

# The Portrait of Policy on Religious Harmony After the Post Reformation in Indonesia

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**Abstract---** *The government policies towards religious development in Indonesia have been running for a long time ago, or since the colonial era to the reformation. This condition is in line with the fact that the Ministry of Religion is the earliest government institution formed in Indonesia, specifically on January 3<sup>rd</sup> 1946. The major problem of this religious development policy is built upon the assumptions on two things, first is the limited transformation in government policy towards religious development, and the second is, generally speaking, there have been only a limited number of diverse influences on the development programs in Indonesia. The research method applied a qualitative approach and collected the data with in-depth interviews, documentation, focused discussion, and literature studies related to the topic. The research findings reveal that the development of interfaith harmony after the reformation has not been executed effectively. This is caused by various factors, such as juridical foundation, institutions, programs, socialization, government institutions. Some obstacles related to this are the Forum of Religious Harmony (FKUB) or such the institutions formed by the community without any synergy which makes it runs on individually. Furthermore, a comprehensive program for such a movement has not been formed aims to encourage solidarity among groups. Therefore, the socialization of harmony is a crucial matter considering a distortion of harmony in the community's perspective. The performing activities can be implemented through formal and informal activities. Spreading information can be done verbally or in writing, including the creation of banners, leaflets, and advertisements. Supplementary to this, FKUB needs to approach educational institutions ranging from early childhood education, kindergarten, elementary school, junior high school, high school, and higher education to become a future successor.*

**Keywords---** *Portrait, Religious Harmony, Reformation.*

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The fundamental of the Republic of Indonesia is *Pancasila* as the philosophy of life among Indonesian people in society, nation, and state. Furthermore, *Pancasila* is then formulated into the form of a constitution as an instrumental foundation, namely the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (*UUD 1945*). Moreover, *Pancasila* and the *UUD 1945* are actualized in various Laws, Government Regulations, Ministerial Regulations, Provincial and Regional Regulations, and Regulations of Governors, Regents, and Mayors. Hence, the sort order of the laws as applied in Indonesia (TAP MPR No. III/MPR/2000).

With regard to the implementation of the first principle of *Pancasila*, namely "Godhead of the Almighty", principally, it has been stated in the *UUD 1945* in Chapter XI of Religion Article 29 in paragraphs (1) and (2) which asserted that the state is built upon a Godhead, therefore, every citizen has the freedom to practice the religion

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teachings they believed. Thus, in order to accomplish the mandate of the *UUD 1945* since January 3<sup>rd</sup> 1946, the Government has formed the Ministry of Religion.

Various opinions arise in the community when understanding the function and meaning of the Ministry of Religion's existence since then until now. Some people argue that the formation of the Ministry of Religion is as compensation for not fulfilling demands from Nationalist-Islamic Groups who planned to make a "religion" as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia. Others are stated that the Ministry of Religion's formation, as an institution, has no correlation with the polemic in the basic formation of Indonesia, but is merely an actualization of the historical, sociological, and cultural background of Indonesia.

Religious life in a nation is related to four types of activities, those are understanding, appreciation, service, and practice of religious teachings. The role of religious institutions positioned in increasing the understanding and appreciation of religious communities towards the teachings of their religion, consequently, religion acts as an ethical, moral, and spiritual foundation in the life of society, nation and state. While the element of religious teachings practice is dependent on the religious community itself according to the guidance, both through religious institutions and government. Furthermore, the government role including the three things: establishing the regulations, facilitation, and protection, in order to improve the quality of diversity for all components of the nation.

The religion exists in the past, especially before beginning the independence, which has played an essential role as a source of values that has become the social dynamics driving the ethos of a national struggle. After the independence, religion also plays its function in providing content to the development. However, looking at the role of religion in Indonesia's revival cannot only be seen from its positive aspects. Religion also, on the other hand, becomes a driving force for the growth of social disintegration, consequently, the various conflicts that occurred in Indonesia. The conflict which initially did not originate from religious factors, but suddenly became a negative force accompanied by various political and economic interests, as a result, the patterns of social disintegration became more widespread and latent on its development. Nonetheless, since the vision of the Ministry of Religion still notes religion as a factor of social integration, an attitude that tends to be apologetic by ignoring the development of religion towards social disintegration, such as the emergence of various cases of religious friction, in the eastern, central and western regions of Indonesia.

Besides, although various programs have been carried out by the Ministry of Religion to provide services to the religious teachings practice, the service policy still refers to the development of religious patterns in agrarian societies. Meanwhile, Indonesia is in the process to develop and become a part of an agrarian community in Asia called *Kishore Mahbubani*, as part of "the Asia march to modernity" (Kishore, 2011: 11)

The rapid changes are driven by the growth of the rationalization movement in all sectors of life as the opposite of mystical and dogmatic patterns of life in the agrarian life phase. Consequently, the changes give birth to three major drift in people's lives, those are mobility, intellectuality, and rationality which then bring impact to encourage life shifts pre-industrial society from cohesive towards secularization, or becomes a process in which religion begins to lose its influence, both within groups and in society (Christopher, 1985: 322).

This condition is caused by the powerful drive for materialism as a result of humanity's fascination with the application of technology, while religious organizations were not owned any power to restore the spirit of diversity. Sociologically, this will give birth to an anomalous atmosphere with three indications, namely: (1) powerlessness, means the powerlessness of internal forces facing external groups; (2) meaninglessness, or the inability of a person to understand the existence of social change; and (3) normlessness, defined as the unrelevance of rules applied by the community (Ridwan, 2010: 141-142).

All of the various impacts of Indonesian people's life, which can be identified in the pre-industrial stage, will face a decrease in the level of religious quality and consequently will give an impact on the quality of national development. Thus, religious development policy is not adequate as long as using the old approach which given the ongoing social processes. One indication of the social process is the occurrence of the change. Something that was considered absolute in the past—such as the existence of religious leaders as the only reference for the community when deciding on something, whether in family life, education, economics, politics, etc.—turns out then the emerging of other professional groups as the new community references.

On that basis, religious leaders are "forced" to share their authority with various emerging professional groups. Supplementary to this, the religious approach in the pre-industrial phase is adequate if carried out with a mystical and dogmatic approach, so the religion appears as a normative matter. Nevertheless, over time—where society has begun to be critical and logical— it requires religious explanation rationally and functionally. The reformation in the field of political life in Indonesia along with the fall of President Soeharto's regime brought various implications, particularly to the religious life establishment in Indonesia.

The government has taken various activities including the Joint Regulation between Minister of Religion and Minister of Home Affairs No. 9 and 8 of 2006, the Joint Minister of Religion Decree No. 3 of 2008, the Minister of Home Affairs No. 199 of 2008, and General Attorney No. KEP-033/A/JA/6/2008 concerning the Existence of Indonesian Ahmadiyah Community, and Minister of Religion's Letter to the Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of National Education dated January 24<sup>th</sup>, 2006 concerning the Fulfillment of civil rights for Confucians of Confucianism, and others. However, although the government has established various policies towards the development of religious harmony, the policy is still considered less responsive to the swift flow of political social change as a result of influences either from the domestic or overseas side. One of the big flows is the democratization notion and its participation such as the fulfillment of human rights and so on.

## **II. RESEARCH METHODS**

This study applied a qualitative method with the data collection collected with a number of interviews towards government officials within the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Home Affairs, these two agencies carried out many policies in the development of religious life in Indonesia.

The use of a qualitative approach is based on considerations related to four things. *Firstly*, the topic to be investigated is to have a focus on the dynamic and creative social and political phenomenon as well as hidden competition between religious groups in Indonesia. It cannot be obtained through observation because it is not an artifact as intended as the first layer of culture, but can only be obtained through interpretation and assumptions.

*Secondly*, the research material is involving in the accumulation of a long journey and experience of religious harmony, both during the colonial period and after the independence period (the old order, the new order, and reformation). *Thirdly*, researchers have considered that the dynamic configuration of relations between religious believers and interfaith religions in Indonesia is not a simple discourse but has links with global developments. *Fourthly*, the paradigm used in this study is the constructivism-paradigm in which researchers will put themselves in a position as a facilitator in order to make a dialogue of various facts and responses of religious communities towards various development policies for religious harmony in Indonesia

The collected data analysis techniques are carried out in two ways, both are mapping and categorizing data, the mapping step aims to get the knots of religious harmony in Indonesia, while the second step would be the contextualization of data or information after undergoing the data categorization.

### **III. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

#### ***The Institution of Religious Harmony***

Since the wave of reformation took place in Indonesia, ideas in various regions have emerged in maintaining religious harmony. From the beginning years of the new order, efforts have been made to formulate a harmonious religious life through the efforts of K.H. Mohammad Dahlan as the Minister of Religion. However, these efforts have only reached the preparatory stage before moving on to the next stage.

As mentioned in the previous section of this research, after the incident of 30<sup>th</sup> September 1965 which marked the collapse of communism in Indonesia, many people were frequently visiting places of worship for not being accused of like the Indonesian Communist Party (*PKI*) members. This is also an opportunity for religious preachers, especially Islam and Christian, to further expand the spreading of their religion to the residents in various regions of Indonesia. On the other hand, this brings a significant impact on Indonesian religious life, with increasing conflicts between Muslims and Christians.

In such a condition, the Minister of Religion Mohammad Dahlan held an interfaith discussion on November 30<sup>th</sup> 1967, aimed to find solutions related to intolerance conditions in the community. There are many religious leaders involved in the dialogue or *musyawarah* processes, such as A. Rasyidi and Mohammad Natsir. Mohammad Dahlan as the leader of the meeting emphasized the importance of religious leaders for not navigating the religious propaganda to recruit new member more, but remained consistently to deepen the understanding and experience of religious teaching itself, following the teachings and demands of each religion (Kamal, 1998: 259).

When Prof. H. A. Mukti Ali officiated as Minister of Religion in the early 1970s and he pioneered religious harmony dialogues held at various Islamic universities and colleges, especially in the State Islamic Institute (*IAIN*) and the religious community. The efforts made by Mukti Ali still get the high tension and mutual suspicion between Muslims and Christians in the early days of the New Order government, which was caused by Islamic political accommodation given less attention by the military and the government at that time, as well as many non-Muslims joined in the government.

It was stated that in these eras, there was a harsh religious polemic between Islam-Christian in the form of lectures and small leaflets, which were published officially or not. The opinion leads to reproach and hates each other. Moreover, in 1974, the World Churches (WCC) canceled the General Assembly meeting in Jakarta and replaced it to Africa due to the pressure of the Muslims at that time.

From this situation, Mukti Ali, who acted as Minister of Religion at that time, encouraged the processes of dialogue between religious adherents to resolve existing problems. The Ministry of Religion then revived the Interfaith Religious Conference, a forum that was established during Mohammad Dahlan's time but did not proceed due to the failure of reaching the agreement on organizational rules at its first meeting on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1967. There was no specific task for this forum. Lead by the Minister of Religion, this forum is more purposed at discussing, talking and contributing to various conflicts and religious disputes, particularly if a problem arises in the community (Munhanif, ed: 305). On the normative stage, continuing what had been initiated by the Minister of Religion Mohammad Dahlan, Mukti Ali was able to issue an adage and interesting concept to be revealed again, namely "agree in disagreement" (Hayat, 2012: 129).

In the 1980s, efforts to institutionalize harmony began to be formed with the formation of the Interfaith Dialogue Forum (*WMAUB*) at the central level, but this forum is deliberately not widened to the regional area due to the lack of community understanding on the meaning of religious harmony. This forum is more ceremonial and occasionally visits the area when cases of disputes between religious communities arise. Specifically, this forum is formed by the Minister of Religion Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara based on Decree of the Minister of Religion No. 35 dated 30<sup>th</sup> June 1980, functioned as a forum for consultation and communication between leaders and religious leaders. In more detail, this forum functions as 1) a forum to discuss joint responsibility and cooperation between citizens who embrace various religions; 2) a forum to discuss cooperation with the government (Ahmad, 2009: viii).

When the reformation era began, various ideas emerged in several provinces to form a forum for harmony such as the Interfaith Cooperation Agency (*BKSAUA*) in North Sulawesi. Then followed by the Special Region of Jakarta which formed the Religious Harmony Communication Forum (*FKKUB*), South Sumatra province established the South Sumatra Community Harmony Forum (*FOKUSS*) and North Sumatra formed the Interfaith Leaders Communication Forum (*FKPA*).

Apart from that, as a recommendation for the Seminar at State Islamic Institution (*IAIN*) Yogyakarta in 1993 when commemorating the parliament of the world's religions, it was recommended to the Minister of Religion to establish the Institute for Religious Harmony Studies (*LPKUB*) whose membership was taken by academician alliances in various religion. It was agreed that *LPKUB* would be formed in three regions, namely: *LPKUB* in Yogyakarta as the center of the initiator of harmony with its two branches, both are located in Ambon and Medan. However, due to the eruption of Ambon, the formation was postponed and only established in Medan, the inauguration was carried out by the Minister of Religion, Dr. Tarmizi Thaher on November 20<sup>th</sup> 1996.

The duties and objectives of the establishment of this assessment institution are far from *WMAUB*. However, there is a slight distinction between the two, namely that *LPKUB* places more emphasis on studies that involve scholars from various religions. More than that, *LPKUB* and *WMAUB* were formed and financed by the government

(top-down), and were aimed for the elite community and less reached the lower classes. In the consideration section of this decree, it is explained that the *WMAUB* aimed to increase the fostering of harmony in life among religious communities for the creation of national unity (Ahmad, 2009: viii). Historically, there are many cases had emerged which led to religious intolerance and conflict. Therefore, the government needs to revitalize the institutions utilized as a forum for dialogue and communication.

Next is turning to the reformation era, following the mandate of the Joint Ministerial Regulation issued by the Minister of Religion and the Minister of the Home Affairs in 2006, a management or membership of the Religious Harmony Forum (*FKUB*) in some provinces and regencies/cities was formed. Nevertheless, the establishment of *FKUB* in various regions was not as beautiful as they imagined, because it seems to be formal and had not given a significant impact to improve the quality of harmony. The causes are found in various factors including solidarity between members, a competition between *FKUB* and religious assemblies, an even distribution on an understanding of harmony, an uncompleted funding aids, limited feedback or response from the activists outside *FKUB*.

From several studies accomplished by some parties, including those initiated by the Ministry of Religion itself, some notes need to be revealed in this study, so that the institutional problems of religious harmony can truly be implemented. *Firstly*, the implementation of specific statutory regulations of Act No. 32 of 2004 concerning the Regional Government still faces some obstacles and challenges in its implementation. This is in tune with the religious aspects that come into the authority of the central government. The central government argued that religious affairs are a sensitive issue, therefore, wrong management and regulation can cause a broad impact, because although this religious aspect is spiritual and inner, it still holds its potential to emerge as social conflict.

Therefore, the central government still hopes to control the administration of development and management in the religious sector, although substantively, the regional government is expected to continue the policies that have been issued by the central government, especially those relating to religious factors as a driver of social order. However, further problems arise, namely when the conditions of each region, both geographically and culturally, are not the same and pluralism has become an empirical situation in Indonesia long time ago, thus, the central government policies that should have been implemented faced obstacles in their realization (Ridwan, 2013: xvi).

Principally, this problem can be overcome administratively by providing additional ammunition related to regional leaders and the Ministry of Religion in the form of a statement of agreement or MoU to overcome the bureaucratic gap, as a result, the existence of *FKUB* can be effectively applied, because, with this MoU, *FKUB* is expected to get bureaucratic support from other agencies in the regional area.

Another proposed solution is to increase *PBM* to become more binding legislation for government officials at the regional level. This improvement status is expecting the ability to provide a regulation to navigate the regional governments because *PBM* has not been sufficient can encourage local governments to carry out their mandate in religious harmony. There are some cases where local governments are actively implementing *PBM*, such as in Special Region of Jakarta, West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, or other regions, yet there are also local governments denied to implement these regulations because of the lack of its power. Consequently, the

implementation of harmony among the diverse community is disrupted and still constrained by central and regional communication (Machasin, Interview: June 16, 2014)

*Secondly*, other obstacles and challenges are when some houses of worship have legal evidence (*de jure*) and real evidence (*de facto*), while other buildings are not owned. This shows that the house of worship itself has a sociological, psychological and political impact, moreover, the worship place was built in a condition of a religious and plural society, and did not have enough awareness to accept new things, especially from other religious communities. For this reason, the implementation of construction regulations for worship places is sometimes not as simple as expected. Because, although the formal requirements have been met by the religious group, sometimes it does not guarantee the building construction takes place smoothly. In this case, a more substantial approach to the management of houses of worship's construction is an urgent matter, carried out by completing matters related to sociological, ideological and political aspects. All of the problems are possible to be overcome by some negotiations, facilitation, and dialogue between the religious leader as a representative and have an aspirational potential.

Concerning the establishment of this worship, the place is such a decisive role of *FKUB*. *FKUB* membership has to fulfill the representative and aspirational aspects. Representative means that every religious leader and figure as a member of *FKUB* must realize that he represents all the interests of religious people both in the province or district/city. Aspirational and participatory in this case is intended for leaders to accommodate the aspirations and input related to other religious and social affairs to be channeled to the owned parties and find a solution.

*FKUB* itself is unable to become a forum for the exchange of information and discussion among religious leaders, consequently, they could not sufficiently solve the actual problems arise in the field. Moreover, *FKUB* has commonly kept the conflict among religious communities, because some of the religious leaders in *FKUB* are commonly using the construction pattern of minority-majority relations. This also leads to the thinking of diversity in the relations between religious communities among the lower classes is still at a nominal number of adherents. The term minority and majority have not been able to be understood as a concept that leads to protection and respect for vulnerable groups and minorities, because in many cases, the majority are in a superior position compared to the minority.

*Thirdly*, there have been efforts, among the regional governments, to build religious awareness that respects each other and gives attention to religious harmony. However, it is essential to make the main, universal and comprehensive policy to strengthen *FKUB's* capacity, including regional regulations that facilitate the realization of religious harmony programs. This also resulted in the integration of regional development with harmony programs, then the implementation of the program and strengthening public awareness of diversity will be easier to obtain. In addition to the regional government perspective about the needs to understand and realize that the diversity in the community is the first step towards a new, balanced and stable society. Thus, in the name of religious interests and harmony, as well as the guarantees for vulnerable or minority groups, the local governments should take a great policy as well as the needs to keep maintaining the collective agreements that have been realized in Joint Ministerial Regulation No. 8 and 9 of the 2006 (an interview conducted with Rev. Gumar Gultom on June 15<sup>th</sup> 2014.)

*Fourthly*, the local wisdom found in the regions of Indonesia must be a tool for local governments and religious leaders to maximize the role of *FKUB* in encouraging a peaceful and harmonious society. Supplementary to this, the other purpose is to encourage new local wisdom that is relevant and suitable to situations in modern society, which can eventually become a place of variety among religious people in that area. The Regional Government and the regional Ministry of Religion officer should make policies that lead to affirmative action towards religious harmony, which is focused on public services for justice and harmonious religious life (Ridwan, 2013: xviii-xx).

Another essential part, excluding the improvement and development of *FKUB* into an effective institution and forum for establishing harmony among people, is the budgeting program itself. In several areas, there are local governments that focus on improving the *FKUB*, while other regions are not sufficiently able to meet their needs due to the limited budgetary costs provided by local governments. In many cases, the budget arranged for *FKUB* is inadequate, because it is channeled to many programs or activities that are considered more important. As a result, the role and function of *FKUB* were disturbed in ensuring inter-religious harmony in the region scope, as well as the limited understanding of community on *FKUB's* existence (Salim, ed: 31).

Interesting evidence took place in Central Kalimantan, for instance, when *FKUB* was strongly supported by the Regional Government, both Provincial and District, with adequate budgets and fully supported activity programs, *FKUB* was able to carry out its functions and duties well, at least to reduce intolerance practices horizontally. According to the recapitulation of *FKUB* operational funding for Central Kalimantan Province from 2008 to 2012, it is depicted that the budget spent by the provincial government reached around Rp. 5.5 billion, with an annual budget around Rp. 1 billion.

Besides, the Deputy Governor who acted as leader of the *FKUB* Advisory Board became significantly in connecting the problems faced by religious leaders and *FKUB* to the Governor, which then aimed to find solutions. The deputy governor served as a connector between *FKUB* members who needed further discussion to the Governor related to the religious harmony and tolerance, including solving the disputes that occurred between religious communities (Joseph, ed: 31). Supplementary to this, the State must also give a hand by ensuring a good life for the discriminated adherents, because in a state, the Government cannot take part in assessing and judging a belief (Machasin, Interview: June 16, 2014)

From the explanation above, it is noticeable that to make government policy effective in the development of religious harmony after the reformation, the participation from various parties is required to strengthen the institutional harmony. Since the existence of an institution harmony as an essential part, then the development of harmony is not voluntary but is an obligation because the harmony among religions is the most essential part of national harmony.

### ***Interfaith Religious Harmony Program***

The Indonesian government, particularly the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, has extensively performed in carrying out religious harmony programs in Indonesia, both at the local, national, or even international scope, either through bilateral or multilateral way (Balitbang Kemenag, 2013: 20-21). From the launched programs, there were some implemented programs, while others were still in the process, because of the dependency of these programs on



the existence of *FKUB* and its participation at the local level. On the other hand, the Ministry of Religion has also organized many religious harmony education for religious leaders, which planned to be held annually with 10 groups for each year.

This training program is usually got some obstacles related to the participants who often have no any connection to the regional policies and implementation or even the strategic positions to become promoters for strengthening government agencies in a region (Machasin, Interview: June 16, 2014.)

The main thing which considered important to be revealed in this section is the perspective or conception of religious harmony used by the State, which is sometimes inadequate to address the main problems of religious harmony in Indonesia. Assessment of the dynamics of religious harmony today is often placed on how many cases directly or not affect the harmony among religions. This model leads to the notion that the fewer conflicts or cases with a religious background, the more religious harmony is indicated. Conversely, the more or higher the cases that arise in communities with religious authority, the worse the situation of harmony in a region.

Within certain limits, the approach leaves a problem, because in some cases that occurred, people who indicated to be harmonious and peaceful, because of non-religious reason, becoming violent communities and hostile each other using the religious sentiment. This condition has happened in Temanggung, Central Java, when conflicts between religions took place, surprisingly, in fact, this region is well known by a peaceful and harmonious place.

Thus, the quantitative approach sometimes needs to be balanced with a qualitative approach by giving comprehensive attention to the process of interaction and interrelation between religious adherents, as well as looking at the psychological and sociological conditions of shared life between them in daily life. On the other hand, the use of a qualitative approach is sometimes inadequate to present this problem, therefore, the research or observations have to see the whole religious problems occurred in an area, finally, the harmony programs that are taking place can be adjusted to the existing problems (Ma'shum, ed: 111).

The injustice factor can be transformed into a bigger conflict, therefore, it is necessary to be solved directly. The condition in which people do not receive an equal opportunity for getting access and assets will trigger a conflict, although the problem initially occurred in profane issues, such as economics, politics, land and so on. This can immediately escalate to the sacred or religious conflicts when it is correlated to the religion and culture, consequently, the conflict becomes more widespread and more difficult to extinguish, because these two factors (religion and culture) contained an absolute value to identify someone, although both factors are not correlated closely to the level of quality or consistency in the practice of religious teachings.

In this connection, also the policy of development harmony should always pay attention to the stages of a conflict, such as the potential for conflict, the expansion of the conflict, institutionalization of conflict, conflict resolution and finally the emergence of conflict. For this reason, the combination of relevant approaches should be implemented, such as reading qualitatively and quantitatively the situation of certain communities, so that this conflict mapping can really be carried out and ultimately can prevent conflicts using religious symbols. In this case, it is interesting to restate the offer conceived by the Minister of Religion Mukti Ali in connection with these religious harmony dialogue programs. He divided the harmony program into several forms of dialogue, namely:

*Firstly*, the dialogue of life, in which people from various regions living in harmony in one State, mutually enriching each other's religious beliefs through the interventions of their respective teachings and beliefs. This can be seen as the current life of Indonesian citizen which can be relatively better than other countries that hit by prolonged acts of intolerance, even leading to violence and terrorism.

*Secondly*, cooperation dialogues and social activities that obtain religious inspiration such as the variety of religious activities that cooperate each other in development, carrying out a joint project with a harmonious bond between religious adherents, such as eradicating poverty, improving access to education, or providing health services to disadvantaged citizens, all of the activities can be used as the main way in establishing a harmonious life.

*Thirdly*, inter monastic dialogue, or a dialogue that leads to the exchange of religious leaders and/or followers of certain religions in other religious communities. For instance, religious leaders or Hindus are allowed to live and connect with the Buddhist community for several days, Christian leaders stay in the Islamic community or Islamic boarding school for several days or vice versa. Thus, a program is expected to be able to bring up attitudes and understandings of each other on the existence of other religions or beliefs.

*Fourthly*, theological colloquial dialogue means a dialogue carried out by religious leaders by exchanging information related to their religions, so they can share and understand each other's situations and beliefs. This dialogue is expected the leaders' abilities to overcome the suspicions and prejudices among the adherents, which was initiated through their religious leader (Intermediate, ed: 147-148)

The four dialogues mentioned are only examples of programs that can be carried out by the government, including FKUB, hence, the religious harmony can be further enhanced. Besides, these programs are also expected to be truly directed towards strengthening the capacity and awareness of religious leaders or various stakeholders in the community to maximize their role in reducing intolerant actions or disputes that can become a conflict among people.

### ***Training and Exempling on Harmony and Interfaith Tolerance***

Establishing religious harmony can be fulfilled by five elements, namely: seeing, knowing, understanding, conceiving and animating. Hence, the harmony that initially became a paradigm for the whole community then turned into behavior (Akira, 2004: 40). In the observation obtained by researchers, the harmony movement is only focused on the ceremonial aspect, not as an ongoing activity, consequently, the existing activities have not been able to achieve the main objectives of the harmony program itself. Therefore, it is not weird when people's perceptions of harmony have not become a necessity, but rather are seen as an obligation, as a consequence, the practice of harmony is only used as a symbol in social relations which is often easily used by provocation and extends into horizontal conflict.

In this case, a structured and continuous socialization movement is required aimed to make this socialization becomes part of the good awareness for the community. People are no longer found harmony and tolerance as lips service, but more than becomes a necessity for everyone to maintain and improve it continuously while guarding it against potential damaging factors.

The first step that must be performed is to introduce the benefits of a harmonious life situation until becoming a necessity for the community. The next step is by giving the knowledge to the community about the meaning of harmony and it is not intended to divert everyone's faith, because belief is a personal choice. This stage is essential to do whenever an assumption and prejudice arises in the community, which stated that these interfaith programs will lead to religious transfer and destruction of the faith.

In the next stage, the community should be introduced to an awareness of the history and the formation of a nation, specifically when the founders of this nation emphasized the multicultural attitude with the birth of the *bhinneka tunggal ika* motto. This essential action aimed to reinforce the values of nationalism and togetherness among Indonesian people and become one of the pillars of life. After passing through the stage of "understanding", then the turned to the stage of "understanding" and finally, harmony can be "absorbed" into the soul of all community members. As a consequence, the harmony of religious life appears as a new behavior (*novum habitus*). This attitude will then become the basis of a work ethic in the whole activities of national development.

The alteration process is a result of various transformations and inevitability principles. Therefore, the changes should not be run itself, but have to be guided and directed through the understanding of various forms of intervention and social engineering. In this case, social transformation can be directed at a society which experience changing, improving and perfect, including through the principles, those are:

*Firstly*, encouraging people to realize that success in building harmony between religious communities depends on beliefs to utilize the power and grace of God in humans (transformation of beliefs). In this connection, the strength of humanity that needs to be informed is to revive self-awareness, conscience, imagination and free will. *Secondly*, success is the part of choices and decisions taken in the journey of life (transformation of purpose). *Thirdly*, the success of being a harmonious society is the accumulation of continually habits carried out in life, then finally it resulted in the formation of new habits (*novum habitus*), which is distinct to the previous state (transformation of character). *Fourthly*, the success of building harmony relies on the ability of the community on understanding and interacting with others. *Fifthly*, the success of the religious harmony movement is following the people's ability from various components to work synergistically and creatively with others in the organization (transformation of the organization) (Prijosaksono, 2005: xiv-xxi).

In this informing and exampling process, the main target is youngsters as part of the regeneration program, since the educational media is a powerful tool for shaping the vision of future generations. Education in the form of the establishment of educational institutions/courses of harmony should be encouraged to be established in each province, thus, the current representatives who gather in *FKUB* will be changed and their role will be replaced by young people equipped with the great harmonious knowledge.

### ***Restructuring the Government Institution***

The roles of the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Home Affairs are seen as a powerful action on directing the development of interfaith harmony in Indonesia. From the harmony perspective, this becomes the activity area of the Ministry of Religion, while in terms of activities perspectives that took place in a regional area, it should be the Ministry of Home Affairs who played a role.

Similarly, with the increasing importance of building harmony, then it should be a superior program which built through the synergy between the two ministries. Regarding the heaviness of activity and its impact on national development, it is certainly necessary to review the feasibility of the current bureaucracy in supporting the management of harmony. However, the implementation of a harmonious development program requires reliable bureaucratic officials who prepare for arrangements, targets, actors, facilities, infrastructure, as well as rewards and penalties. In this regard, it is necessary to conduct a review of the bureaucratic apparatus to turn change into action, organizations, positions and long levels which required serious attention. The current pattern of management in the Ministry of Religion seems to be less synchronous within the internal ministry as well as the coordination and communication problems involving outside ministries.

The evidence of this can be drawn on the management of harmony control which assigned to echelon II officials, while religious matters resulted on a compartment according to each religion called the Directorate General of Islamic Community Guidance, Christian Community Guidance, Catholic Community Guidance, Hindu Community Guidance, Buddhist Community Guidance and the Division of Buddhist Society Confucius Community Affairs. Because of that, the restructuring needs to be considered, that all the Community Guidance institutions should be collected in one division, both concerning religious matters, religious education, while each religion special interests are still managed by the religious groups themselves (Mahasin, Interview: July 14, 2014).

The current head of the Central of Religious Harmony Forum is positioned under the Secretary-General and the status of the Echelon II will experience difficulties in building networks with the Echelon Officials above him. Therefore, the position of the Central of Religious Harmony Forum needs to be considered to be equivalent to echelon I. This seems realistic as the Ministry of Religion's service coverage is significantly extended, not only for six (6) recognized-religions but also other religious groups which only have limited members. If the structure of the Director General is maintained, there will be director-general's who only take care of a few adherents. Therefore, this religious management can be focused on one department, although have to consider the interests of each religion or belief. On the other hand, this grouping also becomes important when the current flow of trust, which is an important part of the belief or religious system in Indonesia, is still placed under the Ministry of Tourism, whereas trust should also be the scope of management of the Ministry of Religion.

In shortening the long and winding bureaucratic path, several considerations need to be obtained. *First*, the Ministry of Religion should consider the number of personnel handling the affairs of religious harmony. *Second*, finding the competent and right people in each field, or the experts who studied in the field of interfaith relations, logic and philosophy. *Third*, hiring experienced professionals who mastered in managing the task of building harmony. *Fourth*, to not forcing and overloading the organization chart with budgetary techniques, because every official should give priority of the most effective and efficient organization's needs and, *lastly*, making the evaluation continuously towards the ministry's performance.

Supplementary to this, the Ministry of Home Affair has to evaluate the institution itself. As mentioned earlier, how such an institution faced the difficulties to build the religious harmony no institutions are found to handle the responsibility of this matter. Occasionally, the development of harmony is only seen as part of a political problem,

although the problem of disruption to harmony is sometimes spread in religious issues, sometimes it is related to other sectors and then transformed into problems related to religious factors.

In this connection, the officers who responded to handle the interfaith harmony, both at the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Home Affairs, should have higher education with the academic background for interfaith studies called Comparative Study of Religion. For this reason, it can be drawn that the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Home Affairs should collaborate with State Islamic Universities or Theological Colleges to prepare the availability of reliable personnel who handling religious harmony.

Therefore, the management of religious harmony development can be interpreted as a process of managing resources to achieve goals effectively and efficiently. The management process meaning includes planning, organizing, mobilizing and controlling. Then the managed resources include seven (7) M, namely man and women, money, materials, methods, machines, market, minute (time). Resources can be classified into human and non-human resources and other resources. Finally, the criteria for achieving a harmony development program are measured in terms of effectiveness and efficiency (Sugiyono, 2009: 22)

The development of interfaith harmony can be proposed as a public policy agenda by completing several criteria, namely: (1) reaching a certain critical point and if neglected will pose a serious threat; (2) reaching a certain level of particularity and have a dramatic impact; (3) involving certain emotions from the point of interests of many people (humanity) and having the support of the mass media; (4) reaching an extensive impact; (5) questioning power and legitimacy in society; (6) involving a fashionable problem (hard to explain, but easy to feel its presence). Public policy requires an intellectual role with the task of explaining the objectives of the policy; decomposition of policy trends; analyzing the situation; projections of future development, and research, evaluation and research, evaluation and choices (Toha, 2011: 104).

In another explanation, Laswell mentioned several stages or processes in making public policy. Beginning with the intelligence (gathering and processing various opinions from the policymaking process), promotion (choosing several options available), prescription (determining action), invocation (approval of sanctions), application (implementation), termination (termination), and appraisal (assessment or evaluation).

Moreover, apart from the directorate that manages religions and beliefs in Indonesia, it is also essential to render one department which is specifically concerned with religious harmony, because the work of religious harmony is considered as the side job of the involved directorates. Consequently, the management of harmony often stopped at the level of coordination and is ineffective in preventing more widespread conflict. Thus, the structure in the Ministry of Religion has reduced and is expected to be more effective in carrying out harmony programs, including improving a more tolerant and peaceful life of Indonesian citizen (Mahasin, Interview: July 14, 2014.)

Finally, this also corresponds to the evaluation and assessment of existing programs. Nowadays, evaluations or outcomes of programs are very weak, due to the absence of specific responsibility carried out by this directorate in arranging the evaluation. The existing evaluations are only limited to the results of the program, for instance, the presence of an annual report on religious life issued by the Ministry of Religion. Nevertheless, evaluation of the process and performance of harmony, including the relationship between the program and the expected results are

unavailable (Mahasin, Interview: July 14, 2014). Therefore, evaluators from civil or private communities often have a deep-monitoring and regardless of the results they produce, while the government is unable to present the comprehensive data evaluation to be followed in further programs.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The development of religious harmony after the reformation of Indonesia has not been obtained effectively. This situation was caused by various factors, such as juridical foundation, institutions, programs, information, and government institutions. Supplementary to this, the legal foundation tends to be weak, because it is arranged in the form of a Joint Decree and Joint Ministerial Regulation. Therefore, the juridical basis has no compelling legal force and makes it possible for various irregularities in the field to occur. Additionally, religious groups seemed to try on finding weak points from the rules. Hence, it is recommended that the Government should immediately enact the Law on Religious Harmony or the Law on the Protection of Religious Life. In addition to moral sanctions, there are also legal sanctions that will become the foundation when violations took place.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of the Government's policy is the institution harmony both as a manifestation of community representatives, namely the Forum for Interfaith Harmony and the institutions formed by the community, or the absence of synergy to make it run independently. Moreover, there is an impression that each group is less expecting participation from the other. This attitude of mutual distrust should be eliminated by establishing a constructive dialogue between the two forums. Besides, a comprehensive program for the movement has not been set up to encourage the realization of solidarity among religious groups. This is partly due to the spirit of togetherness as a person, who gets the mandate from both the community and the government, has not become a shared awareness so that which often comes to the surface in the framework of managing activities, the majority of religious groups are often more dominant while minority groups create own group.

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