Pengarusutamaan Multikulturalisme Bagi Masyarakat Islam di Indonesia : Sebuah Kerangka Konseptual Untuk Aksi

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KEYWORD	ABSTRACT
	Secara umum, di Indonesia wacana multikulturalisme adalah wacana yang tidak banyak dikultivasi, terutama jika kita mengaitkannya dengan kondisi keIndonesiaan dan keIslaman kontemporer. Paper ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan multikulturalisme, termasuk asal muasal, istilah, konsep-konsep dasarnya, dan pewacanaan konsep tersebut di tanah air. Selanjutnya, akan melihat "berbagai masalah" multikulturalisme di Indonesia secara umum, dan juga dalam masyarakat Islam secara khusus. Adapun penelitian ini termasuk ke dalam preliminary research. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini adalah harus disadari bahwa pewacanaan multikulturalisme dalam konteks keIndonesiaan dan keIslaman masih merupakan ranah yang belum banyak dikaji, atau lebih merupakan buzzword (istilah heboh yang maknanya tidak diketahui), dan karenanya memerlukan pengarusutamaan Islam dan multikulturalisme yang berkelanjutan di masa depan

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INTRODUCTION

Stephen Lawrence, a teenager, felt down and bled when he was waiting for a bus. It was on 22 April 1993. He and his friend had arrived at bus stop at 10.30 p.m. Stephen was approached by a group of gangster which consist of five or six young men. Quick as lightening this group grasped Stephen. Even, one or two of them stabbed him with a knife. This incident happened only about 20 minutes. It was very quick and unfathomable. News of this tragic moment spread quickly through newspapers and televisions. It also provoked people to bring the case to the civil court as a symbol of law enforcement. This incident paid a great attention from many people. This murder cannot be legitimized from any norms, even from religious norms. In other words, the Stephen's murder was more than usual crime. It is not only because it represented the tragedy of inhumanity or the killers were still free from punitive action, but it made people aware of the motive behind the murder, namely the differences of color skin (and also religion). Stephen was a black man while the killers were white people. Therefore, this murder caused a lot of questions about how the English and their policemen in London responded the problem of multiculturalism and minority there (Preece, 2005).

News of this tragic moment spread quickly through newspapers and televisions. It also provoked people to bring the case to the civil court as a symbol of law enforcement. This incident paid a great attention from many people. This murder cannot be legitimized from any norms, even from religious norms. In other words, the Stephen's murder was more than usual crime. It is not only because it represented the tragedy of inhumanity or the killers were still free from punitive action, but it made people aware of the motive behind the murder, namely the differences of color skin (and also religion). Stephen was a black man while the killers were white people. Therefore, this murder caused a lot of questions about how the English and their policemen in London responded the problem of multiculturalism and minority there.

Two years after that murder, on 7 July 1995, thousands of young men and Bosnian boys were killed in Srebenika in the name of "ethnic cleansing". At that time, Serbia was governed under the authority of General Ratko Mladic (Preece, 2005). Therefore, many tragic accidents of inhumanity which happened in Bosnia or in Iraq under Saddam Hussein's authority or black people during apartheid policy in South Africa were clear examples from at least 200 ethnic-religious minorities discriminated in a global scale. In this case, Indonesia also is not free from any discriminations and ethnic-religious conflicts.

Indonesia, since the fall of Soeharto, was hit by many conflicts, such as in Ambon, Poso, Sambas, and Sampit. Moreover, it has been overwhelmed by conflict of separation in Aceh and similar threat in Papua and Riau. For the last case, it threatened the NKRI (the united of Republic of Indonesia) concept which has been fighter for a long time. As the whole, this problem is related to identity problem, especialy ethnics and religions. However, for the time being, we can feel relieved since the conflicts in some regions were decreased and has become normal regions. But, it is still possible that those conflicts will happen again in the future if we do not take care for the diversity of ethnics, religions and cultures (See, 2003). The violence, conflict, discrimination, and domination happen not only in a multi-ethnics region, but also in a multi-faith society or combination between both of them, such as the conflict between Islam and Christianity adherents in Indonesia (the Ambon conflict) and many others. Moreover, conflict and domination also exist among the same religious adherents who pray the same God. In Islam, we can see, for instance, a religious conflict between Shi'iti and Sunni adherents in Iraq, and also between Islamic majority, especially radical Muslim, and Ahmadiyah followers in Indonesia. In Indonesian case, there is a large gap in Indonesian society to respect other religious sects and different thought in interpreting religious sources, even though they follow the same religion.

The incident of bloody attack to the Ahmadiyah followers in Parung, Bogor, is a fact which cannot be neglected easily. Based on *Imparsial* report, at that time, the Ahmadiyah followers were attending *Jalsah Salanah* (annual meeting), and suddenly they were attacked brutally by thousands people who acknowledged as being members of LPPI (Institute for Islamic research and Islamic studies) and FPI (Front of Islamic Defenders). In some other regions, the Ahmadiyah community has been terorrized. Their mosques in Bulukumba, Makassar, and in Lombok were attacked and the Ahmadiyah followers were expelled from their home villages (Imparsial, 2006).

In brief, some above tragic incidents, from the Stephen's murder and the bloody attack to the Ahmadiyah followers, have emerged a phenomenon called" the problem of multiculturalism and minority" which must be responded wisely. This paper is intended as a preliminary study or the first mapping which will need detailed studies in future. In other words, this study aims to make Indonesian society generally, and Islamic community specifically, aware of the problems of multiculturalism and minority rights in this country.

Method

This *preliminary* working paper is a theoritical framework to study multiculturalism in which is called as *buzzwords* in Indonesia. This term refers to the fact that people speak it but they do not understand it. The discussion is started by proposing the fact that "problems" of multiculturalism are global problems. They can happen in all states although they are in different forms. In this case , the definition of multiculturalism, the basic concept of multiculturalism, the discourse of multiculturalism in Indonesia, and the relation of Islam with multiculturalism are important object of study. This is because there is a possibility to apply the concept of multiculturalism as alternative solution to the problem of pluralism in Indonesia.

Results and Discussions

Understanding "some problems" of Multiculturalism

Many countries which exist in this world are plural and multicultural. There is no doubt that most of modern countries have some problems of multiculturalism in various scales including some countries which do not have any interest to apply multiculturalism as their ideology and their policy. This is because there are some multicultural groups changing claims each others which also exchange their identity within the nation-state.

According to Paul Kelly, the factor of different identity in multiculturalism becomes "very sensitive" and complex problem because of immigration, emigration, and colonialism (Kelly, 2002) While according to Ted Robert Gurr, discrimination constructing "the gap" between the unlucky minority and the lucky majority continues to exist within four important stages of history; colonialism, the development of nation-state,migration, and ecenomic development (Gurr, 1995). The most striking phenomenon nowadays is unexpected immigrants and refugees who keep coming to

"the dream islands", namely western countries. As a result, some countries face difficulties in solving this phenomenon (Joseph, 1994).

On the other hand, colonialism which provoked population movements is a desire to subjugate new regions caused by establishment of new state and kingdom. However, the succesfull story of the establishment of state often requires a high cost, that is anguish from weak people. They often suffer, hurt, and even die. Therefore, one listens mourning such as a *Lamentatio* song. Besides, colonialism also conquers and forces the non believers to receive 'new culture' so that it destroys the original culture of native people. In this case, colonialism motivated European immigrants to come and exploit the natural sources of the native people, not only in the new worlds such as South America, North America, and Australia, but also in the older worlds like African and Asian countries. The expansion of Russian caesar, Austro-Hungarian kingdom, Turkey kingdom, Chinese and Ethiopian emperor only have one meaning, namely colonization. Colonization of European people in America and Australia means mass slaughtering, slavery, and cultural genocide for the indigeneous rights of native people.

In this case, colonialism motivated European immigrants to come and exploit the natural sources of the native people, not only in the new worlds such as South America, North America, and Australia, but also in the older worlds like African and Asian countries. The expansion of Russian caesar, Austro-Hungarian kingdom, Turkey kingdom, Chinese and Ethiopian emperor only have one meaning, namely colonization. Colonization of European people in America and Australia means mass slaughtering, slavery, and cultural genocide for the indigeneous rights of native people.

On the other hand, colonization is often followed with missionary known in three words, namely *Glory, Gospel and Gold.* These three words becomes one's reason and motivation when he starts his journey to exploit the new worlds. Fundamentalist group from Christianity and Islamic adherents, then, draw sword to defeat *bid'ah* followers and infidels in the region where they exploit and colonize. In fact, most of native people already knew the concept of God. It can be seen in Indian tribe who were forced to convert to Christianity, eventhough they had known God based on their word and this belief had made their life in a peace for a long time. Suddenly, the white people arrived and forced them to throw their belief to the "garbage of history".

At the same time, the growth of non-white population was intended to serve the need of this new power. Some of them worked as colonial staffs, some of them became laborer in a factory, other people worked in the commercial agricultural enterprise, some others took part in industrial sectors, and also some of them worked in mining company to support the economy of post-industial society. America has become an independent country when European emperors are waiting for their destruction. The second war created a " new world" not only declaring itself as " multi-nation" but also representing as an indiginous multi-ethnic state. In a brief, it became the first democratic republic having multicultural society in the practice, although multicultural society was not legally used at that time.

Most of the people in this world are still surprised when they find the uniqueness of multicultural problems, especially based on the experience of liberal-democratic countries in the western Europe and their ex-colonies. After the collapse of *Berlin* wall, the fall of communism in Uni Soviet, and the decline of Russian emperor, many different groups of society created united cultural society spontaneously causing many conflicts. The minority issues has become an acute problem in Eastern Europe, such as in Baltik region.

The Origin of Multiculturalism

"Multiculturalism", basically, is still new word found in social and political theory. If one refers to standard books, he will see that this term appeared 25 years ago (Bun, 2004). Radtke says that multiculturalism is a *'diffused concept'* which emerged in Canada and, then, came to the USA. After that, it crossed the Atlantic ocean and it arrived in Western countries. Next, it came to Eastern Europe and then it passed the pacific ocean, finally it reached in Australia and India (Hutchison, 2003). As an idea, multiculturalism appeared first in Canada as anti-thesis of assimilationist and it influenced academic discourse in the USA during 1950s and 1960s. It can be found in some important books written by Robert Park (1950) and Milton Gordon (1964).

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"Assimilationists" in American context believed in "Anglo-Conformity atau Americanization" concept, known as *melting pot* concept. This concept refers to a monumental book written by Israel Zangwill (1919), an English artist having a relation with Jewish family. In his work, *the Melting Pot*, Zangwill views that assimilation is a pervasive phenomenon which cannot be avoided as the savior and regeneration way (Rex, 2004). Melting Pot says *"a cauldron*

within which cultures and beliefs of all shapes and colors melt; the end result is something new out of many things old, something unprecedented" (Furnivall, 1982). Shortly, he describes a vessel supposed multi-faith and multi-culture in it. They melt and result a new culture from many different cultures. This imaginative concept, basically, has a strong grip related to both solidarity and violence.

The vision of assimilation related to immigrant community in Thailand was studied intensively by William Skinner, an anthropologist from Cornell University. He argues that Chinese immigrants in Thailand only need four generations to be the true Thai. It is closely related to the possibility of the emergence of cultural hegemony from an ethnic or a racial group to be homogeneous culture as some scholars put an Anglo-Conformity idea in Canada in doubt. John Porter, Canadian sociologist, proposes an alternative choice which is fairer than the metaphor of melting pot, namely a graphic image. He suggests the vertical mosaic altered to be the diversity of ethnic living together in a condition viewed as" *toleration and tolerance*" (Rex, 2002).

In the twentieth century, some social commentators discredited the melting pot approach. They criticized that concept since it represented the identity of social groups melt to be a new and radical identity oppressing the diversity rather than to respect that diversity (Watson, 200). In this case, Kallen and Bourne, for instance , criticize American culture which depend on "Anglocentric" idea related to American traditions (Juteau, 2003). Moreover, Kallen accused *melting pot* concept as anti-democracy (Budiman, 2005). In other words, *melting pot* assume all different cultures interacting each other's naturally in a place and disintegrate, in the end they reintegrate in creating a new culture in a bigger place. This means that people should discharge their own cultures first, then they live in a new culture resulted from their cultural interaction (Roof, 2007). The writer discussed with Wade Clark Roof during the workshop "Religious Pluralism and Public Presence". In this discussion, he stated that the *melting pot* concept basically could not be realized in the USA.

Pluralism and Multiculturalism

According to John Rex, The fundamental theories on plural society was proposed by J.S Furnivall, especially through his work about Indonesia and M.G. Smith about "the British West Indies" (Kelly, 2002).

Furnivall constructs his concept by referring to Boeke, the Dutch economist, who describes Indonesia as follows:

"*There is a materialism, rationalism and individualism and a concentration on economic ends far more complete and absolute than in homogenous Western lands: a total absorption in the Exchange and Market; a capitalist structure with business concern as subject: far more typical of Capitalism than one can imagine in the so-called capitalist societies which have grown slowly out of the past and are still bound to it by a hundred roots*".

It is clear that an understanding about the western capitalism is described by Emile Durkheim in his work, *The Division of labor in Society* (1933). Durkheim says that *mechanic solidarity* in a simple society is related to where there is an equal individual right reproducing "anomie" situation or anarchy in which the diversity of interest guides them to, perhaps, the *organic solidarity* by force and fear. This possibility is seen by Boeke as something which evaporates in a plural capitalist colonist. However, there is a different side from one coin. It means that a brutal global market is next to the existence of separated community (Kymlicka, 2001).

According to J.S. Furnivall, in a plural society, there are unorganized social demands due to structural demand and economical motive are not coordinated by the same cultural values. As a result, an effort to bind the equal opportunity, social mobility, and social justice in a society is not an easy to be realized compared to other forms of society (Tiryakian, 2004).

M.G. Smith describes a different situation in The British West Indies. He argues that theory of pluralism is found to oppose functional theory which is in anthropological studies proposed by Malinowski. And in sociological studies it is suggested by Talcott Parson. Smith's theory emphasizes the role of political institution rather than economics institution as the united factor in the society. Like Furnivall, Smith tries to describe two structural aspects of colonial society. In one hand, there is a set of institution which unites all people in a homogeneous society. On the other hand, however, there are some intuitions binding a society which is basically separate from others. In this case, there is an example taken from Carribean society which is governed by single institution. In fact, Carribean society is not a single society viewed from its family system, religion, law, and economical organization (Budiman, 2005).

On the other hand, multiculturalism as a social thought appears as a negation to the concept of pluralism coming earlier followed by some political theorists in a plural society as it was described in the above explanation. Concept of pluralism, basically, offers the existence of heterogeneous community but it fails to explain how is its character. Moreover, how its multiplex structured and its heterogeneous society bound are not described well. In the end, "heterogeneous" is reduced as single or one (Parekh, 2002).

Multiculturalism is significantly different from pluralism in viewing a heterogeneous society. If pluralism only represents "heterogeneous", multiculturalism explains "the existence of heterogeneous society" based on the *equality* in a public sphere. Multiculturalism, unlike pluralism, supports the diversity of thought related to different gender so that people have the equal rights in living together in a peaceful society. In a brief, the concept of pluralism does not guarantee whether the existence of heterogeneous society will be treated equally by the state. However, multiculturalism offers the equality in the public sphere.

Defining Multiculturalism

Then , what does multiculturalism means? If we refer to " some problems" of multiculturalism, this term means that societies in this world have more than one culture in the public sphere. Different claims on different cultures may end with the social conflict in the society. It means that there will be subordinated culture from other cultures. However, the point is that there are more than one culture in a nation-state. Japan ,for instance, is considered as homogeneous state but there is a minority society discriminated there called *Burakumin* (Suparlan, 2002).

Multiculturalism is a term used for three special cases. Firstly, it is a description about cultural diversity in a society. Secondly, it is an ideology aimed to legitimize the unification of different ethnics in a general structure of society. Thirdly, it is a public policy designed to form national unity in the context of diversity of ethnic (Suparlan, 2002). Multiculturalism, at one global level, according to Edward A. Tiryakian, can be defined as , "*a normative critique of the institutional arrangements of the public sphere that are seen as injuring or depriving a cultural minority of its rights*" (See, 2005). Critique, in this case, perhaps includes some claims to eliminate deprivation of cultural minority in the public sphere. It also includes an effort to improve the opportunity of minority in getting a better life freely as the majority.

The Basic Concepts of Multiculturalism

As it is explained in the above paragraph, multiculturalism needs the equality of the different cultural entities in the public sphere. In other words, how to define *culture* and *equality* is the best way to understand the differences among theorists who support multiculturalism. Therefore, this part explains both concepts shortly.

Culture

It is certain that culture plays an important role in creating the framework of multicultural thought. However, how is its role and what is the meaning of *culture* is a source of theoretical conflict among theorists of multiculturalism. Some experts in multiculturalism see the importance of cultural concept and cultural value due to some reasons which are *overlapping*. Although, they are *overlapping* we can differentiate two roles of *culture* which are very significant on the arguments of multiculturalism. The first is methodological argument and parallel used by the communitarian for " self" character or ethical subject. The second is an individual or *less communitarian* used by liberal political supporters (Raz dan Kymlicka) in providing a foundation and a context for liberal values such as autonomy.

The first role is methodological problem. Many critiques are proposed to John Rawls about the resurgence of liberalism and the tradition of social contract used by contractarian related to personal character or ethical subjects which are " atomic" and " anti-social". Rawls uses an idea of elected subject behind the skin of ignorance refusing the subject of knowledge about crucial aspect from its identity as a way to justify two principles of justice. Communitarian group, like Michael Sandel, Charles Taylor, Alasdair MacIntyre criticize this concept since it is considered as using atomic and superficial approach. In a brief, communitarian is viewed as a challenge for the politics of individualism and superficial liberal philosophy, and they are put in a main place of community- this is "social thesis".

The point is that communitarian approach *vis a vis* an individual becoming eternal debate in a social theory to decide which of them are the most important. However, comunitarian prefers community concept to collective concept since the latter is closely related to the concept of socialism. In the history, the concept of socialism failed. If we use some stages of the debate on the right of the minority by referring to Kymlicka, this time can be viewed as the first stage since the rights of the minority are seen as communitarianism. This debate happened from 1970s to 1980s assuming the debate between liberal and communitarian supporters (or individual versus collective supporters). Liberal group support individual freedom to choose their best concept of life and to celebrate the individual freedom. While communitarian avoid " individual autonomy". An individual, for communitarian, is a product of social practice.In a short sentence, communitarian protect the right of the minorities by criticizing liberalism and defend the cohesive minorities to oppose liberal individualism (Azra, 2005).

On the other hand, Irish Marion Young and Bikhu Parekh view culture with different analysis. Both of them see *culture* as part of the context where our identities are formed which cannot separated as a person. Therefore, if you

attack my culture, it means that you attack me. They enlarge "social thesis" of communitarian by applying at the culture as an association-identity giving but they see that the component of group is more important than individual identity. As a result, they refute "voluntaries individualism" of John Rawls and his followers.

Now, we turn at the second role in which culture plays an important role in multicultural arguments. Kymlicka views *culture* as supplier of a moral resource. Kymlicka follows Raz to be" *perfectionist liberal*" since he stresses the concept of autonomy. For Kymlicka and Raz, the concept of autonomy is the key of liberal value, and the responsibility of political liberalism is to support and protect the value of autonomy. In this case, both of them refute the superficial netralism like Rawls dan Barry as an inadequate basis to protect liberal values. Kymlicka views that *culture* should not only play an crucial role, but also provide resources for a free life, valuable life, social shape of life. *Culture*, therefore, is a moral resource providing structural and cultural value to realize the freedom. Without the existence of some large options, we cannot choose a good life freely. In this case, the freedom is put in the life of ethic provided by culture. "The liberal perfectionist" views *culture* not only because it plays as the guide to a good life, but also to form the basis of demand for the rights of social group. In this case, the state should protect its own culture from any destruction.

Equality

Respecting culture includes acknowledging the existence of the other diverse cultures in a nation-state. Therefore, by accepting " problems" of multiculturalism, some followers and politicians of multiculturalism enlarge the scope of this issue to accommodate some cultural claims and the nationality of the minority rather than put forward the uniformity. In the concept of multiculturalism, culture is closely related to equality. In this part, it will be discussed briefly about the equality in the arguments of multiculturalism.

The followers of multicultural liberalist like Kymlicka is an egalitarian person. He follows the line of Dworkinian's thought accepting the idea of equality as the theoretical basis of live politics and ethics. The question is, then, "what is the equality from?" and " what should be distributed fairly to guarantee individual to get equality?" Dworkin, Rawls and other liberal followers do not pay much attention with the equality of the whole result. They accept an idea stating that an equality is a distributive criteria applying distributions such as the right, welfare or resources making the equal opportunity. Since it is an agent creating this chance in a different way, it will get an unequal result. However, as long as it is a result from a fair distribution -with sufficient compensation for their cost is not enough-, all of differences from the result are not relevant for egalitarianism. In this case, egalitarianism includes other values such as the freedom.

The discourse on Multiculturalism in Indonesia

In the global contex, multiculturalism has provoked the emergence of heated debates and has invited some sociologists to study it scientifically. In 1950s and 1960s, for instance, in the USA, the issue of pluralism and plural is criticized and it became a heated debate. At the same time, the perspective of multiculturalism is looked as an alternative. Even, some thoughts of multiculturalism has been introduced through journals related to the issue of ethnic, race, and culture. Finally, the topic of multiculturalism has become an interesting topic for American sociologists (Budiman, 2003).

However, the discourse on multiculturalism in Indonesia has not been much studied. Moreover, the term of multiculturalism is only as *buzzwords*, i.e a term describing that poeple often say it but they do not understand its concept. The discourse on multiculturalism is discussed in Indonesia, particularly after the publication of *Kewargaan Multikultural* (2001) translated from a book written by Wil Kymlicka. Unfortunately, this publication is not followed by other works related to multiculturalism based on Indonesian context.

However, there are some books related to multiculturalism which can be mentioned here. They are *Multicultural Education and southeast Asia: Stepping into the unfamiliar* (Depok: Jurnal Antropologi UI, 2004). In 2005, the Interseksi foundation published a book entitled *Hak Minoritas Dilema Multikulturalisme di Indonesia* (ed. Hikmat Budiman), which tries to raise the existential dilemma experienced by some local communities in facing the religious expansion done by the state's hand. Two years later, in 2007, Interseksi foundation published *Hak Minoritas Multikulturalisme dan Dilema Negara Bangsa* (ed. Mashudi Noorsalim, et all). In this second book, which is slightly different from the first book, the discussion is not only focused on existintial dilemma of local communities *vis a vis* formal religions legalized by the state's authority, but it explains the process of being minority and reformulation the identity of local communities. This book also analyses the law's policy of the minorities. It is hoped that in future there will be more books on multiculturalism in Indonesian context.

The Dilemma of Pluralism and Multiculturalism in Indonesia

It is clear that Indonesian consists of thousands big and small islands and also heteregenous society. Known as plural society, Indonesia has 500 races or ethnics and its native people speak in 300 different languages. It is certain that each race defends and protects its cultural identity.According to Bikhu Parekh, a human as member of cultura l community has "strong tendency and deep disposition" making a special character based on culture (Parekh, 2002).

Nowadays, these multi-races live together with local communities both in a city and a village. In this context, the interaction among these races become more intensive compared thousands yeras ago. This reality tends to create accommodating problems because of cultural differences among immigrant and native people.(Suparlan, 2002).

In Indonesia, during the colonial period, the Dutch government and Japanese succeeded in growing the spirit of unity among different races of Indonesian people so that they could declare the well-known declaration called as " Sumpah Pemuda". However, at the same time, there appeared the problem of multiculturalism, such as the Dutch policy on giving privilege to Arabic and Chinese races. During the New Order, the government created segregation between Islamic areas and Christian regions. As a result, in 1998, there was tragedy which Chinese became the victims. Then, there was the Poso conflict and many others.

The elite often considers the meaning of multi-races as cultural asset supporting the national unity as it is reflected in a slogan *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). Unfortunately, during the Soeharto's era, *Tunggal Ika*, was defined as making homogeneous rather than celebrating the diversity. As a result, the government realized some developmental programs which are intended to stop the expression of ethnic identity and to make the cultural diversity uniform.

Therefore, the New Order's policy related to the unity and the uniformity provoked the violence by using military. The emergence of ethnic issues, including race and religion, were considered as a threat for the national stability. According to Parsudi Suparlan, "we have to consider a policy of multiculturalism to reconstruct a plural society as a way to prevent the disintegration potency (Suparlan, 2002). Under the Soeharto's authority, the religious minorities were discriminated in diverse ways. In other words, the practice of submission and fusion from the unauthorized religious minorities to the formal religions have been intensively and systematically done by the government. They have been "saved". This can be seen in *Sedulur Sikep* community which believe in Adam's religion, in Pati, East Java; Tanah Toa Kajang community: Wetu Telu Wet Semokan community, etc. In a brief, the reposition and the struggle of local communities under the expansion of formal religions are discussed extensively in books entitled *Hak Minoritas* 1st volume dan 2nd volume.

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If we refer to Iris Young, in his work *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, there are five kinds of oppression, namely exploitation, marginalization, powerless, cultural imperialism, and violence.[i] In a different scale, oppression described by Young has been happened in this country, particularly *indigenous people* or other communities viewed as splinter group of the mainstream of Islamic teaching. In this case, the idea of multiculturalism, particularly related to Islam, should be studied continuously.

Multiculturalism for Indonesian Islam

Recently, there are some significant changes in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto. Radical Islam has appeared as it can be seen from their action in Bali bom (12 Oktober 2002), Marriot bomb in Jakarta (5 Agustus 2003), and bomb in front of Australia's embassy, in Kuningan Jakarta (9 September 2004) (Cooper, 2004).

Political freedom has opened a channel for radical Islamic groups to emerge in the public sphere. Basically, there are recently two kinds of radical Islamic movement. The first is Islamic movement which are open and loosly organization, such as *Laskar Jihad Forum Komunikasi ahlus-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah (LJ-FKAWJ), Front Pembela Islam (FPI),* and *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI).* The second is Islamic movement which can be identified as underground organization. This can be seen from the movement of *Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI).*

Generally, the emergence of radical Islam does not have any connection with other Islamic organizations, such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdhatul Ulama. Also, its movement can not be associated with Islamic political parties. Even, radical Islam views that they accomodate the government's interest (Effendi, 2004).

Moreover, the rise of Islamic radicalism can not be separated from the bankcruptcy of the state which can not guarantee its citizen to get a better life. In this context, religion is taken as the last choice to solve their problem. Islamic radicalism, then, can be seen as the result of people's doubt to the project of rationalization (Budiman, 2003).

Its relation with multiculturalism in Indonesia is that there is a strong tendency to make religion homogeneous promoting the single interpretation in religious teachings. It means that other different interpretations in religious teachings will be eliminated. It can be seen from the Ahmadiyah's case and other indigenous people's cases. Also, there are some tendencies to oppose the West and non-Islamic teachings. These tendencies can be identifeid as "problems " of multiculturalism. These problems need much attention to be studied, particularly related to sub-theme " Islam and multiculturalism". Some questions proposed are; whether Islam is compatible with multiculturalism, and what are the Islamic reasons strengthening multiculturalism.

Conclusions

In this context, it needs follow-up research to study Islamic arguments to strengthen the ideas of multiculturalism. Finally, the ministry of religious affairs should play an important role in strengthening Islamic arguments for multicultualism in the public sphere. Moreover, multicultural education should be supported to strengthen the mainstreaming of the discourse on multiculturalism. Max Muller's statement noted in the beginning of this paper " ***He who knows one religion knows none***", is a stepping stone to initiate the paradigm of multiculturalism.

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