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The Governing Organizing of Indonesian Religious People Harmony: Lessons from Cilegon Banten

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Abstract: Religion is not only worth the rights, but also the value of the obligations. Violence in the name of religion can never be justified. Secular, symbiotic, or integrated are the choices of state-religion relations. Indonesia is not a secular country, nor is it a religious state, Indonesia is not religious. Religion is the government's business. This article focuses on the lack of worship facilities in Cilegon city other than mosques. This study aims to identify, analyze religious harmony governance in Cilegon city, Banten Province. The methods used are qualitative and descriptive, with in-depth interviews, observations, document studies, and website searches accompanied by triangulation of sources and techniques. The findings do not have the operationalization of regulations and middle ground practices of religious tolerance in Cilegon. The conclusion of governance practices has not been in accordance with the principles of good governance. For example, the establishment is not a negotiable synagogue, so that the toleration practices in de jure state there isn't a worship area, and furthermore, de facto states there is a worship area.

Keywords: good governance; religion; Cilegon.

Introduction

Religious harmony has to be managed so as not to cause conflict in the name of religion. Indonesia is not a secular country, nor a religious state, Indonesia is not religious. So that religious affairs become the business of the government. (Khalwani 2019) explained that there are three paradigms of religious and state relations, namely integrated, secular, and symbiotic.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs is an agency that is authorized to regulate, manage, and facilitate all religions in Indonesia. A long time ago, before Indonesia became an independent country in 1945, it was already a multi-religious country. Multi-religion is prone to friction in carrying out religious activities. Therefore, the government is obliged to regulate relations between religions together with the government.

Indonesia has a value of *unity in diversity*, namely Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Indonesia has 6 official religions. Maintaining peace requires universal values, that are accepted by all human beings. Justice is one of the universal values.

The reality of religious harmony in discriminatory conditions can be said to be a condition of *pseudo harmony*. This will be a time bomb if not managed properly. It can be a trigger for social conflicts when not managed properly. It is necessary to understand that religious harmony and the elimination of discrimination are the foundations of religious harmony.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs released data on local wisdom and the role of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Banten is the lowest compared to 33 other provinces, (Kemenag RI 2015). So it has an impact on religious harmony in Indonesia. The achievement of the Harmony Index in Banten in 2021 was ranked 32 out of 34 provinces (Kemenag 2021). Halili published a 2018 survey of tolerant cities index, Cilegon City is the city with the title of intolerant ranking fourth lowest out of 94 cities throughout Indonesia (SETARA Institute Secondary data shows that Cilegon City has no means of worship other than that of Muslims (Pemerintah Kota Cilegon 2021).

An inevitability that the state has to be present in an effort to ensure social justice for all Indonesian people in creating religious harmony. According to Negeri (2006), Guidelines for the Implementation of the Duties of Regional Heads/Deputy Heads of Regions in the Keeping of Religious Harmony, Empowerment of Religious Harmony Forum, and Establishment of Synagogues

as revisions to Decree 1 of 1969, is a form of state presence juridically in post-reform. But in its implementation, it often still causes horizontal friction with religious people.

This article tries to examine the issue of why religious harmony, based on the statement by Pemerintah Republik Indonesia (2006) that in Cilegon City, Banten, it is low and does not have a critical position to ensure the successful establishment of houses of worship.

Methods

This study approach is carried out by qualitative methods with in-depth interviews because it will be very phenological-casuistic. The purpose of this study is to analyze in-depth religious harmony governance in Cilegon City that has the potential to conflict on the issues of diversity, pluralism, multiculturalism, and social equity as a consequence of Cilegon's status as an industrial area. Analysis of the role of religious harmony governance actors in maintaining tolerance.

Result and Discussion

Public participation in democracy is an inevitability. Religious people's harmony cannot be created by one party itself, but by all interested parties. The community's involvement in maintaining and creating should be done continuously and involve all related elements. Public participation in maintaining religious harmony in Cilegon City is only at the level of the religious leader's elite, but if at the grass root level it does not occur, so not only the elites because they often meet, but at this grass root level it should be intensified, for example, by building interactions between religious figures,



interfaith youth figures. So, the existence of society has not been embraced by the religious elite and has not been given maximum space, in Cilegon, is still weak.

So that participation in maintaining religious harmony is actually encouraged to be played more by the government. The government has to maintain and create religious interactions that encourage public participation spaces.

Public participation has not reflected the side of justice. This was conveyed by the PKT Pastor's informant who stated: "... Not yet (reflecting justice), keeping their distance is still there at all levels. So, it's like awkward to hang out. Other people become rigid when they learn that I am a Christian or a figure. So, they're afraid of being suspected. Even though they know who I am, they are keeping their distance for fear of being stamped... (interviewed on June 24, 2021, at 09.00 a.m.).

Public participation according to Hendriks (2006) and Ruhana)2020) described the level of public participation as follows: (1) the public that demands (insisted publics); (2) networked publics; invited (invited publics); (3) collaborative (collaborative publics); and (5) the public doing (doing execution). Therefore, public participation in the governance of religious harmony in Cilegon City is at a collaborative but pseudo level because the collaboration is conflicted by the principles of justice, fairness, social rights, and equality. Therefore, it's as if the government isn't performing its functions. Cilegon City Government should create a new model for dealing with religious minorities, church-state relations, and hereditary political heritage (Griera 2012).

The role of religious harmony actors more often positions themselves as "firefighters" to mediate. But the practice doesn't mediate. The mediator should stand in the middle or neutral. But what happens is the neutrality of actors is violated, so that the dominance of the majority in the minority is undeniable. This was confirmed by several informants.

It shows that the condition of FKUB organizers is quite negatively spotlighted by various circles. FKUB is a main motor of religious harmony that should speak for all religions, but in practice, many people consider it to only voice certain groups that are in the majority, meaning that the role of FKUB is less than optimal in managing religious harmony. FKUB, as a quasi-NGO (because it is funded and authorized by the government), does not work in accordance with its role.

Community organizations involved in religious harmony in Cilegon City take fewer active roles. Even from the power of the masses to maintain existing conditions that tend to be intolerant in other religions. According to Putra, Purnomo, and Utomo (2019); Vanderstraeten (2013) functional structure in the acronym AGIL (Adaptation, Goal Attainment, Integration, and Latency), the role of community organizations has to be adaptive, have strong synergy in achieving goals, and be integrated to maintain and defend the achievement of tolerance.

The media/press play an important role in maintaining religious harmony. The position of the media alignment in delivering news and information will affect the dynamics of social interaction. Like two sides of a coin, the media can provoke, but at the same time, as a unifying society, it must uphold the

principle of covering both sides.

The picture of public access in obtaining public documents on diversity, such as Regent Decree No. 189/Huk/SK/75, was submitted bv Informant Pandita, who initialed TAH and stated that: "ves, I also heard that (DECREE), that's what we can't get", (interviewed on March 28, 2021, at 12.00 p.m.).

Primary data strongly explains that public access to public documents is very difficult. This is due to the sensitivity of data related to the management of religious harmony. It is possible that this difficulty for the public in obtaining such data is part of efforts to maintain religious harmony. After going through efforts to parties convince the holding document, the researcher managed to obtain some of the document data in question. [1] Explaining that the phrase "transparency" becomes the main focus of public information disclosure as one of the human rights that protects the basic right to information as a characteristic of a democratic state in realizing good governance. It appears that the transparency of religious harmony governance in Cilegon City is still low because the government does not carry out its role. Whereas in the preparation of must public policy, one consider multiculturalism and human culture in the community (Seljak 2016).

It is a dimension of voice and accountability that the submission of complaints and responses to complaints are handled well as long as they are not related to the establishment of synagogues. Related synagogues are always *negotiable*. Public participation is not good even though there is agreement

at the elite level that it is different from the grass-roots level. Public participation has not fully reflected fairness because it has not been consistent with authority on regulation and universality values such as neutrality and diversity. The involvement community organizations instead maintains pseudo-harmony in the intolerance frame. The press that developed in Cilegon City is relatively less balanced. There is still provocative media, especially on social media. The difficulty of public access to documents on religious issues is clear evidence that religious issues in Cilegon City are becoming a sensitive issue. Researchers believe that difficulty accessing the of public documents is part of an effort to maintain pseudo harmony in Cilegon City. The country's contributions actively to the conditions created when the state has to create a policy framework to ensure equality without equalizing freedom of religion with freedom of speech.

It strengthens the idiom of religiousstate-democracy relations: three inseparable phrases such understanding of fundamental rights consisting of access to justice, social rights and equality consisting of social groups, gender equality, and basic welfare, as well as civil liberties consisting of freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly, freedom of action, integrity and personal security, and religious freedom (United States Department of State 2019).

Religious social interaction in Cilegon City has not reflected the values of pluralism, multiculturalism, and social justice. Conditions in Cilegon City were conveyed by an informant named IDJ, who stated that: "I, as the Head of the Ministry of Home Affairs, am also confused as to



what the Muslim's are afraid of the establishment of the church...","... In Cilegon, the people are fanatical because of history..."," (interviewed on July 8, 2021, at 02.00 p.m.).

Field facts show that religious social interactions that occur do not fulfill justice based on the constitution, whereas Islam brings egalitarian values, justice, and prosperity to all mankind (Brietzke 2005). Freedom of worship by exercising their own beliefs and freedom of expression in carrying out their beliefs are not the same thing because expression in public places is more sensitive in carrying out religious rituals. The Constitution should be the main instrument of social integration, promoting the values of social solidarity in securing plurality strengthening religious harmony through tolerance, confidence, respect, and mutual understanding (Thio 2019).

The approach, in the name of maintaining conduciveness, becomes a top priority in maintaining the stability of religious harmony. Information from the authorities submitted by the informant initialed ANB stated that: "The authorities have an obligation to secure the community's every place of worship, regardless of religion. If there is

discrimination, the army or police will investigate. The Cilegon case was a significant homework assignment, as was the shift in grass-roots perspective. In fact, for about 10-15 years, there was a warning against people who try to build radicalism "(interviewed on June 29, 2021, at 02.00 p.m.).

The involvement of Army/ Police officers in handling conflicts in Cilegon City always puts forward a conducive approach, peace and public order. Field facts and observations show that the conflict is not fully resolved properly. Events in Pulomerak on May 8, 2017, Citangkil events on July 17, 2017 and repeated on July 27, 2018, then on September 24, 2018, the rejection of Perbawa II in the Seneja Jombang District of Cilegon City. The event will be in Mardi Yuana on September 29, 2021. The friction will always repeat itself in the future. The state is concerned about the existing conditions. Conduciveness has to be able to guarantee the value of justice, because the word "just" is the most universal value that can be accepted by all religions (Nasrullah 2017).

Field observations show that there is "camouflage" in the building of the synagogue, like in the following picture:

Figure 1: Visible Outside and Inside the Building in Lembang Raya Street, Citangkil Subdistrict





Source: Field Observation, 2021



Based on the figures above, there is a very stark contrast between the buildings used for worship. The building from the outside looks like a grocery store building, but when entering the building, it looks like a building of worship facilities that are quite used for approximately 100 people. The same pattern occurred in El-Palaz Rumida prayer house, in PERBAWA, as well as in Mardi Yuana.

The above facts show that the conflict that occurred also affected Buddhists and was not concentrated around the Islamic-Christian conflict. Whereas the Decree of the Regent of Serang number 189/Huk/SK/75 prohibits the establishment of churches and Christian worship, in its implementation it is equalized to all means of religious worship other than Islam.

Based on the results of interviews and document searches, it is very clear that conflicts of friction in the name of the establishment of synagogues will continue to repeat themselves. It is understood by Muslim and non-Muslim informants that the potential for repeated conflicts is very high and that there will be a prolonged conflict. The state is the discriminatory perpetrator.

One of the values of plurality is the willingness to implement dialogue aiming to reduce conflict. Dialogue activities have to be carried out massively in order to minimize conflict, because the conflict that occurs is not on the dogmatic issue of religion but on suspicion, hatred, and miscommunication between religious people. They are not only to reconcile with its religious way of life without having to liberalize religion. The commitment of Cilegon City's community to dialogue,

criticism, and self-criticism in a fair forum is very low, especially in the dialogue on the establishment of synagogues, whereas dialogue requires mutual trust and an objective attitude. Dialogue is about more than just theology; it is also about life, social activities, sharing religious experiences, and praying together (Ali, Ridwan, and Fatchurrohman 2018).

Dimension political stability and the loss of violence show that religious social interactions in Cilegon City have not been fully based on the values of diversity, pluralism, multiculturalism, and social justice. This is characterized by the high potential for repeated conflict, low commitment to dialogue on the issue of the establishment of synagogues, although on other issues of social interaction there are no problems. This is also a value understood by the younger generation in Cilegon City, even though the existence of synagogues has become a symbolic factual manifestation of religious harmony relations. The apparatus presents persuasively more prioritized environmental conduciveness, so it seems that there is a warning from the apparatus for the majority dominance in the organizing of religious harmony in Cilegon City.

The middle way of tolerance for the minimization of conflict triggered by the establishment of synagogues, that *de jure* states there is no mention of synagogues, even though *de facto* states there are already buildings used for worship activities. The lack of conflict between stakeholders of religious harmony governance becomes a positive value so that it is considered unnecessary for new institutions in the governance of religious harmony in Cilegon City, although there is



an understanding and recognition of stakeholders' necessity for educational sector institutions in order to instill the values of diversity. pluralism. multiculturalism, moderatism and social justice in the next generation, because authentic diversity is when religious believers can practice their religion with full awareness, without any coercion or intimidation from any party (Bielefeldt 2020).

The bureaucrat's role is crucial, especially in bureaucracy at the bottom level. Often, lower-level bureaucracy becomes conserving factor institutional norms and practices that give rise to tensions in the process of public service through discretion taken away from the ability to promote pragmatic justice (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2012).

FKUB, as the main executor of the custodian of religious harmony, gets its own challenges, or even the toughest. The role, function, and existence of FKUB are the highlights of all parties' assessments. The main contributors to maintaining religious harmony in Cilegon City are community leaders, FKUB, Army/ Police officers. and religious people. Mukhoyyaroh and Falahi (2019) explain the role of community leaders in religious interaction. They stated that the role of public figures should be able to be a light, a builder, and a maintainer. Lightening is tasked with the role of providing understanding to the community about the meaning of tolerance, equality, and cooperation. The builder's role of building relationships among religious people is based on multiculturalism in the Republic of Indonesia framework. Maintaining a coordination role with the owner of the

authority in order to build religious harmony.

Regarding the conditions of the availability of worship facilities and infrastructure in Cilegon City, whose existence has not been fulfilled.

JKP informant conveyed two reasons why Cilegon City does not have worship facilities other than Muslim property. He stated that: "My conclusion (why there is no means of worship) is first because of history, and second because of political will of the the government. Cilegon City government shows that *political will* does not yet exist "(interviewed on June 24, 2021 at 04.00 p.m.).

In addition to the two things above, there are also geographical factors, namely the distance between Serang City and Cilegon City, which is only 18.3 km away, so it is quite easy to travel and connect through toll roads.

In De jure, religious affairs are central affairs, but the Joint Regulation of two Ministers in 2006 on the dictum Weighing the letter, it expressly conveys that the regional head and deputy regional head, in order to carry out their duties and authorities, have the obligation maintain the peace and order of the community.

The partisanship of the Cilegon City Government on the 1975 clerical agreement led to the absence of Christian worship facilities as part of the MoU with PT. Krakatau Steel (KS).

The position and attitude of commitment from the Cilegon City Government on the values of diversity are still lacking, which is precisely the alignment of the status quo over the condition of religious social dynamics. It

was related to the research by Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2012), who mentioned that bureaucracy at the lower levels often causes friction in bureaucratic practices in achieving social justice goals.

The parties responsible for religious harmony, according to the government, are regional heads and security forces, FKUB, the Ministry of Trade, and all elements of society.

The role and function of FKUB in the management of religious harmony in Cilegon City needs improvement in terms of the credibility of its institutional attitude.

The effectivity government dimension shows that the governance of Cilegon City, although it has not put the issue of pluralism, multiculturalism on the main agenda, prioritizes competence in filling positions, and only a few informants mention the factors of political closeness and religious discrimination in filling positions. The credibility of Cilegon City FKUB is considered unfair because it is considered to stand for one religion, namely Islam, so that the role and function need to be improved to support religious moderation. Unlike what happens in America, bureaucratic decisions and policy implementation processes tend to support principle the of fairness (Frederickson 1990).

Social justice should be defined as social equity, not as social justice. According to the perspective of Frederickson (1990), there is more on the approach of public administration using the term "social equity," while John Rawls on the legal approach, desiring the rule of law and the separation of powers in control of a democratic system of

representative government, uses the term "social justice" (Esquith 1997).

The difficulty of the availability of non-Muslim worship facilities in Cilegon is in addition to history, political will, and geography. In the name of conduciveness, maintaining security and order becomes the main approach in handling religious harmony conflicts. The Cilegon City Government's attitude and commitment reflect the status quo on the existing conditions of religious harmony governance, as well as those who bear full responsibility with the Regional Representative, security forces, FKUB, Ministry of Religious Affairs, and all elements of society. institution's existence is questioned on the neutrality side of its partisanship. In general, the carrying capacity of bureaucracy in religious harmony governance is still not optimal for specific services at the establishment of synagogues. FKUB should place equality as the foundation of the organization based on the theory of Rice and Hand (2010), who mentioned equality as a basis for improving organizational performance, efficiency, and decision-making contextualizing cultural diversity conditions. social equality, and administrative neutrality (Rice and Hand 2010).

Factually, Cilegon City does not have regulations governing related to the governance of religious harmony. Therefore, everything still refers to the Joint Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Home Affairs in 2006.

The document observation shows that the operationalization of regulations governing relate on the governance of religious harmony is fully in line with the



Joint Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 9 and the Minister of Home Affairs No. 8 in 2006 on guidelines for the implementation of the duties of the Regional Head / Deputy Head of the Region in the Maintenance of Religious Harmony, the Empowerment of the Religious Harmony Forum, and the establishment of Synagogues.

This regulation is actually operationalized by the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Cilegon City in the form of Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) to further facilitate the governance of religious harmony. Suppose this SOP is about the permit for the establishment of a synagogue, SOP application for temporary permit utilization of buildings, SOP handling conflict, and SOP charging FKUB personnel.

The existing regulation review shows the need for improvements to the regulations with the minister of religion and the interior minister because this policy is still discriminatory and unable to guarantee equality in order to achieve social equity. In the preparation of policies, concrete steps are needed in the form of identification, advocacy, and initiation to encourage religious harmony.

The operationalization of regulations with the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Home Affairs has not been carried out, and the regulation in its implementation in the field causes friction due to multi-interpretation. The regulation can be interpreted positively or negatively, meaning it can be interpreted as facilitating as well as being interpreted as limiting. The contents of this regulation have not touched the formal involvement of the private sector in the governance of

religious harmony, although practically in Cilegon City, it has involved the private sector in the provision of Cikerai cemetery. The observation results show that the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia already plans to revise the regulation through a letter document dated January 28, 2021. Even on June 7, 2021, there was a Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 662 of 2021 on the Inter-Ministry Committee on the Drafting of the Presidential Regulation on the Maintenance of Religious Harmony involving 10 (ten) ministry agencies without involving the Ministry Culture, Education, Research, and Technology. This ministry is needed to transmit the values of tolerance, diversity, pluralism, and multiculturalism, as well as social equity, to the younger generation.

The dimension quality of regulations shows that existing regulations have not been able to guarantee the implementation of ideal religious harmony governance. There has been no operationalization of regulations such as SOPs to facilitate religious harmony governance even though there are plans to be revised immediately. The state's role is only as a facilitator of all religions, not as a regulator. The state's role of submitting actors to FKUB (quasi-NGO) shows the hegemony of the state in the relationship of religious life in Indonesia. Surprisingly, with the power of Cilegon still hegemony, practiced intolerance.

As revised material can refer to documents from (Nawawi 2018) explaining the study of several countries, such as the United Kingdom, India, Kazakhstan, Spain, Australia, Italy, and the United States, on the establishment of

houses of worship can be concluded as follows: (a) Religious freedom is regulated in the constitution; (b) the establishment of houses of worship is regulated at the level of the law; (c) the determination of houses of worship is based on objective criteria, not on the consent of other religious people; and (d) disputes are resolved through negotiations with the owners of the authorities, rather than through the courts. The case in Cilegon shows the growing need to promote social justice in every decision-making/policy at all levels of government. Suppose to develop a policy of identifying the values of each religion that supports tolerance that leads to community balance.

The events in Citangkil understood are not considered a problem of pluralism but a problem of changes in the function of buildings alone.

The resolution of conflicts that occur never goes through the court. The function of the law as an effort to engineer social change through the enforcement of rules and laws will always have a clash with the values that a society believes in. According to the informant, initialed AWY, stated: "More priority, which is between harmony or security, we can talk harmony, but the safety of the people must also be taken into account." The law can fall if it speaks to the safety of the people, even though the constitution regulates the issue of religious freedom" (interviewed on June 25, 2021, at 09.00 a.m.).

The other offered a solution that stated that: "There are two keys to changing people's *mindsets*, namely through education, and making the law socially technical." But at the moment, the law loses to the consideration of safety. Therefore, there needs to be intensive

education efforts, because if the law is applied but the community is not ready, it will not be able to. "(interviewed on June 25, 2021, at 09.00 a.m.).

The conflict never occurred with a formal legal instrument that continued in the justice system. The formal practice of resolution conflict is consensus deliberation by formal and non-formal actors. However, non-formal practices with the dominance of the practice of using mass force instruments that tend to be non-dialogical (one-way) are stronger in the field. Allowing education to be used to hostile values rather transmitting moral and religious values is unacceptable (Dawson, 2018).

The dimension of law enforcement shows that the conflict that occurred was a conflict triggered by the issue of injustice due to differences in treatment based on religious plurality factors. Resolving conflicts through non-judicial spaces is an option because of the uncertainty that it will win the court's ruling. In the resolution of conflicts that occur, it is often done through community discussion while still including mass pressure. The state has to act as a guardian of religious harmony based on the rule of law and the values of integrity and justice in order to create social cohesion in an inclusive society.

The transparency of the permit for the establishment of synagogues is only limited to the completeness of administrative requirements contained in the regulation with the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Home Affairs in 2006, and does not follow the transparency of flow or *flowchart* of services or service time needed at each stage of service.



The economic motives for enriching oneself or others through corruptive behavior are not found in the mechanism of the licensing of synagogues as part of the governance of religious harmony. Religion and corruption are very different. Despite widespread belief that religion instills strong moral values, religion is no longer regarded as a contributor to a nation's moral or spiritual order because corruption persists (Pavarala and Malik 2012).

The dimensions of control data on corruption show that in the governance of religious harmony in Cilegon City, there was no corrupt behavior from state organizing actors, but it was suspected that manipulative behavior occurred in meeting the needs of administrative requirements in the form of signature support from citizens for the establishment of synagogues.

According to (Anders Hanberger 2004; Retno Sunu Astuti, Hardi Warsono 2020), the *governance* model becomes (1) state coordinated; (2) local government coordinated: and (3)multi-actor coordinated. The practice of religious harmony governance in Cilegon City, Banten Province is a coordinated multiactor model. The governance of religious harmony formally requires the central government, regions, religious leaders, and community leaders to collectively participate in and discuss the life of religious interaction. Practically, religious harmony governance in Cilegon on problem-solving practices through discussion and participation from all stakeholders to form a new consensus is difficult to implement because there has been a mutual consensus from several inside government actors with outside

government actors. The strong connectivity between the majority of civil society and the entire (local) state, coupled with a waiver of the private sector role, further perpetuates the existing consensus (status quo).

Conclusion

Religious harmony governance in Cilegon City, Banten Province has not fully reflected the basis tolerance principle and has not been based on the values of diversity, pluralism, multiculturalism, and social justice, triggering the potential for repeated conflict due to the low commitment of dialogue on the issue of the establishment of synagogues as a result of historical factors and political will of leaders. so has there been operationalization of existing regulations and has resulted in the use of mass pressure on religious issues.

The findings of this article show the lack of operationalization of religious harmony governance of regulations and middle ground practices on religious tolerance in Cilegon, namely the absence of formal worship houses, although informally the practice of worship has been ongoing. We suggest a deeper study of the issue of local wisdom in Cilegon, in particular, and Banten, in general.

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