The Role of Local Elite in the Transformation of Intolerant Values in Indonesia

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Abstract

The initial background of the Republic of Indonesia is plural (diverse). Therefore, Indonesian people must live in mutual respect with people who are different from him in various ways (religion, race, and class). This statement is what is referred to as tolerance, the opposite of which is intolerance. However, this life of tolerance cannot be adequately guarded. Historical facts show that many Ethnicity, Religion, Race and Intergroup conflicts occur in Indonesia. Therefore, it takes a commitment and political will from various parties, especially local elites, in maintaining tolerance in this nation. This research studied the role of local elites in transforming the values of pluralism in Indonesia, especially when there was a leadership recycling event at the local level with democratic procedures (direct election). This research is a qualitative study and used the method of literature review, focus group discussion, and also interviews with related parties. The initial background of the Republic of Indonesia is plural (diverse). Therefore, Indonesian people must live in mutual respect with people who are different from him in various ways (religion, race, and class). This statement is what is referred to as tolerance, the opposite of which is intolerance. However, this life of tolerance cannot be adequately guarded. Historical facts show that many Ethnicity, Religion, Race and Intergroup conflicts occur in Indonesia. Therefore, it takes a commitment and political will from various parties, especially local elites, in maintaining tolerance in this nation. This research studied the role of local elites in transforming the values of pluralism in Indonesia, especially when there was a leadership recycling event at the local level with democratic procedures (direct election). This research is a qualitative study and used the method of literature review, focus group discussion, and also interviews with related parties. The results of this study found that regions that were classified as tolerant tended to avoid religious issues in political contestation such as Singkawang in West Kalimantan. Meanwhile, areas that belonged to the category of intolerance tended to use the religious problems in the contestation of public positions, governors, regents/mayors. One example was the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Province (DKI Jakarta). Therefore, the local elite had a significant role in transforming the values of pluralism or vice versa. Thus, local elites needed to understand the meaning of tolerance thoroughly and avoided the use of religious issues in public office contestation in order to maintain harmony and tolerance among religious believers in Indonesia as a plural state.

Keywords: *Pluralism; Tolerance/Intolerance; Local Elites; Democracy; Religious Issues; Local Elections*

Introduction

Indonesia is a pluralistic country consisting of various ethnic, religious and ethnic groups. This characteristic is the mold of Indonesia long before independence. Therefore, the founders of the nation formulated Pancasila as the basis of the state which reflected it as a unifying forum of such diversity. It is not surprising if there is a debate among the framers of the Jakarta Charter regarding the first precepts. In the end, the seven words in the first precepts were eliminated, namely the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents. Thus, the final edition of the first principle of the Pancasila was the Almighty God (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*).

The next precepts are and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy led by the wisdom of deliberations among representatives, and social justice for the whole of the people of Indonesian. In these five precepts, the country's philosophy is pluralistic. As known that there are six religions recognized by the state in Indonesia, even though Islam is the majority religion (87%). There are 1,340 ethnic groups in Indonesia (BPS, 2010) inhabiting approximately 17,000 islands from Sabang to Merauke. Therefore, the primary impression of the archipelago, according to Yudi Latif, is as a product of cultural cross-pollination that presents shades of similarities in differences (Latif, 2015).

Therefore, the transformation of pluralism is a necessity to safeguard the plurality of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia/*NKRI). The transformation becomes very critical to build harmony in the life of the nation with all of the existing differences. Ahmad Syafii Maarif, the former Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive (*Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah*), states that 'We need to be different in siblinghood and siblings in differences'. This message is necessary as it is difficult not to interact with people from different religions, races, ethnicities, and groups. Moreover, in this globalization era, the interaction level is getting faster, broader and more intensive across national borders.

However, the history of Indonesia is still full of social conflicts based on differences in religion, ethnicity, class, and others. News often report in the newspaper or any media about attacks on churches from different religious groups (Islam) or vice versa. Thus, it is not surprising that a report from the results of research on the Conditions of Freedom of Religion/Belief by SETARA 2018 notes the strengthening of intolerance in Indonesia which has become a supremacy phenomenon which undermines the rule of law and constitution. It means, racism starts to be a habit culturally and has inter-causality against the religious dogma and politicization of religious identity, also legitimation by state policies that adopt the doctrine and fatwa (Halili and Hasani, 2018).

What was more worrying is when this isue became the political sphere as in the 2017 Jakarta election. It confirmed a powerful religious sentiment in the "Action of Defending Islam 212", where Muslims in Indonesia expressed their anger, the masses demanded that religious blasphemers be brought to justice (Rizkimawati and Kusumawardhana, 2021). This issue means that political elites are often indirectly involved in spreading the conflict of ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup relations (ERRI) in society for temporary political interests. This phenomenon will disturb harmony in the life of the nation and the state and a challenge in instilling and practicing the values of Pancasila, which has a spirit of pluralism to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

The political elite, both national and local, should be aware of this phenomenon. Then, it can avoid the use of religious issues in political contestation. The urgency of this avoidance is that today, community and interfaith encounters occur in a variety of plains and moments, from daily encounters to planned meetings with specific agendas. Nowadays, these encounters offer a more frightening and aggressive/irrational aspect (Hasse Jubba, 2019). Therefore, avoiding the use of religious, racial, and class issues in political contestation is demanding to do and become a universal awareness, especially the contesting elites. It seems that the plural and multicultural reality is entirely unconscious and unacceptable in Indonesia, where people are multi-ethnic, religious, and color (Yahya, 2008).

Indonesia has a bad experience in its journey as a nation that has ethnic conflicts. History gave proof that when religion, ethnicity, social class, and race were politicized, it sparked riots in many places in Indonesia (Arjon, 2018). One example is the conflict of Sampit; the conflict between ethnic of Madurese and Dayaks, conflict in Ambon and Poso involving two religions, namely Islam and Christianity (Yonefendi et al., 2018). These conflicts were a terrible experience in the history of this plural nation's journey. It is known, some disputes in other areas also involve ethnicity and class. This phenomenon happens due to the inability to care for diversity in the life of the nation.

Literature Review

The study of radicalism and religious intolerance in Indonesia has become one of the studies with high interest, both domestic and foreign researchers. The Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language of the Language Center (KBBI) defines 'radicalism' as an understanding that adheres to a radical way in politics (Dendy Sugono, 2008). On the other hand, radicalism is an understanding that requires rapid and massive change. The desire to make changes quickly and massively causes the emergence of radical groups in religious belief in Indonesia. Rejection of the discourse of pluralism in religion becomes a necessity in the life of the nation in the globalization era.

This kind of radicalism or intolerance in Indonesia has be written by Adam J. Fenton. Fenton in his article tried to analize this phenomenon historical, constitutional and legal issues currently existing in Indonesia which influence and shape prevailing attitudes toward religious freedom and religious 'deviancy' or blasphemy (Fenton, 2016). Then Ratno Lukito wrote an article to analyze the rise of intolerance in Cianjur, West Java, from the islamization project by Gerakan Reformis Islam (GARIS) (Lukito, 2016). An article explaining the militant religious activism and violence against minorities in post-Suharto Indonesia is written by Noorhaidi Hasan entitled *RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY AND BLASPHEMY LAW; Understanding Growing Religious Conflict and Intolerance in Post-Suharto Indonesia* (Hasan, 2017).

Sugit S. Arjon also wrote an interesting article entitled Religious Sentiments in Local Politics (2018). Arjon from his article analyze the religious sentiments in local election in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto. However, he saw that religious sentiments were used in local politic massively and also used to attack another religion in DKI Jakarta election 2017. He did not see such as that before (Arjon, 2018). Gilang Desti Parahita (2018) also wrote an article entitled Voters (Dis)-Believing Digital Political Disinformation in Gubernatorial Election of DKI Jakarta 2016-2017. Parahita in her article discussed that disinformation is not new in the sphere of politics. However, public or voters in large scale believe the fake information spread by some elements of people for the political interest. Parahita, based on her research from governor election of DKI Jakarta found that there was a strong correlation between the political stand and tendency to believe disinformation (Gilang Desti Parahita, 2018). It means that political stand made voter not filter the infomration he/she obtained related to the certain issue or figure contesting in politics.

One year before, M. Dian Hikmawan, from Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, has conducted a study with his publication entitled *Pluralisme Demokrasi Politik Di Indonesia* (Pluralism of Political Democracy in Indonesia). Hikmawan, in this paper, emphasizes that Indonesia is a pluralistic country and has chosen a democratic system since the reform era so that the experience of democratization must be understood discursively. Belief adds that understanding identity pluralism without the dialectics of discursivity is almost impossible. Being aware of and understanding the discursive identity will open up knowledge about differences. Therefore, understanding is a part of oneself, and it exists because there is another different side. Such belief has not yet arisen in the problem of pluralism in the case of Indonesia (Hikmawan, 2017). Thus, the focal point of the writings of M. Dian Hikmawan is pluralism in a democracy can reduce conflict and sentiment of difference (ethnicity, religion, and class).

Achmad also wrote in the Journal of Social Humanities (November 2014) which highlighted *Pluralisme dalam Problema*/Pluralism in Problems. Ahmad, in his writings, outlines many definitions of pluralism, the history of pluralism and also its figures in Indonesia(Achmad, 2014). Meanwhile, M. Slamet Yahya, from STAIN Purwokerto, wrote about pluralism from a different perspective. Slamet Yahya, in his article entitled *Pendidikan Islam dan Pluralisme Beragama*/Islamic Education and Religious Pluralism. This article outlined the challenges faced by Islamic education today that do not keep up with the development of the era. According to him, the problem faced by religious education is how to present the construction of religious discourse that is contextual to the changing society. As long as Islamic education still teaches the spirit of exclusivism and truth claims that tend to be intolerant, do not expect that it can help reduce social turmoil in this nation (Yahya, 2008).

Ken Andari with Dadang Rahmat Hidayat and Efi Fadilah from Universitas Padjajdaran also made research results on pluralism in Indonesia. The three of them saw the construction of Gatra Magazine About Radicalism in Islamic Boarding Schools (2012). Ken Andari and two of his friends saw the impression of non-neutrality and lack of professionalism from Gatra Weekly Magazine and its reporters in reporting on Islamic boarding schools (Ken Andari et al., 2012). Another article responding the increase of intolerance in Indonesia is the article written by Wahyudi Akmaliah entitled The Demise of Moderate Islam: New Media, Contestation, and Reclaiming Religious Authorities. Akmaliah in his article said that one of the causes the demise of the moderate Islam was tha increase of the presence of online preachers and the new Islamic teaching in the digital platform (Akmaliah, 2020).

Ahmad Sahide has conducted a study published in the Journal of Science Ushuluddin Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, July 2015 edition, with the title ISIS the Section of Islam-West Relations (Response). From this article, the author would like to say that the emergence of radical groups that lead to terrorism in Indonesia is inseparable from the existing historical factors. These extremist groups want to restore the glory of Islam in the Abbasid era by terror. They refuse Indonesia as a Muslim-majority country which was colonized by a non-Islamic country; in this case, Western countries (Ahmad Sahide, 2015).
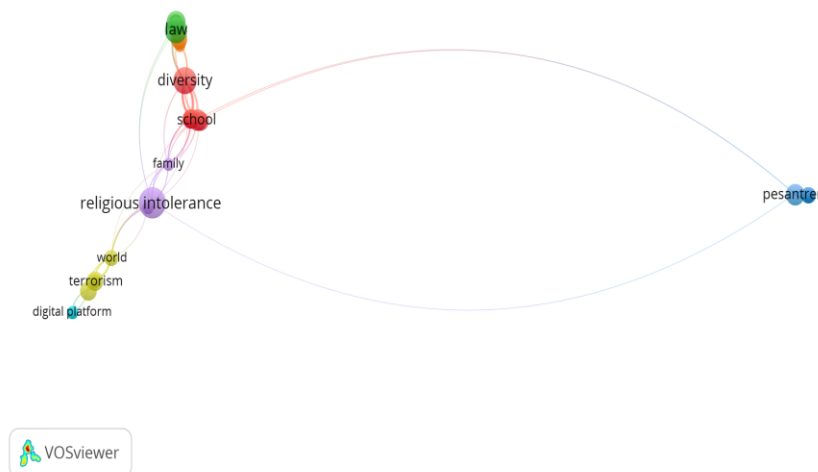
Sources: Processed by Vosviewer

Figure 1: Network Visualization

From the results of the above research, there has been no research that tries to examine the role of the elite, both local and national in transforming the values of pluralism in Indonesia. It can be seen from the network visualization above where word of "religious intolerance" mostly related to *pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School), family school, diversity, and law. No article tries to see the relation between local election, religion words, intolerance. Meanwhile, conflicts between groups and religions continue to exist in this republic. Even tent to increase. In various cities in the country, there are violence cases in the name of religion. People often become offenders of religious belief and freedom because the elite triggers them (Kompas, 21/08/2018). Therefore, this paper is critical for people know the role of the elite in transforming the values of religious pluralism or whether the elite stimulates the anti-pluralism (intolerance) movement in Indonesia.

The Importance of Pluralism

This article focusses in analyzing the intolerance in Indonesia affected by the religious sentiment used by local elites in the political contest. So, the theory used in analyzing this case is "pluralism theory". The word pluralism comes from the word "plural", and often defines as plural or compound. Behind the word 'plural', there is an ism suffix, which means understanding or belief (Achmad, 2014).

In Andrew Heywood's book entitled *Politics*, the fourth edition, explains that "pluralism" in a broad sense is a belief or commitment to diversity. As a descriptive term, pluralism may be used to refer to party competition (political pluralism), the variety of moral values (ethical pluralism), or the existence of a variety of cultural norms (cultural pluralism). Furthermore, pluralism as a normative term, in the book states that difference is healthy and expected thing because it protects individual independence and supports debate, argument and understanding (Heywood, 2013).

Based on the definition of pluralism above, then pluralism is a necessity. In Islam, pluralism also has a basis, namely in the Q.S al-Hujurat verse 13. This statement is true; in this world, there are many religions such as Islam, Christianity (Catholic and Protestant), Buddhism, Hinduism, and many other religions. These are only religion, not to mention ethnicity and class. Indonesia consists of 1340 ethnic groups. This fact reflects the reality that Indonesia is a pluralistic country. Thus, plurality is inevitable in Indonesia and have the understanding to appreciate all differences (pluralism) is a must. The community must be able to live in diversity. Ahmad Syafii Maarif called it "Different in siblinghood and siblings in differences" (Sahide, 2013).

To have a life as 'different in siblinghood and siblings in differences', our society must be able to live by implementing high tolerance, not high intolerance. In everyday language, tolerance means the will or willingness to 'permit', by not paying too much attention to the motives behind such attitudes. Tolerance can also be understood as an attitude without action, a view of refusing to interfere in other people's business or a willingness to 'make peace with' something. However, tolerance refers to a form of mentality without certain actions, based on moral reasons and specific circumstances. Specifically, tolerance is different from permittivity, indifference, and excessive indulgence (Heywood, 2018).

Tolerance is both an ethical ideal and a social principle. On the one hand, tolerance lays down a set of rules about how humans must interact with each other. However, it does not necessarily mean allowing people to act at will (Heywood, 2018). Tolerance is closely related to the liberal tradition, although it has spread more broadly. Tolerance means refusing to intervene, hinder the behavior or beliefs of others and patience or restraint; refusing to impose the will on others but does not necessarily mean not interfering (Heywood, 2018).

Based on the diverse realities of life in Indonesia, tolerance is the ability to hold back or respect groups of people of different classes and beliefs. Ahmad Syafii Maarif mentions different in siblinghood and siblings in differences. Tolerant is not to keep distance or hostile, instil hatred with people of different

groups and beliefs. If this happens, tolerant behavior will change to intolerant behavior. Thus, the opposite of tolerance is intolerance.

Intolerance refers to the attitude of not accepting the actions, views or beliefs of others. It is not only moral disagreement and dislike, but there is also an attempt to impose restrictions or barriers on other people or parties. Therefore, intolerance has slanted or pejorative connotations. Conversely, tolerance is usually considered valuable, honorable, and even enlightened. A tolerant person is a person who is patient, easy to forgive, and philosophical. Meanwhile, 'intolerance' denotes unwarranted and unjustified rejection of the views or actions of others, bringing closer to bigotry or wrong prejudice (Heywood, 2018).

Indonesia currently faces a situation of contestation between tolerant religious ideas and intolerant spiritual understandings, and those who are in the midline are moderate religious understandings (in the midst of). In the view of several religious and Islamic thinkers, if there is a strong understanding of intolerance in Indonesia, people tend to be 'vigilant' in the name of adherence to religion and this will threaten social harmony in the life of the nation. Pope Franciscus, during a visit to the African continent in 2015 once said: "Violence and hatred in the name of God is an act that can not be justified"(Qodir, 2018). Therefore, avoiding the use of religious issues in the process of direct democratization by local elite is needed because of the potential to build sentiment and hatred in the name of religion.

Research Method

This paper used theoretical review and field research. In the theoretical review, the author read the articles related to the theme of "The Role of Local Elite in the Transformation of Pluralism Values in Indonesia". Other sources in the form of articles, news, book, and recording or video were the supporting data to understand more about intolerance from the impact of direct elections using religious issues or religious politicization. Data processing used a critical reading approach. Besides, the author also held several discussion forums (Focus Group Discussion/FGD) to discuss this theme as part of an effort to deepen the analysis and enrichment the views. Beside FGD, another method to increase the information was by direct interviews with relevant parties or experts in this field.

This research started with the results of the SETARA Institute research released in 2018 regarding tolerant cities and intolerant cities. From each of the ten tolerant and intolerant cities, researchers took several areas as the object of this study to see whether the areas included in the tolerant category were due to the regional head election process, all elements of society, especially the contesting elite, avoided using religious languages. On the other hand, whether the use of religious issues in regions which belonged to the category of intolerance, significantly contributed to the increase of intolerance cases in the area.

Discussion and Finding

Nowadays, the Indonesian population at approximately 270 million people. This number has made Indonesia the fourth biggest country in the world. The first is China, the second is India, and the third is the United States. Beside that, Indonesia is also known as the third-largest democracy in the world after India and the United States (BUEHLER, 2009). The reality of the significant population is that the Indonesian people are very diverse, consisting of various kinds of ethnicity, religion and class. Therefore, the leader and all of the nation's elements must maintain the harmony of diversity in a democratic climate . It is essential since different societies, religions, classes, and ethnicities will interact with one another.

Especially in this globalization era, interactions can occur anytime and anywhere, both in the real world and in cyberspace (through online social media).

Lately, interaction with, "the others", will be more intense and becomes part of the reality of the development era. In other words, communication is building tolerance in the life of the nation and state. Indonesia's future challenges must be answered and nurtured by leaders, both national and local. The fact is that intolerance continues to form the life of the nation characterized by historical records with conflicts based on ethnicity and class. The dark and bitter history of Indonesia is the religious conflict that had occurred in Ambon and Poso in the early 2000s and in Kalimantan involving the Madurese with the Dayak Tribe. These religious and ethnic conflict claimed many lives and property. Until now, tensions based on religion and ethnicity continue existing in Indonesia, although it is not as violent as what had happened. What is clear is that intolerance is still an issue that must be our collective concern because it can be a time bomb, which is ready to explode anytime and anywhere if not appropriately treated.

Since the reformation era, direct election of leaders not only to elect the president and vice president but also to elect local leaders, governors, mayors, to head of villages /*lurah*. With the implementation of a democratic political system since the collapse of the New Order regime, the figure who has the opportunity to become a leader is someone who has high electability in society. This statement means that citizens who have the desire to become leaders must be citizens who can obtain public sympathy. This chance is where local leaders or prospective local leaders use religious and ethnic issues to gain public sympathy without realizing that this will threaten harmony in the life of the nation and state.

By using religious, ethnic, and intergroup issues in democratic political contestation has the potential to cause sentiments of ethnic, religious, and class (intolerance) in society. For example, in the Jakarta regional elections which took place in 2017 with the emergence of the figure of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or Ahok was considered to be the main trigger of The Islam Defence Action (Sholikin, 2018). Ahok was link to the the threat of Chinese invasion and the revival of communism, and was repeatedly accused to be a communist, a term that remains unpleasant in Indonesia (Gilang Desti Parahita, 2018). Thus, the local elite has contributed to the increase of intolerance in Indonesia with the use of religious issues in the recycling of democracy at the local level.

Index of Tolerance in Indonesia

Tolerant City Index in Indonesia published by the SETARA Institute in 2018 by taking 10 (ten) samples of the most tolerant and 10 (ten) intolerant regions, is as follows:

Table 1. The 10 (ten) cities with the highest tolerance scores in Indonesia

Rank	City	Score
1	Singkawang	6.513
2	Salatiga	6.477
3	Pematang Siantar	6.280
4	Manado	6.030
5	Ambon	5.960
6	Bekasi	5.890
7	Kupang	5.857
8	Tohohon	5.8533
9	Binjai	5.830
10	Surabaya	5.823

Table 2. The 10 (ten) cities with the lowest tolerance score in Indonesia (intolerant)

Rank	City	Score
85	Sabang	3.757
86	Medan	3.710
87	Makassar	3.637
88	Bogor	3.533
89	Depok	3.490
90	Padang	3.450
91	Cilegon	3.420
92	Jakarta	2.880
93	Banda Aceh	2.830
94	Tanjung Balai	2.817

Source: (Halili and Hasani, 2018)

This study started from the SETARA Institute data by taking examples from the most tolerant cities and the most intolerant cities with the role of the elite in using religious issues that have an impact on maintaining tolerance or influencing religious intolerance.

Singkawang, for example, is as one of the most tolerant regions in Indonesia because of the commitment of its leaders in maintaining these values. The people's lives are side by side and the low level of conflict that contains elements of *SARA* (Ethnic, Religious, Race, and Inter-group relations). All this is inseparable from the role and commitment of the City Government of Singkawang, which is active towards tolerance as reflected in the 2013-2017 Singkawang City Mid-Term Regional Development Plan (RPJMD) document (Halili and Hasani, 2018). Another tolerance proof is from the mayors and vice mayors who come from different religions. The current Singkawang City's mayor is Tjhai Chui Mie, while the deputy mayor is H. Irwan ("Mengenal Singkawang yang Jadi Kota Paling Toleran di Indonesia," 2018).

Tolerance in the city is a harmony that has to be maintained. Every year the local government releases a mobile *takbir* parade held on the *takbir* stage of the Singkawang Mosque. In this city, Cap Go Meh Festival is also held every year. Minister of Religion Lukman Hakim Saifuddin attended Cap Go Meh Festival in 2018 ("Mengenal Singkawang yang Jadi Kota Paling Toleran di Indonesia," 2018).

Deputy Mayor of Singkawang, H. Irwan, states, "The need for harmony is our need, and this requires the government and civil society to be able to maintain and realize the quality of tolerance in order to create a harmonious life in diversity," ("Mengenal Singkawang yang Jadi Kota Paling Toleran di Indonesia," 2018). Thus, the local government in Singkawang maintains its commitment to keep religious tolerance. This commitment continues in leadership recycling at the local level involving all elements of society. In 2017 there was an election of Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Singkawang. From the various parties that registered, four candidates would nominated themselves as regional heads of the city of Singkawang.

In the mayor and deputy mayor election activities, it was clear that the candidates when conducting the campaign did not mention the *SARA* (Ethnic, Religious, Race, and Intergroup) element. The candidates gave priority of campaigning for their respective visions in winning public sympathy as the voters (Try Juliansyah, 2017). In keeping this positive campaign, there was the role from Communication Forum between Religious Believers (*Forum Komunikasi Antarumat Beragama/FKUB*) and Election Oversight Body (*Badan Pengawas Pemilu/Bawaslu*) of Singkawang City. Those two institutions were active in controlling all parties as long as the campaign for local election in Singkawang

City to avoid the use of religious language and symbols. That is the key why Singkawang was nominated as the most tolerant city in Indonesia 2018.[1]

Opposite example, Jakarta as one of the areas with a low level of tolerance/intolerance (the third-lowest) is inseparable from the DKI Jakarta elections for the Governor and Deputy Governor on 15 February 2017 and 19 April 2017. At that time, there were three pairs of candidates competing for the seats of number one and number two in the capital, namely Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono-Sylviana Murni, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok) -Djarot Syaiful Hidayat and Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno (Pradipta et al., 2018). Of course, this is an exciting contest because the candidates for governors had a strong social and background. Agus Harimurti Yudoyono (AHY), for example, is the son of the sixth President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), and Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok) was incumbent Governor DKI Jakarta, and he was very popular with his different leadership style, while Anies Baswedan is a former Minister of Education for two years from President Joko Widodo's cabinet (Jokowi) (Gaudart and Sulistyowati, 2018). Therefore, many observers believe that this election was like a presidential election' due to the concern of many people throughout Indonesia, not just the citizens of DKI Jakarta.

The 2017 DKI regional election becomes one of the critical factors causing that region with a low level of tolerance with a score of 2,880. One of the contestants was Basuki Tjahaya Purnama who was Catholic. Basuki received a lot of rejection from Islamic groups to become governors in DKI Jakarta, in which predominantly Muslim. Also, DKI Jakarta is the national capital of Indonesia, which has more than ten million people and controls 60 percent of Indonesia's total money circulation. Ever since the Dutch colonial period, Jakarta has been the centre of economy, politics, media and culture in Indonesia, and the city has been the subject of numerous scholarly works. In another side, the boundary between national and Jakarta politics is blurred and both are regarded as being too closely related (Masaaki and Jun, 2014). So, the position of the governor is strategic. Until mid-2018, DKI Jakarta has become the highest area of intolerance cases in Indonesia. SETARA Institute noted 23 incidents out of a total of 109 violations of freedom of religion and belief (KBB) with 136 actions spread in 20 provinces (Halili and Hasani, 2018).

A lot of voters rejected Ahok due to different belief in which Jakartans are mostly Muslim. This form of rejection then campaigned through the pulpits of 'Friday Preach' ('*khutbah Jumat')*. Thus, the use of religious and racial language in the DKI Jakarta elections was the main culprit during the competition. Several Islamic organisations openly campaigned, mass demonstration, and the subsequent ousting of Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, known as Ahok, and win Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno (Anies-Sandi) who was considered to represent an Islamic group (Schäfer, 2019).

The Central Board of Islamic Women (PP WI) through its Chairman, Hj. Maryam Ahmad MP.D and Secretary Fitri Hartati issued a statement n Saturday (15/4/2017), related to the second round of DKI Jakarta Pilkada held on April 19, 2017. The following is the content of PP WI's statement to win the Muslim candidate, Anies-Sandi.

1. Requiring all Muslims, especially members of Islamic Women who are in the DKI Jakarta area to jointly exercise their right to vote in the DKI Jakarta elections on April 19, 2017.
2. Requiring all Muslim women members in the DKI Jakarta area to choose candidate pair number 3 in an effort to win the Muslim Governor Candidate, to build a better Jakarta, Indonesia, and a happy citizen.
3. Requiring all Muslim Women's Large Families to invite their family members in Jakarta to choose Muslim Governor Candidate Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno.

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[1] Interview was done with Baharuddin, the Chief of FKUB Singkawang City and Hj. Zulita, S.H., M.H., the Chief of Election Oversight Body, Singkawang City, on 27-28 January 2020.

4. Assigning all members of Islamic Women from the intermediate level to branches in the DKI Jakarta area to participate in overseeing and reporting fraud that may occur, and to be aware of issues and defamation that could harm the prospective Muslim Governor.

5. Maintaining security and order together so that the democratic process through the Jakarta Regional Election runs safely and peacefully, not getting provoked by all kinds of provocation (P. Rahim, 2017).

On the other hand, a group of people who wanted Jakarta led by Muslims initiated the Muslim Governor movement for Jakarta. They carried out maneuvers such as Al Maidah 51 sightseeing, pilgrimage activities, and so on (Pamungkas dan Octaviani, 2017). Ahok then responded the Muslim Movement for Jakarta in *Pulau Seribu* during a visit on 27 September 2016. Ahok, in his remarks, said, "Don't let Sura Al Maidah 51 avoid you from choosing me. It is your right, though. If you feel afraid of going to hell, silly, I see, oh that's okay because this is your personal call" ("Pidato di Kepulauan Seribu dan hari-hari hingga Ahok menjadi tersangka - BBC News Indonesia," n.d.).

Muslims then responded Ahok's speech which Ahok and considered it as a blasphemy against Islam. This Islamic defense action first took place on 4 November 2016 and then again took place on 2 December 2016, which became known as the 212 Action. This action was attended not only by residents of DKI Jakarta but from many regions in Indonesia. Approximately three million people joined the demonstration (Pradipta et al., 2018).

Religious issues in the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections with the term '212 Islamic Defense Action' successfully defeated Basuki Tjahaya Purnama. However, this has a significant impact on increasing intolerance in the Capital City of Jakarta, making it one of the cities with a low tolerance in Indonesia. When SETARA Institute released the tolerant and intolerant cities in 2015, DKI Jakarta was not included the ten intolerant cities in Indonesia. Thus, the religious issue in the 2017 elections was the main factor that made DKI Jakarta one of the intolerant city, even the third-lowest with a score of 2,880. Only Banda Aceh and Tanjung Balai were below it with a score of 2,870 and 2,817, respectively.

Table 3. The 10 (Ten) Low Tolerant Cities 2015

Rank	City	Score
85	Bogor	5,21
86	Bekasi	4,68
87	Banda Aceh	4,58
88	Tangerang	4,26
89	Depok	4,26
90	Bandung	4,16
91	Serang	4,05
92	Mataram	4,05
93	Sukabumi	4,05
94	Tasikmalaya	4

Source: ("Publikasi Laporan INDEKS KOTA TOLERAN (IKT) 2015," 2015).

Halili said that DKI Jakarta election in 2017 was a lousy example of identity politics. The religious population is a strategic political instrument for voters (*vote-getter*) in Jakarta. However, Halili added, that if the use of the issue of religion and identity politics in Jakarta were replicated in many places in Indonesia, this would be very dangerous for our lives in the nation and state (Halili, 2019).

Conclusion

From the discussion, one of the factors why Singkawan won the title of the most tolerant city in Indonesia in 2018 is because the local government and elites avoided the misuse of religion in any political activities to gain public sympathy. On the other hand, DKI Jakarta included an intolerant city because the misuse of religion was dominant in the regional elections for the Governor and Deputy Governor in 2017.

The use of religion by local elites in public office contestation is indeed not the only factor of increasing intolerance in Indonesia. Still, this has a considerable influence in this intolerant way of thinking. Political elections become an arena that worsens the portrait of intolerance in Indonesia, and one example is the case of DKI Jakarta.

The experience of direct democracy in post-reform Indonesia is that leaders often use religious populism to spread hatred against their political opponents for the sake of momentary political interests. The other style is 'religious politicization'. The impact is the increase in intolerance behavior, due to bigotry, in the community, and this will undoubtedly disrupt the harmony of community life from the beginning of the plural.

For this reason, it is necessary to have a general awareness of the local political elites who are contesting to avoid the use of religious languages in their efforts to win the sympathy and vote of the people as voters. This awareness is essential so that democracy runs right track to find and choose the best leaders, not to spread hatred. Ideally, politics is an instrument to strengthen diversity. It is precisely what Ahmad Syafii Maarif wants by reminding us to avoid using religious matters in politics and choosing leaders not only based on religion (Taher, 2017).

The Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, in 2017 has expressed his concern for the increasingly hardened religious life in Indonesia. According to him, nowadays, religious life seems to have lost the essence and substance of religion itself (Muthmainah, 2017).

The results of this study also concluded that the structural basis of tolerance in Indonesia is still problematic. Thus, the structural approach is urgent to do in improving the tolerance in grassroots political governance. The political elite should protect this by avoiding religious sentiment in local political competition.

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