangkat dari visi yang sama sebenernya. Islam dan Kristen kan bisa disatukan dengan agama Abraham…gitu lah" (Muslim, 28 years old)

"kalau kita mempersepsi hubungan agama secara teologis itu saja, itu hanya akan mengarahkan pada perdebatan perdebatan yang mungkin tidak…apa istilahnya.. sia sia lah. Tidak ada manfaatnya. Nah yang harus dibangun itu adalah, bagaimana.. kan agama itu ada… bukan hanya elemen teologis transendental tapi menjadi salah satu elemen agama yang itu adalah bagaimana elemen sosiologis yang harus dilihat begitu" (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Jadi saya kira kalau hubungan islam dengan agama agama lain itu bisa saling membantu, bisa saling menunjang, bisa saling melakukan dialog dan bisa (..) kerjasama untuk tujuan tujuan yang kemanusiaan." (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Saya kira hubungan muslim dan Kristen kan sejarahnya sangat panjang.

Dan hubungan muslim dan Kristen itu dulu kan sih apa sih namanya.. fluktuatif." (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Saya merasa secara personal melihat bahwa, hubungan islam dan Kristen itu adalah persoalan komunikasi." (Muslim, 35 years old)

"Misalkan untuk tingkat elit, misalkan di Jakarta dimana-mana, mereka saling berdialog. Kalau di bawah kan ada penghakiman bahwa Islam yang lebih benar ." (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Dan kenapa misalnya sekarang ini ada laporan laporan mengenai kehidupan agama di Indonesia yang intoleran, tidak harmonis. Meskipun itu dilakukan oleh sekelompok kecil orang. Tapi itu bisa menjadi..apa ya.. menjadi hal yang sangat menganggu hubungan antara agama di Indonesia. Tapi secara umum sih saya masih yakin bahwa Indonesia itu masyarakat Indonesia itu pada dasarnya itu masyarakat yang tolerant dan moderat, gitu." (Muslim religious leader)

Current relation

"The relationship has improved very much from a very inauspicious beginning" (Christian religious leader)

"ehhh, jadi pemukaan agama itu tadi itu misalnya tahun 2007 itu kita, sampai 2009 kita ada program penguatan nilai nilai HAM di sekolah sekolah Muhammadiyah. Problemnya saat itu adalah, seperti saya sampaikan adalah pemahaman soal HAM, soal pluralisme antara di elite Muhammadiyah dengan di tingkat grass root, itu ternyata berbeda. Kalau di elit itu sudah menerima, soal soal itu tapi pas kita ke bawah, mereka belum tentu terima isu HAM, isu pluralisme" (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Dan orang sekarang membangun hubungan yang lebih baik antara Kristen dan Muslim. Karena banyaknya prakarsa kerjasama dari kedua belah pihak." (Muslim, 35 years old)

"I think the current relation is quite good, but it is still of course disturbed by growing intolerance on the grassroot level.".. "The intolerance is of course on the grassroot level specially. But the relations have improved" (Christian religious leader)

"there is a general distrust but only on religious bases but also on ethnical bases between people from different backgrounds in Indonesia." (Christian religious leader)

"Kalau ibarat kita melihat secara masa lalu ya kita lihat dari kita sedang sebagai driver. Itu cukup kita lihat dari kaca..apa sejarah masalah kita lihat dari kaca aja. tidak perlu misalnya seluruh badan kita harus melihat kebelakang." (Muslim religious leader)

Jadi ada kelompok Islam dan Kristen yang ingin membangun jembatan perdamaian. Itu biasanya di kalangan akademisi, kelompok kelompok LSM. Bahkan LSM LSM yang cara khusus bergerakan dalam isu dialog antara agama di Indonesia. (Muslim religious leader)

"Sebenarnya saya...disini saya punya optimis membahwa hubungan Islam

dan Kristen di Indonesia itu…ada kelompok kelompok yang mendorong perdamaian, dan dilakukan secara sadar."..." Tapi saya juga enggak menafikan di pihak lain juga ada kelompok –kelompok yang selalu merasa terancam oleh orang yang berbeda agama." (Muslim religious leader)

"Mereka sangat sensitive dengan misalnya tumbuhnya gereja dimana mana. Itu dianggap sebagai ini adalah kristenisasi yang ancam orang Islam. Kemudian kalau orang Kristen memberikan Tuhan kepada Muslim, dianggap wah ini cara orang Kristen untuk merayu orang Islam dan lain sebagainya." (Muslim religious leader)

"Kalau kebetulan yang mayoritasnya itu muslim, yang cenderung intolerant itu muslim. Tapi di wilaya wilaya Indonesia yang Kristennya atau non-Muslimnya itu mayoritas, ya yang intoleran itu yang cenderung mayoritas itu" (Muslim religious leader)

"You can see that the fast-growing Christianity in South-East Asia is Indonesia. The development of churches building in this country is very much higher as compared to the development of Muslim religious facilities or other religions. And it could be a very observable indicator on the development of Christianity in the country. And you can see, you know, a very significant political achievement by a Christian in this country also very observable. And Muslim, you know, I think in general see this reality as part of the consequent of being Indonesian, as part of the consequence of being a Pancasila state. You know, when the Pancasila accommodate and put every citizen equal before the law, and equal before the system, it is the consequence" (Muslim religious leader)

"The current relation? As I already mentioned, it is good. Generally speaking. I still believe what I mentioned, traditional tolerance." (Christian religious leader)

"Cuman maksud saya mungkin sejak reformasi saya kira kan kecurigaan sudah mulai tereliminasi..apa.. sedikit berkurang gitu.".. "setelah kita melakukan banyak pertemuan dengan elemen ini, itu sedikit banyak kecurigaan itu tereliminir, tereduksi gitu." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Saya kira sangat baik dan positif untuk tren kedepan, meksipun saya katakan tadi kita tidak bisa mengontrol friksi yang ada di tingkat local, misalnya itu. Karena isu-isu soal demokrasi, soal pluralism, soal bagaimana (…) perbedaan. Kadang itu tidak sampai di level lokal." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Misalnya di Muhammadiyah yang saya tau mungkin isu soal demokrasi, pluralism terus menghargai komunitas lain, itu di tingkat elitenya sudah sangat baik lah matang. Tapi kalau anda coba survey kebawah itu belum tentu diterima." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Cuman pasti potensi friksi di tingkat lokal masih cukup besar. Dibandingan dengan level elite." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Ditingkat elitnya sudah cukup baik cukup bisa di handle. Tapi misalnya

tingkat lokal itu ada pemain lokal yang saya kira menjadi, istilahnya itu, cukup mempengaruhi lah opini public di tingkat local" (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Saya kira untuk hubungan hubungan pada tingkat pemahaman Islam dan Kristen tingkat moderat , orang yang punya pluralis hubungannya bagus. Tapi kalau fundamentalis, dalam Kristen, ada orang fundamentalistik. Islam juga ada orang fundamentalistik, itu yang belum bisa temukan" (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Kalau aku melihat sering kali di Indonesia, kalau soal keagamaan, itu (..) selalu soal rumah ibadah. Itu sering kali. Berangkat dari rumah ibadah menjadi persoalan yang besar." (Muslim, 28 years old)

"Kalau Kristen missionary. Kalau Muslim tentang Dakwah. Dakwah itu kan mengajak. Missionary juga gitu. Kalau Muslim yang belum di ajak, ya di ajak untuk masuk Islam. Tapi missionary juga sama" (Muslim, 28 years old)

Cause of struggle	"ya.. sejarah sih banyak yang lebih kepada konteks politik dan ekonomi….power. Jadi sebenarnya Agama ini kan… sering kali dikorbankan hanya untuk satu kepentingan politik ya(..)"(Muslim, 35 years old)

"I think by people both from the Muslim side and from the Christian side were disillusioned by the government of Suharto. There were Christians, including myself, who thought that, our Christian minority here in Indonesia will only have a future if we can come in our relations with the Muslims from a win-lose relationship into a win-win relationship" (Christian religious leader)

"kami temukan, kita dapat satu dokumen. ini sebetulnya juga terkait dengan kegiatan ekstra kurikulernya ya. Yang tadi saya ceritakan. Itu yang bahwa nasionalisme, paham nasionalisme kebangasaan itu, itu adalah musuh islam dari dalam" (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Tapi secara pribadi, dan ini saya sering nemukan, dalam berbagai semacam forum dialog dialog antara agama: "ok kita enggak bisa menafikan konflik itu tapi pertanyaannya apakah kita mau wariskan ketegangan dan konflik islam Kristen yang terjadi pada masa lampau itu kepada anak cucu kita". Menurut saya sudah lah. konflik masa lalu, kita harus tidak… tidak kita lupakan tapi jangan menjadikan beban sejarah." (Muslim religious leader)

"Yang sayangnya dalam banyak agama menjadikan semacam pamer atau (..) semacam pembenaran." (Muslim, 35 years old)

"Dan dalam banyak kasus, justru dan pertama agama menjadi alat pembenar." (Muslim, 35 years old)

 "Nah memori memori lama yang dalam proses yang terjadi pada masa

lampau, yang sedikit (..) itu mewarnai hubungan Muslim. Dan Muslim sekarang ini termasuk Indonesia. Nah makanya kemudian muncul isu soal misalnya orang Kristen takut islamisasi. Orang Islam takut kristianisasi. Misalnya itu sebenar kelanjutan konflik masa lalu yang masih terus diwariskan dari satu generasi ke generasi berikutnya " (Muslim religious leader)

"some Muslims believe that a Christian has been unfair in many cases, do not obey or follow the regulation with regard to religious missionary. But to some extend it is mainly because of lack of communication." (Muslim religious leader)

"This kind of tension happen because of lack of communication. And because of, again, I think in my view, misconception".. "What is happening now, because of the lack of communication, because of the misunderstanding"… "They live peacefully as a neighbor, but they do not know each other about their religion." (Muslim religious leader)

"Because people who are migrated there, are some of them or most of them are civil servant. They have good knowledge, they have good education and they go there as government official that work in government bureaucracy." (Muslim religious leader)

"Menurut saya karena persoalan politik . Ada persoalan politik, ada persoalan beban sejarah masa lalu. Itu antara dua itu lah. Beban sejarah masa lalu itu kan juga persoalan politik. Persoalan politik itu kan terkait dengan soal..apa… persoalan untuk rebut kekuasan" (Muslim religious leader)

"The problem now is, that by the coming of the radical elements from abroad, from maybe Middle East."… "And they come to Indonesia, disturbing the good relationship between the different people of different religions. And that is why we very worried of this. And by we, I mean not only the Christian, but also the Muslims. The Muslims themselves. Because war is the goal of this radical elements. The goal is to purify Islam from traditional elements." (Christian religious leader)

"One of the reason is the coming of the radical elements from abroad. And the second I think, there are still people in Indonesia, who striving for the establishment of an Islamic State. Or but we have to make a difference between the Islamic State and the Sharia on the other hand. As you see that many people in Indonesia, also like to apply Sharia in their daily life. For us it is your right to do that, but the problem is with the Sharia, is also promoted by the government. While you see that our government is not Islamic. This is Pancasila or nation state." (Christian religious leader)

"kita punya katakan Tuhan yang sama sebetulnya. cuman bagaimana menjelaskan, bagaimana menafsirkan, bagaimana memahami Tuhan yang sama ini, itu yang berbeda beda. Dan kita harus menhargai perbedaan itu. Nah itu yang selama ini tidak pernah kita pahami sebetulnya. Jadi cara kita memahami, cara kita menjelaskan kita mengerti Tuhan yang sama

ini, itu yang mungkin kadang menjadi friksi diantara agama agama yang ada." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Misalnya ada (..) gerakan gerakan yang mengatasnamakan agama, melakukan perusakan. Itu menghasut misalnya itu. kemarin saya baru dapat, di Cianjur ada tujuh gereja ya yang gereja apa itu istilahnya ditutup oleh gerakan massa ini. Nah itu kan yang sebetulnya itu merusak hubungan." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"saya kira eh…pertama mungkin ada semacam..kompetisi. ini diluar soal teologis mungkin ya. Kecurigaan curigaan teologis. tapi misalnya begini, saya melihat juga ada semacam kompetisi kemudian kecemburuan pada soal isu ekonomi. kemudian kekuasaan menguasai politik. mana mungkin tiap komunitas ini ingin lebih unggul" (Muslim, 30 years old)

"meskipun konstalasinya di Indonesia ini muslim sebagai mayoritas, itu hanya sebagai kuantitas saja. namun secara kualitas munkgin muslim ini minoritas." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"So bagaimana soal pandangan agama agama yang (..). karena selama ini yang masuk disitu adalah kelompok-kelompok radikal yang melakukan penetrasi terkait pandangan agama agamanya radikal gitu. dan mereka lebih menurut ke kelompok ini. lebih percaya, lebih menuruti." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"karena begini, ini isu radikalisme di (..) pelajaran ini menjadi isu sensitive sama sensitifnya ketika ada sekolah favorit ya sekolah negeri favorit yang anaknya misalnya kena narkoba. atau misalnya ini, ehh..hamil..hamil di luar nikah. sama sensitifnya seperti itu, jadi sekolahnya itu seperti menutupi. karena supaya tidak tercoreng nama baiknya." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Pertama kan soal semangat keagamaan itu. Yang merasa paling.. mereka merasa yang paling benar. Terus soal harus mengajak orang yang lain untuk convert ke agamanya sendiri, misalnya muslim bisa ajak orang kristen ke Muslim atau Kristen mengajak islam." (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Yang kedua alasan lain, alasan politik biasanya. Alasan politik itu, biasanya tidak adanya ketidakadilan atau (..) yang disebabkan oleh….misalnya kan ada sebuah daerah yang mayoritasnya muslim tapi dipimpin oleh non muslim. akhirnya ada ketidakadilan ataupun tidak ada harmonisan hubungan." (Muslim, 34 years old)

"yang ketiga misalnya soal ekonomi Misalkan kalau yang terjadi dulu di..yang di lihat di Mindanau, di luar negeri itu. disitu kan dulu ada kebanyakan muslim yang di kesultanan solo itu. setelah itu mereka ada kebijakan pemerintahnya yang melakukan ekspansi besar besaran, eh…bukan ekspansi tapi migrasi besar- besaran. Penduduk Kristen untuk pindah ke wilayah Muslim, akhirnya muslimnya disana tergusur." (Muslim, 34 years old)

Kemarin forumnya, (..) cerita mereka itu betul betul, misalnya berbau

barat sedikit, demokrasi..isu demokrasi kita diskusi. Sama sekali menolak. "Demokrasi itu kan produk barat. Kita ini punya musyawarah. Konsep syuro." Dan yang menarik itu, perdebatan itu antara anak anak ini dengan guru gurunya. Jadi satu sisi guru gurunya itu udah terbuka gitu. jadi….eh….di satu sisi anak anaknya tidak mau menerima pandangan gurunya, seperti tidak mau percaya, tidak mau mengikuti." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Yes, karena kalau menurut saya, mengapa anak-anak ini mudah yaitu cenderung radikal. karena mereka mendapatkan informasi yang keliru. Mendapatkan informasi yang masih tidak berimbanglah, saya kira kaya gitu. Misalnya kalau ada pandangan kayak gitu, seharusnya ada pandangan alternatifnya dong. dan itu bisa menjadi pertimbangan untuk anak anak mana yang harus mereka pilih, kan gitu." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"sebetulnya mereka eh….jaringannya adalah jaringan alumni alumni sekolah itu. Tapi alumni alumni yang sudah keluar ini kan, mereka melakukan jaringan dengan kelompok radikal tertentu dan mereka mencoba memasukan itu melalui alumni ini dengan alasan saya ada bimbingan belajar atau misalnya alumni alumni diterima sebagai mentor. Jadi sebetulnya ini awalnya mungkin tujuan sekolah itu ingin membangun guru agama. Kan selama ini kan guru agama, otomatis banyak juga menjadi pembimbing siswa. nah awalnya kenapa sekolah punya kebijakan begitu permisif menerima…ehh …alumni2 ini. Itu awalnya supaya bisa membantu guru agama yang dari segi waktu..tidak ada waktu untuk misalnya membimbing siswanya. tapi itu kan sebetulnya menjadi ketika tidak di control. Menjadi blunder ya, menjadi ancaman sebetulnya karena ketika alumni ini sudah masuk , mereka kadang pertama melakukan kegiatan itu di luar sekolah. Yang kedua pasti di luar jam sekolah. Nah lalu siapa yang mengontrol terhadap isi yang diberikan oleh alumni alumni kepada siswa. apa sih yang disampaikan oleh alumni ke siswa. Sekolah tidak tahu. Dan ternyata sumber pikiran atau pandangan radikal didapatkan dari situ." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Dua agama ini punya karakter yang sama. Sama sama ingin memperbanyak jumlah umat." (Muslim, 28 years old)

"The problem is you know like right now if we are talking about the relation between the Muslim and non-Muslim in Indonesia, is because there is a minority group like the FPI or the yeah.. FPI, Front of Muslims Defender in Jakarta that try to like to insist their view to the government, to Muslim society, and try to show they are, representing Muslim community and try to add more (..) from the government in terms of managing Muslim society. Sometimes giving the (..) democracy, they express their view explicitly, something like that. So this is eh.. and sometimes they are like, you know like eh.. attacking minority groups like Christians or (..) or other deviant groups. So this kind of community look like that they are the representative of the Islam, like the face of Islam in Indonesia or something like that. While actually they (..) the minority

that (..) radical groups in Indonesia." (Muslim, 37 years old)

"They are easily like, what you call it, like.. if eh.. invited to something like that, if someone like eh..ask them to attack this community, they are easily accusing this community because they feel that, well, "we are living here and last time it was our home and now we are moving there and now the location is used by other people from different religion and then this is like the time to attack them" or something like that." (Muslim, 37 years old)

"So, poverty is usually used as a reason to be not harmonious in society or something like that." (Muslim, 37 years old)

"We have a justification for what we do in term of fighting with people from different religion or something like that" (Muslim, 37 years old)

"And ideally, in the context of globalization or global village like right now, people become more and more open to other people, other community and in this heterogeneous community that is should that, become more open. But in fact, with this globalization, with that eh.. flowing of people from one place to another place and then mingle together is not homogeneous. Community is not homogeneous anymore, they become, what you call it, more enlightened, more open and more wider perspective or something like that. But in several cases, people sometimes speaking that homogeneous society better than heterogeneous society. That our living in the past is better than now. That this village for instance, only have one religion, it is better than if we have several people from different religions. So the globalization doesn't make this community become more open, but in fact creating enclave in society of exclusiveness in several societies. And that is also one factor that has create why some people like rejecting from outside their communities. Or rejecting people from different religion." (Muslim, 37 years old)

"But economy is also another aspect, right? I mean, like people from like I said, people from the flow of the easy, flow of from one place to another place, like creating competition. And usually people from different places, you know because they are moving and they have more feel, a better feel or something like that. And then like placing these people in this community. And then making them only become Ojek-driver or security or office boy or something like that. That is also, I mean, the competition between feel from the newcomer and then the people from the local people, also creating becoming a partner, that perhaps creating and motivate hostility towards people from.. people different religion." (Muslim, 37 years old)

Most important aspect	"Dulu ada tokoh namanya Toriq Ramadhan, dia bilang kan kalau kita hidup di barat ataupun di tanah air dimana punya agama, itu kan kita harus mendahulukan prinsip ko-ekistensi daripada pro-eksistensi. Kalau ko-insistensi kan saling berjuang bersama bersama, berdialog sama sama untuk memperjuangkan, atau to implement the spirit of humanity, untuk

memajukan pendidikan, menolong orang miskin, menolong orang tertindas dan sebagainya, seperti itu. " (Muslim, 34 years old)

"yaitu, aspeknya komunikasi dan aspek social. Kita harus perbanyak hubungan kerjasama antara agama itu pada level social dan isu isu bersama. Kita mencari namanya itu common ground atau common..common issues ya." (Muslim, 35 years old)

"Point saya adalah hubungan antara islam dan Kristen, termasuk dengan agama yang lain (…) ya, harus diperbesar ruang persamaanya. kita bekerja pada level dimana kita sama. Tapi pada level kita berbeda, itu harus kita toleransi. Jadi pointnya adalah cari isu isu yang (..) universal." (Muslim, 35 years old)

"Those relations have much improved, but we have to intensify communications the whole way. The communication is the most important thing." (Christian religious leader)

"Misalnya persoalan yang terkait dengan pendirian tempat ibadah. Itu selalu menjadi isu. Kemudian soal penyebaran agama. Ada perasaan dimana apa… penyebaran agama itu dilakukan secara tidak adil. Yang tadi saya bilang orang Islam itu selalu merasa terancam soalan tempat ibadah. Persoalan penyebaran agama, kemudian ada persoalan bantuan asing. Bantuan asing itu dulu pernah dicurigai itu salah satu cara yang digunakan Kristen untuk kristenisasi. Itu yang…apa namanya.. menjadi salah satu persoalan. Dan ketiganya ini terkait dengan politik. Dan untuk konteks Indonesia, umat Islam, apa politik Islam itu menggunakan tiga isu ini untuk memproteksi dirinya, supaya non muslim itu tidak leluasa untuk berkembang" (Muslim religious leader)

"Sebenernya, kalau menurut saya, bagaimana membangun hubungan antara agama yang lebih genuine, yang lebih otentik, yang tidak karena ada regulasi, bukan karena takut aturan." (Muslim religious leader)

"I think, we have to develop the sociological aspect."… "And I think we have to review also our theological view on religion, as I just mentioned before. For example, in our church, or in our theological point of view. Do we acknowledge that Islam is belong to our Abrahamic family? That is a very fundamental question. Do we acknowledge that Allah is the same?" (Christian religious leader)

"Yes, you see we have here the case here in Indonesia, according to the fatwa of the Majelis Ulema, Muslim are not allowed to say 'Selamat Hari Natal' or 'Merry Christmas'. But many Muslim people do not obey this fatwa. And they still say 'Selamat Hari Natal' to us. But what is actually the theological basis of this fatwa? Because they do not acknowledge Christ, Jesus Christ. And they do not have knowledge, that Christ was born at 25th of December. And I think it is no problem for us, because you know that we the dictate.. of the Christ birth. It is also mythological. But for us, there is no problem. But in social relationship, I think it is a good thing if people from different religion say 'Selamat Idul Fitri' or 'Selamat

Hari Natal' to each other." (Christian religious leader)

"Saling percaya bahwa apa kita bisa hidup secara harmoni. itu saya kira menjadi elemen penting. baru dari situ kita harus membangun apa istilahnya itu ya infrastrukturnya. Misalnya ada kerjasama soal ekonomi, kerjasama politik, atau kerjasama budaya. nah itu yang dibangun tahap selanjutnya tapi sebelum itu kita harus..harus punya atau mengembangkan atau memperkuat sikap saling percaya bahwa ketika saya berdampingan dengan anda, anda akan aman hidup berdampingan dengan saya. saya ya trust gitu ya. Saya sebagai misalnya Muslim harus bisa dipercaya. Harus bisa memberikan keamanan. Memberikan apa istilahnya tuh, kenyamanan. dan Oleh Karena Itu mereka akan percaya ke kita. oleh karena itu, maksud saya kepercayaan itu bentuk. dua arah.. baru setelah itu kita bisa membangun kerjasama ekonomi, mungkin budaya. Dan itu harus saya kira." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"saya kira cara muslim dan kristen itu yang paling penting yang bisa didialogkan adalah hubungan untuk kemanusiaan dan kebudayaan. Kan disitu ada isu isu tentang kemanusiaan soal bagaimana antara Kristen dan islam sama-sama memerangi korupsi sama sama, bagaimana Islam dan Kristen sama sama melawan atau mengkritik pemerintah yang suka berbohong, yang tidak memberikan kesejahteraan dan kenyamanan pada rakyatnya." .. "Jadi sama-sama mengawal antara agama itu, agar pelaksanakaan demokrasi di Indonesia itu bisa berjalan secara baik dan secara benar dan hmm…. apa sih namanya secara memberikan kenyamanan dan kesejahteraan pada rakyat" (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Soalnya kan kalau kita berkerjasama dibatasi oleh identitas agama kita, kita kan menjadi sulit. misalkan kita hanya willing to communicate atau willing to make friend…only with muslim fellow.. itu kan sangat berbahaya juga, karena itu juga.. misalkan orang Islam yang korupsi kan banyak juga orang Islam yang korupsi. Kita akan kita… enggak mau bergaul dengan Islam, tapi bergaul dengan Kristen aja." (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Saya kira di Indonesia itu yang dibangun sejak dulu itu identitas keagamaan, bukan identitas kebangsaan. Ini orang kristen sama orang muslim lebih (..) bilang orang kristen daripada orang Indonesia." .."Dampak dari institusionalisasi kebangsaan kita, Indonesia. Yaitu, agama ada di KTP".. "Makanya yang identifikasi (…) adalah agama. Bukan identifikasi kebangsaan." (Muslim, 28 years old)

"aspek yang paling penting adalah menemukan titik temu antara keduanya. Karena sebernya tidak susah untuk mencarikan titik temu itu. Kenapa? Karena mereka berangkat dari visi yang sama, tadi saya bilang. Dari bapak yang sama" (Muslim, 28 years old)

"Yeah, I don't know which aspect is the most important, because we cannot avoid, we cannot neglect other aspects if we (..) some certain aspect, right?" (Muslim, 37 years old)

Aspect needs most attention	"Hubungan antara agama harus dibangun diatas komitmen bersama. Yang itu berangkat dari objektivitas semua orang yang beragama" (Muslim, 35 years old)

"social relation is one of the aspects that people have to work more and have to engage more in the society." (Muslim religious leader)

"the most important thing is communication"…"my opinion is that we should not have a dialogue about religious differences. We have to accept them and to try not to arrogant and negative" (Christian religious leader)

"I think it is the theological. We have to get.. I mean we have to have the bravery, you have to enter in theological question. And I have the experience that not many but several people from our Muslims brothers and sisters, dare to enter or entering this difficult question. But they have to enter this." (Christian religious leader)

"fokusnya similarity dan kerjasamanya itu. Meskipun penting ada lembaga lembaga seperti apa yang lakukan rekonsilisasi konflik. Itu harus ada saya kira. Karena konflik keagamaan pasti kalau….tetap akan ada, tetap akan terjadi. Jadi harus ada lembaga yang menyokong disitu" (Muslim, 30 years old)

"kalau menurut saya itu adalah hubungan sosial ya apa… dan kerjasama sosial itu..itu..yang harus penting untuk dibangun saya kira karena mutual corporation ya. Ehhh …karena kalau sudah kita bisa melakukan kerja bersama dengan komunitas lain itu saya kira eh tahapan.. tahapannya sudah sangat bagus." (Muslim, 30 years old)

"Saya kira yang harus diberikan perhatikan lebih dalam hubungan Islam dan Kristen itu bagaimana pemahaman keagamaan yang terbuka, pemahaman keagamaan insklusif dan pemahaman keagamaan pluralis… itu lebih disosialisasikan ke kalangan grass root dan kalangan lembaga pendidikan. Karena kenapa, karena lembaga pendidikan itu yang membentuk karakter, membentuk jadi diri siswa "(Muslim, 34 years old)

"Yang kedua, pemahaman itu perlu diberikan ke grass root. Grass root itukan bisa melewat forum-forum masyarakat atau melalui masjid ataupun gereja atau tempat tempat pasar atau pertemuan di balai desa. karena tidak akan terjadi kesenjangan antara yang elit dan dengan yang di tingkat grass root. kalau yang elitnya paham dan mau menerima, tapi yang dibawahnya mereka tidak tau, itu kan bisa menimbulkan konflik." (Muslim, 34 years old)

"itu kan hubungan antar Muslim Kristen yang dulunya baik tapi ditingkat grass rootnya banyak yang belum punya pemahaman yang sama. Kayanya dipicu persoalan lain, misalkan soal ekonomi, soal politik, soal ras, soal ketidakadilan dan tidak ada yang (..) dan kan bisa menimbulkan konflik, oleh karena itu lembaga pendidikan dan masyarakat di bawah saya kira harus di perhatikan." (Muslim, 34 years old)

"Kerjasama. Harus..apa namanya…aspek kerjasama dan (…) konflik

konflik antara agama itu karena kurang pengetahuan. Saling lihat yang lainnya. Dan jadi seorang itu menjadi phobia, (..) phobia ke kristiani. Terus Kristiani phobia ke muslim. Karena sama sama merasa bahwa agama mereka itu kan ingin membanyak jumlah umma, gitu" (Muslim, 28 years old)

Policy

Policy Aim

"Pendampingan dan penguatan kapasitas di kelompok target yang menjadi target dari strategi program kita" (Eddi)

Dan upaya memperkuat itu tadi soal kebangsaan soal kebhinekaan apa …apa, bagaimana supaya ide ide soal pluralism bisa diterima oleh mereka "karena sebagian dari mereka itu sangat…sangat apa ada ya.. ..ada yang resistensi. Ada yang ragu, begitu ya dengan ide kebhinekaan dan ide pluaralisme itu. saya kira itu ehhh secara ringkas soal apa yang menjadi (…) apa eh..pekerjaan saya di Maarif." (Eddi)

"Itu kan kita punya program namayna maarif award gitu. Itu sebetulnya salah satunya ini kita ingin menemukan mengangkat tokoh tokoh dari agama manapun yang dia kerjanya nyata di masyarakatnya dan bisa berpengaruh masyarakat." (Eddi)

"Karena Itu, kita harus mengeliminir gerakan atau organisasi ini. Karena kalau dibiarkan ya merusakan hubungan Kristen dan Muslim. Merusak tatanan, kebangsaan juga saya kira, merusak stabilitas local disitu..nah …ehhh itu konsekuensi konsekuensi nya ya ." (Eddi)

"yang kedua bagaimana sebetulnya kita memberikan pemahaman. Ini ke internal umat islam sendiri bagaimana kita memberikan pemahaman terkait ide ide kebhinekaan, pluralisme, bagaimana perbedaan itu pada level pertama itu ormas."(Eddi)

"Itu sebenernya bukan untuk kita, untuk bagaimana mereka bisa hidup harmoni di lingkungan ya di tingkat local" (Eddi)

"Bagaimana mempersatukan antara ide ide atau nilai keislaman dengan konteks Indonesia yang majemuk, tapi juga menghargai (..) universal kemanusiaan" (Eddi)

"disamping tadi kan kalau secara external kan hubungannya kita memberikan kepercayaan, membangun kepercayaan di kalangan komunitas yang berbeda itu." (Eddi)

"Kami ingin bahwa komunitas muslim di (..) itu bisa memahami problem secara utuh. sehingga tidak misalnya, terbawa untuk misalnya ikut ikut menolak itu. Apa.. bersikap eksklusif terhadap problem ini, begitu. oleh karena itu, ini kan sebetulnya strategi kami ini, strategi preventif, gitu." (Eddi)

"Dampak yang kita terima itu adalah bagaimana baik itu komunitas sekolah, kemudian yang guru guru (..) siswa itu memiliki pandangan yang inklusif. memiliki pandangan yang moderat." (Eddi)

"dengan kelompok sasarnnaya kita inginnya juga seperi itu juga. Bahwa yang ingin kita lakukan itu, masuk kelompok sasaran masing masing. Dan mereka kelompok kelompok sasarannya bisa mengerti dengan paham paham seperti itu juga. Karena itu kan yang tadi secara umumnya tapi secara khususnya juga sama tapi bedanya mungkin kalau yang umum untuk konteks keindonesian. Tapi kalau yang khusus untuk local local masing masing" (Harto)

Policy Motivation

"Terutama di lembaga lembaga pendidikan misalnya…problem mendasarnya adalah (..) atau gap antara kebijakan dan di lapangan praktek. Nah, selama ini maarif closing the gap itu. Yang kedua adalah bagaimana kan terjemahkan regulasi dalam level pemerintah ke level masyarakat yang lebih practical." (Budi)

"Teorinya gini, kalau disini ada regulasi pemerintah… disini adalah masyarakat, ada ruang kosong kan? Nah, yang kita lakukan pada posisi tengah tengah. Menurukan ini dan mengenaikan ini. Jadi ada komunikasi dua arah. Masyarakat juga di (..) untuk naik ke atas. Pemerintah juga dia minta untuk turun ke bawah. Nah fungsi Maarif di tengah tengah semacam wasit tapi lebih kepada fasilitator, sebenarnya." (Budi)

"Jadi bahwa kita ini datang kepada mereka bukan untuk merubah mereka…mencabut mereka dari akar sosial agamanya. Karena ini..kami juga bagian dari mereka." (Budi)

"Jadi kita ingin ..kalau kita melakukan kampanye sifatnya positif, progresif tapi ingin konsisten, kita perlu strategi yang … kita bilang strategi yang comprehensive." (Budi)

"Ya kalau motivasi kita kan sebetulnya bagaimana kita memperkuat, soal nilai nilai moderat atau pandangan moderat di ..di kalangan generasi muda. kita tidak mau adik adik kita yang di sekolah menjadi korban. sebetulnya mereka kan itu korban dari pandangan pandangan yang tidak jelas. pandangan radikal yang sebetulnya menyengsarakan mereka juga" (Eddi)

"di luar itu kita juga harus bisa antisipasi soal ya itu tadi penetrasi gerakan gerakan di luar sekolah. Di luar pendidikan… itu makanya kita masuk melalui ehhh aspek kegiatan xtrakurikuler. Kalau boleh di (..) sebenernya kita ini sedang.. apa.. berkompetisi. ya, apa istilahnya kompetisi. ada di satu sisi ada kelompok radikal yang mereka ingin memamuskan di daerah (..). di sisi lain ada salah satu, Maarif institute yang ingin memasukan ide ide moderat" (Eddi)

"Karena di indonesia kan kalau refer to constitution 45, itu kan jelas jelas tidak ada warnegara yang classcitizen 1st cistizen, 2nd citizen, kan

semuanya sama. Jadi dari situ kan Maarif merasa bahwa semangat semangat itu yang perlu.. harus dimunculkan, harus disosialisasikan dan harus dikembangkan. karena kita merasa bahwa pemahaman itu seperti itu masih belum banyak dipunyai banyak orang" (Harto)

"Banyak orang orang yang misal merasa orang Kristen merasa lebih hebat. dan islam juga merasa lebih hebat karena mayoritas. Jadi akhirnya tidak bisa saling bekerjasama. Dan kita merasa bahwa perlu ada sebuah strategi untuk melakukan itu. Strateginya seperti apa itu…yaitu mendidik generasi generasi muda, masuk ke lembaga lembaga pendidikan, masuk ke lembaga agama seperti muhammadiyah."(Harto)

"Jadi islam itu bisa menjadi bener bener the significant factor yang berkontribusi pada soal kebangsaan ini. Karena kan ide-ide ataupun pemikiran pemikirannya Ahmad Syafii Maarif itu kan sangat banyak."(Harto)

"Untuk selanjutnya mereka yaitu benar benar menjadi bagian dari sejarah dan aktor sejarah yang berbuat baik untuk indonesia ke depan, seperti itu. Kita kan bermimpi ataupun bercita - cita indonesia kedepan itu Indonesia yang lebih sejahtera, Indonesia yang lebih aman dan indonesia yang lebih damai. Dan Indonesia yang bisa memberikan tempat yang sama pada semuanya dan bisa melindungin minoritas, seperti itu"(Harto)

"Jadi motivasi kan penting bagaimana adalah bisa menemukan nilai nilai dasar yang di…di sampaikan oleh Buya Ahmad Syafii Maarif. Tiga (..). Keislaman, Keindonesiaan dan Kemanusiaan"(Arief)

"Jadi kan intinya Maarif itu sebetulnya hanya memfasilitasi saja" (Eddi)

"The main objective or the main motivation is like, well like you know the motto of the Maarif Institute is for culture and humanity. But sometimes they don't say for culture and humanity but for morality and humanity. The motivation in this context is a creating a moral society that have a good moral attitude or something like that. And then the way to do all the activities in the Maarif Institute is creating, two of their objectives, creating society with morality and humanity that have a good relationship with other people that have a good attitude, that have a good morality or something like that." (Andy)

"Ya bisa melahirkan sesuatu yang positif. Dan kita bisa diterima secara baik oleh mereka. Kan kita bagian dari mereka." (Budi)

"Bisa meningkat kapasitas sendirinya. Itu aja. Jadi tujuan kita memberikan satu harapan dan satu (..) bahwa… Mereka sebenarnya bisa lebih baik, mereka sebenarnya bisa perbaiki diri sendiri dengan kapasitas sendiri. Memang (..) kita membantu mereka membangun kapasitas

individu maupun kapasitas kelembagaan.." (Budi)

"Sehingga mereka punya pandangan yang cukup terbuka. itu dampaknya karena kenyataannya memang potensi pandangan pandangan radikal itu sangat kentara, sangat jelas begitu. Oleh karena itu, dampak atau impak yang ingin kita berhasil, (..) mengubah mind set pandangan mereka dulu, supaya lebih terbuka" (Eddi)

"itu yang kita harapkan perubahan mind set dan perubahan sikap" (Eddi)

"Ya, sebetulnya, itu memberi tau mereka, mengasih tau mereka, bahwa ini ada persoalan dan mereka harus tau walau persoalan ini penting dan mereka bertanggung jawab untuk melaksanakan. Misalkan soal sekolah, yang radikalisme di sekolah itu. Itu kan sebetulnya, bukan persoalan kita tapi kita ingin.. kalau dalam bahasanya Ahmad Syafii Maarif,..itu kan seperti lilin kecil…the little candle, seperti itu. Jadi lilin kecil yang bisa menyala karena gelap gulit"(Harto)

"Jadi kita berharap bahwa dengan strategi strategi yang kita lakukan, yang kita bentuk…(..) mereka bisa tau persoalan persoalan yang mereka hadapi dan mereka harus mencari jalan keluar dan mereka harus bertanggung jawab kepada masalah itu. nanti yang mengambil manfaat dari masalah ini kan mereka juga… anak-anak didik mereka. Jadi bukan kita. Kita inginnya seperti itu big impacnya."(Harto)

"kita merasa…kadang kadang kan kehadiran Maarif institut dicurigai sebagai pihak luar yang ingin ikut-ikutan mengurusi persoalan di dalam…seperti itu. Kan biasanya orang luar itu dipandang dengan (..) curiga ataupun dia mau melakukan intervensi dan sebagainya. Oleh karena itu kita ingin punya efek seperti itu, akan kehadiran kita nanti..itu bukan sebagai ancaman pada , mereka, harus sekaligus….tapi mereka sebagai mitra…kita yaitu partner in good bukan partner in crime, seperti itu. Kita inginnya seperti itu. Jadi kehadiran kita benar benar diharapkan mereka. dan mereka kan menganggap kita sebagai kawan yang sama sama.. bisa bersama sama untuk melakukan kebaikan dan melakukan upaya… keperbaikan indonesia dan peduli pada persoalan persoalan kemanusiaan"(Harto)

"dampaknya ya jelas. Pemahaman tentang perbedaan itu menjadi lebih apa namanya… baik. Semakin lebih (…), tidak mulai konflik yang tegangan perbedaan. Perbedaan bisa di jembatani. Perbedaan bisa menjadi modal social yang luar biasa, di Indonesia."(Arief)

"Karena ini cita Maarif. (..) Maarif.. Keindonesiaan. Kemanusiaan .Keislaman itu ada dalam satu tarikan nafas."(Arief)

"I always go back to the first, the motto of the Maarif Institute. The impact of all the programme is creating a good society, a civilized society,

of morality and humanity. Having good relationship with people from different religion." (Andy)

Target Group	"Karena kita concern dengan generasi muda. Siapa.. kalau kita mau mengubah bangsa ini siapa lagi kalau bukan generasi mudanya kan." (Eddi)

"Pertama guru adalah ujung tombak. bagaimana perubahan itu bisa terjadi di level siswa. guru itu kan bukan hanya mengajar tapi pendidikan. membentuk cara pandang siswa, membentuk perilaku siswa. meskipun siswa juga punya sumber lain. (…) Tapi menurut saya yang paling bisa di control itu adalah bagai proses pelajaran (..) guru. Bukan hanya transfer ilmu tapi transfer moral, transfer perilaku. Oleh karena itu, penting kita mempunyai guru guru yang punya pandangan luas, yang punya pencintaan yang mendalam terhadap bangsanhya, guru guru yang apa..sikap toleransi yang tinggi misalnya. dan bukan hanya dari perlajaran tapi dari perilaku gurunya sendiri. itu kan menjadi contoh bagi murid." (Eddi)

"Dan kita melihat bahwa lembaga pendidikan ini harus dimanfaatkan sebaik untuk tujuan tujuan kebaikan. kalau dibiarkan saja kan..anak-anak SMA itu, nanti yang nanti…generasi generasi terus di Indonesia, kalau mereka tidak dibimbing dan di didik secara bagus, nanti kan yang rugi kita semua kan? Karena kita bagian dari tanggung jawab kebangsaan kita untuk meniciptakan generasi yang lebih bagus, generasi yang lebih modern dan generasi yang lebih menghargai orang lain." (Harto)

"Yang kedua lembaga pendidikan, karena maarif institute .. apa namanya.. yakini bahwa perubahan yang di (..) lewat pendidikan. Karena pendidikan itu apa namanya.. berangkat penting untuk transformasi (…) pengetahuan"(Arief)

Argument for target group	"Karena kita concern dengan generasi muda. Siapa.. kalau kita mau mengubah bangsa ini siapa lagi kalau bukan generasi mudanya kan." (Eddi)

"Pertama guru adalah ujung tombak. bagaimana perubahan itu bisa terjadi di level siswa. guru itu kan bukan hanya mengajar tapi pendidikan. membentuk cara pandang siswa, membentuk perilaku siswa. meskipun siswa juga punya sumber lain. (…) Tapi menurut saya yang paling bisa di control itu adalah bagai proses pelajaran (..) guru. Bukan hanya transfer ilmu tapi transfer moral, transfer perilaku. Oleh karena itu, penting kita mempunyai guru guru yang punya pandangan luas, yang punya pencintaan yang mendalam terhadap bangsanhya, guru guru yang apa..sikap toleransi yang tinggi misalnya. dan bukan hanya dari perlajaran tapi dari perilaku gurunya sendiri. itu kan menjadi contoh bagi murid." (Eddi)

"Dan kita melihat bahwa lembaga pendidikan ini harus dimanfaatkan sebaik untuk tujuan tujuan kebaikan. kalau dibiarkan saja kan..anak-anak

SMA itu, nanti yang nanti…generasi generasi terus di Indonesia, kalau mereka tidak dibimbing dan di didik secara bagus, nanti kan yang rugi kita semua kan? Karena kita bagian dari tanggung jawab kebangsaan kita untuk meniciptakan generasi yang lebih bagus, generasi yang lebih modern dan generasi yang lebih menghargai orang lain." (Harto)

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Reaching the target group

"Komunikasi…eehh..tiga itu.. kuncinya adalah bagaimana kami mekomunikasikan" (Budi)

"Jadi kita berkomunikasi,. datang ke daerah daerah. Ketemu dengan key opinion leader disana."(Budi)

"Di tiap komunitas pasti ada orang orang yang berkenali gate keeper. Kita masuk lewat mereka untuk komunikasi."(Budi)

"Jadi kita mencoba mendekatkan antara komunitas Muslim dan Kristen melalui pertemuan tokoh tokoh kunci misalnya ya. Karena saya kira itu sangat penting, itu menjadi satu keteladanan" (Eddi)

"Ada banyak mechanisme. Tentu dengan Muhammadiyah kita menggunakan jaringan cultural misalnya. Karena hampir bisa dipastikan aktivis yang bekerja di Maarif Institute, itu punya penghubungan dengan muhammadiyah." (Arief)

Ideology formation

"ya apa namanya…dalam kerangka strategy planning yang sering kali dilakukan dalam Maarif pad tahunan, itu.. Ya, kita melibatkan seluruh person yang ada disini. Jadi dari direktur, direktur program, program manajer, asisten, kemudian administrasi.. semua terlibat.. menyusun roads maps untuk tahun kedepan mau kemana. Mau ngapain? kegiatan apa yang harus dilakukan? Sesuai tidak dengan visi dan misinya Maarif Institute." (Arief)

I think, there is a meeting among the board, and the board members, and also the executive director and also the staff of the Maarif Institute every year. They try to discuss about the programme and something like that. And also, you know, the initiative sometimes not from inside, but also the demand from society to, I mean like the issue of morality, the issue of terrorism. It is (..), you know like several people (..) kidnap young people, kidnap like radical groups and then train that community and then (..) become a terrorist or something like that."(Andy)

"Sometimes, there is a… I can divide this with programme that plan long time, long before they execute them, but also there are some, what like some, there is something, what you call it, like tiba-tiba, what you call it. **It: Suddenly? So it also from the outside that just pops up.**
Ie: Yeah, it just pop up and we need to deal with or something like that. So, perhaps that several issues that we need to be deal at that time, but

we, Maarif Institute, have a plan that they need to do immediate or something like that." (Andy)

Agenda formation/policy preparation

"Cara kita melakukan, Maarif sekarang melakukan (..). Bagaimana kita minjaukan berberapa kelompok menerima program dari Maarif. Biasanya kita memang..prinsip dasarnya tadi tiga hal itu aja. Komunikasi. Persuasif dan Partisipatif. Tetapi , biasanya, kita…. ketiga hal ini selalu kita bungkus di dalam satu issue bahwa apa yang kita tawarkan kepada mereka, itu adalah tiang berkaitan dengan kebutuhan. Atau minat …interest mereka"(Budi)

"Kita melakukan (..)..minimal brain storming, mendengarkan apa yang mereka perlukan atau apa yang mereka butuhkan. Di situ biasanya Maarif melakukan mapping, strategi gitu ya" (Budi)

"Kita ini sebenarnya kita harus memahami kontek social, konteks masyarakat, dan juga kita harus memahami apa namanya tadi itu….apa yang menjadi interest. Jadi kebutuhan dari masyarakat atau kelompok social yang kita tuju. Dan ketiga adalah kita juga harus memahami apakah pernah ada lembaga atau actor yang pernah melakukan hal yang sama. Karena itu akan menjadi satu pelajaran penting bagi kami." (Budi)

"Untuk menyelesaikan persoalan persoalan kebangsaan gitu. ehhh, jadi ehhh…setelah itu tahun dua ribu…gongnya, itu kan tiap tahun pasti ada pertemuan yang intinya yang di melakukan dialog untuk mengkritisi persoalan kebangsaan dan mencarikan itu seperti apa." (Eddi)

"pertama kita jelas ya melakukan koordinasi dan kerjasama saya kira itu. Kuncinya disitu dengan stakeholder yang selama ini terkait dengan apa yang ingin kita kerjakan itu." (Eddi)

"Sebelumnya mungkin ada pertemuan lebih dulu. Di undang atau kita mungkin kesana. kita bikin forumnya disana misalnya itu di daerah masing masing, di distrik masing-masing. baru setelah itu ini konsep yang kita tawarkan, begini begini (..) bersama. Baru kita undang, loncing program di Jakarta misalnya" (Eddi)

"Oh jadi gini kalau sebelum kita melakukan program itu selalu saja kita harus melakukan riset survey." (Eddi)

"kita coba mencari informasi itu secara kuantitatif, tapi kita juga ingin mencari gimana hubungan diantara mereka, secara kualitatif. terus begini, soal kebijakan di sekolah….. apakah… ada kebijakan bijakan yang diskriminatif, misalnya itu. kemudian soal bagaimana proses pembelajaran" (Eddi)

"Bagaimana sebetulnya apa sih yang membentuk ehh..pandangan keagaamaan, pandangan kebangsaannya yang ehhh yang diterima oleh siswa." (Eddi)

"Dulu kita hanya di kelompok komunitas Muhammadiyah saja. Sekarang kita ekspani ke komunitas di luar Muhamamdiyah. itu sejauh pandangan kami ada keberhasilan yang sudah dilakukan melalui buku ini di komunitas Muhammadiyah. Sehingga kita ingin mencoba melakukan replikasi, eksistensi (..), di komunitas yang lebih luas. Di luar Muhamadiyah. Nah memang di luar Muhammadiyah ini kita masih berproses. ini dari baru berapa tahun ya 2011. kita baru masuk di level guru gurunya. Para proses pelajarannya. kita mau bikin bulan Mei apa Juni mau bikin semacam pertemuan guru guru itu" (Eddi)

"Inisiatifnya kan misalkan melakukan dialog- dialog. Kita pakai dua pendekatan.. dari top down atau bottom up. Kan ada kalau orang melakukan revolusi, kan ada revolution from above sama revolution from below. Jadi kita menyatukan antara from below sama from above. Jadi lewat atas kita melakukan komunikasi komunikasi dengan para pemimpin keagamaan yang punya pengaruh seperti pendirinya Maarif."(Harto)

"Rohis ini yang menjadi panggung struggle kita. nah salah satunya kita bikin semacam dokumen atau buku panduan. ehh bagaimana menyatukan nilai nilai keislaman, pluralisme, kebangsaan, kebhinekaan dalam buku ini. Sehingga bisa menjadi guide untuk pedoman untuk kegiatan xtrakulikuler mereka. Ini eh.. prosesnya ini ini kan soal tadi proses ya. selama ini kita coba membangun proses secara partisipatif. Misalnya buku ini kan tidak ditulis oleh siapa siapa tapi oleh para guru yang tadi dari sekolah itu. Masing masing. jadi perwakilan guru yang kita undang yang punya basic untuk menulis yang bagus. kita minta mereka yang menuliskan buku itu" (Eddi)

"Nah itu ada proses, misalnya kita bikin semacam pertemuan, workshop. mengundang semua elemen sekolah. Dan mereka kita minta memeberikan masukan. Memberikan masukan apa yang soal problem apa sih yang soal rohis dan radikalisme dan semacam semacam. kemudian bagaimana caranya mereduksi dan mengeliminir ini." (Eddi)

"Jadi kita dengarkan…jadi pas workshop kita juga undang siswanya. Untuk mendengarkan sebetulnya apa yang butuhkan mereka. Apa yang mereka rasakan dan kenapa mereka, misalnya kan ini organisasi ini di stigma radikal eh apa ya minimal bukan radikal..eh.. ekslusif. Ekslusif. Sampai kemarin perdebatannya di nasional cukup tinggi. Kalau disini ekslusif lah. Jadi dia tidak mau berkawan dengan orang di luarnya. Begitu.. tidak mau jadi kawan dengan orang luar. Nah oleh mereka kita undang apa sih yang menjadi problem teman teman rohis. Kebutuhannya apa?"(Eddi)

"Pertama adalah refleksi..apa namanya.. itu adalah refleksi dari nilai nilai dasar Maarif institute. Visi, misinya dan (..). Dan dari situ kita juga bisa melakukan … me… apa namanya..mentau apa yang harus dikerjakan. Dan informasinya seperti apa."(Arief)

"Informasi yang diperlukan untuk membuat strategi itu kan biasanya belajar dari pengalaman pengalaman yang sudah… misalnya kita kan dulu kita minta informasi dari teman teman yang…wahid institute, atau

atau teman teman dari pusat studi bahasa, pusat studi budaya dan social, pusat (..) perubahan social di (..).".… "Kita lihat kekurangan mereka apa, kelebihan nya apa. Habis itu, kita evaluasi agar kita tidak melakukan (..) yang sama. Jadi disitu kita, biasanya dalam menyusun program kita, kita mengundang expert team."(Harto)

"akhirnya kita berbincang bincang bagaimana sih cara yang pas. Apa saja programnya, bagaimana agar masuk ke sekolah itu. dan dalam melakukan strategi penyusunan, kita juga melakukan riset." (Harto)

"Jadi kita bisa mengetahui peta..eh.. di lapangan itu seperti apa. misalkan ketika membahaskan bagaimana strategi melawan… bukan melawan ya, mereduce the influence of radicalism among students in high school. kita kan lakukan survey misalnya. Kita kan tahu gimana pendapat mereka. apa yang perlu dilakukan dan bagiamana caranya. Setelah riset, hasilnya kita tulis dan habis itu kita diskusikan lagi dan membuat workshop. Dan workshopnya itu bagaimana juga menyusun strategi, itu secara bersama-sama" (Harto)

"I think, the main motivation is, you know like, what you call it like… If you want to change society, you want to like empower society, if you want to like design society and then into a certain form or something like that, you need to involve as many people as possible in this programme" (Andy)

"For instance, first they invite several people from minority groups to discuss and sit. What is their problem and where they are, like being discrimination, why the government. So it is like talking with the victim, talking with the government and also talking with the oppressor, the attacker of the community. And then they try to find like a, it is possible that we have a meeting together between groups in society and then if that is not possible, then what we can do?" (Andy)

"Misalnya soal program yang advokasi ini ya pertama kita mencoba mendiskusikan apa sih yang kita akan lakukan, itu dengan stake holder elit (..) di kementrian. Baru setelah itu, ketika kita punya kesepahaman bersama, kesepahaman tentang problem yang dihadapi, begitu. mereka kan mendukung kita, melalui semacam surat rekomendasi, jadi ada surat dukungan. Itu secara tertulis legal, formal. surat ini yang akan kita bawa ke level yang lebih rendah. kita akhirnya bisa masuk ke level dinas pendidikan. Dan di dinas pendidikan ini, kita coba membuat komitmen kerjasama." (Eddi)

Policy formation

"jadi kalau kita mau betul betul mempererat hubungan muslim Kristen tingkat local ini… ya harus dicari tokoh tokoh yang bisa merangkul semua perbedaan" (Eddi)

"Kemudian juga kita menggandeng pusat kurikulum. Kurikulum center

ada di (..) juga. Itu, sebetulnya itu untuk bagaimana kita bisa …kan ini di tiap program pasti kita melalukan membuat buku buku semacam ini. Jadi untuk meningkatkan standar penulisan buku, kita menggandeng. dan perbukuan kualitasnya bisa dipakai di sekolah sekolah gitu….jadi untuk menjaga kualitas buku ehh jadi buku bisa di implementasikan" (Eddi)

"Pertama kan sebetulnya kita mencoba membangun komunikasi dan kerjasama dengan stakeholder yang selama ini menjadi bagian dari strategi yang ingin kita bangun. kemudian kita ya itu tadi membangun semacam komitmen bersama dengan stakeholder itu. sehingga strategi yang ingin kita lakukan itu bisa berjalan dengan sesuai range waktu yang sudah kita tentukan" (Eddi)

"Langkah langkahnya yang kita menarpkan untuk strategi…itu kan kita mencoba cari mulai dari yang pilot project gitu. dari yang kecil kecil seperti itu. Kita kan untuk merubah Indonesia. Kan enggak mungkin langsung sekaligus. Itu kan yang punya kekuatan kan hanya pemerintah. Kita kan lembaga yang membantu masyarakat Indonesia dan membantu umat islam. Jadi kita mulainya dari kecil kecil." (Harto)

"Maarif tidak bisa bekerja sendiri. Dan Maarif harus berkerjasama dengan banyak pihak yang merepresentasikan dari keagamaan.".. "Langkah yang kedua tentu memperkuat kapasitas SDM. Itu penting, makanya Maarif Institute punya Associate researcher yang punya kapasitas dan (..) yang international ya.." (Arief)

"Tujuannya dibentuk strategi atau dirancang strategi itu agar program yang di lalukan Maarif Institute itu, itu lebih mudah diterima. kalau kita tidak merumuskan stategi itu kan susah. Kadang kadang tujuannya bagus tapi strateginya tidak bagus, itu kan salah kita pahami." (Harto)

Policy implementation

"Ya kalau strategi di Maarif memang apa namanya, kita selalu melihat bahwa komunikasi dan pendekatan yang persuasive, itu (..) yang sangat penting. Dan kita melihat program apapun yang akan di lakukan oleh Maarif Institute itu harus melibatkan peran partisipasi dari kelompok sasaran. Itu adalah kunci, jadi komunikasi, pendekatan yang persuasive dan ketiga partisipatif. Itu, saya kira tiga kata kunci yang mendasari semua program di Maarif Institute." (Budi)

"Kalau secara implementasi, secara pelaksanaan ya tentu..di dalam ini ya maarif sih jadi fasilitator dan juga ada satu sisi pemerintah, sisi yang lain juga kelompok (..) pemerintah" (Budi)

"To get it through media or to discuss it more with publicly, more like writing an article or journal or something like that."(Budi)

"Ini kan tiap tahun guru guru mata pelajaran ada semacam forum rapat (..) apa sih yang mau diajarkan di mata (..) untuk setahun kedepan. nah itu kan strategis sekali forum itu. (..) Kita akan coba masuk disitu." (Eddi)

"kemudian dengan sekolah sekolah yang ada, (..) komunikasi, itu kita

melakukan turun ke bawah ya. Ke sekolah-sekolah melakukan sosialisi. Kemudian bagaimana membangun komitmen. Itu penting juga. Membangun komitmen diantara stakeholder yang ada di lokal. Dan komitmen itu biasanya kita coba ledakan dalam bentuk MOU. Sehingga itu bisa mengikat minimal. Minimal itu mengikat untuk asal program berjalan. ada 3 tahun ini, MOU kita udah membuatkan untuk tiga tahun. karena kalau tanpa itu biasanya mereka kan sering kali…karena terjebak oleh birokrasi, sering meminta hal yang sifatnya legal begitu. kalau tidak ada legal formalnya mereka bisa (…) ditengah jalan. Bisa out gitu. Bisa tidak mau menerima program kita lagi begitu. Oleh karena itu komitmen membersama dengan bentukan tertulis secara legal. Itu penting untuk kita lalukan." (Eddi)

"Yang penting juga media itu sebagai pendukung strategi impelementasi program ini bisa berjalan" (Eddi)

"Kalau keatasnya kita masuk lewat orang orang Muhamadiyah. Kalau Kristen lewat pemimpin pemimpin Kristen".. "Yang bawah, Strategi yang bawah lewat masuk ke guru-guru sekolah, masuknya ke kalangan di daerah daerah. Dan kita membuat network untuk orang orang daerah juga. jadi ketika atasnya mendukung, bawahnya mendukung, kan bisa berjalan." (Harto)

"Key person yang tokoh tokoh kuncinya yang mereka sudah percaya dengan kita dan kita bisa masuk ke kelompok mereka. Biasanya kalo kita langsung kan, mereka nanti biasanya curiga. Tapi kalau kita pake key person, key person seperti itu, orang orang dari local, dari kelompok bisa lebih masuk dan di anggapi diterima seperti itu" (Harto)

Actors involved	"Teorinya ini, kan ini ada state, ada market dan society. Jadi apa yang kita kerjakan sebenarnya membutuhkan sinergi dari ketiga aktor ini. Misalnya… ini contoh… kita bikin program pendidikan hak asisi manusia, pendidikan HAM, sekolah apa hak… mulai education…eh sekolah sekolah. Dan yang dilibatkan bukan saja kepala dinas, kepala sekolah (..) guru guru agama tapi juga siswa. Kan siswa ini bukan hanya object, mereka juga eeh..subject ya. Aktors sebenarnya." (Budi)

"Jadi mungkin modelnya jaringan tokoh lintas agama itu. ehhhh, misalnya kalau kita ehhh ya..jaringan itu menjadi penting karena itu setiap komunitas ada berakar ke bawah ya memiliki komunitasnya masing-masing itu yang menurut saya cukup signifikan sih" (Eddi)

"Kemudian juga ada sekolah sekolah yang terlibat" (Eddi)

Ke SMA negeri itunya ya. pertama dengan mengundang kepala sekolah. Kemudian nanti masuk ke guru guru, ada guru PAI. (Eddi)

"Guru sekolah, siswa, Maarif. Nah kalau di elit distriknya itu kan ada dinas pendidikan. Dinas pendidikannya, tapi di atas dinas pendidikan kan ada kementrian pendidikan. Dan kementrian agama. Itu juga stakeholder."… "Karena begini, sementara ada guru…guru agama yang itu kan sebetulnya bossnya atau atasanya adalah stukrutal kementerian

agama. Kalau dia mengajarkan sesuatu yang tidak di (..) oleh atasanya, dia dianggap nanti kami yang disalahkan. Jadi ini supaya menginikan koordinasikan structural aja." (Eddi)

"Di luar Maarif biasanya kita punya partnership dengan lembaga lembaga yang lain. misalkan yang tadi dengan teman-teman moderat grup Indonesia. Misalkan dengan Wahid Institute, dengan orang orang UIN, ada orang orang Universitas Muhammadiyah, juga misalkan dengan orang orang PGI, orang orang KWI ataupun orang orang media. yaitu kita bincang bersama bersama." (Harto)

"Yang terlibat dalam pelaksanaan strategi, temen-temen yang di Maarif sendiri.. eksekutifnya ada ditambah mitra mitra di daerah. misalkan mitra mitra di daerah kan ada Maarif Institute di lokal seperti di Yogya, Lampung, Solo, Cianjur dan sebagainya. Jaringan whole network seperti gitu. Dan nanti dibantu oleh juga para peserta kegiatan kegiatan kita. Kan adalah guru guru, ada siswa dsb."(Harto)

"Dan kita juga dalam melaksanakan strategi, kita juga misalkan dengan dinas dinas pendidikan di daerah itu…. membangun kemitraan dengan mereka dalam soal pendidikan. Kalau dalam soal (..)kemiskinan atau mengurangi kemiskinan kita berkerjasama dengan anggota DPRD, ataupun dengan eksekutif kepala daerah di daerah daerah tertentu, yang mereka punya visi yang sama untuk menolong orang miskin, seperti itu."(Harto)

"Iya dinas dinas pendidikan. Mereka mewakili pemerintah. Biasanya kalau yang kegiatan kita didukung oleh dinas pendidikan, kan biasanya lebih mudah diterima oleh lembaga lembaga sekolah. karena dinas pendidkan itu kan lembaga lembaga resmi. Selain itu kan stake holdernya yang lainya juga pemimpin pemimpin keagamaan di tingkat local disana." (Harto)

"Semuanya. Jadi seluruh eksekutif, direktur, dan administrasi."(Arief)

"Stakeholders Maarif itu..pertama punya pendidikan. Yang kedua, institusi agama, (…) agama seperti PGI, Muhammadiyah, NU" .. "Yang kemudian adalah pemerintah.. itu sebetul betul actor actor yang terlibat di dalam aktivitas Maarif itu" (Arief).

"Yeah, and mostly they are, those who have been involved with Maarif Institute, they can be member of associate researcher or they can be member of board, what you call it, board member that can be like someone in Muhammadiyah that have power to influence Maarif Institute." (Andy)

"First they use network Muhammadiyah, you know like they always contacted. They have like contact with Muhammadiyah in several operations in Indonesia. That those is the network that they use. I mean, if they want to go in to the problem of undermining radicalism for

instance, they use the network among scholars of Muhammadiyah too. There is a contact person in every school, that they can call them and then they.. So the main network that they use is the network of Muhammadiyah. And then the second, they use the NGO. The network among NGO's in Indonesia. And then the third one is using media by attracting people from outside their network. So they publish their advertisement or something like that." (Andy)

Policy evaluation	"Nah tapi setiap tahun Maarif Institute itu melakukan strategic planning. Nah disitu lah, kita mengukur tahapan tahapan dan perkembangan perkembangan yang sudah disampai Maarif sejak diri sampai tahun itu."(Arief)

"Memang awalnya ini ditolak ya misalnya di Palu Sulawesi tengah, itu pada awalnya menolak karena diangap banyak isinya tidak sesuai dengan Islam. Tapi ternyata setelah kita komunikasikan, kita coba dijajaki apa sebetulnya yang menjadi keberatan mereka tidak mempunyai alasan yang jelas mengapa mereka menolak ini. Jadi awalnya hanya karena ada kata HAM dan ini adalah.. HAM itu adalah produk barat saya kira. Hanya karena itu mereka menolak" (Eddi)

"Nah yang memang itu kemarin, kalau di sekolah Muhammadiyah di level siswanya tidak penolakan, tidak ada resistensi. Nah yang kemarin itu kita bikin Jamboree untuk teman teman rohis SMA negeri di Cianjur dan Jakarta. Itu resistensinya cukup kuat. Jadi penolakan sebetulnya paska camp paska pelatihan (..) Jamboree itu….ehhhh, mereka apa itu istilahnya…ehh mencoba melaporkan Maarif ke MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia)." (Eddi)

"karena ternyata di level SMA negeri ini ada kecenderungan yang unik ya. bagaimana yang misalnya pelajar-pelajar ini mungkin di satu sisi tuh dia sudah soal agama soal sumber pendidikan agama. Itu mereka dalam pengamatan saya mungkin ehh guru-gurunya sudah tidak di percaya. Lagi dianggap karena mereka punya sumber lain diluar sekolah. Yang itu lebih mereka percayai, lebih mereka (..) , lebih mereka turuti. Nah itu, problem kalau menurut saya."(Eddi)

"Cuman karena mereka tidak mau secara terbuka misalnya untuk..termasuk pada kita..ehh untuk bahwa..saya juga menolak ini ini begitu ya. karena itu..apa itu..resistensi, konsekuensinya, risikonya, kalau sampai saya mereka diketahui secara publik, wah sekolah ini dimasuki, disusupi oleh problem problem ini, itu nama baik sekolahnya jatuh"(Eddi)

"Karena kenapa.. kemarin kita coba bikin forum yang mengumpulkan guru dan siswa itu. disitu sangat terlihat sekali perbedaan pandangan itu. Jadi yang guru ini lebih terbuka, lebih inklusif, menerima isu isu yang dianggap oleh mereka.. ini ya, ehh apa, kontroversial, gitu ya. Tapi di satu sisi, kita melihat ada pandangan siswa yang eksklusif, dan itu menurut saya mungkin dulu, guru gurunya juga seperti itu." (Eddi)

"nah saya melihat ada perubahan itu di level guru dalam cara memandang masalah ini. Dan itu kentara sekali berbeda ketika di (..) dengan pandangan siswa…yang cukup eksklusif dan menolak demokrasi. dia menolak pluralism, menolak kebhinekaan" (Eddi)

Expectations Maarif Institute	"Maarif bisa diterima oleh masyarakat dan masyarakat merasa bahwa keberadaan Maarif itu.. dirasakan. Sekarang, Maarif ini dibentuk…ehh eksistensi bukan hanya untuk maarif sendiri tapi juga untuk menjadi bagian dari masyarakat" (Budi)

Saya berharap generasi kedepan itu, generasi muda ke depan bisa menatap masa depan dengan penuh optimis dan penuh ya dengan…dengan…dengan positif ya. mereka harus kita perkenalkan bahwa realitas kehidupan di Indonesia dan saya kira di dunia juga, itu penuh dengan kemajemukan. kita tidak bisa menolak kemejemukan yang sudah jadi keniscayaan." (Eddi)

Kita berharap efek ini akan terus menjadi goal kita dan didukung oleh orang lain, dan didukung terutama oleh stakeholders yang menjadi mitra kita. karena tanpa dukungan dari mereka kita nothing. Jadi kita ingin menjadi lembaga riset, lembaga studi dan lembaga apa sih namanya….lembaga sosial yang benar benar bermanfaat untuk orang yang lain, jadi bukan yang bermanfaat untuk diri kita sendiri." (Eddi)

"Ya bagi saya harapan..dan harapan ini segera terwujud ya. Karena kita semuah sudah lelah dengan konflik konflik yang ada" (Arief)

"Tapi kami percaya bahwa perang dan konflik bukan solusi terhadap persoalan persoalan di dunia ini. Dan seperti yang saya yakini bahwa agama saya, Islam (..) agama yang bawa perdamaian. Itu (..) bisa diucapkan. Tapi itu juga harus dipraktekan. Kalau Maarif institute adalah kesana. Bagaimana kita mendorong perdamaian itu. Bukan sebagai slogan, tapi sebagai (..) prakteknya juga."(Arief)

"In the context of Indonesia, my expectations is like with the existence of the Maarif Institute is like well, we have a good leader and a good prospect of Indonesia, something like that. That we can compete with other countries or something like that." (Andy)

Impact & Religious leaders

Perception Maarif Institute	"it is a quite influential organization." .. "I think the first is because of the good of pak Syafii Maarif." (Muslim religious leader)

"Maarif Institute consist of young, dedicative and very idealistic activist intellectual that make this institution also becoming very well respect and very influential." (Muslim religious leader)

"I think this is a very good institute. It makes for tolerance, for open

minded religion, for good interreligious relation. It is an Islamic Institute that gives me hope and positive feeling towards Islam." (Muslim religious leader)

"I think they are also motivated by their love of their country, Indonesia. And Indonesia can only flourish on the basis of tolerance and acceptance of the others." (Christian religious leader)

"I think they proceed from the position that deep in the heart of real Muslims is this etiquette, but it has to be given room" "They want to open the way so that people can out with this dimension which is maybe not that fully open" (Christian religious leader)

"Karena gini, tadi saya katakan masyarakat Indonesia pada dasarnya tolerant. Tetapi masyarakat Indonesia itu tidak punya daya tahan dari pengaruhi inteloransi. Organisasi seperti maarif institute itu harus membuat benteng, melakukan imunisasi supaya masyarakat itu imun, keban dari pengaruh intolerant. Itu yang menurut saya penting untuk dilakukan. Supaya virus virus intoleransi itu tidak mudah masuk dan menjadi penyakit didalam tubuh kelompok masyarakat kita. Itu yang pentingnya organisasi seperti Maarif Institute." (Muslim religious leader)

"Menurut saya, organisasi seperti Maarif Institute itu semakin dibutuhkan untuk masa depan.".." mereka sangat vocal dan saya khawatir kalau kelompok seperti Maarif Institute tidak ada, itu justru nanti ruang publik..public spacenya itu, nanti akan dikuasai oleh kelompok kelompok intolerant. Dan itu nanti justru akan jadikan image bahwa Islam di Indonesia itu Islam yang intolerant. Jadi organisasi seperti Maarif Institute, saya kira, dia menjadi corong, bukan hanya kepada Muslim di Indonesia tapi juga ke dunia internasional bahwa Islam Indonesia itu bukan Islam yang intolerant, Islam yang suka marah, tetapi Islam yang tolerant, yang moral dan begitu." (Muslim religious leader)

"kalau saya katakan bahwa Maarif Institute itu menjadi salah satu penyangga penting dalam isu isu yang terkait dengan dialog antara agama." (Muslim religious leader)

"We have a very good personal relationship. That is why I see Maarif Institute very positive. Promoting the culture and interreligious relationship." (Christian religious leader)

"You see that Maarif Institute is still young. But I have the impression that they are trying to do their best. And I support that. Not financially but morally." .. "They seem struggling, you see that the radical elements also very quiet strong, financially also. But Maarif Institute, they are trying to approach, not to be trapped in this…" (Christian religious leader)

"But I think they want to see that becoming a Muslim does not mean becoming intolerant." (Muslim religious leader)

"they want to empower society, especially young people"' (Muslim

religious leader)

"it is bring a very strong intellectual message and to some extend also theological awareness on the importance of respecting others or the importance of including others despite our personal commitment to be a good Muslim." (Muslim religious leader)

"They could bring the adherent of two religion into a very genuine personal interaction that could help them express their religion and very confident to say something that might be different. So I think this is a very important achievement of Maarif Institute." (Muslim religious leader)

"They also want to open up Islam. They want to reach.. I think they want to show to the Muslim brothers and sisters that openness, tolerance, acceptance of others lies in the heart of Islam." (Christian religious leader)

"kalau yang selama ini dan sejauh saya tahu, Maarif Institute itu sudah on the right track. Dia apa yang dia lakukan itu sudah pada jalur yang benar." (Muslim religious leader)

"Gagasan gagasan yang diusung Maarif Institute itu hanya bisa ditangkap oleh kelompok terpelajar. Kelapis kelasnya ke atas. Tapi belum tentu bisa diserap oleh masyarakat tingkat bawah. Masyarakat di pedesaan. Mungkin memang karena masyarakat pada level grass root, itu kebutuhannya bukan seperti yang di imaginasikan oleh Maarif Institute. Kalau mereka justru mikir gimana mereka bisa bekerja, bagamaina mereka bisa makan, bagaimana supaya anaknya bisa ke sekolah, bagaimana supaya bayar kebutuhan kesehatan tercukupi. Mereka tidak memikirkan agenda agenda atau gagasan gagasan yang di bawa oleh Maarif institute." (Muslim religious leader)

"You see that they already produce a film. And we participate in this film. Not as actor you see but we gave our comment on this.. at the end of the film. Mata tertutup, the shut eye. I think this is one of the effort of this Maarif Institute. To prevent youth from the influence of this radical group. That is one of their mission, I think." (Christian religious leader)

Perception policies   "I think it is quite successful, though some of the programmes have been controversial. Especially the Pendidikan Agama Islam, perspective HAM. Because to some extend it result in controversy and rejection by some communities. but in fact although they reject the programme and they reject the book, but in fact in some programme they are quite successful." (Muslim religious leader)

"Unfortunately I have to tell you, that according to the survey made by Wahid Institute, that the tendency of intolerance begin the youth and especially in the school. In schools it is quite high. But on the other side, you all see the same tendency in the Christian school." (Christian

religious leader)

"Kalau dalam kasusnya Maarif institute, itu kan sikap cara berpikir terbuka itu akan di .. deliver kepada mahasiswa, kepada anak anak SD, kepada anak anak SMP, kepada anak anak SMA. Kalau yang ditanya apakah anak-anak SMP dan SMA itu bisa berubah karena programnya Maarif, ya itu tadi saya katakana. Itu tidak bisa diukur sekarang. Karena ini kan cara merubah cara berfikir, itu kan tidak bisa di lihat sekaligus." (Muslim religious leader)

"Religious education, yes. But we only see that religion is always has to two sides. The negative and the positive. The problem is, if the negative side of religion is more brought to the front than the positive. I don't worry that the.. you see that in this institution, in the school's institution, especially regard the religious education, the negative side of religion is more promoted than the positive." (Christian religious leader)

"Maybe just like Nobel award in mini society or for the very micro environment, because it could capitalize and highlight and bring people understanding Islam, if you see Indonesia, please do not simply see national leaders, please do not simple see Jakarta, but see Indonesia at large." (Muslim religious leader)

"There are so many great people on the grassroot ground that is not popular, but they are there. They are working with people, day to day in their lives. They are serving the community, not to receive an award, not to receive a salary but to serve the community" (Muslim religious leader)

"Bagus ya ada Maarif Award. Itu kan penghargaan terhadap orang orang yang atau tokoh tokoh agama. Terutama yang dia melakukan sesuatu sebagai bagian keyakinan dia. dan Maarif memberikan penghargaan ke orang orang seperti itu. Menurut saya itu bisa mendorong masyarakat untuk berbuat yang lebih baik. Meskipun mereka tidak…misalnya tokoh tokoh perdamaian, orang yang jadi peace maker di wilaya wilaya konflik. Itu kan sebenernya untuk penghargaan. Dan apa yang di lakukan oleh tokoh tokoh itu.. sebenarnya mereka tidak ingin mendapat penghargaan dari orang." (Muslim religious leader)

"Yeah, it is good. To encourage people and those people who receive the award coming from different religion. From different religious background. I think they are promoting also the relationship between people of different religion." (Christian religious leader)

Expectations Maarif Institute from religious leaders	"What we expect from Maarif Institute is that they have to be more independent in term of building an institution to promote the issue of interfaith, the issue of religious tolerance, the issue of religious pluralism in a more broad ways and to see and to explore some possible genuine programme that make people from different faith, especially from Muslim and Christian to engage more in a very genuine interaction in a very productive cooperation." (Muslim religious leader)

"They have to think of the programme that is sustainable and of course, the consequence of this is selecting a real community and this might be very small rather than doing so many different places at the same time." (Muslim religious leader)

"My expectations are relatively high" …"So if they make the experience of Muslims like those at Maarif Institute, then they get the better image of Muslims. It helps them to overcome their own primordial negative attitudes. So it is influence also on non-Muslim." (Christian religious leader)

"Pertama saya ingin Maarif Institute mempunyai stamina dan daya tahan untuk teruskan perjuangkan apa dia…apa lakukan selama ini. Karena banyak sekali organisasi organisasi seperti maarif institute itu di Indonesia yang tidak cukup punya daya tahan dan stamina." … "Saya berharap organisasi seperti Maarif Institute itu mempunyai stamina, dan mempunya keberanian, untuk terus menyuarakan soal toleransi, pentingnya hak asisi manusia dan sebagainya itu. Itu yang pertama. Kedua, bagus juga kedepan Maarif mengembangkan program yang tidak hanya bisa dinikmati oleh kelompok (..) elit tapi program program yang langsung terkait dengan grass root. Supaya masyarakat itu tidak mudah di mempengaruhi pikir pikiran yang intoleran."(Muslim religious leader)

Effect on religious leaders in general	"Sometimes it struck my very traditional understanding of Islam. And it makes me think more seriously to see new interpretation of Islam. And to see more alternative perspective to look at teaching of Islam from different angles" … "And to some extend I also not always easy to be in agreement with that understanding, but of course it is part of the intellectual discourse." (Muslim religious leader)
	"So having an Institute like Maarif is a positive asset for us Catholics too." (Christian religious leader)
	"kalau secara pribadi saya enggak… apa namanya…mungkin tidak ada pengaruh langsung kepada saya. Karena apa namanya, ketika saya berinteraksi dengan teman-teman di Maarif Institute itu, level pengetahuan sudah sama. Visinya sudah sama." (Muslim religious leader)
	"Of course we are mutual influence, because of the relationship, because of the collaboration. And because of the discussion, and something like that."(Christian religious leader)
Effect of educational program policy on religious leaders	"Kalau saya ya tidak dong. Saya sejak awal, ketika terlibat dan saya tau maarif instutut, saya.. cara pandang saya sudah begitu. Cara pandang saya sudah..apa namanya.. open minded." (Muslim religious leader)
Effect of Maarif Awards on religious	I think it is quite inspiring programme that could inspire people to see more this local genuine community empowerment achievement" (Muslim

leaders	religious leader)
	"Berubah sih enggak ya. cuman saya lebih merhargai saja. ya lebih memberikan penghargaan kepada Maarif institute." (Muslim religious leader)
Effect on religious relations	"No no no, I just mentioned before that we are mutual influencing. I think they are also influenced by us. And we, by them. But you see the Maarif Institute is not this all institution in Indonesia. There are many." (Christian religious leader)
	"Mungkin bukan satu-satunya ya. Di Indonesia kalau itu orang orang melakukan activism terkait dengan hubungan antara agama itu tidak bisa melihat hanya dari satu lembaga. Tapi itu biasanya di lakukan bersama-sama dengan lembaga lembaga yang lain. Jadi Maarif Institute itu menurut saya, dia menjadi salah satu penyangga… hubungan antar agama." (Muslim religious leader)
	It is very difficult to answer this question, but I would narrow it down. How does it affect Muslim community? How does it affect Muhammadiyah? If the Maarif Institute does.. eh supports the positive tendencies than Muhammadiyah in order to feel responsible for good relations with other religions relations with minorities. Also maybe with so called heretical sects, then I would be very glad. (Christian religious leader