

CONTESTATION BEHIND TOLERANCE: BETWEEN COMPETITION AND TOLERANCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN SALATIGA

Mukti Ali

Fakultas Dakwah IAIN Salatiga, Indonesia
e-mail: muktiali@iainsalatiga.ac.id

M. Ali Sofyan

Fakultas Dakwah IAIN Salatiga, Indonesia
*e-mail: alisofyan@iainsalatiga.ac.id

Rr. Wuri Arenggoasih

Fakultas Dakwah IAIN Salatiga, Indonesia
e-mail: rorowuri@iainsalatiga.ac.id

Abstract

Tolerance must be close to pluralism and multiculturalism which is not a new thing in academic studies. Many studies and research generalize about respect and appreciation for the diversity of ethnicity, religion, language and other cultures. For Javanese people who tend to be homogeneous in ethnicity but not too many long conflicts arise. Truth, the proof, One of the results of research in Salatiga which is one of the student cities in Central Java received the title of the second most tolerant city in Indonesia in 2018. But behind the award, there was contestation in the fields of education and religion. This paper will look again at tolerance in the Salatiga community after the award was obtained. Besides that, it also discussed competition in academia at IAIN Salatiga and Satya Wacana Kristen University (UKSW). Both educational institutions are based on religion, in which multiculturalism. Both educational institutions are based on religion, which is multicultural so that it impacts on the contestation of institutional policies, facilities and theological expansion. The results of this study are obtained from social phenomena which are understood by the phenomenology paradigm from reality understood in consciousness. In addition, during activities in Salatiga, there were also some social realities about tolerance and competition in the field of education. Finally, tolerance that has gone well does not mean without contestation. Contestation in this case is one of the social and cultural dynamics. Even to achieve social integration, sometimes conflict with good management is needed. This means that contestation or conflict does not always lead to division, but rather one of the paths to integration.

Keywords: *Contestation; Tolerance; Multiculturalism*

Abstrak

Wacana toleransi yang bersanding dengan pluralisme dan multikulturalisme bukan lagi hal yang baru dalam kajian akademik. Banyak kajian dan penelitian yang jika digeneralisasi menyimpulkan penghormatan dan penghargaan terhadap keberagaman etnis, agama, bahasa dan kultur yang lain. Bagi masyarakat Jawa yang cenderung homogen dalam etnisitas, tidak terlalu banyak muncul konflik yang berkepanjangan. Salah satu hasil kajiannya adalah bahwa Salatiga (Jawa Tengah)

* Corresponding author, email: alisofyan@iainsalatiga.ac.id

Citation: Ali, Mukti, M Ali Sofyan, and Rr. Wuri Arenggoasih. "Contestation Behind Tolerance : Between Competition and Tolerance in The Discourse of Multiculturalism in Salatiga." *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 20, no. 2 (2020): 166–180.

<https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v0i0.5835>

©Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry. All rights reserved

CONTESTATION BEHIND TOLERANCE: BETWEEN COMPETITION AND TOLERANCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN SALATIGA

adalah kota paling toleran kedua di Indonesia tahun 2018. Namun di balik penghargaan itu, terdapat kontestasi di bidang pendidikan dan kepercayaan. Tulisan ini akan melihat kembali toleransi di masyarakat Salatiga setelah penghargaan tersebut didapatkan. Selain itu juga dibahas tentang persaingan dalam akademik di IAIN Salatiga dan Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana (UKSW). Kedua lembaga pendidikan tersebut berlandaskan keagamaan, yang di dalamnya multikultur. Kemudian hal tersebut juga berdampak pada kontestasi kebijakan lembaga, fasilitas dan ekspansi teologi. Hasil kajian ini didapatkan dari fenomena sosial yang oleh paradigma fenomenologi dipahami dari realitas yang dimengerti dalam kesadaran. Selain itu, selama beraktivitas di Salatiga, didapatkan pula beberapa realitas sosial tentang toleransi dan kompetisi di bidang pendidikan. Akhirnya, toleransi yang sudah berjalan dengan baik juga bukan berarti tanpa kontestasi. Kontestasi dalam hal ini merupakan salah satu dinamika sosial dan budaya. Bahkan untuk mencapai intergasi sosial, kadang-kadang dibutuhkan konflik dengan manajemen yang baik. Artinya kontestasi atau konflik tidak selalu mengarah pada perpecahan, melainkan salah satu jalan menuju integrasi.

Kata kunci: Kontestasi; Toleransi; Multikulturalisme.

مستخلص

الحديث حول التسامح والتعددية والتعددية الثقافية ليس بمحدث جديد في الدراسة الأكاديمية. وجدنا كثيرا من الدراسات والبحوث التي كانت نتيجتها عامة تحترم وتقدر كيان اختلاف الأعراق والاديان واللغات والثقافات الأخرى. ولا تقع نزاعات كثيرة وطويلة الأمد من مجتمع جاوى الذى يكاد يتجانس عرقيا وقد دل على ذلك كيان مدينة سلاتيجا جاوى الوسطى ثانية المدن في التسامح باندونيسيا سنة ٢٠١٢. وبالرغم من حصولها على ذلك التقدير فإننا نرى فيها مسابقة ومنافسة في مجال الاعتقاد والتربية. هذا البحث يحاول على إعادة النظر والدراسة حول قضية التسامح في مجتمع سلاتيجا بعد الحصول على ذلك التقدير وحول المسابقة والمنافسة بين جامعة سلاتيجا الإسلامية الحكومية وجامعة ستيا وتشانا النصرانية. من المعلوم أن الجامعتين دينيتان ذاتا ثقافات متعددة وقد وقع من ذلك الكيان منافسات ومسابقات في قرارتهما الجامعية وفي إنشاء تسهيلاتهما وتوسعهما الاعتقادي. ونتيجة هذه الدراسة محسولة من الظواهر الاجتماعية التي يفهمها النموذج الظاهري من الوقائع المعروفة وعيا. وبجانب ذلك فإننا وجدنا من خلال المعاشية والمعاملة في سلاتيجا بعض الوقائع والظواهر الاجتماعية حول التسامح والمسابقات في مجال التربية. والكلمة الأخيرة من هذا البحث هي أن كيان التسامح الجيد لا يعنى عدم وجود المسابقة والمنافسة بين أهله والمنافسة فيه إنما هي من إحدى ديناميات اجتماعية وثقافية بل للحصول على اندماج اجتماعي تحتاج مسابقة منظمة تنظيما حسنا وأن المنافسة أو النزاع لا يعنى التفرق بل هو سبيل من سبيل الوحدة والاندماج.

الكلمات الرئيسية: المسابقة ؛ التسامح ؛ التعددية الثقافية

A. INTRODUCTION

In the last one to two months, there have been several horizontal conflicts. Rioting broke out in West Papua and Surabaya were some of the events that appeared in the public

sphere and forced state intervention to resolve them. The events in the two places are interrelated, with the cause beginning with Surabaya. Furthermore, the Papuan in Merauke intend to respond to the incident in Surabaya, with a greater escalation.

From Detik.com on 15-17 August 2019 news, Papuan student dormitories in Surabaya were guarded by the police. This is due to the issue of vandalism of the red and white flag, so as to avoid conflicts with the surrounding mass organizations, the police are on guard. Then, Papuan students are secured by the police for information.¹ After the demonstration began in Papua, a few days after the Surabaya incident, riots broke out in Wamena. This action burned and damaged public facilities. It also caused 30 deaths.²

The incident in Papua is the number of times. Thus, the problem of conflict and integration is not a new discourse, but also always gets serious attention. One factor in conflict and integration is multiculturalism. Multiculturalism in Indonesia is the basis of tolerance but the fact that the conflict lasts a long time cannot be eliminated. This means that people's tolerance in Indonesia has never escaped social conflict.

The relationship between the concepts of multiculturalism, pluralism and tolerance can be seen as a construction of thought that is implemented into social behavior. pluralism is defined as a pluralistic state of society (concerned with the social and political system). However, the meaning of multiculturalism cannot be equated with the concept of diversity in a plural society. Multiculturalism also reviews politics and democracy, human rights, justice and law enforcement, business and business opportunities, and other supporting ideologies.³ So, when this is achieved, tolerance can be applied. The concept of tolerance in the relationship between collectives is one measure in achieving associative development if without government intervention.⁴

These three concepts provide the understanding that tolerance can be realized if people understand the concepts of multiculturalism and pluralism. The condition of a pluralistic Indonesian society provides a unique multicultural concept. Pluralism of ethnics, languages and religions is very diverse, although in terms of numbers there are more

¹ "Ini Kronologi Ketegangan Di Asrama Mahasiswa Papua Versi Polisi," accessed October 19, 2019, <https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/d-4676206/ini-kronologi-ketegangan-di-asrama-mahasiswa-papua-versi-polisi>.

² "Rangkuman Fakta Di Wamena, Dalang Rusuh Hingga Dokter Minta Dievakuasi," accessed October 19, 2019, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4725494/rangkuman-fakta-di-wamena-dalang-rusuh-hingga-dokter-minta-dievakuasi>.

³ Parsudi Suparlan, "Menuju Masyarakat Indonesia Yang Multikultural," *Antropologi Indonesia* 0, no. 69 (2014): 98–105, <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v0i69.3448>.

⁴ Selo Soemardjan, *Pengantar Dalam Steriotip Etnik, Asimilasi, Integrasi Sosial* (Jakarta: Pustaka Grafika Kita, 1988), 5.

CONTESTATION BEHIND TOLERANCE: BETWEEN COMPETITION AND TOLERANCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN SALATIGA

dominant. Regarding tolerance, one that can be understood from plurality is respect for the majority to the minority, not rather.

The dominance of plurality can be seen in Javanese society. Most of the cultural dominance is found in Java such as ethnicity, religion and power. Geertz stated that Javanese society was divided into *santri*, *abangan*, and *priyayi*. The division is not only based on religion, but also the type of profession, geographical location and tradition. That means, Javanese society although culturally dominant compared to other communities, but internally Javanese are also plural.⁵

Javanese society is known as a polite, sincere, and full of empathy, so that it can create a tolerant condition. The tolerance of Javanese people that often arises is greeting each other, respecting differences in trust and mutual cooperation. Furthermore, the tolerance of the Javanese people produced Salatiga City as the second most tolerant city in 2018.⁶

In the SETARA Institute's research, one of the indicators is religious demography, gender issues and social inclusion. The indicator is related to the social actions of the Salatiga community. The pluralism in Salatiga has led to the religious heterogeneity of the population. In addition, there are some people who do interfaith marriages with a progressive agreement. In terms of social inclusion, people in Salatiga tend not to reject differences, innovations and new cultures. One thing that can be observed empirically is the closeness of the location of places of worship.

Identity seems to fuse into inclusion and acculturation also experiences restrictions. The most obvious boundary if it involves religious ideology. In addition, interesting phenomena also appear in educational contestation. The two large university in Salatiga are religious colleges that institutions namely the Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) and Satya Wacana Christian University (UKSW).

Besides showing tolerance, these two educational institutions also conduct academic competition. IAIN Salatiga is an educational institution under the Ministry of Religion. It is different from UKSW which is bureaucratic under the Ministry of Research and Higher Education. The difference starts from the main ministry, policy, academic, achievements to the practice of learning. Some of these differences in addition to supporting Salatiga as a

⁵ Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa*, 2nd ed. (Yogyakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2014).

⁶ Setara Institute, "Indeks Kota Toleran (IKT) Tahun 2018 SETARA Institute for Democracy and Peace," *Institute, S. (2018). Indeks Kota Toleran (IKT) Tahun 2018 SETARA Institute for Democracy and Peace. (Idi), 1–6. Retrieved from [https://Drive.Google.Com/File/d/1eNAwRb83SRP0DvbVX_bSp2fNiQHihccf/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1eNAwRb83SRP0DvbVX_bSp2fNiQHihccf/view)*, no. Idi (2018): 1–6.

tolerant city, also creates competition in the field of education. Salatiga which is famous for tolerance also creates contestation behind it. Discourse, studies and research results about the Salatiga people do not see this, so this paper, besides examining tolerance in Salatiga, will also see the contestation behind tolerance in Salatiga.

B. DISCUSSION

1. (Has) Tolerance in the Discourse of Multiculturalism?

The discourse of multiculturalism has been around for a long time. Even for Indonesian society multiculturalism is not just a discourse, but its emergence begins with social reality. The reality of diversity makes Indonesia known to the world as a country that respects differences. Many islands, beliefs, languages, ethnicities and traditions have been successfully integrated with Unity in Diversity since the proclamation of independence.

This view of multiculturalism can be seen from Furnivall, who says a multicultural society consists of two or more elements that live alone, without renewal in the political system. Not much different, Geertz defines a multicultural society that is divided into subsystems bound by primordial ties.⁷ This definition explains the discourse of *diversity* and *diversification* which tends to cause social conflict.

The multicultural concept of Suparlan, that leads to justice for human rights and democracy. As a discourse, multiculturalism is also an ideology that must be fought for social welfare.⁸ In understanding as an ideology, multiculturalism can be said to be effective when the power elite reaches the community to achieve justice and prosperity.

Multicultural communities still have opportunities to cause social conflict. Differences will tend towards disagreement, although there will also be homogeneity. This understanding starts from discourse and reality. When the discourse is transformed into an ideology, multiculturalism cannot stand alone, but a concept of justice is needed. With the concept of justice, the opportunities for conflict can be limited.

The study of multiculturalism and pluralism is often contextualized with religious understanding. The theorem of religion disallow Muslims to be enemies, clearly. One of the propositions in Islam that God creates human diversity so that we know each other not to contradict each other. That means, religious doctrine never teaches never teaches to hate one

⁷ Abu Amar Bustomi, "Prospektif Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Dalam Konstruksi Multikultural Masyarakat Indonesia," *Desember* 2, no. 1 (2016): 132–45.

⁸ Parsudi Suparlan. "Menuju Masyarakat Indonesia yang Multikultural." *Keynote Address* Simposium III Internasional Jurnal ANTROPOLOGI INDONESIA. (2002). He explains that to understand multiculturalism requires landsan concepts that are relevant to human existence. These concepts are democracy, justice and law, cultural values and ethos, human rights, community cultural rights, etc.

CONTESTATION BEHIND TOLERANCE: BETWEEN COMPETITION AND TOLERANCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN SALATIGA

another. Almost all religions want humans to cooperate with each other in the context of social relations.

Pluralism in religion often gets attention, especially for experts with religious backgrounds. Social relations are the keys and limits. One of the results of a study that cites the opinion of Mukti Ali, pluralism in social recognition is not a problem but becomes a clear boundary in theological terms. One of the parts in Muslim is to defend and respect religious freedom.⁹

Slightly different, the Komarudin Hidayat's concept has the view that theologically, religious plurality is an inevitable reality that stands parallel, so missionary zeal or preaching is considered irrelevant. In this view, the merger of social relations takes precedence.¹⁰ That means, plurality as a social science concept does not carry missionary zeal. Different from the concept of da'wah in understanding religion. Thus, pluralism is not an understanding of religion, if given a limit on social relations and the spirit of da'wah.

One area that can be used as a representation of multicultural and plural society in Indonesia, especially in Java, Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta is a miniature of Java. As a special region, Yogyakarta is historically the mother of Javanese culture. Besides multicultural also exist in Yogyakarta as an education city. Thus, there are many ethnicities, languages, religions, arts, traditions and other subcultures. Yogyakarta is a reference point for many new Javanese-Indonesian developments. In addition, it is also a determinant of extreme tendencies and ideal types which can explain the development of urban culture in Java.¹¹ Yogyakarta is the mother of Javanese culture and multicultural reality, so that many consider tolerance to run quite well. With the palace as a symbol of "authentic" Javanese that maintains morality, it is not enough to represent tolerance in Yogyakarta now. So that tolerance is considered not yet reached perfection.

The results of Ahnaf and Salim's research explained that 71 identity violence had occurred in Yogyakarta from 2000 to 2016. This type of violence led to LGBT issues, houses of worship and religious ideologies. From these targets, attacks on religious groups are the highest number of cases. The perpetrators are mostly community groups (laskar). The act of

⁹ Fatonah Dzakie, "Meluruskan Pemahaman Pluralisme Dan Pluralisme Agama Di Indonesia," *Al-AdYaN* IX, NO.1 (2014): 79–94.

¹⁰ Casram, "Membangun Sikap Toleransi Beragama Dalam Masyarakat Plural," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 1, no. 2 (2016): 187–98, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v1i2.588>.

¹¹ Niels Mulder, *Doing Java An Anthropological Detective Story* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2007), 254.

vigilantism is one of the socio-economic changes in the Yogyakarta community in terms of tolerance.¹²

In contrast to Yogyakarta, in Salatiga violence in the name of religion or involving groups is almost non-existent. The violence that occurs is mostly happening to women and children. In 2018, there were 5 cases handled by the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (DP3A) in Salatiga City, with 13 cases in the previous year. The contributing factors are family and economic factors. The most common form of violence is physical violence. DP3A makes prevention efforts by increasing family resilience and character education education.¹³ Both of these cases, although they cannot be concluded, at least give a little picture. Javanese subcultures in different regions have different types of social conflicts. The difference is not only due to the type of subject to the conflict, but also social change and heterogeneity of society. Yogya is more heterogeneous than Salatiga.

From the concepts of pluralism and multiculturalism that are associated with these events, then these actions cannot yet be fully implemented. The concept discourse of multiculturalism and ideology also becomes an ongoing discourse, because every concept by anyone is relative. In addition to the above case, especially in Java there is still a conflict. Even though it is not large, the contradictions involving groups such as banning lectures by unscrupulous community organizations and rejecting the construction of houses of worship.

Then, if referring to the question in this discussion have (people) been tolerant in the frame of multiculturalism, then there are several alternative answers that can be discussed. First, referring to the concept above tolerance is more likely to be in accordance with pluralism, not multiculturalism. Interpretation of the two concepts if understood as discourse is limited to conflict opportunities. But in social action, both lead to justice and equal rights in differences.

Second, referring to the actions of a small group in Indonesia has not yet reached an attitude of tolerance. Groups with a spirit of state ideology, religion and ethnicity have not shown that their actions are consistent with the ideology of the group. Forcing to achieve equality is an intolerant act, because identity is forced to be homogeneous. Third, tolerance that appears in the public, apparently still causes conflict in it. Tolerance cannot be a generalization, so the actions of a small group can damage the spirit of harmony in diversity.

¹² Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf and Hairus Salim, *Krisis Keistimewaan: Kekerasan Terhadap Minoritas Di Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta: CRCS Program Studi Agama dan Lintas Budaya, Sekolah Pascasarjana, UGM, 2017), 8–18.

¹³ “Tren Kekerasan Anak Di Salatiga Menurun Tahun Ini, Namun Satuti Enggan Berbangga - Tribun Jateng,” accessed October 19, 2019, <https://jateng.tribunnews.com/amp/2018/10/23/tren-kekerasan-anak-di-salatiga-menurun-tahun-ini-namun-satuti-enggan-berbangga>.

CONTESTATION BEHIND TOLERANCE: BETWEEN COMPETITION AND TOLERANCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN SALATIGA

Cases of ethnic conflict between Dayak vs. Madura, religious conflict in Ambon, and horizontal conflict in Papua are only a few that appear in the public represented by the media. So there is a possibility that conflicts that do not appear in the public number more.

2. (Re)-Reading Community Tolerance in Salatiga

Since the press release of SETARA Institute in 2018 was released, there has not been any significant conflict or conflict in Salatiga. The Salatiga people live side by side with many newcomers. Many migrants settled in Salatiga for reasons of education and employment. Nevertheless, social stability and integration are not disrupted. The presence of migrants who add diversity in Salatiga keeps the tolerance of Salatiga awake.

One that can be discussed is interfaith marriages. One family living in Salatiga has two beliefs, namely Islam and Christianity.¹⁴ His father works as a manager of a private hospital in Salatiga that is Muslim. His wife is focused on the domestic realm of Christianity. The first child, a 25-year-old boy, works in a private Muslim company. His younger sister who is still a student chose to embrace Christianity. At a glance it can be interpreted as the age of marriage more than 25 years and still survive today.

The first child chooses the religion of Islam not because of his father's request, but during his reflection and thinking by comparing the two religions of his parents, then choosing Islam. Since childhood, he was often invited by large families to go to mosques and churches. For him, mosques and churches are not absolute boundaries. When he began to distinguish that churches and mosques were different things, he began to ask anyone to think later. After going through that process, he chose Islam. Although until now the process of searching for faith is still carried out.

In family life, it can be said to be harmonious. When fasting in Ramadan, the Christian mother always prepares food for dawn and breaking fast. Similarly, during the Eid Mubarak, the mother prepares everything like a Muslim family. Food, clothing and food for guests is a routine every year. The habit of gathering to neighbors and extended families is also carried out as usual.

Likewise, on Christmas Day, all family members join in respect. At Christmas 2018, the first child was still working in Jakarta. Previously he did not get a holiday outside the

¹⁴ This explanation of a family of different religions is obtained from a friend's story since 2017. Not everything about his family is discussed, due to privacy reasons. Some of the privacy issues such as name, home address and reasons for choosing religion. The thing that will be explained is related to a harmonious life in a different religious family.

provisions because it is still a training period. He chose to return to Salatiga by plane. Usually going home using the train, but because of the big day train tickets are up. Finally, he took the decision to resign altogether, because he did not get permission other than national holidays. Habit at Christmas in the family is not enough if only 1-2 days. Although there are other reasons for resigning, one reason is to honor Christmas with his mother and younger sibling.

The condition of harmony has also been a study that concludes communication in families of different religions is very important, in achieving social order. Differences → because marriages of different religions will be born everytime, these differences require a solution. A space of difference will always exist when similarities also exist.¹⁵

In addition to these descriptions, interfaith marriages with similar conditions are also widely available in Salatiga. For them, religion is not a barrier to uniting two families. The desire to live together does not impose belief. This can be in line with a harmonious life. The Salatiga people are used to the location of mosques and churches opposite. The implication is if the mosque or church is renovating the surrounding community to help without looking at religious backgrounds. The following data is the diversity of places of worship in Salatiga 2016.

Table1. The Number of Places of Worship in Each District In 2016 Masjid Surau, Pura & Vihara Church

District	Mosque	Surau	Church	Pura & Vihara
Argomulyo	60	68	30	2
Tingkir	47	80	21	2
Sidomukti	56	48	27	2
Sidorejo	57	107	16	1
Amount	220	303	94	7

Source: Kantor Kementerian Agama Kota Salatiga

The number of places of worship shows the diversity of religions in Salatiga. Although there are more mosques than churches, the comparison is still greater than in other big cities in Central Java, such as Surakarta and Semarang.¹⁶ Places of worship which are representations of religion are not a serious problem for people in Salatiga.

If we again refer to Selo Soemardjan with the concept of inter-collectivity relations, associative action is needed without state intervention to lead to tolerance. Salatiga with political bargaining power is not a big city, the intervention of the central government is not

¹⁵ Mukti Ali, *HARMONICAL COMMUNICATION Sebuah Pesan Damai Dalam Perbedaan*, ed. Kastolani (Salatiga, 2019).

¹⁶ Based on 2015 Central Java Province BPS data, on the number of places of worship in Surakarta, namely the number of 185 churches and 666 mosques (comparison approaching 3:10). The number of places of worship in the city of Semarang is 231 churches and 1161 mosques (comparison approaches 2:10). This comparison figure is smaller compared to conditions in Salatiga with the comparison of churches and mosques approaching 4:10

CONTESTATION BEHIND TOLERANCE: BETWEEN COMPETITION AND TOLERANCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN SALATIGA

big. So that the associative relationship conceptualized by Selo Soemardjan is relatively easy to implement, with the reality that the amount of violence in the name of ethnicity, religion and politics is almost non-existent.

Associative relations are the result of social interaction which also allows dissociation to occur. Ethnic and religious differences are often a source of social conflict. Mukti Ali believes that one of the paths to the associative relationship is dialogue. Dialogue is useful for reducing and minimizing conflict between religions. Such conflicts still sometimes occur because dialogues are elitist and do not involve those affected by the conflict. One proof is the conflict between religions only occurs in ordinary people.¹⁷

Social differentiation for the Salatiga community is not a major problem as a trigger for conflict or violence. But on the contrary, this condition is made by the community as a supporting factor for social integration. Religion and ethnicity that usually trigger conflict are used as a basis for cooperation. Interfaith marriages, holidays and the construction of places of worship are examples of social differentiation being the cause of integration. So, both before and after the city's most tolerant award, the Salatiga people generally still look tolerant.

3. Between Academic Contestation or Theological Expansion?

The condition of tolerant Salatiga people is a form of social reality that can be seen in routine. Mobilization by indigenous people and migrants did not experience significant problems. When compared with other regions such as banning lectures, refusing to build places of worship, and violence on certain ethnic groups, Salatiga can still be said to almost never occur. But the dynamics of society always bring conditions that are always changing. The condition of the tolerant Salatiga people is not without contestation.

Contestation is competition in getting something competitive. The competition is more directed to something that is expected in order to get an award. In this sense, if contestation is interpreted as conflict, then the result tends not to create tension. Lewis A. Coser argues "Conflict through group action, on the other hand, is likely to result in a 'deviancy' which may be the prelude of new patterns and reward systems apt to reduce the sources of frustration". Conflict means creating new systems and patterns, and generating rewards to eliminate conflicts.¹⁸

¹⁷ Ali, *HARMONICAL COMMUNICATION Sebuah Pesan Damai Dalam Perbedaan*.

¹⁸ Lewis A. Coser, "Social Conflict and the Theory of Social Change," *The British Journal of Sociology*, 1957, <https://doi.org/10.2307/586859>.

Contestation can occur in several ways such as politics, economics, culture and education. Political contestation usually causes polarization within a certain period which then results in the form of governance formation. Educational contestation can lead to academic competition and generate rewards and recognition. The presence of two religious tertiary institutions in Salatiga, namely the Institut Agama Islam (IAIN Salatiga) and Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana (UKSW), is a form of contestation in education.

IAIN Salatiga and UKSW are two higher education institutions that create new social realities in Salatiga. Both institutions do various things to provide the best academic services. So, for the community and the academic community can finally assess objectively. Here are a few things that are in the IAIN Salatiga and UKSW.

Table 2. Comparison of Academic, Administration and Facilities of IAIN Salatiga and UKSW

Aspect	IAIN Salatiga	UKSW
Ranking (Webometrics)	205	30
Number of Majors	25	58
Age	Sejak 1970	Sejak 1959
Infrastructure	10 learning and general support facilities	20 learning and general support facilities
Tuition fee	0 - 3.000.000	3.810.000 – 10.642.000
Students and Lecturers of Different Religion	Not have	Have

The data is indeed not able to represent all that is in the two institutions of higher education. However, at least there are some things that can be used as a comparison in the assessment. Historically, Salatiga's IAIN is younger, so there are not many facilities that it has. So that it is still in the development process with an interesting master plan. From the perspective of tuition fees, SWCU has a higher standard because it is institutionally not owned by the state. Then the internal policy at IAIN Salatiga does not allow a non-Muslim person to become a student, lecturer or educational staff.

The comparison does not indicate endless tension. Contestation in getting rewards is very much needed in progressive changes. Continuing Coser's concept that conflict is not merely about enmity. He argues that differences are normal events that can strengthen social structures. This means that differences in religious ideology in the two institutions can actually be optimized to strengthen social structure.

In addition to the formal and visible data above, the differences between the Salatiga and SWCU IAINs in religious ideology sometimes lead to discourse in which the impact can also be felt by the community. In 2018 the IAIN Salatiga choir sang in the church. The news caused a lot of debate in cyberspace. The choir sang during the Easter event at the Javanese Christian Church

CONTESTATION BEHIND TOLERANCE: BETWEEN COMPETITION AND TOLERANCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN SALATIGA

(GKJ) Sidomukti, Salatiga.¹⁹ The public gave many comments on the incident. Pros and cons adorned social media at the time. Similarly, there are internal parties who agree and not.

Perspectives on looking at debates are not always negative. Debate or dialogue is one method of achieving tolerance. Sumartana and Sunardi consider dialogue to be carried out on condition of openness, critical attitude and willingness to listen, in that way can build awareness and conflict resolution.²⁰ In this case, the debate created can finally unite some people who might have been in conflict. In addition, with the emergence of debate or dialogue to create and increase the power of thought to produce new discourse.

Referring to Foucault's perspective, that the production of discourse or knowledge is carried out by power. The production process involves a contradictory form of the subject position by internalizing social norms.²¹ The debate because of the appearance of the choir, can bring up knowledge or discourse through contradictions between subjects. The power of each subject can be freely raised without political power and capital.

The choir is part of the IAIN Salatiga which caused debate. Another debate arose when the theological expansion strategy was applied. Expansion of theology will bring clear boundaries. Initially, UKSW carried the image that Salatiga City was a Christian City, even though it contained Muslims. The effort to Christianize at UKSW was once carried out, thus creating a polemic. Christianization was also carried out off campus with issues beginning with the Salib Putih. The Cultivation Right (HGU) of Salib Putih which has been completed has become a struggle to become an Islamic Center which has been fought for since 2004.²² Christianization was also carried out to marginalized people with an economic approach. When they feel helped in their needs, eventually the establishment of religion changes.

Actually the expansion of theology was also carried out by IAIN Salatiga. The da'wah strategy is carried out on and off campus. However, the method used is not economic factors, but lectures, dialogues, personal approaches and the use of social media. The academic activities of IAIN Salatiga and UKSW brought respective religious messages. The habit of

¹⁹ "Mahasiswa Nyanyi Di Gereja Saat Paskah, IAIN Salatiga Tutup Mulut," accessed October 19, 2019, <https://www.solopos.com/mahasiswa-nyanyi-di-gereja-saat-paskah-iain-salatiga-tutup-mulut-907836>.

²⁰ Muryana, "Kebebasan Ekspresi Keagamaan Di Jogja City of Tolerance (Studi Kasus Toleransi Dan Intoleransi Di Balik Plank 'Terima Kost Putra Muslim/Putri Muslimah')" III, no. 1 (2017): 1–20.

²¹ Madan Sarup, *An Introductory Guide to Post-Structuralism Dan Postmodernism* (Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1993), 113.

²² Stefanie Theresia Permata and Sampoerno Siahainenia, Royke, "Umat Islam Dalam Memaknai Isu Kristenisasi Di Salatiga (Suatu Analisis Persepsi Berdasarkan Perspektif Teori Coordinated Management of Meaning)" 4, no. 2 (2015): 287–318.

praying before learning or during a seminar is one example. The habit is done as an opening in the routine. This means that each campus in terms of theology has their respective habits.

The academic world is not a theological space. Two different things have limits where academics demand a certain process of achievement. Whereas theological space is a relationship with God that can be socialized through social space. The developing discourse does not have clear boundaries when it is contextualized with pluralism. Alwi Shihab sets limits on pluralism. When interacting with other religions, a pluralist is required to open himself but still maintain a commitment to the religion he professes.²³ Likewise, when the commitment is maintained, it does not mean that a pluralist must shut down.

The presence of IAIN Salatiga and UKSW brought new social space with the entry of various communities from outside Salatiga. Newcomers in Salatiga with the aim of education automatically bring different cultures (including religion) that are sometimes not easily accepted by the Salatiga community. The mission of religion will be conveyed well with a personal and cultural approach method. This means that the line between academic mission and religion is not equalized. Both institutions can carry out academic contestation outside the theological expansion. Society will judge the quality of educational institutions not from the quantity of religious recruitment. The quality of educational institutions can be observed with achievement, service, scientific work, research, community service and knowledge production. When the boundary between the academic world and religious space can be understood, tolerance between the two institutions can be well realized.

C. CONCLUSION

Salatiga City as the second most tolerant city in Indonesia can create harmony. Tolerance can be realized with the concepts of multiculturalism and pluralism. The concept directs thoughts and actions to a pluralistic and respectful life. Multiculturalism and pluralism in Salatiga are manifested in terms of religious and cultural differences. Ethnic and cultural diversity does not cause significant conflict or violence.

This tolerance can also be seen from the two tertiary educational institutions in Salatiga namely IAIN Salatiga and UKSW. Academic relations are created through collaboration and various activities. But academic contestation runs with the aim of getting the best quality. Input and output of the academic community is one of the factors causing the quality of the institution. The contestation is sometimes still intervened by the religious space.

²³ Ali, *HARMONICAL COMMUNICATION Sebuah Pesan Damai Dalam Perbedaan*.

CONTESTATION BEHIND TOLERANCE: BETWEEN COMPETITION AND TOLERANCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN SALATIGA

Theological expansion is a social space with personal and cultural methods. Academic contestation and theological expansion have clear boundaries namely limiting the space of God and humanity. God is the belief of every human being to God, whereas humanity is a thought and behavior between humans that is related to the fulfillment of basic rights.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahnaf, Mohammad Iqbal, and Hairus Salim. *Krisis Keistimewaan: Kekerasan Terhadap Minoritas Di Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta: CRCS Program Studi Agama dan Lintas Budaya, Sekolah Pascasarjana, UGM, 2017.
- Ali, Mukti. *HARMONICAL COMMUNICATION Sebuah Pesan Damai Dalam Perbedaan*. Edited by Kastolani. Salatiga, 2019.
- Amar Bustomi, Abu. "Prospektif Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Dalam Konstruksi Multikultural Masyarakat Indonesia." *Desember 2*, no. 1 (2016): 132–45.
- Casram. "Membangun Sikap Toleransi Beragama Dalam Masyarakat Plural." *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 1, no. 2 (2016): 187–98. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v1i2.588>.
- Coser, Lewis A. "Social Conflict and the Theory of Social Change." *The British Journal of Sociology*, 1957. <https://doi.org/10.2307/586859>.
- Dzakie, Fatonah. "Meluruskan Pemahaman Pluralisme Dan Pluralisme Agama Di Indonesia." *Al-AdYaN IX*, NO.1 (2014): 79–94.
- Geertz, Clifford. *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa*. 2nd ed. Yogyakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2014.
- "Ini Kronologi Ketegangan Di Asrama Mahasiswa Papua Versi Polisi." Accessed October 19, 2019. <https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/d-4676206/ini-kronologi-ketegangan-di-asrama-mahasiswa-papua-versi-polisi>.
- Institute, Setara. "Indeks Kota Toleran (IKT) Tahun 2018 SETARA Institute for Democracy and Peace." *Institute, S. (2018). Indeks Kota Toleran (IKT) Tahun 2018 SETARA Institute for Democracy and Peace. (Idi), 1–6. Retrieved from https://drive.google.com/file/d/1eNAwRb83SRP0DvbVX_bSp2fNiQHihccf/view*, no. Idi (2018): 1–6.
- "Mahasiswa Nyanyi Di Gereja Saat Paskah, IAIN Salatiga Tutup Mulut." Accessed October 19, 2019. <https://www.solopos.com/mahasiswa-nyanyi-di-gereja-saat-paskah-iain-salatiga-tutup-mulut-907836>.
- Mulder, Niels. *Doing Java An Anthropological Detective Story*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2007.
- Muryana. "Kebebasan Ekspresi Keagamaan Di Jogja City of Tolerance (Studi Kasus Toleransi Dan Intoleransi Di Balik Plank 'Terima Kost Putra Muslim/Putri Muslimah')"
III, no. 1 (2017): 1–20.
- Permata, Stefanie Theresia, and Sampoerno Siahainenia, Royke. "Umat Islam Dalam Memaknai Isu Kristenisasi Di Salatiga (Suatu Analisis Persepsi Berdasarkan Perspektif Teori Coordinated Management of Meaning)" 4, no. 2 (2015): 287–318.
- "Rangkuman Fakta Di Wamena, Dalang Rusuh Hingga Dokter Minta Dievakuasi." Accessed October 19, 2019. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4725494/rangkuman-fakta-di-wamena-dalang-rusuh-hingga-dokter-minta-dievakuasi>.
- Sarup, Madan. *An Introductory Guide to Post-Structuralism Dan Postmodernism*. Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1993.
- Soemardjan, Selo. *Pengantar Dalam Steriotip Etnik, Asimilasi, Integrasi Sosial*. Jakarta: Pustaka Grafika Kita, 1988.

- Suparlan, Parsudi. "Menuju Masyarakat Indonesia Yang Multikultural." *Antropologi Indonesia* 0, no. 69 (2014): 98–105. <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v0i69.3448>.
- "Tren Kekerasan Anak Di Salatiga Menurun Tahun Ini, Namun Satuti Enggan Berbangga - Tribun Jateng." Accessed October 19, 2019. <https://jateng.tribunnews.com/amp/2018/10/23/tren-kekerasan-anak-di-salatiga-menurun-tahun-ini-namun-satuti-enggan-berbangga>.