Religious and Ethnic Prejudice as Problems for Creating Social Harmony in West Java

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Abstract:

This article aims to discuss the factors behind religious and ethnic prejudice, especially among the majority of religious and ethnic groups in West Java. This study uses a qualitative method to collect data through observation, interviews, and document review. This study found that religious and ethnic prejudice in West Java was carried out by a handful of people from the Muslim majority group and the Sundanese ethnic group against the Catholic minority group and other non-indigenous ethnic groups. The background of religious prejudice is initiated by individual factors of religious adherents that give birth to anti-religious non-majority sentiments and is supported by fanaticism over the truth claims of one's religion. As a result, religious prejudice shifted to anti-ethnic or ethnic ideas because the majority was concerned over the dominance of limited resources by minorities, such as politics and the economy. In addition, the dynamics of national politics also affect the high level of religious and ethnic discrimination, primarily due to the polarization of society on social media. However, as the majority ethnic group in West Java, the Sundanese have a strong philosophy of life as social capital for social integration, namely penance, penance, and penance. This philosophy of life is part of the campaign for religious moderation by manifesting one of the indicators of moderation, adopting local culture in religious life. As a result, efforts to realize social harmony to prevent national disintegration have found the right solution. Adapting local cultures typical of ethnic groups in religious life as long as it does not violate religious teachings must be done for the future of Indonesia.

Keywords: *prejudice, culture, Islam, Sundanese, politicization of religion.*

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk membahas faktor yang melatarbelakangi terjadinya prasangka agama dan etnis khususnya oleh kelompok agama dan suku mayoritas di Jawa Barat. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan proses pengumpulan data melalui observasi, wawancara, dan kajian dokumen. Penelitian ini diperoleh temuan bahwa prasangka agama dan etnis di Jawa Barat dilakukan oleh segelintir orang dari kelompok mayoritas Islam dan suku Sunda terhadap kelompok minoritas Katolik dan etnis lain non-pribumi. Latar belakang terjadinya prasangka agama diawali oleh faktor individual pemeluk agama yang melahirkan sentimen anti agama non-mayoritas dan didukung fanatisme atas klaim kebenaran agama sendiri. Akibatnya, prasangka agama bergeser

pada sentimen anti entis atau kesukuan karena kekhawatiran kaum mayoritas atas dominasi sumber daya terbatas oleh minoritas seperti politik dan ekonomi. Selain itu, dinamika politik nasional juga turut mempengaruhi tingginya diskriminasi agama dan etnis khususnya akibat polarisasi masyarakat di media sosial. Namun demikian, suku Sunda sebagai etnis mayoritas di Jawa Barat memiliki falsafah hidup kuat sebagai modal sosial proses integrasi sosial yakni silih asih, silih asah, silih asuh. Falsafah hidup ini merupakan bagian dari proses kampanye moderasi beragama dengan memanifestasikan salah satu indikator moderasi, mengadopsi budaya lokal dalam kehidupan keberagamaan. Alhasil, upaya perwujudan harmoni sosial untuk pencegahan disintegrasi bangsa menemukan solusi tepat. Mengadaptasi budaya-budaya lokal khas suku bangsa dalam kehidupan beragama selama tidak melanggar ajaran agama mesti dilakukan untuk masa depan Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: *prasangka, budaya, Islam, Sunda, politisasi agama*.

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian nation consists of various races, ethnic groups, ethnicities, religions, and groups with diverse socio-cultural backgrounds (M Yusuf Wibisono, 2020). In 2015, the Indonesian population consisted of 1331 ethnic categories, including tribal names, aliases of a tribe, sub-tribe names, and even sub-names of sub-tribes. For example, in the Batak tribe, there are several sub-tribes and other names of the Batak tribe, such as the Alas Kluet Batak, Angkola Batak, Dairi Batak, Pak-Pak Batak, Karo Batak, Mandailing Batak, Coastal Batak, Samosir Batak, Simalungun Batak, and Toba Batak (BPS, 2015). The same is true for the Sundanese and Javanese. In Sunda, there are Sunda Cianjur, Sunda Priangan Timur, Sunda Cirebon, Baduy, and other sub-tribes (M Taufiq Rahman & Fauzi, 2021).

Now the Indonesian nation is growing and experiencing rapid progress in various fields, including in the fields of information, communication, and transportation, which not only reduces the distance between ethnic groups and their sub-ethnic groups, but also increases information traffic that influences each other between these ethnic groups (Murphy , 1999). The intensity of interaction between ethnic groups scattered in various parts of the country has increased with the advancement of communication, transportation, and information supporting devices. Everyone can find out, contact, and interact with each other online regardless of the distance of place and time. Through social media devices, everyone can even know other people's thoughts, feelings, and circumstances in faraway places through gadgets (Greenfield, 2017).

It cannot be denied that the increasing intensity of online communication and interaction has positively impacted the progress of society in various fields. Everyone can save time and energy, make multiple types of work more accessible, cost-efficient, and accelerate production, both with social and economic dimensions. One can shop for daily necessities, ready-to-eat food, and even vehicles without leaving the house. Now the online trading model has dominated buying and selling traffic at the retail level, thus threatening the business continuity of small and large shops (*supermalls*) that sell directly (offline) (Ikhsan et al., 2020).

Therefore, based on its benefits for society, advanced science, and technology, especially in information and communication technology as described above, with its various impacts, cannot be avoided or prevented (Puspitasari & Ishii, 2016). Science and information technology have provided many conveniences for humans. On the contrary, each person is required to anticipate it to make the best use of it and avoid the harmful effects that may accompany it.

One of these impacts is offline communication and interaction, namely direct interaction and communication in the real world where community members meet face-to-face. It can be assumed that all their information and experiences certainly influence the form of interaction and communication between community members in real life in cyberspace through the internet and social media (Matzat, 2010). The people they meet will carry the memories, experiences, and impressions from online interactions. In this situation, prejudice may arise. Prejudice is meant here not as wrong or harmful definitions but in a neutral sense, namely the emergence of assumptions or judgments against someone else without sufficient information. Prejudice like this is unbiased, meaning it can be good or bad and have a good or bad impact (Duckitt, 1992).

The rapid flow of information and the intensity of online communication and interaction between individuals and groups through religious aspects also occur (MT Rahman, 2010). Communication between religious communities, both followers of the same religion, and between followers of different religions, also occurs. In such patterns of communication and interaction between and among religious communities, various possibilities can

occur, both positive and negative impacts. Positive impacts include exchanging information about religious issues, asking and answering religious questions, studying religion, and finding solutions to people's problems so religious adherents can improve their knowledge, understanding, and religious behavior (Haryanto, 2019). Meanwhile, the threat is that with the disclosure of information through online tools, everyone can express differences of opinion, views, and religious thought patterns boldly and more openly without feeling shy or afraid (Han & Nasir, 2015). Circumstances like this open up opportunities for friction, fights, and physical conflicts based on the information they get online, without further seeking clarity, *being patient,* or refraining from commenting and responding in a hurry (M Yusuf Wibisono, 2015).

Furthermore, these impacts can occur offline, namely in interactions between religious communities and religious groups in real situations (offline). With the appearance of the interlocutor, speech style, or other aspects of the interlocutor or associate, both of the same religion or a different religion, in plain sight, as well as other primordial aspects, can sometimes remind a person of information, impressions, views, and other readings he obtains on social media and the internet (Ryder & Vogeley, 2018). And so on online communication and interaction through social media and the internet can significantly affect forms of communication and interaction in society. This phenomenon can be witnessed in communication traffic on social media, such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, Telegram, and various other online applications. In contrast, offline communication and interactions occur in multiple places and events, such as in markets, malls, religious congregations, churches, sports arenas, and so on (Asep Muhammad Iqbal, 2016).

In the forms of communication and interaction between religious communities as described above where the perpetrators are motivated by previous information, experiences, and impressions, it is possible to bring up judgment both positive (good prejudice), and negative things such as accusations, prejudice, insults, to disbelief in each other (*takfiry*). These prejudices can be based on religious sentiments, ethnic sentiments, or other primordial aspects that are counterproductive to religious messages that invite all people and humanity to do good to others, creating a sense of security, peace, and safety.

The phenomenon as described above will be studied from the point of view of *religious studies* and from the perspective of other social sciences in an interdisciplinary manner so that it is hoped that a complete picture will be obtained from various scientific perspectives regarding the phenomenon of religious prejudice and ethnicity among religious people in Indonesia.

Prejudice and discrimination can affect people's opportunities, social resources, self-esteem and motivation, and their engagement with the broader community (Liliweri, 2005). In addition, the perception of equality and inequality itself is a driver of further discrimination (Abrams, 2010). Consequently, establishing, promoting and defending equality and human rights depends on understanding how people understand and apply these concepts in their daily lives.

Structural inequality permeates society and maps into social class, ethnicity, and socioeconomic categorization differences. To some extent, legislation and direct services and resources can address these inequalities. Still, they cannot by themselves address the inherent social attitudes that give rise, whether intentionally or not, to discrimination (Fershtman & Gneezy, 2001). In addition, structural interventions usually apply to certain groups or categories (such as members of specific mass organizations) but can ignore other axes of inequality. Indeed, new social categorizations continue to emerge (Lipkus & Siegler, 1993). For example, politicians and the media regularly identify alleged new threats from certain types of immigrants, certain religious practices, threats to 'institutions' such as marriage, and the like. As a result, the targets of prejudice and discrimination may change more rapidly than the law might be able to respond to (Rutland et al., 2010).

If prejudice and discrimination are to be overcome, it is essential to provide a broader analysis of how they emerge as common social processes. This review establishes a framework primarily informed by a social psychological perspective that identifies elements that can increase or decrease prejudice or harmony between members of different groups. This framework identifies the factors that influence and are influenced by people's beliefs, stereotypes, emotions, and attitudes towards their group and other groups in society (Dovidio & Jones, 2019). The framework can then interpret each intergroup division (or alliance) and systematically understand how different interventions and actions will affect those relationships. This broader analysis also points to how society can be prepared for the more significant complexities of culture and membership of other groups that frame community relations (Esses et al., 1993).

This research aims to build an interdisciplinary framework to understand the causes, manifestations, and ways to overcome prejudice and discrimination in society, especially the people of West Java.

The premise of this research is that, in general, prejudice needs to be seen as a process in a series of relationships, not as a result of the circumstances or characteristics of a particular person (Abrams & Houston, 2006). We need to understand the various forms of prejudice that may occur, when they may be expressed, and what factors encourage or hinder their expression. It is equally important to know about the conditions that give rise to, and can counteract, prejudice to measure the amount or depth of a particular prejudice at any given time. Prejudice can be directed at various groups and expressed in multiple ways. Therefore, it is necessary to think broadly about the types of *'benchmarks'* that will be useful for measuring change. It is also necessary to break down the concept of prejudice into its distinct components and understand how and when it fits into discriminatory outcomes and inequalities.

Within psychology, there have been many attempts to define prejudice. Crandall and Eshelman (2003) note that prejudice cannot always be described as irrational or unjustified. Therefore, it is better to define it as 'a negative evaluation of a social group or individual that is significantly based on individual group membership' (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). 2003). Unfortunately, this leaves us slightly swayed in policy terms because it ignores prejudice that does not involve negative evaluation. Therefore, the approach taken in this review is to define prejudice as 'a bias that devalues people because of their perceived membership in a social group'.

This definition allows prejudice to arise from bias in various forms. It is not assumed that all tendencies are harmful or especially consequential. Some preferences can be favorable (for example, the belief that the Chinese are better at math than Europeans will favor the Chinese in the UK). Prejudice arises when the bias is potentially harmful and consequential because it reduces the position or value attached to a person through group membership. This can occur when stereotypes, attitudes, and emotions towards the group are directed at individual group members (Feldman & Crandall, 2007).

It is essential to distinguish group differences from bias and prejudice (Blair, 2001). Some groups are markedly unequal: they are poorer, less educated, have fewer opportunities, and appear to have lower job positions, poorer health or are involved in more crime. Some groups have more power than others in society. It is prejudiced not to notice, and notice, these differences.

On the other hand, people's knowledge is often incomplete or incorrect, and they may also inappropriately generalize their knowledge, resulting in bias and prejudice (Johnson, 2006). For example, it is wrong and prejudiced to assume that every Muslim in Britain is a terrorist threat. Mothers are indeed women, but it is wrong to assume that all women are (or should be) mothers. Indeed, older people are generally less physically mobile than younger people, but it is false that all people with limited mobility are elderly. Actions or policies intended to help specific groups of people considered dependent or needy (for example, through free bus tickets or maternity leave) involve assumptions that may harm other categories of people deemed independent. These assumptions are discriminatory and may be as damaging as outright hostility toward specific individuals. So from a policy perspective, the critical task is to identify which prejudices are consequential and harmful and target them.

This review focuses primarily on prejudice. It also briefly considers the relationship between prejudice and good relations. This is not contradictory. One or not can attend. It seems helpful to treat rapport and prejudice as two independent aspects of social relations. In terms of good relationships, people may be more or less cohesive, perceive themselves, and act as a cooperative, mutually supportive, and coherent group. In terms of prejudice, people may not care about other groups and their differences, or they may be susceptible to potential differences, comparisons, threats, and so on posed by external groups.

The term prejudice is neutral language. Larry A. Samovar et al. (1981) said that this term could be positive or negative (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2005). However, because it is a *prejudgment* and application, it often leads to a hostile and rigid attitude. This term describes negative feelings or judgments towards people based on their membership in a group. According to Brehm and Kassin, prejudice is a *judgment* without adequate knowledge and arguments. It is also a matter of motivation and human emotion (Homans, 1982). Because it involves feelings, it is more psychological and purely human.

According to Allport, prejudice is a negative feeling towards a person or group of people in a particular group. Prejudice refers to an attitude of reluctance and hostility towards group members simply because they are members of that group and therefore have qualities and qualities. As Herbert Blumer explains, four basic types of feelings usually signify prejudice in the dominant group, namely: (1) feelings of superiority, (2) feelings that minorities are inherently different and foreign, (3) feelings of entitlement to claim power, privilege, and status, and (4) fear and suspicion that minorities hide plans for the dominant group's power, privilege, and status (Zanden, 1990).

Referring to ethnic prejudice, Allport defines prejudice as 'an antipathy based on false and inflexible (rigid) generalizations' (Kerbo & Coleman, 2006). This attitude can be felt or expressed, directed at the group or towards the individual because he is a member of a group. Because of its rigid nature so that it is not easily changed even by new information, prejudice is often said to be unreasonable, even illogical, and irrational (Sears et al., 1985).

Because of the negative tendency directed at a community that is thought to be homogeneous, Bikhu Parekh calls prejudice a communal slander to refer to negative prejudice directed at one community. When a community is slandered, it is the community's slandered members. They are slandered as members of a particular community, possessing distinctive cultural, racial, and religious backgrounds, and inheritors of innate traits associated with these backgrounds (Parekh, 2001). Due to its nature that tends to slander, *prejudice* or prejudice is the starting point for existing racial problems and ethnic conflicts; it is an individual matter (Baidhawy, 2005).

Keith A. Roberts also stated the role of religion in building prejudice based on his findings among Christians based on research results in the 1950s and 1960s. In this regard, he points out.

In the 1950s, empirical studies showed that church members were more racially prejudiced than non-members. Even though Christianity claimed to enhance fellowship and love among people, the research indicated a correlation between Christianity and bigotry. Several explanations were formulated to interpret this phenomenon. Some scholars attempted to identify factors in the belief system of Christianity that might contribute to prejudice. Others felt that the correlation was spurious, that both prejudice and church membership, from some third factor. But the whole debate changed significantly as more sophisticated and refined data were gathered (Roberts & Yamane, 2015).

In the 1960s, Roberts observed several survey results that showed significant findings that clarify previous findings that did not distinguish the level of commitment and participation of church members in ecclesiastical life. This finding explains that although prejudice among church members is higher than among non-church members, among these church members, the most active church members are members with the lowest or least prejudice levels of all, members and non-members of the church. He continued his statement,

In the 1960's several survey studies revealed that, although church members are more prejudiced than non-members, the most active members were the least biased of all. The evidence now shows that infrequent church attenders are more intolerant than non-attenders but that frequent attenders are the lowest on scales of prejudice (Roberts & Yamane, 2015).

In the context of Islam, Roberts' statement based on the results of the survey above is very important to be considered, understood carefully, and at the same time criticized for placing religion as one of the causes of prejudice. Putting religion as a source of prejudice is a statement that can invite debate because it means assuming that religion contains evil, even though it has always been believed that religion only contains goodness. But Roberts also did not directly accuse religion as the cause of prejudice because what he saw was the behavior of its adherents. With this statement, perhaps Roberts also noticed the differences and relative distances between religion as a concept, teaching, and doctrine with the religion understood by its adherents and manifested in real life of its supporters. Religion forbids prejudice. Therefore, it is inevitable that prejudice is not built by religion, but can be built by its adherents based on personal feelings (sentiments) and motivations and, to some extent, misunderstandings about their religion.

The study of religious prejudice and ethnic prejudice is a study that is of great interest to researchers, especially from the point of view of psychology and cultural studies. Some of the research works reviewed include: *First,* research by Retno Pandan Arum Kusumowardhani**,** Oman Fathurrohman, Adib Ahmad, with the research title *Social Identity, Fundamentalism, and Prejudice against Adherents of Different Religions: Psychological Perspectives (2013).* This research with a psychological approach examines the relationship between social identity and religious fundamentalism with prejudice against adherents of different religions at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta students. A total of 330 students of UIN Sunan Kalijaga became subjects in this study by filling out three scales: the scale of prejudice against different religions, social identity, and the scale of religious fundamentalism. The results showed no relationship between social identity, religious fundamentalism, and prejudice against different religions. This study also cannot prove the relationship between fundamentalism and prejudice against followers of other religions and the relationship between social identity and prejudice against followers of different faiths (Kusumowardhani et al., 2013).

Second, Femita Adelina, Fattah Hanurawan, Indah Yasminum Suhanti The Relationship Between Social Prejudice and Intentions To Discriminate Ethnic Javanese Students Against Students From East Nusa Tenggara. This study reveals the relationship between social prejudice and the intention to discriminate against ethnic

Javanese students against students from East Nusa Tenggara. The research method used is descriptive and correlational. The study found that based on descriptive analysis, it is known that social prejudice and intention to discriminate are in the moderate category. The results showed a positive and significant relationship between social prejudice and the intent to discriminate against ethnic Javanese students from East Nusa Tenggara.

Third, Fuad Nashori, Nurjannah, "Social Prejudice Against Christians in Minority Muslims Living in Eastern Indonesia (Nashori & Nurjannah, 2015)." This research-based article examines the social prejudices of Islamic students in Eastern Indonesia against Christians in terms of religious maturity, religious knowledge, and benevolence. The research used measuring instruments in the form of a prejudice scale, a religious maturity scale, a religious knowledge scale, and a kindness scale. The results showed that the model of the influence of religious maturity and knowledge of Muslim-non-Muslim relations on social prejudice through the nature of kindness in Islamic students was fit or matched with empirical data. The variable of religious maturity affects social prejudice directly or through the heart of compassion. The variable of religious knowledge directly affects social prejudice, but does not affect the nature of kindness. The benevolence variable directly affects social prejudice.

Fourth, Ilyas Lampe, Haslinda B Anriani, "Stereotypes, Prejudice and Interethnic Dynamics" (Lampe & Anriani, 2016) This study discusses ethnic identity as a primordial differentiator which is often used to establish associations in certain groups, as ingroups or outgroups which in the plural local context is referred to as "kitorang" or "kamorang". Ethnic identity is a socio-cultural construction, which can change, is uncertain, and impermanent. Ethnicity is an expression of the product of the past, the rise of common origins, social relations, and similarities in cultural values and traits such as language and religion. However, although ethnic identity can change, it can lead to the birth of stereotypes and prejudices and even turn into violent conflicts. This study describes the Kaili ethnic (indigenous) and the Bugis ethnic (immigrants) in Palu City. This study uses a qualitative method with selected informants from academics (anthropologists), students, and Kaili and Bugis community leaders. The results showed that the various stereotypes in both ethnic groups were positive and negative. Meanwhile, some prejudices accompany relations and communication between the two ethnic groups, even though there has been a cultural and economic intersection since hundreds of years ago. In fact, from the 1990s until the last few years, there have been violent conflicts with ethnic backgrounds, the roots of which are suspected to be due to economic inequality between the Kaili and Bugis ethnic residents, for example, the conflict in Masomba Market and Inpres Market.

Some of the results of previous studies have become essential references for understanding the characteristics of religious communities in Indonesia and problems related to religious prejudice that occur among the community.

METHOD

The method used in this study is descriptive-qualitative (Stanley, 2014). The selection of this method is based on the characteristics of the problem being studied, namely social events and everyday life that occur in the present so that they can be directly observed. This method observed and described events and information from selected sources through various data collection techniques. A qualitative approach was chosen in this study, emphasizing the description and interpretation of multiple events through established data collection techniques (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979). The main data sources for this research are the research subjects, namely religious figures and leaders in West Java. The research subjects are also the primary sources of information *(key informants),* because they are the ones who have the leading knowledge and information about various aspects and events related to religious prejudice in society. In addition to primary data, secondary data is extracted from books *(book reviews),* papers, journals, articles, encyclopedias, and various other sources relevant to the research. This research emphasizes field research as the primary focus. In contrast, library research supports theories and thoughts about the research problem (Denzin & Ryan, 2007).

The data collection process was conducted through observation, interviews, and document review. *First,* observation. The observed events are online and offline communication traffic among the general public, which are confirmed and discussed with religious figures and leaders to provide their views on the phenomenon. *Second,* the interview. Interviews were conducted with religious leaders and leaders about prejudice, *which* can be traced through community communication activities through various devices. Implicitly the discussion involved the Religious Counselor of the Ministry of Religion of Bandung City, the Religious Counselor of the Ministry of Religion of Cimahi City, the Religious Counselor of the Ministry of Religion of the Regency. Bandung, Indonesian RSCJ Congregation, RSCJ Indonesia "Sacred Heart" Community, Fermentum Seminary. Interviews were also conducted on subjects regarding solutions to problems that occur due to prejudice to build social harmony among the people

of West Java. *Third*, document review. Documentation studies are carried out on written sources related to the focus of the study problem, theoretical studies, and documents from the field. Document review is a complement to the use of observation and interview methods.

Then, a qualitative analysis was carried out (Brannen, 2017). In qualitative analysis, the researcher is also the main instrument of research. To answer research questions, researchers directly collect social phenomena naturally, namely amid social events in society (Mustari & Rahman, 2012). At this analysis stage, the researcher conducts an interpretation to obtain a more profound and broader meaning and meaning of the results of the research undertaken. Here the position of paradigms, perspectives, and theories used to shape the researcher's perspective on the reality found throughout this research activity. Interpretation work is carried out on the collected data to obtain a comprehensive analytical description of the studied problem.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Factors Causing the Emergence of Religious and Ethnic Prejudice

According to Robert, the factors that cause the emergence of prejudice depart from individual elements, in the form of sentiments or excessive feelings towards groups that have different views from themselves. These factors are intertwined with personal motivation to give birth to a sense of superiority over other groups (Roberts & Yamane, 2015). This was later acknowledged by a religious instructor from Bandung, MAQ, who said that religious prejudice arose and strengthened the excessive sentiment of one religious group. This sentiment usually takes the form of "suspicion of other religious people". This is where the slander spreads on social media. Indeed, MAQ admits that sentiment is increasingly difficult to prevent in this digital era because it is facilitated by openness and freedom of expression on social media (Interview, August 6, 2021).

In the sociology of religion, known as the concept of religious experience, the theorist Joachim Wach concludes a theory about the importance of human experience in his past, leading to the practice and doctrine of the religion he believes in (Wach, 2019). The religious experience referred to is later interpreted not only as a matter of admiration for the almighty power from outside himself that controls the universe so that he is believed and believed in, but the experience that ultimately strengthens the belief of a religious follower from important figures in his religion, for example the history of the Prophet and his companions (Wedemeyer & Doniger, 2010). This is simultaneously a characteristic of modern religion or which has been widely embraced by its adherents. There are always heroic stories of God's messengers on earth in every religion, including stories of wars that are a requirement to become a victorious religion. For example, the battle of the Prophet Muhammad in Islam against the enemies of Islam in Mecca who oppressed Muslims. Unfortunately, sometimes religious experiences based on the history of important religious figures are interpreted differently by adherents of their religion today. At this point, Robert says that religion is a source of prejudice because of its supporters, not its doctrine (Roberts & Yamane, 2015). Religious circles have recently interpreted stories of conflict or violence that have become previous religious experiences as behavior that must be repeated to fight injustice and evil. As a result, anti-religious sentiments of other religions rise and lead to unreasonable prejudice.

IAM shares this religious sentiment – a follower of the Indonesian Congregational Community of RSCJ in Bandung, "religious sentiments that are spiced up by the feelings of the majority still adorn existing prejudices, especially on social media" IAM (Interview, August 6 2021). According to Herbert Blumer (Blumer, 1957), the concept of majority is explicitly referred to as the dominant group. This group always has feelings *(feelings)* that cause prejudice to minority groups. Moreover, this feeling is reinforced by beliefs about claims of power, privilege, and status. On average, the majority always claims this element, and it is unconsciously manifested in the attitude of oppressing the minority. In the political context, the opening of political access and participation is also a threat to the majority (Tilly & Wood, 2015). The fear and suspicion of the majority against what the minority is doing, such as the fear of harboring plans to seize power, undermining the domination of privileges, and eroding the social status of the majority often occurs as a cause of prejudice. In addition, the strengthening of the role of social media with the principle of universality and openness further strengthens the feelings of the majority. BW, admits that prejudiced narratives on social media that even lead to hate speech and slander are always based on the feeling of a dominant majority. "However, this behavior is only played by irresponsible persons; the evidence is that they are generally anonymous or do not display their real identities," said the head of the Bandung Regency religious educator (Interview, August 10 2021).

Social media is indeed a fertile ground for the emergence of religious prejudice. Some of the factors that cause social media to become an environment of prejudice are because the media that is a current human need has

become a mandatory medium for every religion, especially Islam (Bunt, 2009). This premise is called the *Cyber Islamic Environment* (CIE). According to Bunt, CIE or equivalent Islamic environment in cyberspace is a 'new home' for Muslims to strengthen, spread, and describe Islam in detail. This Islamic cyber environment contains Islamic information that people can access worldwide (Bunt, 2003). This CIE can strengthen the positive image of Islam on social media because every Muslim, group, community, organization to countries with a Muslim majority, are constantly competing to show off information about a peaceful and tolerant Islam. As a result, empathy for the Islamic world in cyberspace is very high. Unfortunately, not all Muslims agree to use the internet to create a positive image of Islam. Not a few Muslims, mainly Muslim elements, use this virtual Islamic environment as propaganda and incitement to smooth out their goals. ISIS and radicalism-fundamentalism movements are some real examples that the internet can be designed as a tool to antagonize all citizens of the world, including propagating the globe with its anti-Islamic prejudices (Paelani Setia, 2021b).

This phenomenon is also not uncommon in Indonesia; many people who claim to be the most religious use the internet as a tool for propaganda and incitement to hatred. *The Muslim Cyber Army* (MCA) is one of the entities that loudly incite hatred towards fellow Muslims and other religious people (Lestari, 2018). The birth of MCA was based on the emergence of another prejudice factor, namely realistic conflict. According to Lewis Coser, *realistic conflict* is a competition between social groups to fight over limited resources in political power, economic domination, and social-societal domination (Coser, 1957). The context of the MCA's presence is the fruit of a realistic conflict in Indonesian society with the political contestation in Indonesia, especially in the 2014 presidential election and 2019 presidential election. At that time, society was divided into two major poles to fight for power as a limited resource (Sujoko, 2019). In this contestation, all elements of life including religion are dragged into it as a tool to legitimize victory. Unfortunately, this has resulted in negative prejudices against people of different religions, ethnicities, and ethnic groups.

Likewise, politics is indeed recognized as one of the reasons for religious prejudice. According to Liliweri, (2005), religion always attracts politicians to search for votes and legitimacy (Liliweri, 2005). In Indonesia itself, based on the writings of Pamungkas et al. (2020), it is seen that the attitude of politicians who closely "uses" religion occurs when politicians are going to fight in the local election. They spontaneously display their piety and closeness to the clergy. This attitude is logically carried out to get votes from certain religious people. The landscape of religious life in Indonesia, which is synonymous with religious organizations, also strengthens the reasons for politicians to gain empathy for specific mass organizations. In addition, if the leaders of specific mass organizations express their support for a particular candidate pair, the followers of that mass organization will automatically follow suit. At this point, religious prejudices usually arise because my choice is different from yours. As a result, political participation, which should be the obligation of citizens for the future of the nation, has instead become a source of horizontal conflict. Political differences are led to religious differences to return to the issue of truth claims. At the same time, politics should be based on personal references, not confused with religious truth claims.

"I think that the last two presidential elections, in 2014 and 2019 were the primary learning sources for religious and political life in Indonesia. The problem at that time was no longer about differences in political choices but leading to horizontal conflicts, especially religion. It is undeniable that the labels of *Cebong* and *Kampret* also point to person A as a follower of religion A, and person B as a follower of B, and the like. As a result, mutual prejudice becomes the habit of the people involved in the conflict. It was a source of national division. Prejudice like person A supports such and such because of his religion, and this religion justifies this, and that we see happens a lot, spreads, and is done a lot. This is not a form of maturity for someone who adheres to religion, but the fact is that we can't deny it. But fortunately, we were able to survive the threat of division. This is a gift and a lesson that religious prejudice should not exist (MFD, Cimahi City Religious Counselor, Interview, August 6, 2021).

Claiming the truth of each religion cannot be separated as a factor causing conflicts involving religion. It is not surprising that classical sociologists such as Karl Marx reject religion in society because it will only lead people to "opium" that lulls the perceived oppression. Marx believed that if religion persists, it can become a source of reference for society with its truth claims, even though it is illogical, unreasonable, and hinders revolution. Hence, religion will backfire on the growth of class consciousness. Rulers use religion to stifle societal revolution (Caputo, 2018). Later, modern philosophers also agreed with Marx's ideas, especially those who initiated and supported the secularism thesis. Proponents of secularism assume that religion is a force that will bring about the decline of world civilization. They reasoned that modern humans would abandon religion in the era of modernization because it is not in line with rational science and technology (Bruce, 2002). World theorists such as Comte, Durkheim, Tonnies, Freud, Berger, to Crawley, agree that religion will be abandoned because it is a feature of primitive society, religion

is not a feature of humans living in the modern era (Asep Muhamad Iqbal, 2016). Peter Berger said, "religion always directs humans to their truth claims, something that is far from the attitude of modern humans who have multi-perspectives in their lives. Religion with its truth claims is a feature of exclusive communities, while the era of globalization avoids the nature of exclusivity" (Berger, 2002). Although the thesis of secularization has been widely disputed, what should be underlined is that it is true that if religion only positions its adherents to claim its truth, it will hinder the life process of the world's people.

The religious truth claim is based on the religious understanding of its adherents. If religion's knowledge is deep, it is impossible for religious adherents to feel that only their religion is the most correct. The informants interviewed acknowledged this. For example, RH, a member of the Indonesian Catholic RSCJ Congregation in Bandung, admits that the religious claim stems from a shallow understanding of religion. "The problem that often impacts prejudice against different religions is not accepting each other. This is because they think their religion is better than other religious claims. This is also because these parties do not know their religion well" (Interview, August 6, 2021).

Likewise, HS—a member of the "Sacred Heart" community of RSCJ Indonesia, also sees that understanding religion is essential to eliminating religious prejudice. "The problem of religious prejudice is based on a shallow understanding of one's religion and that of others, so it is easy to be provoked by people's opinions or media news" (Interview, August 6, 2021). As a result, truth claims have given rise to intolerance towards people of other religions. This attitude stems from the lack of references to other religions plus an understanding of one point of view on their religion. "A problem that often occurs that creates a prejudice against people of different religions is the lack of living the value of tolerance within and the association between religious communities" (NDRA, member of the Indonesian RSCJ community, Interview, August 2021). Too much exaltation of one point of view in religion can be dangerous, this is especially the characteristic of fundamentalist-radicalist groups. These groups are identical with a very exclusive religious attitude, even blaming other religious people explicitly (Fealy, 2004). It is not surprising that the general public often hears the words "*kafir*" or "*mushrik*" from fundamentalist-radical groups to brand people or other groups that are different from themselves (Sujadi, 2005). Therefore, a single truth claim is dangerous in a multicultural life like Indonesia because it can injure the existing diversity, injuring various religious communities and ethnic groups.

From Religious Prejudice to Ethnic Prejudice

West Java is a province that has been known for its high level of intolerance for the last two decades. This province by the Wahid Institute and the Setara Institute is still categorized as a province with the highest level of intolerance after Aceh Province and Banten Province (Agustin B, 2019). This is partly based on the many incidents of conflict and violence by the majority group, especially Islam, against minority groups, such as Christians, local religious cultures, and adherents of other sects (Hasani, 2011). Several events, such as the prohibition of the establishment of houses of worship for the Ahmadiyah congregation in Garut (Ghifari, 2021), the ban on the construction of houses of worship for Christians also occurred in Bogor (Haryani, 2019), the prohibition of the Bekasi Hindu houses of worship (Jamaludin, 2018), and extortion of churches in Bandung. (Affan, 2016). Indeed, apart from the conflicts that have occurred, West Java has also become a hotbed for the proliferation of religious solid base movements in Indonesia in several historical times. Starting from the pre-independence period, the Indonesian Islamic State/Darul Islam movement was strong in West Java through the command of Kartosuwiryo (Jabali, nd). Other radical-fundamentalist activities also emerged and began to grow in West Java, such as Hizbut Tahrir, which entered Indonesia from the Bogor area (P. Setia, 2020). The Islamic Defenders Front was established in West Java and Jakarta (Arianto). , 2019). Some of these reasons are not surprising if they make West Java a "nest" for the birth of intolerant behaviors towards other religions. This context is even more dangerous if it leads to another element: the tribal.

As a province with a Sundanese majority, West Java is still high in intolerance and prejudice against non-ethnics. This is evidenced, for example, by data released by the Setara Institute that anti-tribal sentiment is still high in West Java. The number reached 162 incidents of intolerance and was higher than in other provinces with the same ethnic diversity, namely the province of Jakarta (Kuswandi, 2019). The presence of prejudice and anti-ethnic sentiment in West Java, for example, was felt by an informant, RH—a member of the Indonesian RSCJ community—who claimed to have been the object of prejudice from Muslim Sundanese. "Yes, at that time, when I was in the public van, I felt it. A Muslim mother mistreated us. You are Christian, oh infidel, and she chatted a lot.

But at that time, we chose not to respond," (Interview, August 6 2021). The same thing is felt by IM—a member of the Catholic community of the Bandung Fermentum Higher Seminary. He explained his chronology:

"I think that if I, who is a minority here (in Bandung), behave and act unwisely in responding to religious and ethnic sentiments or prejudices, I will feel hurt, maybe even more. Members of the community may have felt that negative prejudice several times. Because I am from Batak Toba, I feel it either in the public sphere directly (offline) when I go to the mall or take a city bus; it is always seen as strange, I have also felt remarks and attitudes that marginalize me. Especially on social media, the situation is even worse. Sentiments and prejudices that I am thought to be an infidel or Christian may have been addressed a lot. For example, if I join a chat on Twitter and the conversation is about politics or religion, there are bound to be people who talk about religious prejudice. That's why it's essential to remain tactful in responding to it" (Interview, August 6 2021).

Likewise, another informant, AHBS, also admitted that he had experienced religious and ethnic prejudice. However, he underlined that ethnic prejudice arose because he did not embrace Islam's majority religion. "I might feel that (ethnic prejudice) because I am not the majority religion (Islam). So, I think the ethnic prejudice against me (Batak) is because my religion is different. Because I have also heard that even though they have different ethnicities, if the religion is the same, the majority will still embrace it" (Interview, August 2021). FS feels the same way; he feels anti-ethnic sentiment when discussing other religious groups. "Even though it's in the realm of academic discussion, I still think that if there is an attitude or calling other ethnic groups bad, it can't be justified" (Interview, August 2021). ARB felt different things—as a Timorese who migrated to Bandung, he thought that there was prejudice or anti-ethnic sentiment by the natives. Initially, it was a matter of religious differences, but other problems that caused this were also due to education and the economy. He, who once studied at a campus-based on Christianity in Bandung, admitted that meeting people in public spaces with different religions and teachings was difficult. "Initially, the prejudice or anti-ethnic sentiment was because I saw that I was a religion (Catholic), but afterward, it could also be because of racial or ethnic sentiments. For example, I feel like I'm right in the market or supermarket by accident, a problem occurs, I'm blamed for having no morals because of my religion because my skin, my race is different, and so on. I was accused of being uneducated because it was Easterners and so on. When I mentioned that I had studied at such and such a university, they even blamed my position in college because of a different religion. In fact, I think the problems we are facing together are trivial and natural to happen" (Interview, August 7 2019).

The context of religious prejudice, which leads to ethnic prejudice, is identical in a multicultural society like Indonesia. Ethnic prejudice is usually caused by an attitude of primordialism (Rizqi, 2020). The philosophy of primordialism is an excessive tribal feeling. Usually, people who adhere to primordialism feel threatened by something new outside their group. This attitude could be handled by the natives when they felt a new power coming from outside and wanted to seize their indigenous domination. Although, the true philosophy of primordialism is seen as positive if it is used to preserve culture or a sense of love for the homeland (Robinson, 2014). But unfortunately, this attitude tends to be directed at the desire to dominate and oppress other ethnic groups. At this point, the excluded informants outside the Sundanese tribe could be a threat to the indigenous people, namely the Sundanese, who feared the newcomers would take their dominance. Therefore, the attitude of primordialism will only interfere with the process of national unity due to an attitude that emphasizes its regionalism too much.

The attitude of ethnic primordialism that occurs is related to the attitude of religious primordialism (Husain et al., 2021). The two are difficult to separate. Anti-religious sentiments also follow the idea in certain ethnic groups. This context is in line with cases of primordialism in Indonesia. For example, issues of religious primordialism carried out by people on social media are always associated with particular ethnic groups or ethnicities. They have the characteristics of excessive fanaticism in their religion, thus closing the room for discussion and truth from other religions.

Furthermore, the attitude of religious and ethnic primordialism gets worse if it is based on the relative - *deprivation theory.* Relative deprivation is an attitude where one group feels dissatisfied or feels a gap in themselves and their group compared to others. This gap can be in the form of power, economic control, and other limited resources. This usually occurs when people or social movements protest a particular issue because of dissatisfaction with resource management or ownership (Walker & Smith, 2002). Thus, at this point, the prejudice experienced by informants who come from outside the Sundanese ethnic group may be a logical consequence of the feeling of relative deprivation of the indigenous tribes over economic and political control in Indonesia. In another example, this relative deprivation attitude occurred in the anti-China case before the reform event.

Furthermore, as Kurtz explains, another factor that causes discrimination or ethnic prejudice is the existence of conflicting cultural differences that affect religious views. Kurtz called the cultural differences are about the East and West and all entities with cultural characteristics. The influence of these cultural differences exacerbates tension areas that have already occurred and includes other issues in the anxiety such as social, gender, ethnic, and political topics. As a result, the problem is exploited by groups who take 'larger-than-life' proportions of the struggle for good against evil" (Kurtz, 2018). Cultural differences as a source of tension were shared by an SDF informant—a member of the RSCJ community who explained why cultural differences had become a deep-rooted problem in Indonesia as a contributor to conflict. "The factor of cultural differences is still the most dominant contributor to conflict. For example, when I come from Flores, there will be a big gap in communication and habits when I mingle with the Sundanese. If this is not handled wisely by the two tribes, it will lead to misunderstanding and division" Interview, August 7, 2021). In addition to cultural differences, the root of conflict can also occur because there is no open attitude towards different people, both in terms of culture, race, and language. "The lack of acceptance of the background where the person comes from is also a source of conflict," said RH (Interview, August 2021). Not being open to accepting differences also affects how different people or ethnicities communicate. Someone who is not open-minded about differences will feel awkward in sharing, especially if he is afraid to meet people from other ethnic groups. That is why one of the informants said, "I still feel awkward communication between Sundanese and non-Sundanese while living here (Bandung)", said RH (Interview, August 2021). This awkward attitude then leads to negative prejudice. Two people who communicate poorly will be suspicious of each other (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). As a result, some messages are not delivered properly. In the context of ethnicity and religion, this usually happens often, especially if you are still primordial or insist on truth claims.

However, the most dangerous thing is if the negative prejudices addressed to other ethnic groups or religions are accompanied by acts of violence (Hecht, 1998). The legitimacy of committing this violence is often obtained from a narrow view of the interpretation of religious scriptures. According to Hans Kung (2007), the most militant groups, including radical political struggles, are inspired by religious teachings. This can be seen from religious groups that underlie their activities to engage in violence and conflict with the excuse of "war against crime". In recent years, literature on groups with religious identities in conflict and violence has been found, such as terrorist attacks in various countries. Armed groups such as al-Qaeda and ISIS claim religious justification for their attacks. These extremist Islamist groups are collectively characterized by a similar jihadi ideology (Cronin, 2015). The basis of their violence is the prejudice against the unjust regional government, the prejudice against other religions that will destroy the Islamic world order, and the prejudice about the kufr system of government. Not infrequently, the prejudices of these extremist groups are also based on anti-white and anti-Jewish sentiments.

Even though in the context of this paper, there are no results or findings that indicate violence by indigenous tribes against other ethnic groups or the majority religion against minorities. "As far as my experience is in West Java, which incidentally is not a Sundanese, I have never experienced ethnic prejudice from the Sundanese themselves to the point of violence" (RH, Interview, August 2021). The same thing was also acknowledged by IM, who claimed to have "never been discriminated against until it led to violence" (Interview, August 6, 2021). The absence of violence in this paper indicates a positive conflict. According to Lewis Coser (1998), positive conflict is a non-violent conflict whose purpose is to remove the rigidity of the social structure and increase awareness of the importance of unity. A social system or community entity can be maintained, stable, and survive (Coser, 1998).

Simply put, this conflict brings positive changes to the conflicting group. Even if it is not handled correctly, positive conflicts will still lead to negative disputes or divisions between the two warring parties. This is very relevant in the context of Indonesian society which is diverse in terms of culture, ethnicity, language, and religion, if the conflict is not handled what will occur is the disintegration of the nation.

Religious Tolerance and Moderation: Solutions to Religious and Ethnic Prejudice

In the last few decades, the world of knowledge and literature has again been filled with discussions about religion, conflict, and peace (Little, 2006). Including the relationship between the three, which is quite complicated. Underlying how this is strengthened are scientific interests and policies on the relationship between religion, state, and politics. Andreas Hasenclever and Volker Rittberger (Hasenclever & Rittberger, 2000) divide the paradigm of reading the relationship between religion and conflict into three: primordialists, instrumentalists, and constructivists.

First, the primordialists view that one religion with another has differences that can cause conflict, and this is inherent. So, when religious conflicts occur, these people see religion as an independent variable or separate from other elements. Simply put, religious conflict is always seen as only religion as the single factor causing it. *Second,*

the instrumentalists view that political and economic factors cause religious conflicts. Religion is only used as an instrument of conflict. For the instrumentalists, religion is rhetoric, and its relation to conflict is pseudo. *Third,* the constructivists are intermediate, agree with the instrumentalists who see religious conflicts as caused by political and economic interests, and agree with the primordialists that religion has a real and objective role, not the main cause but as an escalator of conflict. Thus, for constructivists, religion plays a dependent role, depending on the political and economic factors that play a role in the conflict. In other words, conflict is influenced by how strongly religion escalates political and economic clashes. In contrast to the primordialists who keep religion independent or cannot be contested when there is a conflict.

Reflecting on the three paradigms, all of them cannot be treated universally. However, all three can be used as analytical glasses placed in one spectrum. Viewing a religious conflict must be accompanied by a thorough and critical look at the case in detail, including using the paradigms of the eye, which are then selected from the three according to the correct explanation.

In seeing the conflicts that have occurred, one must know the phenomenon and case by case. For example, cases of rejection of houses of worship in various areas in West Java are motivated by religion alone and political agendas such as support for gaining sympathy from the majority so that religious narratives are legitimized in such a way for political purposes. Thus, in viewing the conflict, one cannot use the primordial paradigm alone – which puts forward religious differences and the political dimension, such as behind the multi-volume actions to defend Islam, covert campaigns, and, more generally, the politics of ethnic-Chinese exclusion.

Likewise, in looking at the context of this research, negative prejudices that are addressed to a particular religion cannot be entirely caused by purely religious factors but other factors such as the dynamics of national politics. The same is true in looking at the causes of ethnic conflict. Ethnicity is another element usually dragged down when horizontal rows occur, especially in Indonesia. The cause of ethnic conflict is not purely inter-ethnic conflict, but other binding factors are also. Moreover, most informants answered that the time when they accepted behavior that led to discrimination occurred when the national political atmosphere heated up. "I remember that it was during the presidential election that religious prejudice narratives were often accepted," said IAM (Interview, August 6, 2021). "Yes, ahead of the presidential election, that's right. The time when the polarization strengthened greatly, said AHBS (Interview, August 6, 2021). Or another answer that is also appropriate is "political dynamics do end up in religious and ethnic sentiments, especially if you live in an environment where the majority is not the same as us" (IM, Interview, August 6, 2021).

In addition, there is one more important factor for the increasing popularity of religious and ethnic conflicts, namely the development of technology and the globalization that surrounds it. This is seen in contrast to when globalization after the Cold War affected the economy, politics, culture, religion, and technology (Haynes, 2020). Globalization has exacerbated tensions between the world's religions, including a modern culture that dismantles traditional values that cannot change the social order of society. As a result, the pressures of people's lives are getting tighter; everyone feels unhappy, uneasy, or busy taking care of the 'worldly'. Therefore, "returning to religion" is often used as a solution to rediscover comfort, tranquility, and stability in life. We know an active contrasting hijrah movement among Indonesian urban Muslims.

However, other impacts of globalization and religion can also encourage attitudes of dislike for other religious groups, competition between religions, and conflict (Kinnvall, 2004). Although this can positively encourage other people to feel a new and peaceful identity, this pursuit of peace has again become problematic. On the other hand, globalization has also led to the gathering of small groups and forming harmonious relationships, including in religious communities. This intermingling tradition and meeting various religions is a good signal for peace. However, the results are not always pleasant, especially conflicts also flavored by differences in ethnicity, race, or culture (Hayward, 2012). This conflict takes a long time and is difficult to resolve because the people involved always portray themselves as "good" against "evil", making religion the dependent variable. Conflicts such as Israel and Palestine, the US, and Iran are peppered with "cultural and ethnic wars". Such culture wars seem endless; there appears to be no room for compromise between the two polarized worldviews, which encourage different allegiances and standards in certain fundamental aspects of life, including family, law, education, and politics (Kelman, 1997).

Likewise, in the context of religious prejudice and this conflict, the influence of globalization is evident as the underlying factor. As a product of globalization, social media brings religion to be more open and discussed by many people. Unfortunately, the ongoing discussions always lead to the truth claims of each other's religions and blaming other religions for perceived differences. From here, negative prejudice against religion grows and is

practiced. Primarily they, the majority have always done this because the claim to the majority has been ingrained in this country.

However, religion also offers maintenance in the name of peace in the form of tolerance. The informants also mostly agreed with tolerance as an answer to religious and ethnic prejudices. "In my opinion, one solution to create social harmony is to guide the younger generation and provide a broad understanding of tolerance" (RH, Interview, August 6, 2021). Or the ARB informant who answered the importance of tolerance as primary education for pluralism. "The solution I can offer is that education about pluralism, love, and peace must be instilled from an early age, both within the family, school, and community. Of course, everyone can tolerate each other" (Interview, August 6, 2021).

Therefore, sociologically, religion has a unifying (integrative) role for people of the same religion (Durkheim, 2011). However, this function can wear off when meeting religious people outside their beliefs. Hendropuspito (1983), mentions religion as the central point of unity and fostering brotherhood. However, the reality is that religion also has a disintegrative function determined by the relationship between religious communities internally and externally. Textually and contextually, all religions teach the values of unity and peace. It even condemns violence and conflict. This face can be seen in religious people committed to the love of peace and genuinely devoting themselves to God for the benefit of society and the nation. Thus, religion teaches goodness to each of its people.

Furthermore, citing Luc Reychler (2010), several supporting components of the social integrity process, including those religious elements, can carry out as a form of harmonization between religious communities.

First, contribute to the creation of peace through effective communication. This communication channel is nothing but opening up opportunities for all people concerning religious peace. Discussing and opening new ideas regarding issues related to religious communities is essential for every element of society. Second, is the effectiveness of the justice system that applies in society. The goal is to help create stability and security in society. Third, is community social capital. This social capital is manifested in diverse community relations accompanied by the role of active community groups in voicing peace. Fourth is the influence of figures who prevent conflict and diligently voicing harmony. For example, formal leaders are usually associated with government positions or political positions, such as village head, sub-district head, regent, mayor, and the parliament.

Meanwhile, non-formal leaders are usually religious leaders (ulama, kiai, priests, priests, monks), and community leaders (customary leaders, heads of associations or associations). Fifth, joint efforts in creating a justice system in social life. Especially in the economic, social, and educational strategies that prioritize the entire community regardless of SARA elements.

As a result, just as the constructivist paradigm supports that religion has real value in building peace, it is also essential to choose the best ways to answer various problems associated with religion, including carefully seeing the cause and how to solve it.

Another solution that can be presented in eliminating religious and ethnic prejudices unique to Indonesia is religious moderation. Since it was initiated by the Minister of Religion Lukman Hakim Syaifudin in 2019, Muslim and Western scholars have widely studied the idea and concept of religious moderation, especially in Indonesia (Paelani Setia, 2021a). The concept of religious moderation is believed to be taken from every religion in Indonesia (Mohamad Taufiq Rahman & Setia, 2021). Especially Islam, the concept of moderation is taken from Arabic, *'wasatiyyah',* which means middle, not extreme, and not excessive. The concept of religious moderation is very relevant to Indonesia with its ethnic and religious diversity (Suharto, 2021).

Although the indicators of religious moderation have also been proposed by scholars in the West such as John Esposito (2010) and Ariel Cohen (2003), the indicators formulated by the Ministry of Religion are considered more representative of this concept of religious moderation (Junaedi, 2019). The Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia (2019) divides religious moderation indicators into four: fair and balanced, adaptive to local culture, non-violent, and loyal to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila. Fair and balanced means to act or behave impartially and not too much in favor of one religion or religion that he adheres to. Adapting to local culture means not rebuking or misleading local traditions acculturated to religion, as long as the local tradition or culture does not violate religious teachings. Meanwhile, not using violence is another attitude that must be followed by religious adherents so as not to justify violence in realizing political struggles. The violent attitude in question is physical and verbal violence, both directly and online. Lastly, loyalty to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila is the essence of mainstreaming religious moderation. Every citizen who adheres to any religion, must remain loyal and not use any ideology other than Pancasila. These indicators aim to deliver a peaceful and tolerant Indonesian society even though they are side by side with people of different religions and ethnicities.

The indicator of religious moderation in the context of this research as a solution is adopting local culture to strengthen religious practices without violating the teachings of the main religion. This solution was agreed by several informants involved in the research. "In my opinion, apart from the inter-religious dialogue in West Java, it is also necessary to understand a little about Sundanese ethnicity. Especially if the person occupies the area of West Java, it is essential to know Sundanese culture because even though Sundanese are religious, they strongly adhere to Sundanese culture itself" (HS, Interview, August 6 2021). On the other hand, some informants agree on the emphasis on local culture in religious life so that ethnic prejudice does not occur. "I agree that the adoption of local culture that belongs to certain ethnicities in religious life is still respected without being *judged* as deviant or heretical, as long as the culture does not deviate from religion" (IM, Interview, August 6 2021). Interestingly, the adoption of local culture in supporting religious tolerance was conveyed by a religious instructor in the city of Bandung:

"In Sundanese culture, there is philosophy, *compassion, penance, and penance (loving each other, sharpening each other, and caring for each other)*. All of this is identical to the Sundanese and West Javanese people. If this philosophy is applied in society, it will create a unity that lives in harmony and peace. Unfortunately, this philosophy is rarely heard, especially by the millennial generation. Therefore, I support that it is necessary to incorporate local and ethnic philosophies in the implementation and campaign of religious moderation. For example, earlier in Sunda, young people were introduced to their local philosophy" (MAQ, Interview, August 6, 2021).

In addition, another indicator that is in line with this article and becomes an opportunity for social harmony to occur is the religious moderation campaign to avoid violence. Several informants said that the people of West Java, especially the Sundanese, were amiable and polite, especially the Sundanese, who were primarily open to differences. "I speak from my experience as a Catholic from the Batak tribe in the middle of Sundanese Catholicism, I do not feel that I am being treated differently. They are also interested in hearing the experiences of different religions in different ethnic groups" (ARB, Interview, August 6 2021). In addition to other answers as stated by FS, "from my own experience when meeting Sundanese people even though I am non-Sundanese and non-Muslim for me they are very kind and friendly" (Interview, August 6 2021). Some informants answered that in fact the Sundanese who were discriminated against and included were those who misunderstood the differences and did not even understand how they should live in an era of multiculturalism. "Although yes, indigenous people have made efforts to not respect other religions or other ethnicities, but I see that it was carried out by those who did not fully understand being pluralist, or it could also be done because of incitement and encouragement from parties in the name of goodness or truth" (IM, Interview, August 6, 2021). Thus, the violence experienced by the informants has never been an opportunity for the expansion of the idea of religious moderation to provide good pluralism education in society.

Unfortunately, religious moderation campaigns are still often conducted through conventional seminars, workshops, lectures, and direct discussions. The target of a broad religious moderation campaign, namely the wider community, should also be encouraged by a moderation campaign that touches all elements of society. A well-targeted campaign will be much more effective if you use social media (Paelani Setia, 2021a). This is because social media is an open environment and can be a place for the struggle for influence by individuals, groups, and countries in mainstreaming certain opinions. Moreover, in the current context, social media is awash with radical content that will lead people to religious violence, religious prejudice, and ethnic conflict. Therefore, this phenomenon must be used as an opportunity to counter radicalism narratives with religious narratives that are soothing, conciliatory, and happy for all parties.

CONCLUSION

So far, studies on the causes of religious and ethnic prejudice have focused on individual factors and excluded external factors outside the individual. The reason is constantly struggling with individual human motivations for dislike outside groups considered dangerous to their people. This reason is true; this paper also puts forward the same argument, namely that religious and ethnic prejudice factors are initiated by a person's psychological factors, such as individual sentiments that spontaneously reject the presence of other people in him. The belief or fanaticism exacerbates this in the teachings of the religion that he believes to be the most correct compared to other religions. However, it is not appropriate to accept psychological factors as the cause of prejudice. It is necessary to look at socio-society factors as the cause of religious and ethnic prejudice. This paper offers political factors as the cause of religious and ethnic prejudice. The reason is that political life dynamics such as the presidential election have influenced anti-religious and ethnic sentiments. The polarization of society on the majority and the minority has a

significant effect on the attitudes of religious adherents in Indonesia. Moreover, social media is constantly bombarding the public with information on religious and ethnic sentiments. In the era of disruption, everyone must equip themselves with critical understanding and digital literacy if they do not want to fall into the attitude of fanaticism and prejudice.

Apart from political factors, another factor that underlies prejudice is primordialism. A primordial attitude is an excessive attitude towards the region or its group. This attitude is passed down from generation to generation in Indonesian society. The initial goal of primordial perspectives, namely to avoid threats and outside cultures that deviate from adults, is now interpreted narrowly only in the attitude of rejecting other cultures that are different from their own. The negative attitude of primordialism is a threat to multicultural life like Indonesia. This attitude also shows the immaturity of a community group because the primordial attitude is not in line with the characteristics of modern and global life, namely, prioritizing competition and cooperation.

A tolerant and peaceful life is the dream of all Indonesian people. One of the efforts to make it happen is by mainstreaming religious moderation. Religious moderation is an efficacious "medicine" to deal with the diversity of religious adherents in the country. The essence of religious moderation itself is to respect every religion and followers of other religions without imposing the will of one's religion as the truest religion. Indicators of religious moderation also have a very Indonesian and universal image. Hence, the idea of religious moderation deserves to be applied by other countries in the world. Unfortunately, the notion of religious moderation is still being campaigned in conventional ways, even though the character and situation of modern society have changed dramatically in absorbing information. Individuals, groups, organizations, and even countries aware of the importance of moderate religious people must migrate to the internet and social media to campaign for religious moderation. Currently, religious messages are crowded with radical-fundamentalist messages promoted by extreme groups. Therefore, there is no longer any reason not to counter-narrative through religious moderation campaigns on the internet and social media.

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