THE PROBLEM OF MULTICULTURALISM
Radicalism Mainstreaming through Religious Preaching in Surakarta

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Abstract: This study aims at identifying the material scope of religious preaching and sermon; and describing the multicultural aspects conveyed in the religious preaching and sermon. Using content and discourse analysis, this study found that: the diversity of the society got little attention by different religious preachers; instead of multicultural values, the religious preaches and sermons contained some anti-multicultural values, such as self-righteousness, prejudices and stereotypes of other groups; the subject of religious preaches and sermons implied the intensity of the purification movement; and the development of Islam implied the tendency of religious radicalism as reflected in the hostility towards the local culture, foreign people, and non-Moslems.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Islam, Religious preaching, Radicalism, Salafist.

Introduction

Surakarta or Solo is often assumed to have a great cultural values (adiluhung) manifested in everyday life of the people, so that people in Surakarta—“Wong Solo” or “Piyayi Sala”—is said as one who has exquisite manner, soft-spoken speech, great aristocratic accomplishment and doesn't like violence. Assumption about strong of Javanese culture among Surakarta society bears stereotype about diversity pattern of people in Surakarta, which is assumed to be identical with religious practices, either Islam or non-Islam, in moderate, or even tends to mixed or colored by Javanese culture.

Up to the end of 1970s, Solonese, including the Moslems, preferred to identify themselves as a Javanese than as the follower of certain religion, especially because Moslems in Surakarta didn’t want to
be said as the fundamentalist by the government. Though intensity of Christianization movement worried Moslems, Surakarta had never had history of religious fanaticism and radicalism both leading to interfaith and intrafaith conflict.

However, since the beginning of 1980s, Surakarta, as a number of other towns in Indonesia, also showed existence of new enthusiasm of public in Islamic religiosity. Phenomenon of jilbab (headscarf) among Moslem women, for example, started popping out among Moslem students, especially because they were influenced by activists Masjid Salman ITB (Technology Institute of Bandung). By the end of decade 1980s, the visibility of jilbab was no longer limited to students, but also among Moslem women broadly. Wearing jilbab as part of Moslem women identity became increasingly uppermost especially since the appearance of ICMI (Association of Indonesian Moslem Intellectuals) which was considered by some of Moslems to be one of “elite” Islamic organization. Besides, in Surakarta there were also some other activities of which can be considered to be enthusiasm on religiosity such like mosque adolescent organizations (remaja masjid), various TPA (Kinder Garden for Quranic Teaching), religious teaching in mosques and majelis taklim (religious teaching circle), religious teaching in offices, and phenomenon of the appearance of what so-called the Janlab.

At certain phase, religious enthusiasm led to shape militant bearing “exclusive” group, with their own religious pattern and certain religious behavior. They were MTA (Majelis Tafsir Al-Qur’an), DDII (Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia), LDII (Lembaga Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia), majelis taklim in Gumuk, majelis taklim in Penumping, beside majelis taklim managed by Muhammadiyah and NU. Exclusive impression was seen because they tended to be each other suspicious. Lack of communications and cooperation between religious groups in Surakarta were seen, for example, in the event of salat, either Iedul Fitri or Iedul Adha, in Manahan square, which is a strategic place for events entangling big mass. When the field was occupied by jamaah MTA from various selenium areas of Surakarta, some of publics around the square did not want to joint praying with jamaah MTA, but making their jamaah in countrified around field. One of their reason why they did not want to join with jamaah MTA is that they assumed jamaah MTA had been manipulated by political mission of the New Order government.
Islamic Radicalism in Surakarta started to arise and then was covered by international media since the falling of Soeharto from presidency by the end of 20th century. Most Moslems in Surakarta were encouraged to straightforward state that they are Moslems and ready to die for Islam. Various Islamic mass-organization also formed satgas (paramilitary) such as Hizbullah, Jundullah, Barisan Bismillah, KOKAM (Komando Kesiapsiagaan Angkatan Muda Muhammadiyah), and Laskar Jihad (Ahlul al-Sunnah wa al-Jama’ah), which is not just for holding their interests, but explicitly express themselves as the advocate of the united Islam. At certain time, when they feel that their interests is disturbed, some mass organization coalesced, such as in Front Pembela Islam Surakarta (FPIS) or Aliansi Umat Islam Surakarta (AUIS), without paying attention to their respectively interest.

There were some actions done by some mass organizations, such as a protest to Priest Wilson, action demanded the owner of discotiques and night clubs to close their business which then popular with term “sweeping”, action opposed the United States military invasion to Iraq, and action claimed the application of Islamic Syariah in legislation system in Indonesia.

Collision almost happened between members of Islamic mass organizations together with Moslem students merged into Front Pemuda Islam Surakarta (FPIS) and a number of non-Moslem community which was supported by paramilitary PDI Perjuangan when Islamic mass organizations protested Priest Wilson in the interactive dialogue with theme “Efforts in Overcoming Conflict of Interfaith Community” broadcasted by Radio PTPN Rasitania Surakarta, 3 March 2000. This interactive Dialogue guided by Jeffrey Ohio, one of the broadcasters, presented the guest speaker Priest Ahmad Wilson from Surakarta. Protest to Priest Ahmad Wilson was initiated by the statement in dialogue that before becoming Moslem, Prophet Muhammad was a Christian. Priest Wilson then was informed against to the police by a number of Moslem figures and the members of DPRD (House of Representatives) from PPP, PKB, PK, and PAN, so that the radio stopped broadcasting a few days because some of the electronic equipments confiscated by the police as evidence. There was an interesting thing in this case that among the Priest Wilson’s lawyer was personnel from Biro Konsulasi dan Bantuan Hukum (BKBH) of Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta. Protest to Pendeta Wilson was merely an event arising from interfaith conflict potency especially
since most Moslems in Surakarta worried with the aggressive movement of Christianization in Surakarta for the last two decades.

In Ramadhan 2000, Aliansi Unmat Islam Surakarta (AUIS) which was the alliance from around 25 political parties paramilitary, lasykar and mass organizations such as Zulfikar, Al-Islah, Salamah, Teratai Emas, Honggo Derno, Jundullah, Hizbullah, Hamas, Hawariyyun, Kopashad, Forkami, FPIS, KOKAM, FKAM, and MTA, gave ultimatum to the discotiques and night clubs entrepreneurs to close their business during Ramadhan. Besides, they also did sweeping to some entertainment places which kept on unwilling to do the ultimatum and almost caused the mass conflict between the member of mass organizations and the entrepreneur supporters, which partly among others were consisted of PDIP’s paramilitary and people who was considered as abangan (nominal Moslems). Similar collision was also unavoidable between the entrepreneur supporters with the santri (students) Pondok Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki, who were considered as one of breeding center of Moslem militants.

On Sunday 29 October 2001, at least 150 masses out of four Islamic mass organizations, namely Brigade Hizbullah, Korp Hizbullah Divisi Sunan Bonang, Lasykar Jundullah, and KOKAM did “sweeping” in Hotel of Novotel, Agas, Quality, Sahid Raya, and Lor In, to look for Americans in Surakarta. Such action of sweeping was done by Islamic mass organizations as a form of their protest to the US Government for doing military invasion to Iraq.

The climax action exposing Islamic radicalism in Surakarta was increasingly seen after the Bali bombing in 12 October 2001. Surakarta was considered to be the breeding ground of radical Islam having network with Jamaah Islamiyah and international terrorist, including with KMMM (Kelompok Militer Muslim Malaysia). The perpetrators of Bali bombing and of various other places bombing were assumed to have interrelationship with Ustaz Abubakar Ba'asyir who becomes the leader of Pondok Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki and at the same time as Imam Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), known as Islamic group of hardliners. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, with Abdullah Sungkar, were the founders of Pondok Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki, who were devoted to Pondok Ngruki and having commitment to Darul Islam in 1950s, tried to build Negara Islam Indonesia (Islamic State of Indonesia) by developing Jamaah Islamiyah and built Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia in Yogyakarta in 2000. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir was assumed to have relation
to a number of Bali bombers, like Hambali or Ridwan Isamuddin from Cianjur Jawa Barat; Fathurraman al-Gozi from Madiun, former santri Pondok Ngruki; Abu Jibril or Fikiruddin Muqti or Mohammad Iqbal bin Abdurrahman from Lombok island; and Agus Dwikarna caught in Philippine for having explosive materials.

The above elaboration indicates that Surakarta is the representation of plural and multicultural reality which have not been managed well. In one sides, there is moderate Islam, but in the other side there is also extremist Islam or radical (hardliners). Even Surakarta has not had history of social conflict intra groups in Islam, except fight between Islamic political party supporters, various religious patterns has become the big potential conflict, especially when the militancy and radicalization process misused for purpose of political power. Such either interfaith and also intra religious diversity is not able to create space for dialogue and works together.

This study is aimed at finding the possibilities on the appearance of socialization of certain values which was continuously and had contribution to the happening of potential radicalization process which was potential to result in the social fragmentation. One of hypothesis which can be submitted was that congregation (jamaah pengajian) in various mosques and majelis taklim in Surakarta is more normative, emphasizing at individuals’ piety, and unable to address issues related to living together in pluralism and multiculturalism, so that unable to give tolerance space to all kinds of difference, either ethnic, religion or subculture.

Discourse about Multiculturalism

The existence of society with various individuals coming from different religion ethnic, language, and race are not the typical phenomenon of West. History has noted that the phenomenon is the reality which happened in the past. Robert W. Hefner1 for example, affirms that social phenomenon with religious diversity, ethnic, language, and race in a state or empire have ever happened in state Mughal India, Empire of Usmani in Middle East, Empire of West African, and even Empire Majapahit in Java. So, it can be told that multiculturalism is no longer unique fact at this modern century.

It must be confessed that as a discourse, this multiculturalism term has just been introduced at this modern century. Historically, the term first of all is introduced in the West that was in America and West European countries, in 1970s. Such discourse arises as the response to treatment of discrimination by group of majority to group of minority happened since 1950s. In this year, in America and West European countries there was recognized only existence of one culture, which is the Christian culture of white skin. The other groups in the society were grouped as minority with all rights which are limited. As a result, there happened various distortions to claim equal right for minority community and a dark skin and color people which started emerging by the end of 1950s. The climax was in 1960s that was the prohibition of discriminative treatment by whites to a dark and color people in societies. At the same time there happened struggle of civil rights through various activities of confirmation action, which assisted them pertained as a depressed minority group to be equal to the group of dominant white in various positions in so many work area and business.\(^2\)

Concept of multiculturalism was introduced in America and West European countries by the intellectuals, in order to increase human dignity and their humanity. Multiculturalism contains the recognition of difference in equality, either individually or culturally. Here, certain community was seen as a civilized community of which pattern is like a mosaic. In mosaic there are many cultures from micro culture which formed larger community (macro culture).\(^3\)

In contemporary discourse, multiculturalism is initially comprehended as “term containing race, gender, ethnic, class, and alternative of life style”. This definition has just limited to diversity only, and has not touched at other dimension required the diversity of individuals. In this case, Donna M. Gollnick’s concept\(^4\) is more


\(^4\) Gollnick, *ibid.*, hlm. 22-23.
adequate. According to him, multiculturalism was perceived as “situation where someone has knowledge and develops skill which are needed to enjoy and communicate effectively: (1) to others coming from different cultures, and (2) in so many situation that entangles group of people with different cultural background.” It is said as more adequate, as Gollnick’s concept has given possible space to live together between different individuals of ethnic background, culture, and religion.

Dealing with such opportunity for living together, Maman S. Mahayana’s concept in his work *Sastra Indonesia dalam Perspektif Multikulturalisme* (Indonesian Art in Multiculturalism Perspective) is clearer. According to him, in social life, the presence of multiculturalism holds two things: (1) that any group of culture can socially be realized, represented, and can live together; and (2) that racism can be reduced through building the positive image of ethnic diversity and through recognition of other cultures. Mahayana’s concept does not only guarantee the possibility to coexist in diversity, but also open to mutual-respect in ethnic, language, culture, and religion diversity. Meanwhile Mahayana’s concept doesn’t mention explicitly about mutual-respect between the different individual and group of peoples.

Nino Ricci proposed more comprehensive concept of multiculturalism. He states that there are three important elements in multiculturalism: (1) diversity, (2) equality, and (3) respect. In line with Ricci, Lawrence A Blum mentions that in multiculturalism there are

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7 Blum, Lawrence A. “Antirasisme, Multikulturalisme, dan Komunitas antar Ras: Tiga Nilai yang Bersifat Mendidik bagi Sebuah Masyarakat Multikultural”, dalam Larry May, *Etika Terapan I Sebuah Pendekatan*
three values namely: (1) realizing one’s cultural identity, studying and assessing other cultural heritage; (2) respecting and wishful to comprehend and gets wise to (and from) other cultures besides their own culture; and (3) assessing and enjoying with difference of cultures in itself; that is viewing existence of different culture groups in society as positive kindness to be recognised and maintained.

It has been mentioned previously that multiculturalism fact have ever happened in some states and monarchical during past, including in Islamic world. Besides Hefner, lately emerges some Islamic scholars studying about multiculturalism in Islam. Sachedina\(^8\) maps all important concepts of political Islam which can improve the relation of humanities, both intra nation and inter-nations. The purpose is to find the normative elements of Moslem tradition and its application to different culture which is relevant with the pluralistic world in 21st century. According to him, socio-political dimension of doctrine and practice in Islamic history can be mapped into three groups, that is: (1) socio-political dimension in the form of the unity of humankind, (2) socio-political dimension in the form of competition in good works, and (3) socio-political dimension in the form of forgiveness toward humankind.

Meanwhile, Amir Hussain\(^9\) proposes that firstly Islam was presented and grew at pluralistic and polytheistic society. Either in Mecca or also in Medina, initially Islam was religious minority among majorities of Christian, Jew, and Zoroastrian. The difference was that in Mecca, Islam occupied position of the oppressed minority and marginal, while in Medina, though occupied position of minority,
Islam can live peacefully with non-Moslem community. As open missionary religion, Islam can grow and has number of followers that continuously increases for its openness and Prophet Muhammad SAW always implements interfaith dialogue.

On the other side, Bruce B. Lawrence\(^\text{10}\) notes that Islamic civilization formed by the cultural diversity, such as Arab, Persian, Turkish, Bengal, Punjab, Sindhi, Maghribi (North African), West African, Middle Asia, and South-East Asia. Islamic civilization involving those cultures gives space and the same attention to Moslem and non-Moslem people, though Moslems plays dominant position. Even, in certain countries, Islamic sharia is not the state constitution. Andalusia and India are two important examples of state of which peoples are majority Moslems but are not managed by sharia. Lawrence also places al-Biruni as an important figure of multiculturalism that studying Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Sanskrit languages and cultures. He wrote 125 books using Persian and Arabic language.

By combining concepts of multiculturalism proposed by Gollnick, Mahayana, Ricci, and Blum in one sides, and multiculturalism fact in Islam described by Sachedina, Hussain, and Lawrence on the other side, it can be affirmed that in multiculturalism, there consists universal values of humanity. The universal values of humanity in multiculturalism covered: (1) unity of humankind, (2) competition in good works, (3) forgiveness toward humankind, (4) dialogue or co-existence and pro-existence, (5) living together, (6) equality or egalitarianism, (7) mutual-understanding, (8) mutual-respect, (9) mutual-trust, (10) positive thinking, (11) tolerance, (12) reconciliation, (13) conflict resolution, (14) peace, (15) non-violence, and (16) social justice.

Islam considers that universal values of humanity in the multiculturalism derived from divine revelation, whereas contemporary

multiculturalism in Western views such values as coming from logics and philosophy of humanity.

**Hegemony of Islam and Javanese Culture**

Religious preaching (*pengajian*) is basically a socialization process and internalization of values giving contribution in constructing the religious pattern of society. Therefore, identification on tendency of this religious preaching can assist to explain a number of phenomena considered as radicalization of society.

However, Moslems dynamics in Surakarta is not an independent case. Up to certain level, this dynamics has close relation to the national dynamics of Indonesia, especially to the dialectic between Islam and State, such as movement proposing *sharia* as positive law, appearance of various Islamic political parties, horizontal conflict among Moslem and non-Moslem community, the arrest to Ustaz Abu Bakar Ba’asyir, and the bombings in many places in this country; beside the dynamics of global society, such as relation between Islam and Western countries, the aggression on 11 September, and the American military invasion to Iraq.

There are ten organizations (*jamaah*) of religious preaching becoming the focus of this study, those are: (1) Al-Riyadhah, (2) Al-Mufassir, (3) Al-Jami’, (4) Al-Ishlah, (5) Al-Moslem, (6) Al-Kabir, (7) Al-Maghrrib, (8), Al-Ashalah, (9) Al-Sunnah, and (10) Al-Qaim. *Jamaah* of those religious preaching spread over in various locations in Surakarta, and at certain level they represent various Islamic institutions and religious patterns. Those ten organizations or *jamaah* are divided into four groups: *jamaah* with small member (less than 40 members) consisting adult and elder people; *jamaah* having bigger participants (hundreds) and partly among others are the young and; *jamaah* which is relatively homogeneous and mono-cultural as the result of their Javanese ethnicity and their participation to religious preaching of which speakers have the same religious pattern, that is "Islam *salafi*"; and *jamaah* coming from various background in ethnic, level of socio-economy, socio-religious organization, and also political party, so that relatively they are more liquid and multicultural.

From the above *jamaah*, there are four *jamaah* (Al-Ishlah, Al-Jami, Al-Mufassir, Al-Ashalah) who have the same mission that is teaching Islam based on the purity of *tauhid* (Oneness). They formed certain network for the local religious preaching, which is not structural but coordinative, especially through figures that are at the same time
become the guest speakers in some other preaching. At least there are four factors bringing them into one. Firstly, the four jamaah have similar religious pattern as in Al-Ishlah called with “Islam Salafi”. Ustaz Mu'allim as one of important figure in the network of jamaah always avoids labeling which show categorization. He calls it with term “Dien al-Islam” or “Al-Islam only”. According to this figure, Islam having certain character or categorization is not the true Islam.

Second, the four jamaah have political orientation on “Ukhuwwah Islamiyyah” (Islamic brotherhood) that aims at unifying Moslems in terms of politic and power. Ideologically, the four jamaah close relation to Al-Moslem under leader Kyai Ahmad before the independence of Republic of Indonesia that is inspired by movement of pan-Islamism in Saudi Arabia in the early of 20th century.

Third, the important figures in those four jamaah have the same learning tradition, namely tradition of tafsir (qur’anic interpretation). Most reference delivered by the preachers in the four jamaah are books of tafsir (such as Tafsir al-Qurtuby, tafsir Ibnu Katsir, tafsir Ibnu Abbas, tafsir al-Manar, tafsir Al-Maraghi, and Tafsir Sayyid Qutub) and hadiths, especially kuttub al-sittah (Shahih Bukhary, Shahih Muslim, Sunan Abu Dawud, Sunan Tirmizy, Sunan Nasa’i, and Sunan Ibnu Majah), beside hadiths on fiqh, such as Bulugh al-Maram, Nailul Awtar, and Ibanah al-Ahkam.

Fourth, the four jamaah have the same mission of purifying the Islamic teachings. The main target of those jamaah is Moslem who is considered to have been contaminated by elements coming from outside Islam.

The above explanation shows that the purity of Islamic teaching is the main problem constituting the institutional mission of most jamaah. This emphasis cannot be separated from broader context of dialectic between Islam and Javanese culture. Moslem Community lies in central point of trade-offs between Islam and Javanese culture. Therefore, practices containing symbols of Islamic hegemony and of Javanese culture, such as rites de passage, which is still becoming the essential part of people’s life, become the important target of missionary for most of jamaah.

The growth of jamaah in Al-Mufassir, Al-Ishlah, Al-Jami’, Al-Ashlah, and Al-Maghrib in certain level, is illustrating the manifestation of “divorce” or at least of the gap between Islam and Javanese culture. Therefore, some traditions in Javanese culture, including some
practices carried out by Kasunan in mosque Al-Kabir, become the main topics in these jamaah.

One of factor contributing to the negative perception and even negative attitude of Islam towards Javanese culture is that some of Javanese art is applied as communist propaganda and adopted by Church and Christian institutions as media for missionary, so that various jamaah places Javanese culture as threatening the Islamic teaching, as communism and Christianity do.

Only jamaah Al-Kabir received dialogue between Islam and Javanese culture. Today, Al-Kabir is managed together by The Ministry of Religious affairs, MUI, and Pangageng Parentah (Sultan of) Karaton Kasunan. Besides the official members and guest speakers in Al-Kabir are more predominated by people traditionalists. Domination of religious pattern of the official member and guest speakers are based on certain considerations because Kasunan itself, which historically is the owner of mosque Al-Kabir, awares the existence of other Islamic institutions that against to their tradition, so that Kasunan till now shows the preference on the traditionalists than other Islamic organizations.

This implies the potential “contestation of power” in jamaah Al-Kabir, which sooner or later would “erupt” either crowdedly or silently. Al-Kabir is strategic place and becomes central point of hegemony among modernist Islam, traditional Islam, Karaton, and government. Dominating Al-Kabir can become an important symbol of supremacy one to another.

**Religious Radicalization**

Religious preaching themes in jamaah basically can be categorized into five: (1) individual piousness, (2) social devoutness, (3) values of internal multiculturalism, (4) values of external multiculturalism, and (5) stigma to others and terrorism.

Themes in various jamaah emphasize more on individual and social piousness, especially among Moslems community members. Topics on social interaction with others, especially non-Moslem, get less attention, so that preaching materials dealing with multiculturalism values are relatively little in number compared to the piousness, which is related to akhlq, fiqh al-ibadah or taubid.

There are 16 values of multiculturalism in Islam can be found in various jamaah and in various portion. The values appear in religious preaching are: (1) unity of humankind, (2) competition in good works,
(3) forgiveness toward humankind, (4) living together (5) equality, (6) mutual-understanding, (7) mutual-respect, (8) mutual-trust, (9) positive thinking, (10) tolerance, (11) reconciliation, (12) peace, (13) non-violence, (14) social justice, meanwhile multicultural values which do not appear in religious preaching are (1) dialogue or co-existence and pro-existence, (2) conflict resolution.

The most frequent values of multiculturalism are mutual-respect and mutual-understanding. The numerous multicultural values can be found in jamaah Al-Riyadhah, covering unity of humankind, competition in good work, living together, mutual-understanding, mutual-respect, mutual-trust, positive thinking, peace, non-violence, and social justice. Equality, mutual understanding, mutual-respect, tolerance, peace, and non-violence can be found in jamaah Al-Mufassir. Forgiveness toward humankind, mutual-understanding, mutual-respect, tolerance, reconciliation, peace, and non-violence can be found in jamaah Al-Kabir. Living together, equality, mutual-understanding, mutual-respect, sincerity, positive thinking, and tolerance are in jamaah Al-Maghrib. Unity of humankind, competition in good work, and living together are found in jamaah Al-Sunnah. Living together, mutual-respect, and tolerance are the characters of jamaah Al-Ashalah. In jamaah Al-Jami' there are mutual-understanding and mutual-respect. Inside jamaah Al-Moslem there are peace and non-violence values.

Some of values conveyed to various jamaah, especially Al-Riyadhah, Al-Maghrib, and Al-Sunnah are the multicultural values involving non-Moslem community (inter-religious relation); which is taught in jamaah Al-Mufassir and Al-Jami' are the multicultural values of intra-Moslem community; while multicultural values given in jamaah Al-Kabir covers the two—internal and external multiculturalism—either Moslem and non-Moslem community, or intra-Moslem community itself.

Beside multicultural values, preaching in various jamaah also conveys anti-multiculturalism, such as self-righteousness (only Islam is correct or only their mazhab/group is the correct one), prejudice and stereotype (negative thinking of others, especially the Jew and Christian, and other group of Moslem, stigma and judgment (labeling that the other is wrong and negative), exclusivism (suggestion not to contact to others), in-group arrogance (that their own group is more superior than other), defense toward violence (sympathy expression to violence which has been done by the right people), and defense to the
disobedience (sympathy expression to the action of state transgression which has been done by right people).

Anti-multicultural values found in jamaah Al-Jami' covers truth claim, prejudice, stigma, and judgment, negative thinking, defense toward violence, and defense to the disobedience. Values found in jamaah Al-Kabir cover self-righteousness, prejudice, stigma, exclusivism, and defense toward violence. Values found in jamaah Al-Mufassir cover truth claim, prejudice, stigma, and judgment, and in-group arrogance. Values found in jamaah Al-Ishlah cover self-righteousness, prejudice and stereotype, stigma, and negative thinking.

There is no any multicultural values in Al-Qaim and Al-Ishlah. Meanwhile, dealing with Moslem-non-Moslem relation, these two jamaah are very different. Al-Qaim doesn't convey multicultural values because it doesn’t discuss the relation between Moslem and non-Moslem; while Al-Ishlah discusses relationship between Moslem-non-Moslem but they concerned on anti-multicultura values.

Self-righteousness can be found in some big jamaah, they are Al-Riyadhah, Al-Mufassir, Al-Jami', Al-Ishlah, Al-Kabir, and Al-Ashalalah. Prejudice and stereotype also emerged in part of the big jamaah except Al-Riyadhah, Al-Moslem, Al-Maghrib, and Al-Qa'im. While stigma and judgment existed in jamaah Al-Mufassir, Al-Jami', Al-Kabir, and Al-Ashalalah; exclusivism appeared in jamaah Al-Ishlah and Al-Kabir; negative thinking can be found as well in jamaah Al-Jami' and Al-Ashalalah; in-group arrogance were in Al-Mufassir and Al-Maghrib; defense over violence can be found in Al-Jami' and Al-Kabir; and defense to the disobedience was found in Al-Jami'.

After MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia) prohibited secularism, pluralism and liberalism, most all religious preaching condemn those who carried such ideologies as ‘syphilis’. Liberal Islam Network (JIL) was slandered everywhere. This fatwa gave bad impact to Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah (JIMM).

Mapping the content of religious preaching implies the dynamics of social relationship in society, either intra-Moslem communities or between Moslem and non-Moslem communities showing continuity and change. Firstly, in most Moslem community, there is a process of religious radicalisation through self-righteousness which gives less appreciation to diversity and practice of living together. This claim emerges especially in the discussion about Islam in relation to other religion teaching and certain values assumed to derive from non-Islam,
especially Javanese culture. This claim tends to lead dialectic between Islam and Javanese culture into disharmony. Positive attitude towards Javanese culture can be found only in jamaah Al-Kabir. Javanese Culture doesn't become the value reference of society, but it becomes target of criticism and to be blamed for impurity of Islamic teaching. This process could explained the limited forms of cooperation between religious institution of Islam and Javanese culture.

Second, some Moslems experiences radicalization process towards Islam Salafi considered as the ideal and pure Islamic teaching. This radicalization is pioneered by the new jamaah (after the year 1970), such as Al-Jami', Al-Mufassir, and Al-Ashalah. This radicalization implies continued development phase of purification movement since the beginning of 20th century, along with the birth of Muhammadiyah which is then followed by other organizations. The appearance of new organizations is not solely an imitation process, but is reaction to Muhammadiyah that was regarded by them as less assertive in repsonding a number of certain contemporary issues.

Third, there is tendency to identify Islam as political power which can be mobilized for certain purposes. This political power can't be viewed as in term of political party or power, but as bargaining power or pressure group, as represented by Front Pembela Islam Surakarta (FPIS) demanding city government to close the entertainment places during Ramadhan, ‘sweeping’ the Americans in a number of hotels in Surakarta as protest to American invasion to Iraq, and action of sealing Radio PTPN as protest to Priest Wilson assumed affronts Islam.

Thereby, for some Moslems in Surakarta, orientation towards Islam Salafi is a need for identity affirmation. Identity affirmation is not merely required in relation to Moslem and non-Moslem, or Islam and Javanese culture, but also in relation to global power threatening Islam.

**Stricture of Multiculturalism Space**

Religious orientation of jamaah can be distinguished into general and specific orientation. General orientation is characteristics becoming tendency of all organizations or jamaah: orients at teaching and practising Islamic doctrine in everyday life, either as individually or collectively; most preaching materials are general (without gradation or specification) and; orients at missioning amar ma'ruf naby munkar to Moslem and not non-Moslem; and it doesn’t have certain mission
Radicalism Mainstreaming through Religious Preaching

target, such as specific preaching for children, adolescent, the muallaf, group of preachers, or other special target audience.

Specific orientation of jamaah can be classified into four categories: (1) to facilitate religious learning, to give opportunity to Moslems to learn Islam by providing source of learning such as kyai, ustadh, and holy book, and place (jamaah Al-Riyadhah, Al-Qaim, Al-Sunnah, and Al-Moslem); (2) to establish harmony between Islamic teachings and Javanese culture, which is only met in jamaah Al-Kabir; (3) to purify Islamic teaching from non-Islam elements, either coming from pre-Islam beliefs (Hinduis, Buddhism, animism and dynamism), and also practice of traditions in Javanese culture (jamaah Al-mufassir, Al-jami', Al-ishlah, and Al-maghrib); and (4) to straighten the understanding of Ahlu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah and Javanese culture (Al-jamaah Al-Ashalah), by returning to the genuine Islamic teaching. This is due to an idea that Ahlu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah at certain level has deviated from Islamic teaching as practiced by Rasulullah and his friends (Salaf al-Salih). One of factor contributing this deviation is that Javanese culture rooting at religions before Islam (Hinduism, Buddhism, animism and dynamism). This jamaah also claims that Islam is “Al-Islam”, as taught in this jamaah. Other forms of Islam, with additional terms (such as liberal Islam, secular Islam, progressive Islam, moderate Islam, and others) are not the true Islam.

The above explanation indicates that dialectic between Islam and Javanese culture keeps continuing and leading to more explicit “conflict”. In the early of 21st century, when Muhammadiyah formed, dialectic of Islam and Javanese culture starts taking part in “conflict”, especially when Muhammadiyah expressed “fights” against takbayul, bid'ah and khurafat (heresy, infidelity, and superstition). This step then is followed by some other organizations established afterward, such as Al-Ishlah and Al-Mufassir, and metamorphosis of Al-Jami' after 1970s led by ustaz Mu'allim.

Javanese Culture, historically has extraordinary flexibility in naturalization of other elements, including from Islam, now seems fatigue when confronting to modernist Islam orienting to purification. In one side, modernist Islam becomes stronger, especially when supported by various schools and majlis taklim carried out by modernist Islam organizations. On the other side, Karaton is not able to maintain harmony of Islam and Javanese culture, whereas institutions of
Javanese culture started losing their devotee along with modernization emphasizing at values of rationality and pragmatism.  

*Pesantren* (boarding school) Al-Muslim, which historically has closed relation to Karaton Kasunanan and education institute of *Manba’ al-Ulum*, causing them to have high appreciation at Javanese culture, underwent such metamorphosis to be an ideological organization, but then it was divided. One of their faction now becomes Al-Muslim education institute.  

Though people still use the Javanese in *majlis taklim* in villagages, including Al-Qaim and Al-Muslim, the preaching material doesn't relate to Javanese culture. It means that the usage of Javanese in some preaching doesn't relate to harmony between Islam and Javanese culture, but relate to the background of the preachers and members of *jamaah* (usually the old).  

Meanwhile, orientation of purifying Islamic teaching grows fast and becomes the important issue in various *jamaah*, having great number of members, such as Al-Mufassir, Al-Jami’, and Al-Ashalah, or *jamaah* who become part of national organization, such as Al-Ishlah and Al-Maghrib. Orientation of this purification crystallizes more and becomes more radical, that is Salafi Islam as reflected in Al-Ashalah.

Popularity of purification oriented *jamaah* shows uniformity of Islam among Moslems, which in the future enables to reach harmony, so that differences among them, often blocks in unifying umma, relatively become fewer. Besides, the agenda to straighten Javanese culture in purification oriented *jamaah* Al-Ashalah is a confirmation of their position *vis a vis* Javanese culture and its institution.

Those phenomena imply that when the difference between Moslems is lesser and the gap between Islamic society and Javanese culture is greater, at that moment multiculturalism space becomes narrower. When there is no certain mechanism which is enabling dialogue between communities, the narrowness of multiculturalism will enlarge potency of conflict between groups, either Moslem and non-Moslem, or between modernist and traditionalist Moslem.

**Conclusion**

Social diversity, either ethnic, culture, or religion, obtain less attention from the preachers in various *jamaah*. Religious preaching emphasizes more on moral, *ibadah*, and *aqidah* as response to
phenomena of moral decline, such as corruption, robbery, and various immoral acts, so that various jamaah aim to raise morality (piousness) by practicing Islamic teaching consequently as priority.

Concerning to few multicultural values, there are religious preaching's which can be categorized as anti-multiculturalism, such as self-righteousness, prejudice and stereotype about other group of society, in the context of relation with non-Moslem and Western countries, especially America and Australia. Non-Moslem is often considered as unbeliever (Kafir), Musyrik (polytheist), Jew, and Christian.

Materials of religious preaching imply that there is an increase on intensity of purification movement of Islamic teaching. This movement experiences higher level of intensity at the end of 21st century which then crystallize by popularizing “Salaf al-Salih”. There is also a process of “salafi mainstreaming” through various religious preaching—of four jamaah—and spreading their preachers to any other jamaah. In this way, ideology of Salafi develops to the other jamaah. Along with the increasing of the intensity, religious preaching also implies resistance to Javanese culture, assumed to have big role in “contaminating” the purity of Islam.

Finally, the development of Islam in Indonesia shows tendency of radicalization indicated by hostility and hatred speeches to certain groups assumed as the threat to Islam, that is: (1) local culture (considered as source of takhayul, heresy, and superstition), (2) foreign nation (assumed to be identical to West, especially America and Australia, which become the source of secularism, pluralism, and liberalism), and (3) member of non-Moslem (assumed to be identical to the Jew and Christian).]

Bibliography

Books and Articles


