Journal of Islamic Civilization

Al-qur`an dan Relasi Umat Beragama; Prinsip Dasar Harmoni Antar Umat Beragama Perspektif Al-qur'an
Ahmad Dzulfikar, M. Afwan Romdloni

Societal Security and Human Development: An Indonesian-Islam Perspective
Yusli Effendi

Prosperity Through Sexuality: A study of Outdoor Sexual intercourse as a Ritual in Kemukus Mountain Sragen Central Java
Agus Wahyudi

Perilaku Pemilih Menjelang Pemilu 2019
Agus Machfud Fauzi

The Worldview Of Social Harmony Bulding In The Pluralisme A Phenomenology Study in Balun Village, Turi District, Lamongan Regency
Elvi Widyawati

The Voting Behavior of Muslim Comunities in the 2014 Legislative Election in Kapas, Bojonegoro
Retno Ayu Safitri

Al-qur`an dan Relasi Umat Beragama; Prinsip Dasar Harmoni Antar Umat Beragama Perspektif Al-qur'an

Ahmad Dzulfikar[1], **M. Afwan Romdloni**[2]

[1]Institut Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu Al Qur'an, Jakarta
fikar.books@gmail.com

[2]Universitas Nahdlatul Ulama Surabaya
m.afwanromdloni@unusa.ac.id

Keywords:	Abstract:
Al-Qur'an, relations, religious people, harmony, history.	The Qur'an and the relations of religious people have basic principles that we must hold and develop. Related to the interpretation of the Qur'an related to how the Qur'an responds to religious relations, this paper contains historical evidence of how the Qur'an responds to the relations of religious people. With the method of historical research, the time series is important to see how the Qur'an responds to these relations. In addition, they also put forward attitudes that gave rise, according to the Qur'anic perspective, in building religious relations. From the explanation of the writing, it can be concluded in the history of the relations of religious people, the Qur'an sets out a very large side of conversation. However, that does not mean the Qur'an silences every tyranny and betrayal. The Qur'an opposes suburban with a call for universal values: justice, equality, brotherhood and dialogue. These values that are issued are fostered and developed in order to foster a more harmonious relationship between religious people.

Kata kunci:	Abstrak:
Al-Qur'an, relasi, umat beragama, harmonis, sejarah.	Al-Qur`an dan relasi umat Beragama memiliki prinsip dasar yang harus kita pegang dan kita kembangkan. Berangkat dari perbedaan penafsiran Al-Qur'an terkait bagaimana Al-Qur'an menyikapi relasi umat beragama, maka tulisan ini menyajikan bukti-bukti historis bagaimana Al-Qur'an menyikapi relasi umat beragama. Dengan metode penelitian sejarah, maka runtutan waktu menjadi penting untuk melihat bagaimana Al-Qur'an menyikapi relasi tersebut. Selain itu, secara tematik diketengahkan pula sikap-sikap yang bagaimanakah, menurut perspektif Al-Qur'an, dalam membangun relasi umat beragama. Dari paparan tulisan dapat disimpulkan dalam sejarah relasi umat beragama, Al-Qur'an mengedapankan sisi toleransi yang sangat besar. Akan tetapi, itu bukan berarti Al-Qur'an mendiamkan setiap kezaliman dan pengkhianatan. Al-Qur'an justru subur dengan seruan terhadap nilai-nilai universal: keadilan, kesetaraan, persaudaraan dan dialog. Nilai-nilai iniah yang seharusnya dipupuk dan dikembangkan dalam rangka membina relasi umat beragama yang lebih harmonis.

1. Pendahuluan

Pada beberapa tahun terakhir banyak sekali diskriminisasi yang melibatkan antar umat beragama, diantaranya kasus Rohinya di Myanmar, radikalisme dan terorisme, dan yang paling baru terkait penembakan membabi buta di Selandia Baru. Hal inilah harus kita rumuskan bagaimana umat beragma bisa hidup dengan nyaman dan tentram tanpa ada rasa

dendam dalam diri. Nilai kerukunan umat beragama ini harus terus ditegakkan dan dikembangkan yang memberikan kemaslahatan bersama.

Dalam pespektif Al Qur'an agama Islam datang sebagai rahmat. Bahkan, rahmat itu dinyatakan untuk seluruh alam. Al-Qur`an menegaskan akan hal itu. Allah Swt. berfirman:

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلا رَحْمَةً لِلْعَالَمِينَ (١٠٧)

"Dan tiadalah Kami mengutus kamu, melainkan untuk (menjadi) rahmat bagi semesta alam." (QS. Al-Anbiya [21]: 107)

Menurut kitab Majma' Al-Lughah Al 'Arabiyyah (2011:247), kata "*rahmatan*" secara umum berarti nikmat dan kebaikan. Bahkan, khusus bagi orang yang beriman, rahmat berarti ampunan. Makna tersebut tertuang dalam firman Allah Swt.:

إِذْ أَوَى الْفِتْيَةُ إِلَى الْكَهْفِ فَقَالُوا رَبَّنَا آتِنَا مِنْ لَدُنْكَ رَحْمَةً وَهَيِّئْ لَنَا مِنْ أَمْرِنَا رَشَدًا (10)

"(ingatlah) tatkala para pemuda itu mencari tempat berlindung ke dalam gua, lalu mereka berdoa: "Wahai Tuhan kami, berikanlah rahmat kepada kami dari sisi-Mu dan sempurnakanlah bagi Kami petunjuk yang lurus dalam urusan kami (ini)." (QS. Al-Kahfi [18]: 10)

Yang dipersoalkan adalah siapakah yang dimaksud sebagai "*lil 'alamin*" dalam ayat tersebut?. Imam Al-Qurthubi (1964:311), ketika menafsiri ayat ini, salah satu pendapat yang beliau kutip adalah penafsiran Ibnu Zaid, bahwa "*lil 'alamin*" hanyalah umat Islam. Ibnu Zaid, menyatakan, pemaknaan ayat tersebut ditunjukkan oleh firman Allah Swt., *"Katakanlah: "Sesungguhnya yang diwahyukan kepadaku adalah: "Bahwasanya Tuhanmu adalah Tuhan yang Esa. Maka hendaklah kamu berserah diri (kepada-Nya)"* (QS. Al-Anbiya [21]: 108). Maksudnya, hendaklah kalian tunduk dan mengikuti seruan tauhid. Lalu, *"Jika mereka berpaling, maka katakanlah: "Aku telah menyampaikan kepada kamu sekalian (ajaran) yang sama (antara kita)..."* (QS. Al-Anbiya [21]: 108). Maksudnya, jika kalian berpaling dari seruan Islam maka aku beritahukan kepada kalian bahwa antara kami dan kalian adalah perang yang tak ada perdamaian di dalamnya. Ibnu Zaid menyimpulkan "perang yang tiada perdamaian ini" berdasarkan ayat, *"Dan jika kamu khawatir akan (terjadinya) pengkhianatan dari suatu golongan, maka kembalikanlah perjanjian itu kepada mereka dengan cara yang jujur."* (QS. Al-Anfal [8]: 58).

Intinya, berdasarkan penafsiran Ibnu Zaid, seperti yang disebutkan Al-Qurthubi, rahmat itu hanya untuk kaum Muslimin, sementara bagi kaum kafir hanya ada dua pilihan: masuk Islam atau perang. Namun, penafsiran tersebut mendapatkan bantahan dari Ibnu Katsir (1415 H:35). Menurutnya, Allah Swt. mengutus Nabi Muhammad Saw. sebagai rahmat untuk seluruh manusia. Yang beriman akan bahagia dunia-akhirat, sebaliknya yang menentang akan rugi dunia-akhirat. Kemudian, Ibnu Katsir memberikan argumen penafsirannya dengan menyebut Surah Ibrahim ayat 28 dan 29, dan Surah Fushshilat ayat 44.

Bukan hanya itu, Ibnu Katsir juga melengkapinya dengan argumen hadits yang diriwayatkan oleh Imam Muslim dari jalur Abu Hurairah r.a. Pernah seorang sahabat memohon kepada Rasulullah Saw., "Wahai Rasulullah, mendoalah (kemalangan) kepada kaum musyrik!" Maka, Rasulullah Saw. bersabda, *"Sungguh, aku ini bukan diutus sebagai tukang laknat, tetapi aku diutus sebagai rahmat."* Dalam hadits lain, Rasulullah Saw. juga bersabda, *"Sungguh, aku ini adalah rahmat yang dianugerahkan (untuk kalian semua)."*

Dari sini, kiranya perlu sudut pandang baru dalam memahami teks-teks keagaaman. Yaitu, hendaknya teks-teks tersebut dibawa menuju harmonisasi masyarakat dengan catatan

selama teks-teks keagamaan itu berada dalam lingkup ijtihadiyah. Sebab, bukan hanya dalam suatu masyarakat yang sangat prular dan majemuk, bahkan dalam internal suatu masyarakat, atau katakanlah dalam internal tubuh umat Islam dengan ragam sudut pandang keagamannya, harmonisasi tetap harus ditegakkan.

2. Metodologi

Penulis sadar betul bahwa yang akan dipaparkan nanti tak ada hal yang baru. Akan tetapi, penulis juga sadar, bahwa di tengah maraknya pandangan atau pendapat yang mengesampingkan harmonisasi antarumat beragama, maka kiranya perlu dikaji lagi bagaimanakah pandangan Islam terkait harmonisasi antarumat beragama. Karena itu, dalam tulisan akan diupayakan pengetengahan tentang bagaimanakah Islam memandang harmonisasi antarumat beragama. Dan, untuk kepentingan itu pula, yang disampaikan pada tulisan ini adalah studi tentang Al-Qur`an berikut tafsirnya. Sebab, Al-Qur`an adalah sumber utama bagi umat Islam.

Dalam pada itu, jika menyebut Al-Qur`an dan tafsirnya, pasti di situ ada hadits yang menafsirkan. Jika tidak demikian maka Al-Qur`an justru akan ditafsirkan secara salah. Untuk itu pula, digunakanlah ilmu tafsir dan usul fikih untuk menganalisisnya.

Namun, yang tak kalah pentingnya adalah menelusuri sejarah Islam itu sendiri. Harapannya, dari penelusuran dan rekronstruksi terhadap sejarah Islam, akan dicapai suatu perspektif yang komprehensif tentang ajaran Islam yang sesungguhnya, dan secara khusus relasi harmoni antarumat beragama.

Bermodalkan 3 pendekatan tersebut, yaitu: ilmu tafsir, usul fikih, dan sejarah, maka penulis akan menyajikan gambaran tentang prinsip dasar harmonisasi antar umat beraga dalam Al Qur'an secara kualitatif-deskrptif dengan format sebagai berikut. *Pertama*, terma "harmonis" dan kaitannya dalam hubungan umat beragama. *Kedua*, kilasan sejarah hubungan antarumat beragama dalam perspektif Al-Qur`an. *Ketiga*, konsep kerukunan umat beragama dan hubungan harmonis antarumat beragama dalam persepektif Al-Qur'an.

3. Pembahasan
3.1 Terma Harmoni

Dalam *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI 2011:156), "harmoni" berarti *selaras atau serasi*. Sedangkan "sosial" berarti *berkenaan dengan masyarakat, mengenai masyarakat, atau suka memperhatikan kepentingan umum*. Menurut Enda M.C sosial adalah cara tentang bagaimana individu saling berhubungan sosial secara baik dan saling menghargai satu sama lain (Amal Taufiq 2011:27). Harmoni sosial adalah kondisi dimana individu hidup sejalan dan serasi dengan tujuan masyarakatnya. Harmoni sosial juga terjadi dalam masyarakat yang ditandai dengan solidaritas (Wahyu Nur Mulya 2011).

Dalam pada itu, dalam *KBBI,* da pula kata yang semakna dengan haramonis, yaitu "rukun". Dalam skup tema ini, rukun berarti mendamaikan menjadikan bersatu hati. Kemudian, kata "kerukunan", dengan awalan *ke* dan akhiran *an*, berarti perihal hidup rukun, kesepakatan dan perasaan rukun (bersatu hati).

Kata "kerukunan" inilah disandingkan oleh Mukti Ali (1975:47) dengan kata "agama". Beliau menyatakan: "Kerukunan umat beragama adalah keadaan hubungan sesama umat

beragama yang dilandasi toleransi, saling pengertian, saling menghormati, menghargai kesetaraan dalam pengalaman ajaran agamanya dan kerjasama dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat, berbangsa dan bernegara di dalam Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia berdasarkan Pancasila dan Undang-undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945. Oleh karena itu, kerukunan hidup antarumat beragama merupakan prakondisi yang harus diciptakan bagi pembangunan di Indonesia".

Hal yang senada juga dinyatakan dari tokoh non-Muslim. Pendeta Weinata Sairin memberikan komentar sebagai berikut: "Kerukunan antarumat beragama di Indonesia, merupakan satu-satunya pilihan. Tidak ada pilihan lain, kecuali harus terus mengusahakannya dan mengembangkannya. Sebagai bangsa, maka kita bertekad mempertahankan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia yang berdasarkan Pancasila dan UUD 1945. Kita juga telah bertekad untuk terus membangun masyarakat, bangsa dan negara kita, agar menjadi bangsa yang maju dan modern tanpa kehilangan kepribadian kita. Dalam konteks itu, agama-agama mempunyai tempat dan peranan yang vital dan menentukan dalam kehidupan kita bermasyarakat berbangsa dan bernegara" (Nazmudin 2017:23).

Dalam rangka pembinaan dan pemeliharaan kerukunan hidup umat beragama, sejak beberapa tahun yang lalu Departemen Agama mengembangkan pendekatan tiga kerukunan (Trilogi Kerukunan), yaitu: Kerukunan Intern Umat Beragama, Kerukunan Antarumat Beragama dan Kerukunan Antarumat Beragama dengan Pemerintah. Kerukunan antara umat beragama dengan pemerintah sangat diperlukan bagi terciptanya stabilitas nasional dalam rangka pembangunan bangsa.

Kerukunan ini harus didukung oleh kerukunan antarumat beragama dan kerukunan intern umat beragama. Kerukunan yang dimaksud bukan sekedar terciptanya keadaan dimana tidak ada pertentangan internal umat beragama, pertentangan antarumat beragama atau antar umat beragama dengan pemerintah. Kerukunan yang dikehendaki adalah suatu kondisi terciptanya hubungan yang harmonis dan kerjasama yang nyata dengan tetap menghargai adanya perbedaan antarumat beragama dan kebebasan untuk menjalankan agama yang diyakininya. Juga, tanpa menggangu kebebasan penganut agama lain. Jadi, kerukunan yang kita cita-citakan bukanlah sekedar "rukun-rukunan" melainkan suatu kerukunan yang benar-benar otentik dan dinamis (Usman Suparman 2007:58). Maka, Nazmudin (2017:25) menyampaikan sejak tahun 1971 itulah, dialog antaragama menjadi program resmi pemerintah Indonesia, dan sudah beberapa kali diadakan di sejumlah kota di Indonesia.

Dari paparan tersebut, maka dapat diambil kesimpulan bahwa makna "kerukunan umat beragama" lebih luas cakupannya daripada harmonisasi umat beragama. Sebab, kerukunan yang dimaksud bukanlah "rukun-rukunan" atau "asal jangan konflik". Akan tetapi, yang dimaksud di sini adalah kerukunan yang terwujudkan dalam harmoni hubungan umat beragama. Yaitu, kerukunan yang terjalin secara nyata dengan tetap menghormati keyakinan masing-masing, bersikap toleran, dan bekerja sama dalam mencapai tujuan yang dicita-citakan oleh masyarakat secara luas.

Dalam *Sejarah Ushul Fiqih*, Ali Jum'ah mejelaskan, *maqashid syari'ah* ada lima: menjaga agama, menjaga jiwa, menjaga akal, menjaga keturunan dan menjaga harta. Masing-masing dari tujuan itu memiliki 3 level (tingkatan); darurat atau mendesak (*dharuriyyat*), butuh (*hajiyyat*) dan pelengkap (*tahsiniyyat*). Lalu, pada masing-masing level akan terisi

penuh, dari yang sifatnya mendasar (*ashalah*) sampai dengan yang bersifat penyempurna (*takmil*), oleh *wujudi* (tindakan) atau *'adami* (tidak melakukan tindakan).

Dari sisi *wujudi* (adanya perbuatan/tindakan), misalnya, memakan makanan (bagi orang yang kelaparan) ketika nyawa sudah hampir melayang terbilang *dharuri* (mendesak) untuk menyelamatkan nyawa. Hal itu disebabkan, manusia akan mati jika ia tidak makan. Selanjutnya, jika seseorang tidak menemukan makanan halal, bahkan sekadar untuk menjaga nyawa agar tidak lepas dari badan, maka ia diperbolehkan memakan yang haram sekadar untuk menyambung nyawa. Dengan kata lain, yang dimakan itu hanya sebatas agar nyawa tidak lepas dari badan. Sementara, dari sisi *'adami* (meninggalkan perbuatan), maka dapat dicontohkan bahwa menjaga jiwa menjadi suatu kewajiban dengan tidak melakukan bunuh diri. Hal itu semata sebagai bentuk *dharuri* (keharusan) terhadap keberlangsungan jiwa.

Level kedua yang dibicarakan oleh *ushuli* terkait memelihara jiwa adalah level *hajiyat* (kebutuhan). Manusia membutuhkan sandang dan papan walaupun manusia tidak akan mati dengan segera jikalau ia tidur di jalanan. Itu tidak lantas berarti bahwa manusia mutlak tak bisa mati. Tidur di jalanan mendatangkan resiko-resiko yang membahayakan, seperti: rentan terkena penyakit, tertimpa kecelakaan atau yang lainnya. Tentu, hal yang demikian itu lama-kelamaan riskan menyebabkan kematiannya. Hal yang seperti itu perlu untuk dihindari alias dijaga dalam rangka menghilangkan *masyaqqah* (kesulitan). Dengan adanya rumah, meski itu dalam bentuknya yang paling sederhana, maka rumah itu akan menjadi tempat privasi yang dapat menutupi raga dari ketelanjangan serta rahasia lainnya. Dengan demikian, maka tercapailah perlindungan terhadap jiwa dan terpenuhilah kebutuhan primernya.

Yang ketiga adalah level pelengkap (*tahsiniyat*). Contohnya, manusia membutuhkan istirahat dan rekreasi. Betul kebutuhan yang bersifat pelengkap ini tidak sampai pada *dharuri* (mendesak) yang ketiadaanya tidak akan mengancam jiwa, bahkan ketiadaannya tidak lantas mendatangkan kesusahan atau memberatkan (*masyaqqah*), tetapi keberadaannya menjadikan manusia lebih aman dan nyaman. Demikian pula, hal yang mengakibatkan kurang aman dan nyaman juga termasuk dalam kategori level *tahsiniyat* ini. Misalnya, keberadaan mobil pribadi yang dapat membuat seseorang nyaman lantaran tidak berdesakan dalam transportasi umum. Sebaliknya, ketiadaan mobil pribadi akan mengakibatkan kurang nyaman karena harus berdesakan dengan orang-orang (Ali Jum'ah 2017:188).

Jika *maqashid al-khamsah* itulah yang menjadi tujuan semua agama maka tak ada lagi yang perlu dipermasalahkan. Dengan kata lain, relasi yang dibangun umat Islam dengan umat agama lain semata-mata ditujukan untuk merealisasikan *maqashid al-khamsah* tadi, entah itu relasi dengan sesama umat Islam, dengan umat non-Islam, atau bahkan dengan pemerintah.

3.2 Sejarah Antar Umat Beragama dalam Persepektif Al-Qur`an

Dalam *Muqaddimah Ibnu Khaldun* (tt:151) dijelaskan bahwa sikap fanatisme akan menimbulkan ikatan emosional yang kuat dan sekaligus membuat orang-orang yang tergabung dalam ikatan tersebut saling menuntut dan memberi. Selain itu, sifat manusia sebagai makhluk sosial juga secara otomatis menuntut adanya seorang yang memimpin untuk mengarahkan individu-individu yang tercakup dalam ikatan tersebut. Untuk itu, seorang pemimpin suatu masyarakat harus mampu mengendalikan para individu yang dipimpinnya. Kemampuan untuk mengendalikan inilah yang disebut dengan kekuasaan (*al-mulk*). Ia

merupakan sesuatu yang ditambahkan dalam kepemimpinan. Hanya saja, seorang pemimpin baru dapat disebut sebagai penguasa apabila ia bisa melakukan tekanan untuk melakukan apa yang ia minta kepada para bawahannya.

Apa yang dinyatakan oleh Ibnu Khaldun itu kiranya relevan untuk menganalisis kondisi sosial-masyarakat yang manapun. Dalam kaitan ini, Nabi Saw. diutus kepada masyarakat bumi dengan membawa Al-Qur'an. Akan tetapi, saat Al-Qur`an diturunkan, ia tidak berhadapan dengan ruang kosong, di situ ada masyarakat bumi. Sementara, masyarakat bumi itu sendiri, kala itu, juga mempunyai fanatisme yang mereka warisi dari nenek moyang. Maka, tak ayal lagi, setiap upaya untuk merubah tatanan kekuasaan yang sudah mapan akan mengakibatkan gejolak sosial.

Dalam kondisi yang demikian itulah As-Suyuthi (1974:152) menjelaskan bahwa Al-Qur`an sebagai wahyu suci berinteraksi dengan masyarakat bumi. Sebagaimana yang sudah masyhur, dalam interaksi tersebut Al-Qur`an tidak turun sekaligus, tetapi ia turun secara gradual demi mempertimbangkan kondisi Nabi Saw. dan untuk lebih memahamkan para audiens yang menjadi objeknya. Karena itu, maka Al-Qur`an merupakan respon dari para audiensnya. Maka, kepada orang-orang yang menolaknya, Al-Qur`an pun menyuarakan kecaman. Bahkan, dalam beberapa kesempatan, sebagai respon kepada mereka yang keterlaluan, Al-Qur`an menyatakan angkat senjata alias perang dan permusuhan. Sebaliknya, kepada mereka yang menerima Al-Qur`an, atau mereka yang diprospek untuk menerima Al-Qur`an, maka seruan-seruannya justru mengajak pada kebahagian, perdamaian dan persaudaraan.

Akibat yang timbul dari pola responsif itu adalah dikotomi dalam generalisasi sejarah. Simplifikasinya terlihat pada dua kutub yang saling bertentangan; satu kutub menyimpulkan bahwa "Islam ditegakkan dengan pedang", sementara kutub lain menyatakan, "Islam ditegakkan dengan perdamian." Meskipun tidak semua ayat al-Qur'an berbasis kasus lapangan dan juga tidak semua kasus lapangan direspon secara teknis oleh al-Qur'an.

Untuk itu, penulis akan menyajikan beberapa data hubungan Islam dengan non-Muslim dalam perspektif Al-Qur`an sebagai berikut: *Pertama*, surah dalam Al-Qur`an yang pertama kali bersinggungan dengan non-Muslim adalah surah Al-Lahab. Menurut As-Suyuthi, mengutip dari Al-Baihaqi dalam *Dala`il An-Nubuwwah*, surah ini tergolong Makkiyah dan menduduki urutan ke-5 dalam urutan turunnya (Shafiyyurrahman Al-Mubarakfuri 2014:403). Secara umum, surah ini berisikan kecaman dan ancaman terhadap Abu Lahab dan istrinya.

Menurut riwayat Al-Bukhari (1422 H: 111) dari jalur Ibnu Abbas r.a., latar belakang turunnya surah ini adalah, suatu hari Rasulullah Saw. naik ke puncak bukit Shafa sambil menyeru, *"Wahai kaum Quraisy, pada hari ini marilah kita kumpul bersama!"* Pada saat itu pula kaum Quraisy berkumpul, dan di antara mereka terdapat Abu Lahab. Lalu, Rasulullah Saw. bersabda, *"Wahai kaum Quraisy, bagaimanakah pendapatmu bila aku memberikan kabar bahwa musuh akan datang besok pagi atau besok petang. Adakah kamu mempercayainya?"* Mereka menjawab, "Kami percaya sepenuh hati tentang hal itu." Lalu, Rasulullah Saw. bersabda lagi, *"Aku peringatkan kepadamu, bahwa siksa Allah yang sangat ganas lagi keji pasti akan datang menimpa."* Mendengar perkataan ini, maka Abu Lahab langsung berkata, "Celakalah kamu Muhammad, apakah hanya dengan maksud seperti ini kamu mengundang kami berkumpul?" Bertepatan dengan peristiwa ini, Allah Swt. mengutus

malaikat Jibril menghadap Rasulullah Saw. dan menurunkan surah Al-Lahab. Yaitu menginformasikan keadaan Abu Lahab dan istrinya yang terlalu cerewet dan lancang.

Kedua, surah Al-Kafirun. Surah ini menduduki urutan ke-18 dalam tertib urutan turunnya. Surah ini, secara literal, merupakan respon terhadap orang-orang kafir Quraisy yang mencoba membujuk Nabi Saw. secara halus. Konon, orang-orang seperti Al-Walid bin Al-Mughirah, Al-Ash bin Wail, Al-Aswad bin Abdul Muthallib dan Umayyah bin Khalaf berupaya membujuk Nabi Saw. untuk tukar-menukar agama.

Ketiga, surah Al-Hijr. Surah ini diturunkan di Mekkah menduduki urutan ke-54. Relasi dengan umat beragama terdapat dalam ayat 94. Allah Swt. berfirman, *"Maka sampaikanlah olehmu secara terang-terangan segala apa yang diperintahkan (kepadamu) dan berpalinglah dari orang-orang yang musyrik"* (QS. Al-Hijr [15]: 94). Secara umum, ayat ini memerintahkan Nabi Saw. agar menyampaikan risalahnya secara terang-terangan. Akan tetapi, yang menjadi titik utama dalam relasi umat beragama adalah kata *"wa a'ridh"* (dan berpalinglah). Berpaling di sini berarti tidak menuduh mereka meremehkanmu. Akan tetapi, menurut Ar-Razi (1420 H:165), jangan pedulikan orang-orang musyrik itu dan jangan terpengaruh oleh cercaan mereka yang bermaksud menghalangimu menyebarkan dakwah secara terang-terangan.

Keempat, surah An-Nahl. Surah ini menduduki urutan ke-70. Relasi dengan non-Muslim terletak pada firman Allah Swt., *"Barangsiapa yang kafir kepada Allah sesudah Dia beriman (dia mendapat kemurkaan Allah), kecuali orang yang dipaksa kafir Padahal hatinya tetap tenang dalam beriman (dia tidak berdosa), akan tetapi orang yang melapangkan dadanya untuk kekafiran, Maka kemurkaan Allah menimpanya dan baginya azab yang besar"* (QS. An-Nahl [16]: 106).

Jumhur ahli tafsir menyatakan, ayat tersebut berkaitan dengan Ammar bin Yasir yang disiksa agar mengingkari Nabi Saw. Karena tak tahan menghadapi siksaan, terlebih setelah melihat ayahnya Yasir dan ibunya Sumaiyyah dibunuh, ia mengucapkan kekafiran. Setelah hal itu disampaikan kepada Nabi Saw., beliau justru bersabda, *"Jika mereka mengulangi penganiayaan kepadamu lakukanlah hal yang sama."* (Abu Al-Hasan Ali bin Ahmad Al-Wahidi 1992:281).

Menurut sebagian sejarawan, seperti Abdul Mun'im Al-Hafni (Ensiklopedi Muhammad:247), riwayat itu lemah. Akan tetapi, ada jalur sanad lain dalam Asbab An-Nuzul karya Al-Wahidi yang memperkuatnya. Ada juga riwayat lain yang dikaitkan dengan ayat ini. Kalangan penduduk Mekkah dikirimi surat oleh para sahabat dari Madinah agar mereka berhijrah. Mereka pun langsung berangkat ke Madinah. Akan tetapi, mereka dapat disusul oleh orang-orang kafir Quraisy. Kemudian orang-orang kafir Quraisy itu menganiaya mereka, sehingga mereka terpaksa mengucapkan kata-kata kufur.

Keenam, surah Al-Hajj. Dalam ayat 39 sampai 41, Allah Swt. mengizinkan Nabi Saw. untuk berperang. Allah Swt. Berfirman yang artinya: *"Telah diizinkan (berperang) bagi orang-orang yang diperangi, karena Sesungguhnya mereka telah dianiaya. dan Sesungguhnya Allah, benar-benar Maha Kuasa menolong mereka itu, (yaitu) orang-orang yang telah diusir dari kampung halaman mereka tanpa alasan yang benar, kecuali karena mereka berkata: "Tuhan Kami hanyalah Allah". dan Sekiranya Allah tiada menolak (keganasan) sebagian manusia dengan sebagian yang lain, tentulah telah dirobohkan biara-biara Nasrani, gereja-gereja, rumah-rumah ibadat orang Yahudi dan masjid- masjid, yang di*

dalamnya banyak disebut nama Allah. Sesungguhnya Allah pasti menolong orang yang menolong (agama)-Nya. Sesungguhnya Allah benar-benar Maha kuat lagi Maha perkasa, (yaitu) orang-orang yang jika Kami teguhkan kedudukan mereka di muka bumi niscaya mereka mendirikan sembahyang, menunaikan zakat, menyuruh berbuat ma'ruf dan mencegah dari perbuatan yang mungkar; dan kepada Allah-lah kembali segala urusan." (QS. Al-Hajj [22]: 39-41)

Menurut Ibnu Ishaq, Rasulullah Saw., saat ayat ini turun, masih berada di Mekkah. Rasulullah Saw. memerintahkan para sahabatnya agar menyusul ke Madinah. Beliau bersabda, *"Sesungguhnya Allah Swt. telah menjadikan untuk kalian sebuah negeri yang kalian aman berada di dalamnya. Maka, keluarlah kalian secara bertahap."* (Ibnu Hisyam 2010:468).

Keenam. Surah Al-Baqarah. Surah ini merupakan yang pertama kali turun di Madinah. Ibnu Hisyam, secara rinci menafsirkan surah ini dari ayat 1 sampai 22. Secara umum, deretan ayat tersebut memaparkan sikap manusia terhadap petunjuk Al-Qur`an. Maka, ditemukanlah dalam deretan ayat tersebut bahwa mereka terbagi dalam 3 kelompok, yaitu: Mukmin, kafir, dan munafik. Namun, dari sisi urutan waktu, Ibnu Hisyam dalam pemaparan sirah yang ia tulis menyebutkan sebuah perjanjian yang disebut *Shahifah Al-Madinah* (Piagam Madinah). Perjanjian tersebut dibuat oleh Rasulullah Saw. pada bulan-bulan pertama setibanya beliau di Madinah.

Terkait isi perjanjian itu, Ahmad Sukardja (1995:99) menjelaskan, Rasulullah Saw. mengadakan perjanjian tersebut dalam rangka konvergensi sosial. Untuk itu, beliau melakukan beberapa langkah penting; *pertama*, membangun masjid sebagai pertemuan dengan kaum Muslimin, yang dalam hal ini adalah masjid Quba`. *Kedua*, mempersaudarakan antara Muhajirin dan Anshar yang pada saat itu terus berlangsung. *Ketiga*, meletakkan dasar-dasar tatanan masyarakat baru yang mengikutsertakan semua penduduk Madinah, termasuk Yahudi, Nasrani dan orang-orang nomad yang pagan. Intinya, pada bulan-bulan pertama Rasulullah Saw. di Madinah, beliau sibuk mengatur banyak urusan, mulai dari urusan sesama Muslim sampai urusan eksternal dengan Yahudi dan Nasrani.

Betul bahwa surah Al-Baqarah, dalam deretan ayat tersebut, tidak mengungkapkan secara literal tentang relasi umat beragama, tetapi kalau dilihat dari sisi pemaparan ayat-ayatnya terlihat secara global bahwa surah tersebut memetakan penduduk Madinah. Demikian pula tidak ada satu riwayat pun yang menyinggung tentang kaitan ayat tersebut dengan Piagam Madinah, tetapi dari sisi pemaparan ayat, jelas sekali bahwa ayat tersebut mengisyaratkan akan adanya perjanjian tersebut. Terbukti, dalam ayat itu dipetakan siapa saja yang menghuni kota Madinah.

Dengan demikian, dapat disimpulkan bahwa ayat tersebut berisi tentang konsep hubungan antarumat beragama. Hanya saja, penekanannya bukan pada hubungannya, tetapi lebih menekankan sikap waspada terhadap orang-orang kafir dan munafik.

Ketujuh, surah Al-Anfal. Surah ini menduduki urutan ke-88 dalam tertib turunnya, dan menduduki posisi kedua yang turun di Madinah setelah surah Al-Baqarah. Seperti namanya, Al-Anfal (rampasan perang), surah ini mengisahkan, utamanya, tentang pembagian harta rampasan dan hukum-hukum peperangan. Ibnu Hisyam banyak mengaitkan surah ini dengan Perang Badar, perang yang pertama kali dan sangat menentukan bagi perjuangan dakwah Islam.

Dari paparan sejarah Al-Qur'an seperti yang disebutkan, maka terlihat respon Al-Qur'an terhadap hubungan antarumat beragama. Awalnya, Islam ditawarkan secara baik-baik, tetapi justru mendapatkan respon penolakan yang keras, dan inilah yang menjadi pola periodesasi Makkah. Akan tetapi, meski menghadapi berbagai tekanan, Allah Swt. tidak memberikan izin kepada Nabi-Nya untuk membalas. Izin melakukan peperangan baru diberikan saat Nabi Saw. berada di penghujung periode ini, seperti yang terdapat dalam surah Al-Hajj.

Selanjutnya, disusul dengan periode Madinah. Dalam periode ini, hubungan relasi antarumat beragama mengalami peningkatan. Satu sisi Islam mendapatkan banyak pengikut, sementara di sisi lain Islam dihadapkan dengan agama dan kelompok lain, dan pada sisi ini pula konflik dengan orang-orang Quraisy Makkah semakin memanas. Maka dari itu, dari sisi internal, Nabi Saw. mengonsolidasikan umatnya, dan dari sisi eksternal, dengan umat beragama non-Islam, Nabi Saw. membuat kesepakatan-kesepakatan dengan mereka sebagai sesama penduduk Madinah, dan dengan orang-orang Quraisy Makkah Nabi Saw. bersikap waspada. Pada pucaknya, terjadilah Perang Badar, disusul dengan Perang Uhud, dan berakhir dengan Perang Ahzab.

Namun, yang perlu digarisbawahi peperangan yang dilakukan oleh Nabi Saw. bersama kaum Muslimin bukan tanpa sebab. Seperti yang telah dipaparkan, Perang Badar yang dilakukan Nabi Saw. didorong oleh faktor membela diri dari kezaliman yang dilakukan oleh orang-orang Quraisy, yang akibatnya berlanjut pada dua perang berikutnya, Perang Uhud dan Perang Ahzab. Lalu, pada perang-perang berikutnya motif yang mendorong Nabi Saw. adalah pengkhianatan terhadap perjanjian. Hal tersebut seperti yang terlihat dalam surah Al-Hasyr dan At-Taubah.

Jadi, Islam tidak disebarkan dengan pedang, tidak pula dengan cara pasif yang hanya diam saja ketika ditekan alias terus berdamai dengan kezaliman dan pengkhianatan. Islam tetap toleran, tapi jika dizalimi atau dikhinati, ia akan bangkit dan balik menyerang.

4. Prinsip Dasar Harmonisasi Umat Beragama dalam Al-Qur'an

Setelah kita mendapatkan jawaban terkait sikap Al-Qur'an terhadap umat beragama, maka sikap hubungan yang bagaimanakah yang dapat dilakukan dalam rangka mengharmoniskan hubungan antarumat beragama?

Pada awal tulisan ini, telah dijelaskan bahwa maksud kerukunan umat beragama adalah kerukunan yang meliputi 3 sisi: kerukunan internal umat beragama, kerukunan antarumat beda agama, dan kerukunan umat beragama dengan pemerintah. Lebih tajam lagi, bahwa tujuan dari kerukunan itu adalah terciptanya relasi harmonis dalam 3 sisi tersebut. Dengan kata lain, kerukunan yang terwujudkan dalam harmoni hubungan umat beragama. Yaitu, kerukunan yang terjalin secara nyata dengan tetap menghormati keyakinan masing-masing, bersikap toleran, dan bekerja sama dalam mencapai tujuan yang dicita-citakan oleh masyarakat secara luas.

Maka dari itu, berdasarkan paparan yang telah kami sampaikan maka sikap-sikap berikut ini perlu dikembangkan dalam rangka memupuk keharmonisan hubungan umat beragama:

4.1 Berbuat Baik dan Adil

Terkait sikap ini Allah Swt. Berfirman dalam surat al Mumtahanah yang artinya: *"Allah tidak melarang kamu untuk berbuat baik dan berlaku adil terhadap orang-orang yang tiada memerangimu karena agama dan tidak (pula) mengusir kamu dari negerimu. Sesungguhnya Allah menyukai orang-orang yang berlaku adil. Sesungguhnya Allah hanya melarang kamu menjadikan sebagai kawanmu orang-orang yang memerangimu karena agama dan mengusir kamu dari negerimu, dan membantu (orang lain) untuk mengusirmu. Dan Barangsiapa menjadikan mereka sebagai kawan, Maka mereka itulah orang-orang yang zalim"* (QS. Al-Mumtahanah [60]: 89).

Asalkan mereka yang non-Muslim itu tetap menjaga hubungan baik dan damai, maka berbuat baik dan adil kepada mereka tidak dilarang. Dalam ayat tersebut disebutkan, *"Allah tidak melarang"*, yang indikasi hukumnya diinterpretasikan sebagai mubah, dalam arti diam pun tidak ada masalah.

Namun, Allah Swt. juga berfirman, *"Dan janganlah sekali-kali kebencianmu terhadap sesuatu kaum, mendorong kamu untuk berlaku tidak adil. Berlaku adillah, karena adil itu lebih dekat kepada takwa"* (QS. Al-Maidah [5]: 8). Maksudnya, sekalipun kamu benci, tetapi kamu harus tetap berlaku adil kepada mereka. Ayat ini berisi larangan berbuat zalim kepada orang yang dibenci yang dalam kaitan ini adalah non-Muslim.

Betul implikasi dari dua ayat tersebut sama, tetapi indikasi hukum yang ditunjukkan berbeda. Satu ayat bilang, "*La yanhakumullah*" (Allah tidak melarangmu) yang berarti mubah, sementara yang satunya bilang, "*Wa la yajrimannakum*" (Dan janganlah sekali-kali) yang berarti haram, dan kebalikan haram adalah wajib. Jadi, hukum yang ditunjukkan oleh kedua ayat tersebut bertentangan. Lalu bagaimana penyelesaiannya? Sebab, mustahil ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an satu sama lain terjadi kontradiksi.

Di sinilah, pendekatan usul fikih memainkan perannya. Dalam menyikapi teks yang secara lahir terkesan kontradiktif, maka para ulama menggunakan pendekatan *takhsish* (pengecualian). Akan tetapi, jika upaya takhsish tak dapat dilakukan maka jalan terakhir adalah *nasikh-mansukh*. Dalam kaitan dua ayat tersebut, tampaknya *takhsish* tak dapat dilakukan. Sebab, dalam dua ayat tersebut tidak terdapat indikasi makna umum dan makna khusus. Maka, yang dapat dilakukan terhadap dua ayat tersebut hanyalah *nasikh-mansukh*.

Namun, dalam *nasikh-mansukh* pun para ulama usul fikih berbeda pendapat. Pasalnya, berbuat baik dan adil terhadap non-Muslim sudah terjadi sebelum Surah Mumtahanah ayat 89 turun. Buktinya, Nabi Saw. tetap berhubungan baik dengan Abu Thalib pamannya semasa di Mekkah. Ini menunjukkan, apa yang dilakukan oleh Nabi Saw. itu masuk dalam kategori *ibahah ashliyyah*, yaitu hukum yang asalnya memang mubah. Kemudian, ditegaskanlah kemubahan itu dalam ayat tersebut tanpa merubah hukumnya. Sementara, surah Al-Maidah ayat 8 melarang berbuat zalim, yang berarti wajib adil, bahkan dalam kondisi benci sekalipun. Pertanyaannnya adalah apakah ayat Al-Maidah itu disebut *nasikh* jika yang *mansukh* adalah *ibahah ashliyyah*?

Dalam kaitan ini, kalangan jumhur usul fikih berpendapat, kasus nas syarak yang seperti itu tidak dapat dinyatakan sebagai *nasikh-mansukh*. Yang benar, itu adalah pentahapan hukum. Maksudnya, hukum mubah itu adalah hukum yang pertama kali dicanangkan, sementara hukum wajib itu adalah hukum final. Itu berbeda dengan para ulama mazhab

Hanafi, menurut mereka, *ibahah ashliyyah* pun juga dapat dinasakh jika teks yang menasakhnya memenuhi syarat, sebab mustahil Allah Swt. membiarkan suatu perkara tanpa mendapatkan penjelasan hukum (Mushthafa Az-Zuhali : 239).

Intinya, meski kedua mazhab beda jalan, tapi tujuannya sama. Jumhur yang berpendapat tidak dapat dinasakh maka kesimpulannya adalah menggunakan hukum dari surah Al-Maidah ayat 8 sebagai hukum final, yaitu wajib. Sementara, mazhab Hanafi yang menerapkan *nasikh-mansukh* menjadikan surah Al-Maidah ayat 8 sebagai *nasikh* dari surah Al-Mumtahanah ayat 89 yang kesimpulannya juga wajib. Wallahu a'lam.

4.2 Jaminan Hukum

Dalam urusan agama, Al-Qur'an tidak memaksa siapa pun, *"Tidak ada paksaan untuk (memasuki) agama (Islam); sesungguhnya telah jelas jalan yang benar daripada jalan yang sesat"* (QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 256). Dengan demikian, yang bisa dilakukan hanyalah mengajak alias berdakwah, *"Dan jika mereka berpaling, maka kewajiban kamu hanyalah menyampaikan (ayat-ayat Allah), dan Allah Maha melihat akan hamba-hamba-Nya"* (QS. Ali Imran [3]: 20).

Jika itu yang menjadi syiar Islam terhadap non-Muslim maka sudah seharusnya Islam juga menjamin sarana-sarana yang memberikan kepada non-Muslim kebebasan menjalankan agama berikut ritual-ritual yang ada dalam agama mereka. Sebab, dalam kaidah usul fikih Ali Al-Isnawi (1999:94), *"Ma la yatimmul wajib illa bihi fahuwa wajib"* (memerintahkan sesuatu juga termasuk memerintahkan sarana pencapaiannya). Sementara itu, kebebasan menjalankan agama tidak akan tercapai, melainkan adanya jaminan payung hukum yang menaunginya. Jadi, hal-hal yang menjamin keterjaminan menjalankan ajaran agama wajib diadakan.

Hal inilah yang sudah dipahami sejak awal oleh Nabi Saw. dan para khalifah sesudahnya. Dalam Sunnah Nabi Saw. ditemukan riwayat perjanjian yang dilakukan Rasulullah Saw. dengan umat Kristiani Najran melalui uskup mereka Al-Harits bin Ka'ab sebagai wakil penduduk Kristen Najran dan sekitarnya dengan redaksi sebagai berikut: *"Apa yang ada pada mereka, baik yang sedikit atau yang banyak, yang kecil maupun yang besar, termasuk biara, gereja, dan sinagog mendapatkan jaminan Allah dan Rasul-Nya. Uskup, rahib dan pendeta mereka tak boleh diusik. Hak mereka tak boleh diganggu, dan apa saja yang ada pada mereka tak boleh diusik selama mereka berdamai dengan akad dzimmah, dengan syarat tidak memberatkan mereka dan tidak pula dipungut dengan cara yang zalim"* (Abu Ubaid Al-Qasim bin Salam tt:244).

Hal yang sama juga diterapkan oleh Khalifah Umar r.a., dengan penduduk El-Quds, sebagai berikut:*"Inilah perjanjian yang diberikan oleh hamba Allah, Umar, Amirul Mukminin, kepada penduduk Iliya (El-Quds). Mereka mendapatkan keamanan untuk nyawa, harta, gereja, salib dan seluruh sekte mereka. Gereja mereka tak boleh dikuasai, tidak boleh dirobohkan dan tak boleh dikurangi sedikit pun apa saja yang ada di dalamnya. Mereka tak boleh dipaksa dalam urusan agama mereka, tak boleh disakiti dan tidak ada seorang Yahudi pun yang boleh tinggal bersama mereka"*(Ibn Yazid Ath-Thabari tt:609).

Demikian pula, Khalifah Umar r.a. pernah masuk ke Baitul Maqdis bersamaan dengan tibanya waktu shalat dan sedang berada dalam satu gereja. Maka, Khalifah Umar r.a. berkata

kepada salah satu uskup, "Aku ingin shalat." "Shalatlah di mana Anda suka," jawab si uskup mempersilahkan.

Namun, Umar r.a. justru tak mau shalat dalam gereja, tetapi ia malah memilih anak tangga yang ada di pintu masuk gereja dan mengerjakannya sendirian. Lalu, setelah usai mengerjakan shalat, ia kemudian berkata, "Andai aku shalat dalam gereja, niscaya orang-orang setelahku akan merampas gereja ini, dan mereka akan berkata, 'Di sinilah Umar shalat.'" (Ibnu Khaldun 1988:255)

4.3 Kesetaraan dalam Hak dan Kewajiban

Sebelumnya, telah dinyatakan bahwa bersikap adil adalah kewajiban dalam rangka berinteraksi dengan non-Muslim. Dalam tataran praktis, keadilan menuntut persamaan jika memang para individunya setara. Dengan asas keadilan dan kesetaraan inilah, Al-Qur'an membangun masyarakat Islam dan mengatur hubungan mereka, baik antar sesama Muslim ataupun Muslim dengan non-Muslim. Dari sini, jelas sekali bahwa hubungan Muslim dengan non-Muslim secara mendasar adalah hubungan damai. Dengan kata lain, sudah menjadi kewajiban, baik antara sesama Muslim ataupun antara Muslim dan non-Muslim atau bahkan dengan pemerintah sekalipun, mereka harus bahu-membahu melakukan kerjasama dan saling mengenal satu sama lain untuk mencapai tujuan yang diidam-idamkan (Mahmoud Syaltout 2001:452). Dengan demikian dalam hak dan kewajiban sebagai warga negara Muslim dan non-Muslim adalah sama.

Lalu, bagaimana dengan jizyah, bukankah itu merupakan bentuk diskriminatif terhadap non-Muslim?

Di sinilah yang perlu dibahas secara detil. Satu sisi, seorang Muslim diharuskan berbuat adil meski benci terhadap non-Muslim, seperti ketentuan dengan surah Al-Maidah ayat 8. Akan tetapi, di sisi lain, justru dalam surah At-Taubah ayat 29 disebutkan, *"Perangilah orang-orang yang tidak beriman kepada Allah dan tidak (pula) kepada Hari Kemudian, dan mereka tidak mengharamkan apa yang diharamkan oleh Allah dan Rasul-Nya dan tidak beragama dengan agama yang benar (agama Allah), (Yaitu orang-orang) yang diberikan Al-Kitab kepada mereka, sampai mereka membayar jizyah dengan patuh sedang mereka dalam keadaan tunduk."* Jelas sekali, dalam ayat At-Taubah ini perang dilakukan kepada orang-orang yang tak beriman. Jadi, ayat ini secara literal terkesan bertentangan dengan surah Al-Maidah ayat 8.

Tentu saja, kontradiksi seperti ini menuntut penyelesaian. Maka, para ulama usul fikih memberikan pandangannya. Dan, seperti yang telah disebutkan di muka, dalam menghadapi nas syarak yang kontradiktif hal yang pertama dilakukan adalah *takhshihs al-'am*. Lalu, jika masih menemukan jalan buntu, barulah *nasikh-mansukh* dilakukan.

Persoalannya tidak terhenti di sini, sebab jika jizyah adalah dampak dari perang atau kesepakatan yang terjalin dengan non-Muslim, lalu bagaimanakah dengan konsep jizyah dalam negara kebangsaan? Indonesia, misalnya, dalam NKRI, Muslim dan non-Muslim hidup bersama dalam suatu kesepakatan. Bahkan, sejak awal berdirinya NKRI, Muslim dan non-Muslim turut serta merumuskan dasar negara. Lagi pula sejauh ini tidak ada peperangan antara Muslim dan non-Muslim, atau pemerintah—yang notabene mayoritas Muslim—

melawan salah satu umat beragama di wilayah NKRI, lalu apakah yang non-Muslim harus membayar jizyah kepada pemerintah?

Dalam menjawab masalah ini ada beberapa jawaban yang sama meski dengan sudut pandang yang berbeda: *Pertama*, hukum jizyah tak dapat diterapkan. Jawaban ini disampaikan Dar Al-Ifta` Al-Mashriyyah (Lembaga Fatwa Mesir). Inti dari fatwa tersebut adalah, betul bahwa jizyah itu, dulu, menjadi hukum syarak yang ditetapkan Allah Swt. menjadi kewajiban kepada Ahlu Kitab sebagai imbalan kepada tentara Muslim yang berada di bawah komando Khilafah Islamiyah untuk menjaga keamanan negara dan seluruh tumpah darahnya. Akan tetapi, ketika khilafah sudah tak ada lagi dan telah menjadi sistem negara kebangsaaan seperti sekarang ini, maka peta sejarah telah berubah. Dengan demikian, penerapan hukum jizyah sudah kehilangan objeknya. Itu bukan berarti hukum jizyah hilang, tetapi hanya objek hukumnya yang hilang. Itu sama halnya orang yang tidak wajib membasuh tangan ketika wudhu, karena ia tak punya tangan. Sama juga seperti hukum perbudakan, bagaimana hukum perbudakan dapat diterapkan, sementara budaknya sendiri sudah tak ada?

Kedua, penghapusan istilah *ahli dzimmah* dan diganti dengan *muwathinun* (warga negara). Pemikir Islam Mesir Fahmi Huwaydi, menyarankan dalam bukunya *Muwathinun La Dzimmiyyun* agar konsep dzimmi ditinggalkan. Fahmi Huwaidi menjelaskan, berdasarkan riwayat sejarah, Bani Taghlab enggan memberikan jizyah. Meski demikian mereka tak mau diusir atau masuk Islam. Akan tetapi, mereka mau membayar zakat dua kali lipat seperti yang dibayarkan oleh kaum Muslimin. Dalam kaitan ini, seolah jizyah dipahami oleh mereka sebagai bentuk diskriminatif. Mulanya, Khalifah Umar menolak. Tapi, setelah dimarahi oleh Ubadah bin Shamit, Khalifah Umar pun menyesal. Mestinya, ia terima zakat mereka. Intinya, zakat dua kali lipat itu cuma sebutan, tapi subtansinya tetap sama. Berdasarkan ini, Fahmi Huwaidi (1999:142) menolak penerapan jizyah kepada non-Muslim, yang utamanya, karena ada kesan diskrimanatif dalam ketentuan jizyah.

Ketiga, pemerintah dapat menggugurkan jizyah. Dalam penerapannya, tidak semua non-Muslim dapat dipungut jizyah, ada syarat-syarat tertentu yang harus dipenuhi sehingga seorang non-Muslim dapat dipungut jizyah. Lain dari itu pula, penulis memandang, karena jizyah ini adalah hak, maka pemerintah pun dapat menggugurkannya secara mutlak dari beban non-Muslim. Dengan kata lain, pemerintah Islam tetap melindungi warganya yang non-Muslim meski tidak memungut jizyah. Itu sama halnya istri yang tidak menuntut hak nafkah kepada suaminya meski ia tetap taat kepadanya, dan dengan catatan tidak mengakibatkan mudarat. Atau, seorang musafir tetap melakukan shalat secara sempurna meski telah melampaui jarak yang membolehkan qashar.

Dari paparan ini, jelas sekali Islam sangat mengedapankan kesetaraan terhadap warga negara baik Muslim atau non-Muslim.

4.4 Persaudaraan

Al-Qur'an menyeru umat manusia dengan persaudaraan. Al-Qur'an mempersaudarakan antara yang Mukmin dengan yang kafir, *"Dan (kami telah mengutus) kepada kaum 'Aad saudara mereka, Hud"* (QS. Al-A'raf [7]: 65), *"Dan (kami telah mengutus) kepada kaum Tsamud saudara mereka, Shaleh"* (QS. Al-A'raf [7]: 73), dan *"Dan (kami telah mengutus) kepada penduduk Madyan saudara mereka, Syu'aib"* (QS. Al-A'raf [7]: 85). Demikian pula, Al-Qur'an juga mempersaudarakan sesama Mukmin, *"Orang-orang beriman itu*

sesungguhnya bersaudara" (QS. Al-Hujurat [49]: 10). Persaudaran sesama manusia bersifat umum, sementara persaudaraan seiman bersifat khusus. Maka, dalam ayat-ayat tersebut tak ada yang kontradiktif. Dengan kata lain, persaudaraan kemanusiaan tidak bertentangan dengan persaudaraan keimanan (Yusuf Al-Qaradhawi 2001:139).

4.5 Dialog

Dalam menyerukan ajaran-Nya, Al-Qur'an memberikan sarana dakwah yang dapat ditempuh oleh seorang dai. Sarana itu dikemas dalam bentuk dialog atau komunikasi. Allah Swt. berfirman:

ادْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ وَجَادِلْهُمْ بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِمَنْ ضَلَّ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ (١٢٥)

"Serulah (manusia) kepada jalan Tuhan-mu dengan hikmah dan pelajaran yang baik dan bantahlah mereka dengan cara yang baik. Sesungguhnya Tuhanmu Dialah yang lebih mengetahui tentang siapa yang tersesat dari jalan-Nya dan Dialah yang lebih mengetahui orang-orang yang mendapat petunjuk" (QS. An-Nahl [16]: 125)

Khusus terkait Ahli Kitab Allah Swt. berfirman, *"Dan janganlah kamu berdebat dengan Ahli Kitab, melainkan dengan cara yang paling baik"* (QS. Al-'Ankabut [29]: 46). Ar-Razi dalam tafsirnya merincikan cara dialog ini agar efektif dan berhasil. Beliau memberikan penjelasan bahwa maksud wawu *'athaf* di situ memadukan hal yang berbeda. Dengan kata lain, ada cara dialog yang berbeda untuk orang yang berbeda. Untuk itu, perlu dibedakan cara-cara berikut ini:

Pertama, jika yang dihadapi adalah kalangan intelektual yang mengedapankan kebenaran dan pengetahuan yang meyakinkan maka harus dihadapi dengan hikmah. Maksud hikmah di sini adalah dalil dan bukti yang meyakinkan. *Kedua*, untuk menghadapi orang-orang yang siap menjadi intelektual dan siap untuk menerima bukti-bukti yang meyakinkan maka cara yang tepat adalah *mau'izhah hasanah* (pelajaran yang baik). *Ketiga*, untuk menghadapi orang yang hanya suka debat kusir, bukan untuk mencari kebenaran, dan hanya suka gontok-gontokan maka cara yang tepat adalah *jadal* atau debat (Ibnu Umar Ar-Razi 1420 H:287).

5. Kesimpulan

Dari paparan-paparan yang telah kami sampaikan, maka dapat ditarik kesimpulan sebagai berikut: *Pertama*, perbedaan para ahli tafsir memang terjadi sejak awal. Barangkali satu tafsir relevan di suatu masa, tetapi di masa yang lain kurang relevan. Sementara, Al-Qur'an sangat terbuka untuk ditafsirkan. Maka, sudah selayaknya seorang ahli tafsir memberikan tafsir yang relevan dengan zamannya. Dalam "Latar Belakang" yang penulis sampaikan, terlihat bahwa sisi penafsiran Ibnu Zaid memang relevan di zamannya, sebab ia adalah generasi Tabiin di saat Islam sedang gencar-gencarnya melakukan pembebasan. Akan tetapi, Ibnu Katsir pun juga tak kalah relevannya, sebab beliau hidup di zaman yang Islam banyak bersentuhan dengan non-Muslim.

Kedua, kerukunan umat beragama meliputi 3 pokok kerukunan: kerukunan antar sesama agama, antar umat beragama, dan antarumat beragama dengan pemerintah. Kemudian,

tiga unsur kerukunan itu dipola dalam bentuk kerjasama dalam relasi harmonis secara konkret dengan tetap menghormati kepercayaan masing-masing.

Ketiga, dalam sejarah relasi umat beragama, Al-Qur'an mengedapankan sisi toleransi yang sangat besar. Akan tetapi, itu bukan berarti Al-Qur'an mendiamkan setiap kezaliman dan pengkhianatan. Yang dikedepankan Al-Qur'an, dalam relasi dengan umat beragama, adalah keadilan dan perlakuan yang sama. *Keempat*, dalam rangka membina relasi umat beragama, Al-Qur'an justru subur dengan seruan terhadap nilai-nilai universal: keadilan, kesetaraan, persaudaraan dan dialog. Nilai-nilai iniah yang seharusnya dipupuk dan dikembangkan dalam rangka membina relasi umat beragama yang lebih harmonis.

Referensi

Abdur Rahman bin Hasan bin Ali Al-Isnawi. (1999). *Nihayah As-Sul*. Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiyyah.

Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Umar Ar-Razi. (1420 H). *At-Tafsir Al-Kabir* (Beirut: Dar Ihya` At-Turats Al-'Arabi.

Abu Ubaid Al-Qasim bin Salam. (tt). *Kitab Al-Amwal*. Beirut: Dar Al-Fikr.

Al-Arabiyyah, Majma' Al-Lughah. (2011). *Al-Mu'jam Al-Wasith*. Kairo: Maktabah Asy-Syuruq Ad-Dauliyyah.

Al-Bukhari, Muhammad bin Ismail. (1422 H). *Shahih Al-Bukhari.* (Beirut: Dar Thuq An-Najah.

Al-Hafni, Abdul Mun'im. (2014). Ensiklopedi Muhammad Saw. (terjemah: Ahmad Dzulfikar dan Yusni Amru Ghazali). Jakarta: Noura Books.

Al-Hindi, Alauddin Ali Al-Muttaqi. (1981). *Kanz Al-'Umal*, (Beirut: Muassasah Ar-Risalah.

Ali Jum'ah. (2017). *Sejarah Ushul Fikih*, terjemah; Adi Maftuhin. Depok: Keira.

Al-Mubarakfuri. (2014) .Shafiyyurrahman, *Sirah Nabawiyah*, terjemah: Kathur Suhardi (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar.

Al-Qaradhawi, Yusuf. (2001). *Malamih Al-Mujtama' Al-Islami.* Kairo: Maktabah Wahbah.

Al-Qurthubi, Abu Muhammad bin Ahmad. (1964). *Al-Jami' li Ahkam Al-Qur'an Al-Karim.* Kairo: Dar Alkutub Al-Mashriyah.

Al-Wahidi, Abu Al-Hasan Ali bin Ahmad. (1992). *Asbab An-Nuzul Al-Qur`an,* tahkik: Isham bin Abdul Muhsin Al-Humaidan. Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiyyah.

Ar-Razi, Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Umar. (1420 H). *At-Tafsir Al-Kabir*. Beirut: Dar Iya` At-Turats Al-'Arabi.

As-Suyuthi, Abdur Rahman bin Abu Bakar. (1974). *Al-Itqan Fi 'Ulum Al-Qur'an* (Kairo: Al-Hai`ah Al-'Ammah Al-Mashriyyah li Al-Kitab.

Ath-Thabari, Muhammad bin Jarir bin Yazid. (tt). *Tarikh Ath-Thabari*. Kairo: Dar al-Ma'arif.

Az-Zuhaili, Wahbah. (1997). *Al-Fiqh Al-Islami wa Adillatuhu*. Damaskus: Dar Al-Fikr.

Az-Zuhali, Muhammad Mushthafa, *Al-Wajiz fi Ushul Fiqh* (Damaskus: Dar Al-Khair, 2006).

Departemen Agama. (1979). *Proyek Pembinaan Kerukunanan Hidup Beragama; Pedoman Dasar Kerukunan Hidup Beragama*. Jakarta: Departemen Agama.

http://dar-alifta.org/ar/Viewstatement.aspx?sec=fatwa&ID=4071.

Huwaidi, Fahmi. (1999). *Muwathinun la Dzimmiyyun*. Kairo: Dar El-Shouruk.

Ibnu Hisyam, Abu Muhammad bin Abdul Malik. (tt). *Sirah Ibni Hisyam* (Kairo: Dar At-Turats Al-'Arabi.

Ibnu Katsir, Abu Al-Fida bin Umar. (1419 H). *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-'Azhim*. Kairo: Dar Al-Kutuib Al-'Ilmiyyah.

Ibnu Khaldun, Abdur Rahman bin Muhammad bin Muhammad. (1988). *Tarikh Ibni Khaldun*. Beirut: Dar Al-Fikr.

Isa, Ibrahim Sulaiman. (1994). *Mu'amalah Ghair Al-Muslimin fi Daulah Al-Islam* (Kairo: Dar Al-Mannar.

Kontuwijoyo. (2001*). Pengatar Ilmu Sejarah.* (Jogjakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya.

Syaltout, Mahmoud. (2001) *.Al-Islam 'Aqidah wa Syari'ah*. Kairo, Dar El-Shorouk.

Mukti, Ali. (1975). *Kehidupan Beragama Dalam Proses Pembangunan Bangsa*. Bandung: Proyek Pembinaan Mental Agama.

Nazmudin. (2017), "Kerukunan dan Toleransi Antar Umat Beragama dalam Membangun Keutuhan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI)" (*Journal of Government and Civil Society, vol. 1, No. 1*.

Mulya, Wahyu Nur "Perbedaan, Kesetaraan, dan Harmoni Sosial," blog.unnes.ac.id/warungilmu/2015/12/18/perbedan-kesetaraan-dan-harmoni-sosialsosiologi.

Muslim bin Hajjaj. (tt). *Shahih Muslim*. Beirut: Dar Ihya` At-Turats Al-'Arabi .

Qodratillah, Meity Taqdir dkk,. (2011). *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Sukardja, Ahmad. (1995). *Piagam Madinah dan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945; Kajian Perbandingan tentang Dasar Hidup Bersama dalam Masyarakat yang Majemuk*. Jakarta: UI-Press.

Syaltout, Mahmud, (2002). *Tafsir Al-Qur`an Al-'Azhim.* Kairo, Dar El-Shoruk.

Taufiq, Amal. (2014). "Adaptasi Budaya dan Harmoni Sosial: Proses Adaptasi Mahasiswa Malaysia di Surabaya" (Skripsi Tidak Diterbitkan, Jurusan Sosiologi Fakultas Sosial Politik UIN Sunan Ampel).

Usman, Suparman. (2007). "Kerukunan Suatu Kebutuhan dan Keniscayaan", Dalam Dinamika Umat. Banten: Kanwil Depag Provinsi Banten. Edisi 51/VI/2007.

Yayasan Penterjemah/Pentafsir Al-Qur`an. (1418 H) *.Al-Qur`an dan Terjemahnya*. Madinah: Majma' Malik Fahd.

Societal Security and Human Development: An Indonesian-Islam Perspective

Yusli Effendi

Brawijaya University, Malang

y.effendi@ub.ac.id

Kata Kunci:	Abstrak
Islam Indonesia, keamanan masyarakat, pembangunan manusia	Dalam politik global kontemporer, tampaknya Islam telah menjadi identik dengan konflik, ketidakstabilan, dan kekerasan. Label-label negatif ini tidak berkorelasi dengan, bahkan menghambat berbagai peristiwa, pencarian perdamaian dunia, keamanan, dan pengembangan manusia, tujuan keenam belas SDGs. Makalah ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi bagaimana Islam menjelaskan dan memahami keamanan manusia dengan membahas nilai-nilai Islam, terutama berdasarkan keamanan sosial dan pembangunan berkelanjutan berdasarkan pengalaman masyarakat Islam Indonesia dengan referensi khusus ke kota Malang. Metode ini memperkaya keamanan manusia dengan memasukkan paradigma agama, khususnya Islam Indonesia, serta paradigma alternatif dalam mengembangkan pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang subjek dan wacana pembangunan.
Keywords:	Abstract
Indonesian Islam, societal security, human development	In contemporary global politics, apparently Islam has become synonymous with conflict, instability, and violence. These negative labels in minds of many people reinforce the perception that Islam remain not to correlate with, even hinder, the quest for world's peace, security, and human development, the sixteenth goal of SDGs. This paper aims to explore how Islam explains and understand human security by discussing Islamic values particularly on the concepts of societal security and sustainable development based on Indonesian Islamic society experience with special reference to Malang city. Reassesing how Islam serves as ideational factor for protecting people, this paper is an effort of enriching human security by incorporating religious paradigm, in particular Indonesian Islam, as an alternative paradigm in developing better understanding of the subject and development discourse.

1. Introduction

2015 marks the end of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) implementation. Hence, the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) enacted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which applies from 2016 to 2030, as its successor. Although MDGs has ended, it still leaves big problems: global inequality and underdevelopment. As a continuation of the MDGs, SDGs has 17 goals and one of its goals is to promote peaceful, non-violent, non-discriminatory, and participatory society, which practices good governance and multi-stakeholder partnerships and cooperation.

There are at least four differences between the MDGs and SDGs that can be identified which includes target, range, pattern of involvement, and solutions. From the aspect of target, INFID (Hoelman, 2015: 15) found that in contrast to MDGs which targeting half, such as poverty reduction mere to 50%, SDGs aims to total reduction. From the aspect of range, while MDGs targets the developing countries and assumes that developed countries will assist them,

SDGs aims to reach out universally assuming that every country has the necessary homework and cooperation to deal with, finding source of funding, as well as the need for policy changes. The third difference comes from the aspect of involvement pattern. MDGs pattern is top-down with all the documents and the process of policy making decided by the elite in the UN and the OECD in New York without involving the citizens. SDGs try to fix it by promoting bottom-up pattern and citizen participation. The last difference arising from the aspect of solution. MDGs offer solutions for global problems yet partial. 8 goals of MDGs focused more on poverty alleviation alone and ignored ecological issues, inequalities, and development funds and taxes redistribution. While 17 goals of SDGs are intended to offer a comprehensive solution to overhaul the structure and system.

In addition to inequalities and underdevelopment as legacies of MDGs, 2016 as the beginning of the SDGs saw new challenges. This year raises surprises and global political instability. The Britain Exit (Brexit) from the European Union, Donald Trump elected as the president of the US, considered as global shock that brought the world to instability while in addition ISIS become more exist and expansive, along with other issues like neo-fascism, refugees, poverty and other problems of non-traditional security.

The rising trend of transnational threats also raised questions about the position of religion. Instead of offering solutions, religion emerges as obstacle in creating world peace, security, and human development. Having long been neglected, religion is now back especially since the end of the Cold War, rsiing trends of identity conflict, and the events of 911. Unfortunately, religion particularly Islam, while is now geting the spotlight, but also assumed as synonymous with conflict, instability, and violence even though Islam also has potential to significantly contribute and offer solutions to global issues and also is compatible with SDGs.

By focusing on the situation in Indonesia, this paper seeks to explain the potential of Indonesian Islam to enrich the discourse of human security and human development which is in line with the 16th goal to SDGs that promotes a peaceful and inclusive society for sustainable development. To that end, this paper has two objectives; 1) to revisit the concept of human security and development, and 2) to analyze how Indonesian Islam contributing to security issues and human development as an alternative way in the discourse of security and development.

2. From State Security To Human Security

While the concept is still in the process of establishment, the concept of human security can be considered to be sufficient to assess its research agenda and debate. The existing debate that ranged from the issue of redefinition of security, preferred approaches, as well as its transformation into the realm of policy.

The significant changes in the global security come from changing meaning of the traditional security that was formerly interpreted as national security. Human security now acts as broadening of security in its most advanced form (Werthes and Debiel, 2006: 11). As the third generation based on the perspective of world community, human security reconciles security in the narrow range (freedom from fear) with security in wider coverage (freedom from want).

The first generation conventionally interpret security in the traditional sense (traditional or common security). For them, power is still the central issue. While the second generation stretches the meaning of security in an expanded and comprehensive meaning (extended or a comprehensive security). For this generation, the assessment focused not only on the issue of power, but also to enngage international law to enhance and resolve the issue of security. For the third generation, human security is not only about their attention to the issue of power and international law, but also includes efforts to empower individuals in the completion of an increasingly complicated security issues (Werthes and Debiel 2006: 10). Kerr (2007: 98) saw it in more modest way. Without dividing it based on generations, for him, human security is a reconciliation between the narrow camp (narrow school) and the broad camp (broad school).

Embarking point to shift traditional security to more sophisticated security lies in the determination of the referent object. The first approach, the realist or state-centric approach, still focusing on threats of country's security and territorial integrity, especially the military, with little concern for the efforts to build capabilities for the protection of its citizens. While the second camp—the critical wing or constructivist—has gone further by making the individual as referent object that need to be focused on protection of both military and non military threats.

At least there are two main things that led to the shifting of traditional paradigms related to security. First, the widespread awareness that national and global security can only be achieved if the individual security have been met. Second, security can not be seen as a separate process of development, in which these two phenomena are mutually reinforcing in achieving national objectives and in the national interest. Increased awareness of the importance of individual security and convergence between development and security led to the birth of the concept of human security in the study of security. However, there are differences in approach as a reference implementation of human security

In a variety of literature, there are at least three reference in human security approach; United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Canada, and Japan/Asia. The approach comes from the UNDP Human Development Report was first issued by UNDP in 1994 considered as an important milestone in the formalization of the concept of human security by bringing up the two main divisions related security threats and the freedom from fear and freedom from want. In a further development, the two major concepts is deduced to seven key elements of human security (UNDP, 1994).

In general, human security covers seven main areas namely 1) Economic Security; 2) Food Security; 3) Health Security; 4) Environmental Security; 5) Personal Security; 6) Community Security and 7) Political Security. Seventh further areas that should be promoted in order to create a sense of security for the individual. If the seven aspects of security have been met, then an individual may be categorized to be safe, both in freedom from fear and freedom from want. Shortly, UNDP definition of security may easily attributed to human rights and humanitarian law-which is attached to the western experience, as some scholars allege. But actually the initiators, Mahbub-ul-Haq, A Pakistani senior UNDP officer has deduced it from his empathic experience and empirical as a citizen of the developing world.

UNDP's approach drew criticism from Canada who immediately propose a counter approach. Having previously has similarities with UNDP, Canada then find disagreement with UNDP (Bajpai, 2003: 17). Since it is considered too broad in scope for Canada, the

definition of the UNDP for the security attached to underdevelopment and neglect "human insecurity from violent conflict". Canada later initiated Lysoen conference in 1999 in cooperation with Norway. From this town in Norway, Lysoen Declaration states that the principal value of human security is freedom from fear, freedom from want, and equal opportunities. However, they stated that the main essence is freedom from "pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety or their lives". For them, human security is the security of citizens guided by the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Geneva Conventions. This statement—that reflects the context of experience and their psychological state as a developing world citizen—Canadian approach isnow better known as a bastion of "freedom from fear" camp (Bajpai, ibid., Alkire, 2003: 21).

The third approach, the Japanese approach, is very similar to the approach of UNDP. For Japan, human security comprehensively covers anything that threatens the safety, well-being and dignity of individuals, such as environmental degradation, human rights abuses, international organized crime, the problem of refugees, narcotics, the spread of infectious diseases, and so on. However, Japan is actually does not offer conceptualisation of human security to be translated as a practical guide to implementation. The country which is forced to become pacifist by the US through the 1947 Constitution actually make human security as a tool for policy guidance for activities in non-traditional security areas with special emphasis on meeting human needs and development (Atanassove-Cornelis, 2006: 49)

Indonesia, based on the forementioned evolution of security, is actually still in the second generation, extended or the comprehensive security. This means that like almost all countries in Southeast Asia, it has has been beyond the first stage, traditional or common security, but has not reached the third stage, human security. Most Southeast Asian countries are still in the second phase, which is extended or the comprehensive security. According to Acharya (2002) and Anthony (2002), in Southeast Asia human security emerges as new discourse to criticize comprehensive security which is still state-centred approach. The same opinion was also expressed Tadjbakhsh with the exception of Thailand (2005: 17).

The following table distinguishes the two:

Table 1: Characteristics of Comprehensive Security and Human Security

Components	Comprehensive Security	Human Security
Unit of Analysis	State	People
Source of Threat	External & Internal	External & Internal
Type of Threat Examined	Military & Non-Military	Military & Non-Military
Element of Threat Examined	State & Non-State	State & Non-State
Theoretical & Empirical emphasis	Human Needs	Human Needs & Rights
Focus	Order & Stability	Justice and Emancipation

Sources: Zarina Othman (2007) and Shahrbanou Tadjbakhs and Anuradha M. Chenoy (2005)

Unfortunately, in implementation, not many countries that have incorporated human security into policy. There are only three countries in the world which include human security framework into their foreign policy, namely Japan, Canada, and Norway (Alkire, 2003: 17). Framework for Canada's foreign policy is built with a focus on peace, security, development, and international cooperation during and just after the Cold War. The field includes the eradication of landmines, the protection of civilians at the outbreak of the conflict, to humanitarian intervention in Rwanda or Srebrenica. While Norway, still in support of freedom from fear camp, focusing efforts on preventive war, control of small arms

and hands (small and light arms), as well as keep the peace operation. Canada and Norway are partners in building the Human Security Network (Lysoen Group) whose annual meeting attracted government and NGOs from 13 countries, including Australia, Chile, Greece, Jordan, Mali, Slovenia, Thailand. On the other hand, Japan, which has similarities with UNDP, show its commitment through the Official Development Assistance (ODA) to developing countries and set up the Commission on Human Security (CHS).

3. Islam And Human Development

The first and fundamental legal basis for Islam's principles is the Qur'an. The verses of the Qur'an become universal principles that guide discussion on the Islamic contribution to the discourse of human security and human development. The rule deduced from the Qur'an is abstract-universal principles that reach across space and time and is primary in status. The second legal basis derived from the experience of the people in the time of Prophet Muhammad, a person who became a model for perfect human. If the Qur'an is abstract-universal, then the hadiths are operational. When the Qur'an requires the redistribution of wealth through zakat or infaq without certainty in size, then the hadith ensure the figure to 2.5%. The combination of both, meta-framework and archetypal model, will represent a paradigm known as the Islamic paradigm (Mirrakhor and Askari, 2010: xiii).

In the study of Islamic law, the Qur'an is source of all sources of law in Islamic law or sharia. Hadith is in the second position for its explanatory role and first interpreter of the universal rules of the Qur'an. Hadith is not just only sayings of the Prophet (qouly), but also his attitude, actions, even in conditions of silence, can also be considered as the hadith (fi'ly). So based on hierarchy, the Qur'an is the primary source, while the hadith a secondary source.

Naming the ideal vision of the Qur'an as a meta-framework is rooted in efforts of criticism towards the values of the West as the basis for the concept of development, patterns of government, as well as the engineering of western community. Archetypal models have become the naming of the model interpretation of the prophet because it refers to the role model or ideal order that comes from the time of Prophet Muhammad. Archetypal model also refers to Jungian Psychology to the meaning of "archetypes" as an unconscious idea, pattern of thought, image, inherited collectively by a community and embedded in the psyche of the individual. Until now, the model society of Medina in the times of Prophet Muhammad lived a perfect model envisioned as a model of Islamic society where people look up to.

Although there are two sources of primary and secondary law in the Quran and Hadith, Islamic law also recognize tertiary law. Tertiary legal source can be found in ijtihad (reasoning attempts to produce a law) if something unassessed—due to its novelty, for example—in two primary and secondary sources of law. Among the forms of ijtihad is *al-urf* (local custom or habit).

In their study to initiate a development concept in Islamic paradigm, Mirrakhor and Askari (2010) stated that society residing role in the path to the ideal society in terms of this development is the society which: 1) obey the law, and 2) always feel the presence of God in all circumstances.

Askari and Mirrakhor's proposal is the answer to the argument that Islam has nothing to do with development, even become the obstacle. Principles which they offer fill the gaps left

by Western development model and model of development proposed by Amartya Sen and Mahbub ul Haq. Their principles not only exceed backward motions as Sen's that includes the idea of Adam Smith on the need for morality and ethics as a guide in economic activity, but also Haq's forward movement, who offers the concept of human welfare as the ultimate goal of development. Mirrakhor and Askari provide sharp criticism on the concept of development Sen, namely; ignorant for self-improvement, too focused on the have nots and ignorant to their haves, and also the redistribution of income (Mirrakhor and Askari, 2010: 180).

Their principles are even surpassing by entering two sides; concerns on ethical-spiritual and self-development. Mirrakhor and Askari propose four basic concepts as an alternative development framework of Islam: 1) *walayah* (guardianship), 2) *karamah* (human dignity), 3) *mitsaq* (primordial covenant), and 4) *khalifah* (agency-trusteeship). Fourth framework that has three dimensions: self-development (*rushd*), physical development (*isti'mar*) and the development of human collectivity. Personal development dimension targeting improvement efforts in terms of individual towards perfection. Physical development dimension is defined as the use of natural resources to build and preserve the earth in order to meet the material needs of individuals and communities, and humanitarian interests. Last dimension is an effort to advance human collectivity towards integration and unity (Mirrakhor and Askari, 2010: 57).

Mirrakhor and Askari effort is an attempt to use Islam as an alternative ideational factors that guide human development. However, the effort is not easy. Until now, the effort was fiercely debated and criticized not only the internal Muslims, but also from outside. While most scholars who are in the UNESCO seeks to complement the general norms of human rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) with the values of Islam through the Universal Declaration of Islamic Human Rights in Cairo in 1981, sharp criticism emerged from senior United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), which accused the Declaration as a "grave threat to inter-cultural consensus on which to base the formulation of universal human rights instruments" (Auda, 2007).

However, not all parties respond negatively to this Islamic Declaration of Human Rights. Some other UNHCR officials even praise this Declaration as "add a positive dimension of human rights, because—in contrast to the international instruments—this Declaration adds a new dimension to obey moral motivation". There is a divine element that strengthens the philosophical foundations and strengthen their enforcement efforts.

4. Human Security Is Human Development

Human security brings the study of International Relations out of their traditional territory. Its coverage extends from a range of actors, agendas, to collaboration for action. It could be said that the Human Security is the broadening meaning of security. Human security is a part of the New Security which, according to Buzan, Waever, and Wilde (1998) includes not only security in the traditional sense, i.e. military security, but also political security, economic security, environmental security and societal security.

Human security has the objective to safeguard the vital core of all human live from critical pervasive threats, in a way that it is consistent with long term human fulfillment (Alkire, 2003). Although seen adjacent to the meaning of human development, but there are

fundamental differences between the two. According to Alkire, there are at least four differences. The first difference is that human security has limitations. Vital core for human security is the basic capabilities. Its focus is the provision of vital capabilities—in the sense that only the basics—to everyone equally. While attention of human development is wider than that since its provision included more than basic needs.

The second difference is focus of anticipation. Human security has put priority to resolve the threat of violence and economic downturn directly, while human development is more focused on engendering progress. According to Sen, the focal objective of human security is "downturn with security" while human development "growth with equity". Despite the overlapping of the two, but human security gives more emphasis on the protection of critical threats such as terrorism and the new security.

The third difference is the time horizon. Human development invests for the long term by doing efforts such as institution building, capacity building and sustainable action at all times. In some cases, the human security approach is also doing the same thing but in a shorter time and without participation.

Keer (2007: 95) simplifies this distinction while offering solutions. Human security which focus on the form of threats of violence, or focus on freedom from fear, is labeled narrow school. While human security which focus on emerging threats from underdevelopment, or emphasis on freedom from want, is called broad school. Attention to the nexus of violence and human development will be a reconciliation for both. So at this point, human security and human development is actually not different.

However, the adoption of the differences also able to help map the ideational foundation of both. Based on the idea of Askari and Mirrakhor's we may define the ethical foundation of each two. For Mirrakhor and Askari, Islam can serve as a guide of conduct toward an ideal society that is not only law abiding society in the sense of phisycal, but also wrapped with eschatological obedience which is metaphysical. Thus, human development with longer time horizon would take the source from the Quran because it is abstract and universal. On the other hand, human security with shorter time horizon, requires hadith and other sources of ijtihad, *al urf*—although both are not mutually exclusive—that are more operative-conditional.

Table 2: Difference Between Human Security And Human Development

ASPEK	HUMAN SECURITY	HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
Scope	Narrow	Broad
Concern	Basic Capabilities	Extended Capabilities
Fokus antisipasi	Security	Equity
Time Horizon	Short-term	Long-term
Dimension	Politic	Community
Ethical Base	Al-Quran (Abstract-Universal)	Hadits & Local Values (Operative-Contextual)

5. Societal Security

Human development marks a paradigm shift in referent object of international relations discipline. While the traditionalist make state as the referent object, the broadening meaning of security proponents make people as the referent object. Buzan and supporters of the New

Security call this people-centered security as societal security. Buzan himself began using the terms "societal security" in his book *People, State, and Fear* (1991).

In 1994, UNDP released Human Development Report that distinguish between political security and community security (Tadjbakhsh, 2007: 15). Political Security meant the emergence of a threat in the form of political repression, respect for human rights, protection of miltary dictatorships or abuse, political or state repression, the practice of torture, ill treatment or disappearance, and from political detention and imprisonment. While community security threats emerged in the form of the integrity of cultural diversity, security from oppressive tradutional practices, treating harshly woman, discriminating against or indigenous ethnics groups and refugees, group rebellion and armed conflict.

Community security is included in the category of societal security that become a bridge between global security and individual level. If state sustainability based on secured sovereignty, then the sustainability of the nation depends on the maintenance of identity. The threat of national identity could arise from the lack of cohesion built on language, culture, religion, or ethnicity. Then the security of the community is one important part of state security. National identity—also called collective identity—emerges from the accumulation of identities of diverse individuals in a country. It emerged from self-conception of collectivities and is formed from individuals who identify themselves as part of a collectivity (Roe, 2007: 166).

The promoters SDGs on their website released indicators of goal achievement. Indicators of the 16th SDGs combine elements of political security that focus on violence and community security element that focuses on human development (SDGs A Monitoring Framework and Indicators Online, 2017). It could be inferred that the distinction of political and security community has been reconciled in SDGs.

6. Societal Security In Malang City

Malang is a municipal-level region in East Java province and the second largest city in the province after Surabaya. Malang consists of 5 districts (Klojen, Lowokwaru, Blimbing, Sukun, and Kedungkandang) and 57 kelurahan (villages in city) with a population of approximately 887.443 (April, 2016). Malang is famous as a city of history and student city because of many historical relics and is one of the main educational goal in Indonesia. Malang city can be seen in the map below:
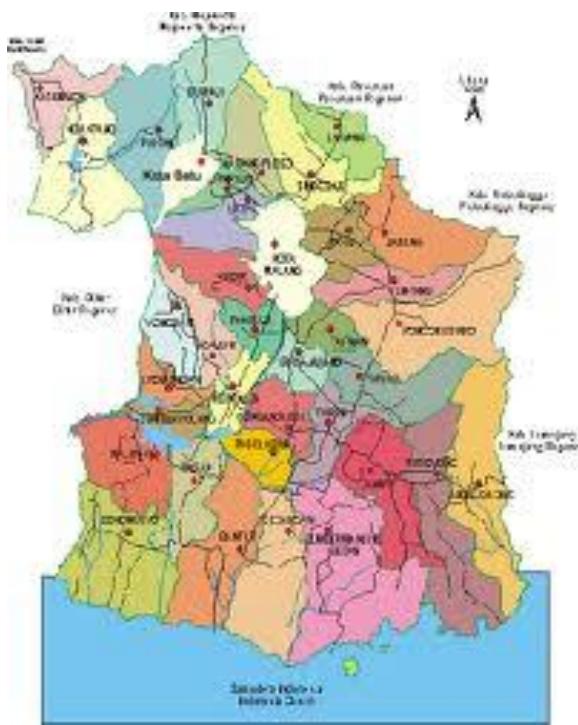
Picture 1. Map of Malang City

Demographically, Malang is dominated by Javanese who are the majority population along with some other ethnic groups such as Madura, Chinese and Arabic. It is also one of the main destinations for education in Indonesia that many residents outside the city of Malang settled in. This causes it became one of the cities with the level of ethnic diversity is quite high, although more dominated by students. Aside from the contents of ethnicity, Malang is also a city with religious diversity. Although the majority of the population are muslims, there are many other faiths in the city. It can be seen from many places of worship in the city of Malang. This shows quite a high level of diversity in the region, both in terms of ethnicity or religion.

In Malang, research on community security is focused on the prevalence of social conflicts and the threat this poses to the community as well as the resilience of local culture. In this case, open social conflict does not occur in the community, but there are some acts of discrimination or stereotyping which can lead to social conflict.

In addition to ethnic discrimination, some areas also have the potential tense between religions. One respondent told of the rejection of local residents against the construction of houses of worship and organizing religious activities because does not want to disturb the harmony of the local residents.

On resilience of the local culture, many respondents acknowledged that many local cultures that do not get proper protection so it can be endangered. Efforts to preserve local culture has been done by the people themselves, assisted by some religious organizations were quite dominant in Malang such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. The government's role in the preservation of this almost non-existent so residents working on their own.

In general, the level of community security in Malang is low. Although there is no open social conflict, but the potential for conflict exists, either in the form of discrimination or stereotyping among citizens. In addition, efforts to preserve local culture by the government is

still less so residents should be working on their own with the help of local religious organizations.

In terms of political security, oru research focused on political participation, political rights of citizens and democratic practices in Malang. Based on these dimensions, most felt that the political participation of local people is high enough, it's just still limited to participation on Election (Election) and not on the local elections (elections). In short, political security in the city of Malang is quite safe in terms of political participation (right to vote and have already met), it's just that there is still a considerable threat related to transparency and political accountability in Malang.

Based on the explanation above, the conditions of human security in the city of Malang in general can be mapped as follows:

Table 3 : Political Security and Political Community in Malang

Dimension	Threat Level	Types of Main Threat
Community Security	High	- Potential conflict between ethnics - Potential conflict between religions/beliefs - Still a lack of effort to preserve local culture
Political Security	Average	- Transparency & Political accountability

Open conflict does not appear in the community, but the potential can be seen from the maintenance of inter-ethnics, inter-religions, or intergroup prejudices. Open social conflict potential to be manifest in the form of action or intolerance or the most minimal of latently through prejudice in the form of stereotyping.

Mutual prejudice that occurred in the inter-ethnic relations are form of social distrust. Some of respondents confirmed that mistrust still live in everyday society. The Javanese blamed Chinese since they do not believe in them and tend to close themselves off from association with other citizens. Chinese houses are in high fence that showed how mistrust and insecurity was evident in their daily lives. In Malang, unlike in Solo or Yogyakarta, the level of assimilation of Chinese with other ethnic groups tend to be low so that the inter-ethnic prejudices tend to be high.

In addition, the findings of the respondents also indicated that the potential for social conflict could arise from the relationship among religious or intergroup. Although Malang is known to have many boarding schools, but the city also is the center of Christian and Catholic missionaries. Unfortunately, the role of state/government has been perceived small by the community in providing a sense of security.

7. Indonesian Islam Approach To Human Development

In the viewpoint of human security, absence or lack of involvement of the governemnt is deemed to be a bad sign for the institutional capacity of the country. The state is still regarded as the provider and giver and guarantor of security for its citizens. Lack of state role in community and political security shows a lack of infrastructural capacity and state coercion.

Local government is a representation of the state/central government and also responsible for the provision of security to its citizens. In the implementation of SDGs, local governments play a vital role, because since decentralization era, two-thirds of people's fate

and quality of life is largely determined by the performance of the local government in the field of security and human development (Heolman et.al., 2015). The enactment of regional autonomy policy seen as an attempt to translate the decentralization policy and expects the government at the local level empowered with all the modalities they have.

Although not a religious country, Indonesia is a country that is based on religious values. At this point, Islam as a religion of the majority of the population playing a major role. Islamic law as a reference for the Islamic community not only gives directions for religious issues, but also for worldly and non-religious matters. For these non-religious matter, for example in maintaining polity, the Muslims have freedom to formulate them through ijtihad. Principles referred for this comes from the five sharia ideals: protecting religion, preservation of life and physical safety, offspring, mind, and wealth.

As ethical guiding principles, Islam in Indonesia could come into considerations and give direction for development. Consideration would be deduced from universal principles of sharia ideals and six legal values. Having set out with reference to the ideals of the shari'a and elaborating diverse opinions, this study offers three rules—*walayah* (guardianship), *insaniyyah* (human dignity), *ma'ruf* (local values)—that deduced to six legal values that are: 1) freedom, 2) balanced relations of universe-God-man, 3) social welfare, 4) equality, 5) justice, 6) recognition on the local values. The six values are universal Islamic values which are then discussed with the local values rooted in the community.

Those principles are guidance for effort making to create a welfare society. Welfare is an important point in society, and every person is entitled to receive welfare through service and social security committed by a legitimate institution in this country. Social welfare is not the personal responsibility of individuals, communities or companies, yet it is the governement who have more authority in the services and social security. This is due to the fact that state has an obligation to fulfill, protect and respect basic rights, social, economic and cultural rights of its citizens. So in this case the state is obliged to provide services and social security, whereas public or private institution in this context is not obligatory.

Suharto (2007) argues that development of social welfare has a role and functions: 1) to encourage social investment through the preparation and provision of human resources or labor force quality 2) Improve the Human Development Index (HDI) through policy and social services that have a direct impact on increase the empowerment of the people in accessing resources and social services, the economy, education, and health. 3) Reinforce the role and mandate of "state obligations" in realizing the evenness of life significantly through the social protection system.

Islam itself teaches how to strike balance between the freedom of the individual ownership (in economic sense) with justice and the common goods. Islam teaches that social welfare can be done through three things: zakat, social security, and financial institutions and business activities.

8. Conclusion

This paper argues that there is convergence between Islam and human development. The results of this research formulate that three sources of law acts as primary, secondary, and tertiary sources as efforts to make movement forward, backward, and beyond existing

framework of development. Al-Quran as the primary source, hadith of the prophet as a secondary source, discussed with tertiary source which provided space for the accommodation of local values to enrich the discourse of human development. The model adopted is a blend of meta-frameworks, archetypal model of society of the Prophet Muhammad era, and discussed with local values.

The rules underlying the arguments summarized in three rules: *walayah* (guardianship/leadership/ responsibility), *insaniyyah* (humanity), and *ma'ruf* (local values). Three basic rules have become a reference for the value that has law implications, or "rule of law", which will be the guidance for instrumentation human development in the perspective of Indonesian Islam. Six legal values offered from this study: 1) freedom, 2) balanced relations of universe-God-man, 3) social welfare, 4) equality, 5) justice, and 6) the recognition of the local value.

Bibliography

Ali, Syed Mumtaz (2008), Social Welfare: A Basic Islamic Value, http://muslimcanada.org/welfare.htm (Accessed 20 October 2015)

Alkire, Sabine. (2003). "A Conceptual Framework for Human Security", Center for Research on Inequality, Human Security, and Ethnicity (CRISE), CRISE Working Paper 2. Oxford: University of Oxford

An-Na'im, Abdullahi Ahmed. (1990). "Islam, Islamic Law, and the Dilemma of Cultural Legitimacy for Universal Human Rights", dalam Welch, Claude E., and Leary, Virginia, 1990, Asian Perspective of Human Rights, Boulder: Westview Press

Atanassova-Cornelis, Elena. (2006). Defining and Impelementing Human Security: The Case of Japan, dalam Sascha, Werthes, dan Debiel, Tobias (Eds.), INEF Report. Essen: Institut für Entwicklung und Frieden (Institute for Development and Peace)

Bajpai, Kanti. (2000). "Human Security: Concepts and Measurement", Kroc Institute Occasional Paper, No. 19. Notre Dame: Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

Hoelman, Mickael. (2015). Panduan SDGs untuk Pemerintah Daerah (Kota dan Kabupaten) dan Pemangku Kepentingan Daerah. Jakarta: INFID

Indicators and A Monitoring Framework: <www.indicators.report/goals/goal-16/> Accessed March 1, 2017

Kerr, Pauline. (2007). "Human Security", dalam Collins, Alan, Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Madjid, Nurcholish et.al (eds.). (1995). Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Islam dalam Sejarah, Jakarta: Paramadina

_____, 1994, "Nurcholish Madjid Menjawab: Menatap Islam di Masa Depan", Ulumul Qur'an, No.1, Vol. 5

Mirrakhor, Abbas, and Askari, Hossein. (2010). Islam and the Path to Human and Economic Development, New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Suharto, Edi (2007), Kebijakan Sosial Sebagai Kebijakan Publik: Peran Pembangunan Kesejahteraan Sosial dan Pekerjaan Sosial dalam Mewujudkan NegaraKesejahteraan di Indonesia, Bandung: Alfabeta

Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou. (2007). Human Security: Concepts and Implications. Abingdon: Routledge.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP). (1994). Human Development Report 1994. New York: Oxford University Press

Werthes, Sascha, dan Debiel, Tobias. (2006). "Human Security on Foreign Policy Agendas: Introduction to Changes, Concepts, and Cases", dalam Sascha, Werthes, dan Debiel, Tobias (Eds.), INEF Report. Essen: Institut für Entwicklung und Frieden (Institute for Development and Peace)

Prosperity Through Sexuality: A study of Outdoor Sexual intercourse as a Ritual in Kemukus Mountain Sragen Central Java

Agus Wahyudi

Universitas Nahdlatul Ulama Surabaya

aguswahyudi@unusa.ac.id

Keywords:	Abstract
Prosperity, outdoor sexual intercourse, ritual.	This research was conducted to find out how the actors interpret the 'Ngalap Berkah' execution of ritual sexual intercourse on Mount Kemungkus, as well as what their expectations of the ritual. This research is descriptive research using qualitative methods. Symbolic interaction theory of the main shaft into Helbert Blummer in this study. The results of this research show that the perpetrators 'Ngalap Berkah' know of any sexual relationship during the ritual. They assume that by performing these sexual relationships, their wishes can be easily reached. The results obtained after performing the ritual of the 'Ngalap Berkah' can be either a business or work more smoothly, though on the other hand there are also yet to get the results of the ritual.
Kata Kunci:	Abstrak
Kemakmuran, hubungan seksual di luar ruangan, ritual.	Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk mengetahui bagaimana para pelaku menafsirkan pelaksanaan execution Ngalap Berkah 'dalam melakukan hubungan seksual ritual di Gunung Kemungkus, serta apa yang mereka harapkan dari ritual tersebut. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif. Teori interaksi simbolik dari poros utama ke Helbert Blummer dalam penelitian ini. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pelaku 'Ngalap Berkah' mengetahui adanya hubungan seksual selama ritual. Mereka beranggapan bahwa dengan melakukan hubungan seksual ini, keinginan mereka dapat dengan mudah tercapai. Hasil yang diperoleh setelah melakukan ritual 'Ngalap Berkah' dapat berupa bisnis atau bekerja lebih lancar, meskipun di sisi lain ada juga yang belum mendapatkan hasil dari ritual tersebut.

1. Introduction

In today's modern era the Javanese people are very much retained their culture (Koentjaraningrat, 1987: 81-83). First in terms of Javanese society behavior that is to maintain their philosophical life in this case commonly referred to as kejawen (Geertz, 1981;44). Kejawen is a thought that belongs to a deeply rooted Javanese tradition, which is primarily inspired by Hindu-Buddhist thought. (Niels Muder, 1999: 46). In all aspects and behaviors, both acts and speech, Javanese society always uses the correct calculations, ways or deeds, in order to successfully achieve a goal (Geertz, 1981;44).

There are many ways a person can make a fortune. In addition to a reasonable way of working, there are also ways that are considered abnormal or done beyond human reason. In every job, there are various problems and risks that must be faced both internal and external factors. One of the problems of external factors is the existence of a competition that even uses magical powers.

It is mostly found in the business world and has become a natural thing. For the sake of smooth work, magical ways are done so as not to lose in the competition so that life can

continue to run. The magical way is considered to help smooth the business so as to get the wealth quickly and briefly. This often happens in communities where they use supernatural media to facilitate their business. Besides usinghelp religious leaders, some of them perform various ritual pesugihan with other creatures.

The state of Indonesia has a deep-rooted cultural diversity, so that the majority of its people still holds to its noble cultural and spiritual values. For example in the land of Java which has many forms of ritual, whether religious rituals, cultures or rituals that smell with pesugihan or hope of blessing. There are various forms of ritual pesugihan, there are shaped tuyul, monkeys or apes. Some give tumbal, hermaphrodite. In GunungKawi, there is a large tree that is often used as a place to perform pesugihan is a tree named Dewandaru.

As local community figures tell us that the tree can bring good luck when one sits under a Dewandaru tree and then a fall leaves, twigs, or fruit from the tree. In Yogyakarta, precisely in Parang Tritis Beach there is also a form of ritual pesugihan. The ritual is supposedly done by intercourse with Nyi Roro Kidul or Queen of South Beach in the form of a golden dragon. That way, the scales of the golden dragon will be loose, from here it is considered that the scales are the result of a ritual performed with Nyi Roro Kidul (Anonymous, 2013).

Prostitution or prostitution today is not taboo among Indonesians. Parents and even young people have a lot to know the existence of prostitution is rife in the community. Sex and women are two things that are often linked. Not only in developed countries, prostitution always exists and becomes part of the life from the people. The world of prostitution has existed since antiquity.

Precisely before Christ, in the State of Greek prostitution is not considered bad and secret. In important cities or harbors there are many women who work as prostitutes and become the most important part of economic activity in Greece. Even a parliamentarian in Athens established state-owned prostitution houses where the price of his wife was regulated by the State (Halperin 1990). Prostitution is an act of unrestrained and obscene, because of the existence of sexual appetite against the opposite sex without knowing the limits of modesty (Jajuli, 2010).

Prostitution in its literal meaning is sexual activity (without marriage) which has been prepared with the consent of both parties. According to Tjahyo Purnomo and Ashadi Siregar, 1983, the term prostitution is "The act or practice of a bitch, a wild, mischievous, abusive norm who wants a man to have sex with her by paying. Prostitutes themselves are professions that sell services to satisfy the sexual needs of customers.

Indonesia still holds tightly to the values contained in every culture that exists. Especially in a very strong Javanese society with a belief in their ancestors. The majority of them hold fast to the Javanese customs and ordinances that have been passed down by their ancestors since many years ago. In accordance with its development, the ritual tradition experienced a shift of meaning in its implementation.

A ritual usually has sacred values in each of its actions. Today, rituals are abused by certain circles to earn a living in order to meet the necessities of life. One of them is a ritual on Mount Kemukus. The ritual is performed by intercourse with women who are not his wife. The existence of this ritual becomes a good opportunity for the prostitutes hawking themselves to the men who came to seek blessings from Mount Kemukus. So the visitors who

come to Mount Kemungkus must be good at choosing women who "help" them in carrying out the ritual.

The existence of prostitution wrapped with ritual ngalab berkah, Mount Kemukus can then contribute significantly to the region. During the course of the implementation of ritual pesugihan in Mount Kemukus, there are actors involved in the implementation. They can also be called as caretakers. These actors are believed to know more about the procedure of performing ritual pesugihan in Mount Kemukus.

The focus of the problem from this study is:

a. How are the actors involved in performing pesugihan rituals in Gunung Kemungkus interpreting pesugihan rituals at Gunung Kemungkus?

b. What is the hope of the perpetrators of pesugihan who engage in sexual intercourse and do not have sexual intercourse in the ritual on Mount Kemukus?

2. Methodology

This research uses qualitative method, with descriptive research type. Researchers want to describe in detail the general picture without drawing initial conclusions. Determination of subject (informant / resource) in this research using accidental method. In this technique, the informant was selected randomly and accidentally at the time of the research. This method is used to facilitate digging and searching for information. The number of informants in this study amounted to 6 people.

The research is located at Gunung Kemukus, Sragen. Because the phenomenon is about to be closely related to the existence of sexual intercourse during the implementation of ritual pesugihan in Mount Kemungkus.

3. Review of Related Literature
3.1. Rituals

Conducting a certain event or ritual in a place considered sacred in the religious actions of the Javanese society is part of the religious life of Javanese society. It can be seen from the many myths whose develop in society. As a religious act, ritual in principle is a human effort to closer to the almighty, the gods, or the creatures inhabiting the unseen nature. The act of human beings to relate to beings that are outside of himself.

Javanese beliefs or rituals are known as kejawen. Ajaranke jawen is a mixed belief and ritual of ancestral worship with formal religions. Regarding the formal religions that exist in Indonesia are Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Konghuchu. Besides these six official religions, religion is also found outside the five official religions or better known as the flow of belief. The flow of belief in Javanese society is known as kebatinan.

According to Mulder (1973: 17), basically kebatinan is a mystical, penetration of and knowledge of the universe with the aim of establishing direct relationships between individuals and the environment of the Almighty.

Rituals are so complex that they cannot be explained by a single theory. Then the concept of religion devide be five components that have their own role. The five components are as follows.

a. Religious emotions

All human actions based on a vibration of the soul so as to encourage people to perform an act of religion are religious emotions. The vibrations of the soul have been experienced by every human being, even though it lasts only a few seconds and then disappears again.

b. The belief system

The belief system in religious activity contains many elements, among which relate to thinking with human thought and conception of gods and spirits both good and evil, the creation of nature and the world (cosmogony), the form and nature of the world and nature (cosmogini), life and death, and the afterlife.

c. The system of rituals and ceremonies

The ritual and ceremonial system is manifested in a human action. Rituals and ceremonies are performed as intermediaries to communicate to God, gods, spirits and other supernatural beings. Some rituals are usually performed ie praying, prostration, studying, sacrificing, eating together, dancing and singing, processing, sacred dramas, fasting, meditating and meditating.

d. Ritual and ceremonial equipment

In rites and ceremonies can be used a variety of facilities and equipment such as places or buildings of worship, god statues, sacred sound instruments, sacred gamelan. Ceremonial actors often have to wear clothes that are also considered sacred.

e. Religious people

In the religious system of the religious people is a social unity that embraces a system of beliefs and that executes ritual system and ceremonies. The rites and ceremonies system with the religious people is very closely related, because the members of the people who carry out their rites and ceremonies.

From the above description, it can be concluded that the five components of religion have their own roles, but one component with another is closely related (Koentjaraningrat, 1987: 81-83).

Many Javanese follow kebatinan but officially claim to be Muslim. The difference between Islam and Javanese kebatinan is seen in the depiction of God and in the necessity of living the soul of Islam. A deeper appreciation shows that Islam is in the same direction as kebatinan. One form of ritual that is still rooted in people today is a concerned behavior. For the Javanese, especially the adherents kejawen behavior is concerned with various ways such as fasting with certain restrictions or doing semedi.

Meditation or Javanese rituals call it '*tapa*' is usually done at certain places that have certain powers. Selection of the site is usually transferred to the myths of the surrounding community or in a particular mythical story whose developed in a region. In kebatinan, according to Mulder (1980: 25) mentions tapa or semedi on its own aims to purify themselves.

Meanwhile, according to Suseno (2003: 140) mentions tapa done by the Javanese is not a goal but with the intention to control his own body, and cultivate the impulses (lust) and not eliminate them. One of the deep-rooted beliefs of the Javanese version of Islam is a

special ritual that must be done in order to placement themselves so that life is lived more calm and controlled.

Exploring further in the spiritual actions of Javanese people, especially adherents kejawen. Based on interests, the spiritual actors can be divided into two interests, namely spiritual interests (sacred) and worldly interests (profan). Seen from the place of doing spiritual behavior can be divided into two the function spiritual spiritual (sacred) and worldly functions (profane). Spiritual function is related to the function of getting closer to God or *'manunggaling kawulalangusti'* worldliness function is a action as an alternative to obtain solutions in searching worldliness or improve the welfare of his life.

A place often used as a spiritual activity related to God is a grave. The grave in this question is the tomb of the figures who when life has a certain charisma. One of the tombs that are still visited by many people of Java and outside Java is the tomb of Prince Samudra, who was in Pendem Village, Sumber lawang Sub-District, Sragen Regency.

3.2. Theory of Symbolic Interactionism

This research uses Symbolic Interactionism Theory as a root to analyze the phenomenon about the existence of prostistusi in pesugihan ritual at Gunung Kemungkus. Herbert Blumer coined the term symbolic interactionism in 1973 and wrote several essays that fostered his development (Morrione, 2007). For Blumer with his emphasis on the impact of external stimuli on individual behavior, it is obviously reductionist psychology. Several other types of psychological reductionism disturb Blumer, for example, he criticizes those who attempt to explain human actions by relying on conventional ideas about the concept of "attitude" (Blumer 1955/1969: 94). In Blumer's view, it is a very mechanistic thought; the important thing is not the attitude as an internalized tendency "but the deciding process through which the actor forges his actions" (Blumer 1955/1969: 97). Blumer also opposes sociologistic theory (especially structural functionalism) which views individual behavior as determined by large-scale external forces.

Symbolic Interactions: Perspective and Method There is nothing inherent in an object in providing meaning to humans. But keep in mind that the essence of lovers and haters does not automatically internalize the two extremes of the object. Blumer (1965: 5) states: the actor chooses, examines, thinks, categorizes, and transforms meaning in relation to the situation in which he is placed in the direction of his actions. Actually, interpretation should not be considered merely as an application of meanings that hasdefined, but as a process of formation in which meanings are used and perfected as instruments for direction and action formation.

According to Blumer human action is not caused by some "external forces" (as functionalists mean) nor by "internal forces" (as psycho-reductionists claim). Blumer argues that the individual is not surrounded by the environment of potential objects that play with him and shape his behavior.

The true picture is that he forms the objects, which gives him meaning, judges his suitability with action, and makes decisions based on that judgment. This is what is meant by interpreting or acting on symbols.

Thus man is a conscious and reflexive actor, uniting the objects he knows through what Blumer (1969: 81) calls the self-indication process. Self indication is "an ongoing process whereby an individual knows something, judges it, gives it a meaning, and decides to act on that meaning". This process of self-indication takes place in a social context in which the individual tries to "anticipate the actions of others and adjust his actions as he interprets them.

Human action is full of interpretation and understanding, for Blumer action is more than just a single performance. Thus, for Blumer the study of society must be a study of collective action, rather than prejudice to what it perceives as a blurred system and elusive functional prerequisites, humans are seen to interpret each other or limit their respective actions and not just react to each action. Blumer (1969: 78-79) states, "thus human interaction is bridged by the use of symbols, by interpretation, by the certainty of the meaning of the actions of others".

In view of society, Blumer (1969: 78) confirms two distinctions of structural functional and symbolic interactionism:

a) First, from the point of symbolic interaction: The organization of human society is a framework in which social action takes place and not the determinant of action.

b) Secondly, such organizations and the changes that take place therein are the product of the activities of units acting and not by the unique "forces" that are beyond explanation. Interactionism - a symbolic one Blumer's headline contains a number of "root images" or basic ideas, which can be summarized as follows:

1) Society consists of humans who interact.
   These activities coincide through joint action, shaping what is known as an organization or social structure.

2) Interaction consists of various human activities related to other humans. Non-symbolic interactions include a simple response stimulus, just like a cough to clean a person's throat. Symbolic interactions include "action interpretation".
   When in conversation someone pretends to cough when disagreeing with the subjects raised by the speaker, the cough becomes a meaningful symbol, used to convey rejection.

3) Objects, have no intrinsic meaning; meaning is more a product of symbolic interaction. Objects can be classified into three broad categories: (a) physical objects, such as tables, plants, or cars; (b) social objects such as mothers, teachers, ministers or friends; and (c) abstract objects such as values, rights and regulations. Blumer (1969: 10 - 11) limits the object as "all things related to it".

4) Humans not only recognize external objects, they can see themselves as objects. So a young man can see himself as a student, a husband and a newly fathered man. This self-view, as with all objects, was born in the process of symbolic interaction.

5) Human action is an interpretative act made by man himself.

6) The action is mutually linked and adapted by group members; this is referred to as collective action which is limited as; the social organization of the behavior of various human actions.

In the perspective of symbolic interaction, social action is placed in the actions of individuals who adjust their respective acting paths to one another through the process of interpretation; group action is the collective action of the individual. In other words according to Blumer society needs to be seen as a "human being acting" rather than as a source of power

acting against that human being. Reality is shaped by the human world itself, because reality is not something given but a word that seems to exist and is produced or it can be said that reality depends on how it is seen.

The reality of Mount Kemungkus is a ritual full of sacred values. Implementation of ritual is usually a sacred ceremony where the value and procedure of its implementation have meaning in accordance with the purpose of doing the ritual. However, at present the procedure of the implementation of the ritual involves the presence of CSWs (Comercial Sex Workers). The sacredness of these rituals is being questioned because the actions clearly violate norms and values.

4. Finding And Discussion
4.1.History of Mount Kemukus

Naming of Mount Kemukus also cannot be separated from the story of Prince Samudro, Prince Samudro's departure that brings the mission of peace is expected again by RadenPatah as ruler of Demak - Bintaro.

Unexpectedly approached Prince Samudro was dead. Initially the location of the tomb of Prince Samudro is very quiet and rarely touchable by people, because it's location of the tomb of Prince Samudro amid the thick forest, as well as many wild animals in it. As time went by, the situation changed after Mount Kemukus was inhabited by the inhabitants. Then it is explained at a time on the hill where Prince Samudro is buried, when the rain or drought approaches the black fog like smoke (steamed) because that's what the locals call the hill is Mount Kemukus to this day.

The name of Mount Kemukus is not unusual with Javanese tradition that still believe in myth and a symbol. The habit of the Javanese in exposing the symbol given by nature is a natural interpretation that can be from a habit. Let's say that when the Javanese saw the butterflies entering the house, they interpreted there would be guests coming to the house. It departs fromrecurring events and then they conclude into a truth.

The core of pilgrimage in the tomb of Prince Samudro;

"Sing sopo duwe panjongko marang samubarang kang dikarepke bisane kelakoniku kudu sarono pawitan temen, mantep, atikangsuci, ojo slewang-sleweng, kudu mindeng marang kang katuju, cedhakno dhemene kaya dene yen arep nekani marang panggonane dhemenane" (Kadjawen, Yogyakarta : October 1934)

"Whoever wants or has a goal for the desired thing then to achieve it must be with sincerity, steady, with a pure heart, do not cut right / left must concentrate on the desired / desired, close desire, as if to go to his favorite place / his pleasure ".

However, the views or opinions are not completely true and need to be straightened out. The emergence of this opinion begins with the interpretation of the meaning of the word "dhemenan".

The Meaning of 'Ngalap Berkah' ritual for seekers of prosperious has been explained before, according to Blumer man has "self", which means explaining that he can be the object of what has been done or in other words the individual can be the object of the action he has done. Self indication is a process whereby the individual knows, judges, gives meaning, decides to act. These actions are then carried out on a previous assessment.

After the perpetrators were aware of the rituals at Kemukus mountain, provided an assessment of the rituals on Kemukus mountain, which included the terms and procedures for performing rituals at Kemukus mountain. According to the perpetrators there is no requirement given to be able to perform rituals on Mount Kemukus, so as to facilitate the perpetrators to perform rituals, the perpetrators just come to Mount Kemukus and then meet the Interpreter Lock to convey the purpose of coming there, then led by Interpreter Lock

After knowing, judging, then give meaning here more aimed at the existence of sexual relations during the implementation of ritual. The existence of sexual relations according to the perpetrators in order to be easy and in the speed to realize the wishes to be achieved by the perpetrators prospereous. The last is to decide to act, the perpetrators perform the ritual on Mount Kemukus the majority want to facilitate all sorts of forms of business they are doing, because in the business they do somewhat difficult.

4.2. Expectation of The Actor

The results obtained by the perpetrators pesugihan during rituals in Mount Kemukus is very diverse. Some have got their wishes, some are still waiting. There are also some who began to get blessings from what he did, although some of them also have not received blessings from the prospereous. The perpetrators of prospereous interpret the prospereous ritual in Kemukus mountain as they know the form of ritual tersebur. The stages are just a shower in Sendang Ontrowulan before a pilgrimage to the tomb of Prince Samudro. After bathing in Sendang Ontrowulan, the perpetrators are invited to pray at the grave of Prince Samudro accompanied by the caretaker of the tomb.

Then after praying, they have sex with a woman who is not her partner. The relationship is done by renting the existing homes in the surrounding area of the tomb of Prince Samudro. The perpetrators are required to come for 7 times in the execution of pesugihan rituals on the evening of Friday pound or Friday night kliwon,

The majority of the perpetrators of prospereous do not feel any objections or difficulties in performing the procedures, conditions, and time specified during the implementation of the ritual at Gunung Kemukus.

From this research can be known meaning pesugihan in Mount Kemukus that is in the implementation of this ritual there is a sexual relationship as one of the stages of ritual. Sexual intercourse is intended to be easy and fast in obtaining desires desired by the perpetrators pesugihan. After knowing, judging, giving meaning, and the last decided to act, the perpetrators began to believe until willing to perform ritual pesugihan at Kemukus mountain. This is based on their meaning that the desire can be achieved if doing the ritual without regard to halal or haram. Some of them want to be exploited all efforts and affairs.

5. Conclusion

1. The existence of prospereous ritual in Kemukus mountain which requires the perpetrators to have sexual relations with other women was still undertaken by many people regardless of values and norms. Because of the great desire that their business can smoothly compete, they are even willing to perform prospereous ritual indeed.

2. Self indication is a process whereby the individual knows, judges, gives meaning, decides to act. These actions are then carried out on a previous assessment. This is what the perpetrators do after knowing the rituals on Kemukus mountain. The perpetrator provides an assessment of the ritual on Kemukus mountain, which includes about the requirements and procedures for performing rituals at Kemukus mountain. After that they go to the caretaker and then make sexual intercourse as a form of prospereous ritual .

3. Ritual in the tomb of Prince Samudro Ngalap Berkah, ritual begins with a sincere intention to god almighty one that his wishes come true, purification in spring Ontrowulan, pray at the tomb of the cemetery were caretaker intermediaries, as well as bringing sow flowers, incense, and the spring water which was added bottle, to the tomb of Prince Samudro to pray and after coming out of the grave of Prince Samudro pilgrims perform the last ritual of looking for a partner or lover to have sexual intercourse. The rituals are held on Friday night, Friday kliwon, and one Suro night. The ritual is done at least seven times for her wishes to be answered.

The influence of ritual 'kejawen' against the ruling elite group. The absolute achievement of power can be achieved if the elite is able to initiate the ritual by having a heart conviction accompanied by a strong suggestion of success. In addition, the elite is also required to meet all the means of ritual needs. After achieving success, the elite continued the ritual of slaughter of goats and tumpengan as a form of thankfulness and gratitude.

Symbols in performing ritual ngalap berkah there are three namely sowing flowers, incense and water sendang. Sowing flowers mean as a charismatic person, in order to become a charismatic and authoritative leader symbolized by a fragrant flower. Then the meaning of incense is to unlock the aura of the ritual practitioner this thing in the leadership is useful to increase the trust in the future leaders in fostering the community. The meaning of own water alone is to purify themselves this is done because many people make mistakes and the ugliness that exists in the self can be wasted with spring water.

Bibliography

Azizah, Nurul. (2014) "*Persepsi masyarakat, tatacara, dan dampak ritual Ngalap Berkah pada objek wisata gunung kemukus Kabupaten Sragen*", Publikasi Jurnal Ilmiah Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta.

Banyuadhi, Gesta. (2015). *Lakudan Tirakat*. Yogyakarta: Saufa.

Barthes, Roland. (1996). "*Mitologi*". (Trj. Nurhadi). Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.

Blumer, Hebert. (1969). *Symbolic Interaction: Perspective and Method*. Berkeley: University of California Pres.

David M. Halperin. (1990). The Democratic Body; Prostitution and Citizenship in Classical Athens Dalam One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love, Routledge, "The New Ancient World" collection, London-New York.

Danandjaja, James. (1986). *Folklor Indonesia, Cetakan ke-2*. Jakarta: Grafitipres.

Frezer, James. (2009). *The Golden Bough*. New Zealand: The Floating Press.

Geertz, Clifford. (1981). *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa*, (terj. Aswab Mahasin). Bandung: Dunia Pustaka Jaya.

Jajuli. (2010). *Motivasi dan Dampak Psikologis Pekerja Seks Komersial*. Pustaka Ilmiah Fakultas Dakwah Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

Koentjaraningrat. (1997). Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia. Jakarta: Djambatan.

Miles, Mettew dan Micheal Hubermen. (1992). Analisis Data, buku sumber metode-metode baru. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press.

Moleong, Lexy J. (2006). Metode Penelitian Kualitatif. Bandung: Rosda karya.

Morrione, Thomas J; Herbert. Herbert George (1900–87). 2007. Dalam Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology. Ritzer, George (ed). Blackwell Publishing.

Mulder, Niels. (1999). Agama,HidupSehari- hari, dan Perubahan Budaya (Jawa, Muangthai dan Filipina). Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Nazir, Muhammad. (1986). Metode Penelitian. Bandung: Remaja Rosda karya.

Purnomo, Tjahjo dan Ashadi Siregar. (1983). *Dolly, Membedah Dunia Pelacuran Surabaya, Kasus Kompleks Pelacuran Dolly*. Jakarta: Grafitipers.

Pusat Informasi Pariwisata. *Pesona Wisata Budaya Jawa Tengah Kabupaten Sragen*. Booklet Dinas Pariwisata Jawa Tengah

Suyanto, Bagong dan Sutinah. (2005). Metode Penelitian Sosial: Berbagai Alternatif Pendekatan. Jakarta: Kencana.

Yahya, (2005). "*Di balik Indahnya Kemukus*" *dalam Lantasa*. Bandung: CV. Nabila Elita Media.

http://www.mediametafisika.com/2013/10/ini-5-ritual-pesugihan-yang-marak-di.html. diunduh pad atanggal 09 Maret 2014 pukul 21.25 WIB.

http://m.repbulika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/14/11/20/nfcat7-ini-tiga-versi--usul-ritual-seks-gunung-kemukus, diakses 25 April 2016, pukul 01. 20 Wita.

http://m.liputan6.com/asal-muaasal-gunung-kemukus-dijadikan-tempatritual.html, diakses 22 April 2016, pukul 23.30 Wita.

http://lib.unnes.ac.id/20292/1/3301411060-S.pdf

http://lib.unej.ac.id/gdlgub-gdl-grey-2008-yuyunsetyowati.pdf, diakses 23 April 2016, pukul 22.30 wita.

http://lib.ui.ac.id/file?file=digital/127434-RB16R38m-Mitos%20Gerwani.pdf, diakses 23 April 2016, pukul 01.21 wita

http://digilib.uns.ac.id/dokumen/detail/7505/Perilaku-wisata-ritual-gunung-Kemukus-Studi-diskriptif tentang-perilaku-ritual-wisatawan-obyek-wisata-makam-Pangeran-Samodra-Gunung-Kemukus-di-Sumber-Lawang-Sragen-Jawa-Tengah diakses 15 Juli 2016 pukul 01.30 wita

Perilaku Pemilih Menjelang Pemilu 2019

Agus Machfud Fauzi

Universitas Negeri Surabaya
agusmfauzi@unesa.ac.id

Keywords:	Abstract
Behavior, Voters, Politics, Elections, 2019	Voter behavior became the main attraction in the process of 2019 national political contestation. At the beginning of the political journey in Indonesia he became a contender for various Ideologies which were participants of the General Election in 1955. Drawbacks responded to this. in the Old Order voters were free to make choices in accordance with the political agreement that was voted upon. Shifting to the New Order Pemillih was limited in its choices because only two political parties and groups of works were allowed to live. The presence of the Order for Reformation of the choice of citizens that made the election for the changing times. Welcoming the 2019 Election the behavior of elections is more interesting to discuss because of the dynamics accompanying.
Kata Kunci:	Abstrak
Perilaku, Pemilih, Politik, Pemilu, 2019	Perilaku pemilih menjadi daya tarik tersendiri dalam proses kontestasi perpolitikan nasional 2019. Pada awal perjalanan perpolitikan di Indonesia ia menjadi rebutan berbagai Ideologi yang diperbolehkan menjadi peserta Pemilu pada tahun 1955. Tarik menarik antara partai politik membuat pemilih merespon dan menyikapi tersebut. pada Orde Lama pemilih bebas menentukan pilihan sesuai dengan orientasi politik yang didianut. Bergeser ke Orde Baru pemillih terbatasi pilihannya karena yang diperbolehkan hidup hanya dua partai politik dan golongan karya. Hadirnya Orde Reformasi membuka kembali pilihan warga yang membuat perilaku pemilih mengikuti perubahan zaman. Menyongsong Pemilu 2019 perilaku pemilih lebih menarik lagi diperbincangkan sebab dinamika menyertai.

1. Pendahuluan

Menjelang Pemilu 2019 ada beberapa hal yang menarik diperhatikan untuk suksesnya pesta demokrasi di Indonesia. Misalkan tentang pendaftaran partai politik baru yang menghasilkan tambahan peserta pemilu dari unsur partai politik bertambah empat partai politik baru pada level nasional, pengerucutan calon pasangan presiden dan wakil presiden tinggal hanya dua pasangan calon yang dalam sejarah pencalonan di pemilu reformasi baru kali ini terjadi pengerucutan langsung dua pada tahap awal, perilaku pemilih yang beragam respon terhadap tahapan pemilu salah satunya pada pasangan calon presiden dan wakil presiden, dan lain sebagainya.

Perilaku pemilih menjadi menarik diteliti karena pemilih menjadi penentu kemenangan pasangan calon presiden dan wakil presiden. Pemilih bisa menjadikan seseorang terpilih menjadi anggota legislatif di berbagai tingkatan (DPR, DPRD Provinsi dan DPRD Kab/Kota), baik dari unsur petahana atau pendatang baru dalam pencalonan legislatif. Pemilih mampu mengacak-acak seseorang bisa menjadi perwakilan daerah melalui DPD (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah) sehingga daerah terwakili aspirasinya di tingkat pemerintahan pusat.

Keterlibatan perilaku pemilih sangat dipengaruhi oleh suasana kehidupan perpolitikan yang ada. Politik demokrasi dan ragam sosiokultural berkonstribusi kehidupan demokrasi dengan pertumbuhan dan perkembangannya. (Aminah: 225, 2014). Ada saatnya mereka tidak peduli terhadap hiruk pikuknya pemilu sebagaimana dalam pengalaman pemilu Orde Baru yang keterlibatan pemilih penuh dengan dramaturgi, sebagian pilihan pemilih bukan karena aspirasinya sendiri tetapi ada pihak lain yang mengintervensi jatuhnya pilihan pemilih. Pada kondisi yang berbeda, pemilih terlibat penuh menyampaikan aspirasi pilihannya berdasarkan aspirasi pemilih, meski terkadang aspirasi pemilih tersebut hadir karena adanya politik uang, atau penyapaan calon yang mampu membangkitkan tergeraknya hati pemilih untuk hadir di TPS (Tempat Pemungutan Suara), atau karena pemilih sadar terhadap pentingnya sosok pemimpin dan wakil rakyat yang menjadi pejuang aspirasinya.

Pada penelitian terdahulu tentang perilaku pemilih dalam pemilu telah menghasilkan beberapa kondisi yang berpengaruh terhadap sukses atau kemunduran demokrasi. Misalkan pada penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Yustiningrum (2015) bahwa terkait faktor sosiologis ada yang perlu ditekankan, *Pertama,* pada diri pemilih, ketaatan mereka dalam melakukan ibadah sesuai dengan agamanya belum tentu memberikan pengaruh terhadap pilihan partai politik yang sesuai dengan nuraninya. Hal ini berbeda jika pemilih dihadapkan pada pilihan calon legislatif saat pemilu, referensi agama seorang caleg berpengaruh terhadap pilihan politiknya, yaitu pemilih mempunyai kecenderungan memilih calon yang beragama sama dengan diri pemilih. *Kedua,* keberadaan janji-janji tentang bantuan materi tidak terlalu berpengaruh pada pemilih untuk menentukan pilihan politiknya. Hak ini berbeda jika pemilih sudah berusia lanjut, hidup di pedesaan, dan mempunyai pendidikan rendah, maka janji-janji menarik tersebut berpengaruh dalam memberikan pilihan suara dalam pesta demokrasi. *Ketiga,* pada penentuan terhadap pilihan politik, sebagian pemilih pemula bisa terpengaruhi oleh pilihan warga dan keluarga di sekitar, sebagaimana keluarga dan teman sekelompok. Para pemilih pemula yang bertempat tinggal di daerah pedesaan sebagian besar mengikuti pilihan orang tua atau tokoh yang mempunyai posisi atau derajat lebih tinggi.

2. Metodologi

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode campuran antara kualitatif dan kuantitatif. Pengumpulan data dalam penelitian ini dengan cara mengkoleksi beberapa hasil survei politik yang dilakukan oleh berbagai lembaga. Berdasarkan penelitian ini, muncul sekian kategori yang bisa dijawab menggunakan penelitian survei, misalkan tentang keterkaitan perilaku pemilih, kepercayaan seseorang, opini yang berkembang, karakteristik sesuatu, harapan bersama, klasifikasi pribadi, dan ilmu pengetahuan.

Berbagai survei yang dilakukan berbagai lembaga secara nasional cakupannya, meskipun peneliti tinggal menerima hasil survei. Pengumpulan data lapangan dilakukan melalui wawancara tatap muka dan atau telpon. Data yang telah terkumpulkan selanjutnya untuk bahan yang dianalisis.

Teori yang digunakan sebagai alat untuk menganalisis tulisan ini fungsi nyata (manifest) dan fungsi tersembunyi (latent) karya Robert K. Merton dalam Teori Fungsional. (Waters, 1994 & Baert, 1998). Setiap gerakan politik menghasilkan kedua fungsi tersebut dengan dominasi yang berbeda pada setiap fenomena. Penjelasan fungsi manifest merupakan

fungsi perilaku pemilih yang diharapkan keberadaannya, sedangkan fungsi latent merupakan perilaku pemilih yang tersembunyi pada suatu tahapan pemilu sebab tidak diharapkan kemunculannya. (Fauzi, 2019).

3. Hasil Dan Pembahasan

Joko Widodo maju kembali sebagai kontestan petahana dalam kontestasi Pemilu Presiden dan Wakil Presiden 2019. Dia berpasangan dengan KH Ma'ruf Amin, seorang tokoh ulama yang dilahirkan dari organisasi keagamaan dan kemasyarakatan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan sebagai mantan Ketua Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI).

Sebelum terpilih calon wakil presiden, terjadi kegaduhan politik dalam menentukan calon wakil presiden yang disandingkan dengan Jokowi. Pada detik-detik terakhir pilihan antara Prof Dr. Mahfud MD dengan KH Ma'ruf Amin, akhirnya KH Ma'ruf Amin dipilih menjadi calon wakil presiden. Hal ini menjadi perhatian masyarakat seluruh Indonesia. Konflik yang tercipta sesaat tersebut menjadi pusat perhatian pemilih sehingga menjadikan masyarakat lebih dekat dengan tahapan pemilu 2019.

Belum ada jaminan Joko Widodo sebagai petahana bisa memenangkan kontestasi Pemilu Presiden dan Wakil Presiden 2019 dengan mudah. Hal ini dikarenakan lawan politiknya merupakan lawan Pemilu 2019, yang mana Pak Prabowo mampu menlahirkan kembali Partai Gerindra dengan respon pemilih yang baik dengan indikasi mampu masuk *electoral threshold* pada Pemiu 2009 dan 2014 sehingga pada Pemilu 2019 diperbolehkan mengusung calon presiden dan wakil presiden berkoalisi dengan partai politik lainnya seperti PAN, PKS, P Demokrat dan lain sebagainya. Kehadiran calon presiden kedua menjadi daya tarik tersendiri bagi masyarakat sebab relatif tidak ada yang berani berkontestasi melawan Joko Widodo sebagai calon presiden petahana yang telah mempunyai segala-galanya. Bahkan dia telah melakukan kampanya yang tidak formal selama hampir lima tahun di seluruh daerah dan kepulauan se Indonesia.

Perilaku pemilih menjadi bergeliat setelah ada tagar #2019 ganti presiden yang merupakan simbol perlawanan terhadap Jokowi sebagai calon presiden petahana. Tagar tersebut dilawan dengan tagar lainnya, misalkan #Jokowi 2 Pediode. Hal ini mendapat perhatian besar oleh rakyat, baik pendukung tagar #2019 ganti presiden, atau sebaliknya berbagai tagar yang dihadirkan oleh para pendukung Jokowi. Fungsi manifest dari kedua fenomena tersebut tercapai cita-cita untuk mengganti presiden bagi #2019 ganti presiden, dan bagi kelompok petahana bisa mempertahankan Joko Widodo sebagai presiden pada periode kedua 2019-2024 dengan tagar #Jokowi 2 periode. Fungsi latentnya ketertarikan pemilih hadir di TPS untuk menyampaikan aspirasi suaranya menjadi lebih massif sebab berharap calon presidennya menang baik dari kubu yang pro atau kontra.

Popularitas calon terkadang tidak seirama denga perilaku pemilih untuk memilih calon, hal ini sebagaimana penelitian pada pilgub DKI 2012. (Martinus, 2013). Dia tidak bisa menang karena hanya faktor politik uang. (Fitriyah, 2014). Kesamaan daerah dan pengaruh lingkungan keluarga juga tidak bisa berpengaruh terhadap pilihan pemilih. (Hasriani, 2015). Ketiga hasil penelitian tersebut menjelaskan perilaku pemilih menarik untuk diteliti lanjutan.

Pasca debat perdana berpengaruh signifikan terhadap perubahan pilihan pemilih terhadap kandidat tertentu, dan mulai meninggalkan apa yang telah berkembang. Hal itu besar dipengaruhi karena masyarakat Indonesia kini sudah memasuki era digital demokrasi.

intensitas publik menggunakan media sosial juga akan berpengaruh terhadap perilaku pemilih yang belum menentukan pilihan. (Kompas: 2019). Fungsi manifest terhadap debat yaitu sebagai tahapan yang harus dilaksakan oleh KPU dalam penyelenggaraan pesta demokrasi. Fungsi latennya antusiasme pemilih untuk mengapresiasi calon presiden lebih besar dan berpengaruh terhadap partisipasi pemilih di bilik suara.

Beberapa lembaga yang berhubungan lembaga politik telah melakukan survei politik terkait dengan dengan partisipasi pemilih dalam mensukseskan pemilu 2019. Berbagai momentum politik mendapat perhatian pemilih untuk mengenal lebih dekat para calon presiden dan calon wakil presiden supaya mereka tidak salah dalam menentukan pilihannya.

Partisipasi pemilih dalam politik merupakan keterlibatan aktif dalam proses pemerintahan yang berdampak pada kehidupan. (Faulks: 226, 2010). Ia bisa terjadi sebelum pelaksanaan pemungutan suara. Ia tidak harus dipahami terkait hanya pelaksanaan pemungutan suara. Keaktifan pemilih dalam mengikuti debat publik kontestan pemilu termasuk partisipasi pemilih karena dengan keaktifan tersebut berpengaruh menambah referensi pemilih terhadap pengkayaan pilihan pemilih.

Pol-Tracking Institute sebagai lembaga profesional merelease produk survei Pemilu berjudul "Membaca Kecenderungan Sikap & Perilaku Pemilih dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2014". Semua kegiatan riset survei dilaksanakan secara bersama-sama di 33 provisi serempak di seluruh Indonesia. Sampel survei diambil dengan metode multi-stage random sampling, adapun data didapatkan dengan wawancara bertatap muka dengan kuesioner.

Hasil survei nasional 2014 tersebut diantaranya: bahwa sebanyak 79% pemilih di Indonesia menyampaikan "berminat" untuk partisipasi (memberikan suara) pada pemilu legislatif 2014. Dalam arti lain bahwa bahwa sebear 21% pemilih yang kemungkinan tidak menggunakan hak suaranya (golput), termasuk golput karena teknis tidak terdaftar di Daftar Pemilih Tetap (DPT). Ia merupakan fungsi manifest lembaga survei dalam berkreasi.

Selain itu bahwa perilaku memilih publik cenderung ditentukan oleh figur atau tokoh kandidat. Masyrakat cenderung memilih (mencoblos) caleg (69%) jika dibanding ke partai politik peserta pemilu yang hanya (12%). Hal ini berarti calon presiden atau calon legislatif mempunyai peran penting bagi pemilih.

latar belakang calon legislatif dari unsur figur baru dan generasi muda (68,4%) mendapat apresiasi terbanyak oleh pemilih, selanjutnaya calon legislative yang mempunyai latar belakang politisi/aktifis partai politik (64,8%), kelompok purnawirawan (61,8%), ataupun para pejabat/birokrat (61,9%). Sedangkan calon legislatif berlatar belakang artis/selebritis mempunyai apresiasi terkecil peminatan pemilih (18,7%).

Pertanyaan tentang motif pilihan karena daya tarik partai politik, program partai politik sebesar (34,2%) yang merupakan pilihan tertinggi masyarakat ketika memilih partai politik, selanjutnya karena figur atau ketokohan diidolakan (17,8%) merupakan fungsi latent dari pelaksanaan survey lembaga. Kesesuain antara keyakinan didudukkan dengan asas/ideologi partai poliitik hanya mendapat apresiasi 10%. Sedangkan negatif korupsi (49%) merupakan faktor paling berpengaruh bagi calon legislatif dan kegagalan partai politik pada pemilu jika disandingkan faktor lainnya. Keberadaan citra partai politik mendapat (24%), sedangkan kinerja partai politik (23,7%) dikarenakan persepsi publik sebagai faktor sukses partai politik dalam pemilu, selanjutnya tokoh partai politik dipilih (11,9%) sebagai hal yang lain.

Paska debat capres dan cawapres pertama yang disiarkan langsung oleh beberapa lembaga televisi, fungsi latent berefek sebab ada perhatian besar dari masyarakat dengan antusiasme yang mereka sampaikan di depan televisi. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa para calon pemilih mempunyai semangat dalam menyongsong pemilu 2019.

Berikut gambaran hasil survei paska debat capres yang pertama memperlihatkan bahwa antusiasme pemilih menjadi lebih karena penampilan calon presiden dan calon wakil presiden di debat pertama sebagaimana hasil survei Kompas:

Gambar 1: Dinamika semakin yakin pilihan pemilih
Sumber: Kompas TV paska Debat Capres 1

Masyarakat sebagai calon pemilih dengan jumlah 76,3% semakin yakin terhadap partisipasi mereka untuk hadir di TPS dengan memberikan hak suaranya terhadap salah satu kontestan dengan memberikan coblosan pada gambar dalam kotak yang tersedia. Hal ini berbeda sebelum pelaksanaan debat yang mana para pemilih sebagian besar masih belum terbuka pengetahuannya terhadap calon sehingga mereka belum mempunyai keinginan untuk menentukan pilihan.

Partisipasi pemilih agak terganggu ketika melihat angka 8,3% calon pemilih berubah menjadi tidak mempunyai pilihan karena melihat sisi-sisi negatif pasangan calon dan disebabkan karena perdebatan yang kurang substansial. Mereka marah melihat calon presidennya yang saling memojokkan. Juga ekspektasi calon pemilih merasa terkecewakan melihat debat calon presiden.

Fungsi Manifest Debat Capres pertama bisa menghidupkan semangat calon pemilih dengan berubah menjadi mempunyai pilihan sebanyak 9,9%, padahal sebelumnya mereka belum mempunyai pilihan. Keterbukaan ini efek dari visi-misi dan program pasangan calon presiden yang mengena hati masyarakat, selain performa kedua pasangan calon presiden yang menjadi daya tarik tersendiri terhadap penonton.

Efek debat calon, selain menghadirkan partisipasi pemilih sebagai fungsi latent, ia membawa efek positif atau negatif terhadap pasangan calon presiden, misalkan ada 2,4% para pemilih menjadi berubah pilihannya terhadap pasangan calon yang lain. Perubahan ini meski merugikan salah satu pasangan calon, tetapi bisa dimaklumi sebab pilihan tersebut demi kebaikan negara. Hal ini perlu dipupuk supaya tidak terjadi salah pilih sebagaimana ungkapan

bijak dalam dunia politik "jangan terjebak memilih pemimpin seperti memilih kucing dalam karung".

Perhatian pemilih terhadap para calon presiden dan wakil presiden tergambarkan lebih antusias ketika diperhatikan pada debat calon presiden yang kedua dengan perdebatan visi-misi dan program yang lebih serius meski hanya menampilkan Calon presiden Joko Widodo berhadapan dengan Prabowo. Hal ini menggambarkan fungsi manifest debat capres.

Perbincangan dan pergunjingan netizen dalam merespon debat calon presiden menarik untuk dikupas sebagai partisipasi pemilih dalam menyambut pemilu 2019. Hal terebut bisa diperhatikan gambar berikut:


Gambar 2: Gunjingan debat pilpres di media sosial,
Sumber: https://kumparan.com/@kumparannews/perang-sentimen-kubu-jokowi-vs-prabowo

Pergunjingan atau perbincangan tentang debat capres berpengaruh besar untuk menjadikan pemilih tertarik hadir di TPS sebagai wujud partisipasi pemilih pada 17 April 2019. Hal ini sebagai fungsi latent. Intensitas perbincangan sampai melibatkan 680.738 percakapan sesaat paska debat capres kedua, hal ini lebih banyak lagi jika hari-hari setelah debat capres diikuti dan dikalkulasi jumlah percakapan selanjutnya.

Perbincangan yang mengelompokkan tentang Jokowi mencapai 53,39%, sedangkan yang membicarakan Prabowo 46,61%. Perbincangan tersebut mulai hal yang positif sampai yang negatif. Netizen tidak memilah-milah kedua perbincangan tersebut sebab apa yang mereka lihat dan menarik untuk diperbincangkan maka mereka langsung memperbincangkan tanpa ada pembatasan materi.

Kedua perbincanangan untuk kedua pasangan calon presiden secara tidak langsung menjadi propaganda terhadap pemilih untuk mengetahui informasi tentang para kandidat beserta visi-misi dan programnya. Sebagian besar masyarakat sulit untuk memahami terhadap visi-misi dan program pasangan calon presiden jika sebatas membaca tekstualnya. Perbincangan atas perdebatan visi-misi dan program lebih cepat memahamkan terkait gambaran Indonesia lima tahun ke depan versi Jokowi-Ma'ruf dan Prabowo-Sandi sebagai pasangan calon presiden.

Pandangan negatif atau positif penonton dalam debat capres perlu menjadi perhatian sebagaimana berikut:
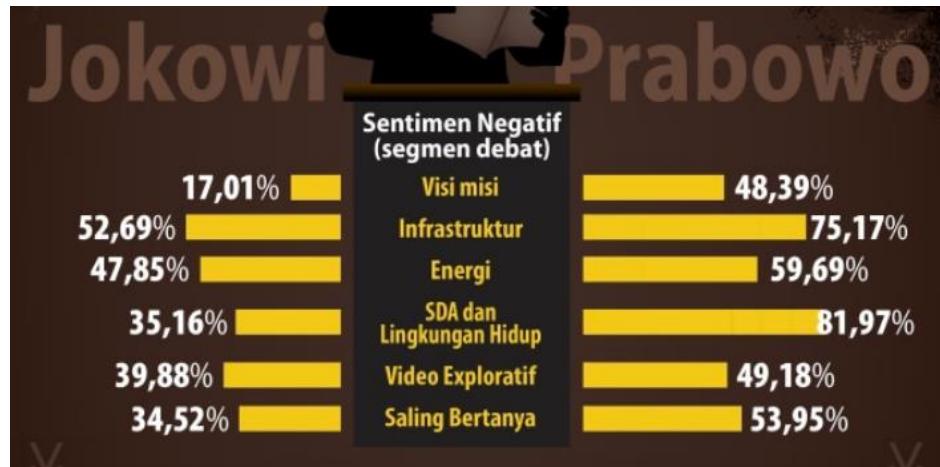
Gambar 3: sentiment negatif penonton melihat terhadap debat Capres yang kedua

Pada gambar tersebut dipaparkan tentang pandangan negatif masyarakat terhadap kedua pasangan calon presiden yang berlaga pada pemilu 2019. Tidak ada satu pasangan yang mendapat sentiment positif saja dari para pemilih, begitu juga tidak ada yang hanya mendapat sentiment negatif saja. Hal ini menunjukkan ada sisi positif dan sisi negatif pada kedua pasangan calon yang sedang menjalani sosialisasi dan kampanye terhadap masyarakat. Dan ia sebagai jawaban terhadap fungsi manifest.

Penilaian sentimen negatif sebagaimana gambar ke tiga tersebut merupakan apresiasi masyarakat terhadap perjalanan debat yang kedua. Penilaiannya bervariatif dengan melihat pemaparan kedua pasangan calon tentang visi-misi, infrastruktur yang telah dan akan dibangun beserta penilaian antara keduanya. Energi yang akan menjadi kebijakan dalam menopang perjalanan negara. penyelamatan sumber daya alam dan lingkungan hidup dari orang-orang yang tidak bertanggungjawab terhadap kelestariannya demi kesejahteraan rakyat. Respon keduanya terhadap video eksploratif yang ditampilkan untuk mengukur kecakapan respon dan solusi terhadap fakta yang perlu solusi. Begitu juga kecakapan berargumentasi dalam sesi saling bertanya antara kedua pasangan calon presiden.

Sebagai pembacara sentiment negatif tidak harus masuk dalam penilaian sentimen negatif tersebut, tetapi ia bisa menjadi penyemangat untuk membuktikan apakah calon presiden yang didukung sesuai dengan persepsi publik dalam suatu survei. Bagi masyarakat yang setuju ingin membuktikan bahwa penilaian tersebut benar adanya, sedangkan yang tidak setuju akan memastikan bahwa persepsi publik tersebut sifatnya sementara selanjutnya pada hari H pemilu akan berubah sentiment negatif menjadi sentiment positif.

Kesempatan debat capres dan cawapres ketiga, keempat, kelima dan kampanye lainnya, menjadi ajang yang menarik bagi kedua pasangan calon untuk menarik simpati publik sehingga mereka sebagai pemilih tertarik untuk datang ke TPS, sebagai jawaban fungsi latent. Syaratnya adalah pada debat capres selanjutnya tersebut ada perkembangan dalam dinamika forum, pertanyaan dan jawaban antara pasangan calon dan terlihat rencana bangunan lima tahun ke depan.

Penilaian terhadap petahana sebagai fungsi manifest bisa berpengaruh terhadap masyarakat Sebagaimana yang disampaikan oleh Marbun (2018) bahwa kinerja ekonomi pemerintah mempengaruhi perilaku pemilih. Hal ini karena pasar berpengaruh terhadap perilaku pemilih. Dari 100 orang yang diwawancarai, apa yang menurut anda yang

menyelesaikan kegelisahan masyarakat, 48,9% problem ekonomi, pekerjaan, harga-harga yang seharusnya diselesaikan oleh petahana. Pertarungan ini lebih rasional lebih besar yaitu faktor ekonomi. Politik identitas tidak terlalu berpengaruh.

Penilaian positif dan negatif terhadap petahana berpengaruh terhadap partisipasi pemilih sebagai fungsi latent menjelang dan pada saat hari pemungutan suara. Mereka melek media sosial sehingga penasaran terhadap pasangan calon yang siap mempengaruhi emosi dan simpati masyarakat.

Pada dasarnya pemilih ketika ditanya sebutkan visi dan misi Caleg, yang bisa menyebut adalah 20%, sebagian besar tidak bisa menyebutkan. Hal ini karena mungkin mereka belum pernah mendapatkan sosialisasi oleh penyelenggara pemilu. Ini merupakan salah satu perilaku pemilih yang belum mendapatkan informasi penuh terkait dengan pemilu. Jika hal tersebut dibiarkan mengakibatka partisipasi pemilih tidak maksimal.

4. Kesimpulan

Fasilitasi KPU sebagai penyelenggara pemilu dengan berbagai tahapan pemilu merupakan fungsi manifest yang bisa terlaksana sesuai regulasi pemilu. Perilaku pemilih menyongsong pemilu 2019 terkategorikan sebagai pemilih yang dinamis sebab ia bisa mencuri perhatian pemilih. Hal ini berefek terhadap partisipasi pemilih dalam pemilu sebagai jawaban terhadap Fungi Laten dalam fenomena perjalanan tahapan pemilu. Fenomena positif atau negatif berkenaan dengan tahapan pemilu perlu dipandang dari perspektif positif ketika dihubungkan dengan pemilih. Mungkin sebagian berefek negatif, namun jika bisa disambungkan dengan daya tarik pemilu untuk membangun negeri dengan sosok pasangan presiden dan wakil presiden, maka para pemilih mempunyai kecenderungan untuk berpartisipasi dalam pemilu, minimal hadir di TPS dan menggunakan hak pilihnya.

Perilaku pemilih menyongsong pelaksanaan pemungutan suara dipengaruhi oleh berbagai pelaksanaan program yang dilakukan oleh KPU sebagai penyelenggara pemilu. Riak-riak pemilu bisa menjadi peningkatan partisipasi pemilih selama dipandang secara positif oleh pihak-pihak yang mempunyai perhatian sukses pemilu. Orde reformasi sudah saatnya melihat positif terhadap berbagai tahapan pemilu meski terkadang ada perilaku pemilih yang menganggu proses demokrasi.

5. Ucapan Terima Kasih

Daftar Pustaka

Aminah, Siti. (2014). Kuasa negara pada ranah politik lokal. Kencana Prenadamedia Group. Jakarta.

Baert, Patrick. (1998). Social theory in the twentieth century. Polity Press. Cambridge.

Beck, C. A. J., & Sales, B. D. (2001). Family mediation: Fact, myths, and future prospects.

Washington, DC: American Psychology Association.

Faulks, Keith. (2010). Sosiologi politik pengantar kritis (diterjemahkan dari: Political sociology: A critical introduction). Penerbit Nusa Media. Bandung.

Fauzi, Agus Machfud. (2019). Sosiologi politik dan hukum, politik kebijakan pemberantasan korupsi. University Press UNESA. Surabaya.

Waters, Malcolm. (1994). Modern sociological theory. Sage Publications Ltd. London.

Fitiryah. (2014). Perilaku pemilih dalam pilkada kabupaten kudus 2013. (Jurnal Politika, Volume 4 No.1, April 2013, Hal.30-36).

Hasriani, Muhlis madani, Hamdan. (2015). Perilaku pemilih pemula dalam pemilihan presiden dan wakil presiden tahun 2014 di kelurahan sapaya kecamatan bungaya kabupaten gowa. (Jurnal Otoritas, Volume v No.1, April 2015; Hal 52-65)

Martinus, Handy. (2013). Analisis perilaku pemilih pada pemilihan gubernur DKI Jakarta periode 2012-2017. (Jurnal Humaniora Volume 4 no. 1 April 2013; 58-70). Jakarta. Indonesia.

Yustiningrum, RR Emilia dan Wawan Ichwanuddin. (2015). Partisipasi politik dan perilaku politik pada Pemilu 2014. (Jurnal Penelitian Politik Volume 12 No. 1 Juni 2015, Hal. 117-135). Jakarta: Indonesia.

Kompas TV. 06 Desember 2018. Marbun, Rico. (2018). Kinerja ekonomi pemerintah mempengaruhi perilaku pemilih. Jakarta: Indonesia.

https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/01/11/16225081/perang-di-medsos-tanggapi-debat-pilpres-dinilai-bisa-ubah-perilaku-pemilih

https://kumparan.com/@kumparannews/perang-sentimen-kubu-jokowi-vs-prabowo-1551068180621861083

The Worldview Of Social Harmony Bulding In The Pluralisme A Phenomenology Study in Balun Village, Turi District, Lamongan Regency

Elvi Widyawati
Universitas Negeri Surabaya
elviwidyawati@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Keywords:	Abstract
Worldview, social harmony, pluralism	Social harmony phenomenon is interesting because in the midst of religious differences whose build a peaceful and harmonious socio-cultural life system. While in other areas differences in religion or belief become the legitimacy or trigger of conflicts and violence between groups in society. The impact of religious conflict or violence is the occurrence of inequality, insecurity, especially for minority groups, which in turn will affect national integration and unity. From this phenomenon, it is interesting to study how Balun people can process differences in religion, so they can foster and build a culture of tolerance in society. This study aims to uncover the paradigm, factors and models or forms of tolerance in Balun Village, Turi Subdistrict, Lamongan Regency, using research methods with qualitative approaches to informant units, namely Christian (Hindu) and Muslim (figures) and Balun Village Devices. Data collection methods using the method of observation (observation), in-depth interviews (depth interviews) with the Snowball model and literature review and FGD (Focus Group Discusion). Analysis of data using multidisciplinary science, meaning that depends on the data obtained, if the data obtained by religious data analysis uses religious studies and so on. The results of the study, the first Balun community paradigm in understanding its religious teachings (Islam, Hinduism, Christianity) is a substantive inclusive paradigm. Second, the factors underlying the culture of tolerance in Balun are the factors that are understanding of the religious teachings that are substantive-inclusive, pluralist political policies, tolerant socio-cultural traditions, maintained interfaith traditions of marriage. The tolerance model found in Balun is, first, Plural Village (Device) Structure. Second, Multicultural (Democratic) Family, Third, Ngaturi / Kenduri Multicultural and Fourth, Inclusive Da'wah. Hopefully the toll road model built in Balun Village can be an inspiration and mirror for other Indonesian people who are prone to conflict, so that our hopes of building a united, tolerant, advanced, peaceful and harmonious Indonesia can be realized.
Kata Kunci:	Abstrak
Pandangan dunia, harmoni sosial, pluralisme	Fenomena kerukunan sosial ini menarik karena di tengah perbedaan agama yang membangun sistem kehidupan sosial budaya yang damai dan harmonis. Sementara di daerah lain perbedaan agama atau kepercayaan menjadi legitimasi atau pemicu konflik dan kekerasan antar kelompok dalam masyarakat. Dampak konflik agama atau kekerasan adalah terjadinya ketidaksetaraan, rasa tidak aman, terutama bagi kelompok minoritas, yang pada gilirannya akan mempengaruhi integrasi dan persatuan nasional. Dari fenomena ini, menarik untuk dipelajari bagaimana orang Balun dapat memproses perbedaan dalam agama, sehingga mereka dapat menumbuhkan dan membangun budaya toleransi dalam masyarakat. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap paradigma, faktor dan model atau bentuk toleransi di Desa Balun, Kecamatan Turi, Kabupaten Lamongan, menggunakan metode penelitian dengan pendekatan kualitatif kepada unit informan, yaitu Kristen (Hindu) dan Muslim (tokoh) dan Perangkat Desa Balun. Metode pengumpulan data menggunakan metode observasi (observasi), wawancara mendalam (interview mendalam) dengan model Snowball dan tinjauan

pustaka dan FGD (Focus Group Discusion). Analisis data menggunakan ilmu multidisiplin, artinya tergantung pada data yang diperoleh, jika data yang diperoleh dengan analisis data agama menggunakan studi agama dan sebagainya. Hasil penelitian, paradigma komunitas Balun pertama dalam memahami ajaran agama (Islam, Hindu, Kristen) adalah paradigma inklusif substantif. Kedua, faktor-faktor yang mendasari budaya toleransi di Balun adalah faktor-faktor yang memahami ajaran agama yang inklusif substantif, kebijakan politik pluralis, tradisi sosial-budaya yang toleran, mempertahankan tradisi pernikahan lintas agama. Model toleransi yang ditemukan di Balun adalah, pertama, Struktur Desa (Perangkat). Kedua, Keluarga Multikultural (Demokratis), Ketiga, Ngaturi / Kenduri Multikultural dan Keempat, Dakwah Inklusif. Semoga model jalan tol yang dibangun di Desa Balun dapat menjadi inspirasi dan cermin bagi masyarakat Indonesia lain yang rawan konflik, sehingga harapan kita membangun Indonesia yang bersatu, toleran, maju, damai dan harmonis dapat terwujud.

1. Introduction

Indonesia is a country rich in diversity. The diversity of tribes, cultures, customs, languages and religions makes Indonesia a country different from other countries in the world (Ismail Suardi Wekke, 2010). Since the founding of the State of Indonesia, the founding figures of this country are aware of the diversity of this nation. This diversity is a very expensive nation's wealth that must be accepted, recognized and respected (M. Ridwan Lubis 2010).

Religion occupies a space between innate differences and acquisition, namely religion can be inherited from the next generation from previous generations, or it can also be developed through personal beliefs (Ismail Suardi Wekke, 2010). The fact is that most religious beliefs are inherited collectively rather than individually developed, making acceptance of religion something important for human welfare and harmony (Wang Zuan, 2013; 210-2013).

The differences that exist in the Indonesian nation should not be eliminated because it is one of the assets owned by the Indonesian people (Marwan Sholahudin 2010; 63). This is what shows that Indonesian society is a pluralistic society. The term plural society has the same meaning as a pluralistic society, namely a society consisting of various ethnic groups or diverse communities. On this basis the Indonesian state slogan reads "Unity in Diversity" which means "different but still one too".

This plurality is a challenge for the Indonesian people because with this plurality the potential for disintegration is very high (Eric Appau Asante, Stephen Ababio, and Kwadwo Boakye Boadu, 2017; 1-7). Therefore, there is a need for unity and unity and national commitment that considers that the diversity of tribes, races, languages, and religions is a cultural repertoire that actually must be a unifying element of the nation (Abdul Munir Mulkhan; 2001).

To realize and support pluralism in Indonesia, tolerance is needed. There are two kinds of interpretations of the concept of tolerance, namely negative interpretation of tolerance and positive interpretation of tolerance (Abdul Munir Mulkhan; 2001) Interpretation of tolerance can be interpreted first that tolerance only requires enough to let and not hurt other people or communities (Alexsius Ibnu Muridjal, 2010; 1-6). Whereas the second interpretation of tolerance can be interpreted as saying that tolerance is not just letting or hurting others, but needing assistance and support for the existence of other people in communities.

Tolerance in the lives of diverse people is a necessity that is necessary and continuously to be brought to life. With tolerance, can release the barriers that occur in any particular social group either in the name of religion, ethnicity, or others. Tolerance can arouse the spirit of brotherhood to protect each other's personal and group interests as long as they do not interfere

In addition to exploring the universal teachings of each religion, many parties believe that the philosophy of perenialism can be used as a philosophical frame in realizing harmony among adherents of different beliefs in society. This philosophy emphasizes the unity of the sources of truths of religions which are particulary different. The approach taken, thus, is to bring together various religious beliefs through the similarities of each. In other words, the universal side of religion is put forward rather than its particular side.

Beyond all that, actually society has its own wisdom (local wisdom) to build social relations. This side needs to get special attention in order to explore genuine values that are owned by the community. These values are assumed to be unique that can inspire the formation of peaceful civilizations in the context of inter-religious relations.

The Balun village community can be categorized as a pluralist society because its population consists of a variety of different religious communities, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism. In general, such a community situation is prone to cause conflict. However, in the practice of the daily life of the community there has been a dialectical relationship between adherents of that religion and the local culture, thus creating a harmonious, peaceful and harmonious society. For example tradition culture, mutual cooperation, helping each other. Is harmony due to the symbiosis between religion and local tradition so that cultural conservation is needed so that all religious adherents are held in high esteem, or the active role of leaders to maintain harmony between them, or due to other factors. This is what will become

In the perspective of sociologists and religious anthropologists is a system of beliefs there are adhered to and the actions that a group or society embodies in interpreting and responding to what is felt and believed to be supernatural and sacred (Suparlan, 1968). Whereas Hendropuspito (1984) gave the definition that religion as a type of social system made by its followers who pivoted on non-empirical forces that they believed could be utilized to achieve salvation for themselves and the wider community in general. Based on this definition, religion means that it is empirically functional in human life, therefore ideally religious people always live side by side, harmoniously and peacefully, both among religious adherents or between adherents of different religions. If religious people believe in the existence of the greatness of God, surely they still believe that religion is still functional and necessary in human life.

According to Hendropuspito (1984), the function of religion is: a) Educational, which is to provide authoritative teaching, including things that are sacred and life after death; b) Rescue, in a way that is typical of religion guarantees to achieve the last activity; c) social supervision, meaning that religion is also responsible for the sustainability of moral norms that apply to the community of adherents; d) the function of fostering brotherhood, where in human history it has been proven that the situation of harmony is more positive than conflict; (5) Transformative, where religion is able to change people's lives to be more advanced. The

concept of harmony in the countryside (Mursyid Ali, 2003: 70) in general has become their culture.

The decision to maintain harmony between citizens and the environment, is taken through mutual agreement, consensus in deliberations led by elders and figures in their environment. Harmony in the countryside is supported by the existence of "village consultation meetings", namely a tradition of deliberation attended by representatives of the community supported by geographical conditions and problem areas within their reach because the population is limited, issues discussed are also simple supported by kinship ties, economic life the average of agricultural products and socio-cultural life.

In this case Mulder gives the term harmony with harmony, which means overcoming differences, differences, cooperation, mutual acceptance, calm heart and harmonious life (Mulder, 1984: 82). The whole community must be imbued with a harmonious spirit, behavior in relation to the worldly realm, with superiors having to be respectful, polite, obedient, in their relationship with the community they must be as close as family members, miss and pleasant. Harmony reflects reciprocal relationships that are characterized by mutual acceptance, mutual trust, mutual respect and respect and an attitude of mutual understanding together (Ridwan Lubis, 2004: 24).

Based on the results of the analysis of the Interfaith Religious Harmony Study Team, the factors that provide opportunities for harmony are: (1) the existence of a pattern of kinship; (2) the existence of grassroots / community groups (3) the existence of non-governmental organizations; (4) the existence of noble values that are lived out by the community; (5) the existence of harmony between religious communities; and (6) the existence of religious leaders and influential community leaders (Muchtar, 2003: 225).

With the presence of the era of globalization which has resulted in the widespread flow of information and communication where the cultures of various places within a community group, it will have the effect of weakening the culture of local communities and the fragility of social harmony. However, if the public is aware of this and they always maintain and preserve (conserve) their culture, social harmony will be maintained.

One of the uniqueness is found in the Balun Village community, Lamongan. Located in the West of Lamongan City, this village is somewhat different from the surrounding villages, including the diversity of its people based on differences in religious ownership (about 70% Muslim, 20% Christian, and 10% Hindu) (Balun Village in numbers, results of the BPD Economic Census; 2016)

However, they live in harmony, so in the Lamongan community, Balun Village is known as the Pancasila Village. The title was given because the people of the village upheld the harmony of religious people. Balun village has five places of worship at once, namely two musala, mosques, churches, and temples. The location of mosques, churches, and temples next to each other, namely to the east of the mosque there is a church and to the south of the mosque there is a temple. The location of the three places of worship is only separated by roads.

Besides being reflected in the establishment of places of worship that are located side by side, the harmony of the villagers is evident in various social and religious activities. They have unique habits in social relations, the implementation of local traditions, and even

religious events. Of course this harmony is built through the process of internalizing certain values that are simply expressed in their local wisdom.

This study wants to reveal the meanings contained in harmonious phenomena of social relations between various adherents of religions in the village. This effort is very useful to obtain a proper understanding of the elements of local wisdom as a determinant aspect in realizing a culture of peace in the midst of religious-based plurality. In this paper the author will discuss how public awareness in building a worldview to create social harmony in Balun Village communities.

2. Methodology

This study seeks to understand in depth the social phenomena in the form of community relations between religious people in Balun in a naturalistic, complex and an interaction of subjective and objective reality in society. Therefore the design of the research is qualitative design. Sanapiah Faisal (in Bungin, 2003: 66) explains that the ultimate goal of qualitative research is to understand the social phenomena being studied, the key word is understanding so that it is in process. (Danim, 2002: 51). A qualitative approach is used to explore individual understanding of the Islamic community, Kresten, Hinduism in Balun which also determines its objective reality in society. Qualitative design is also used to read empirical facts that occur in the socio-cultural context of Balun village people who are interrelated (Noeng, 2000: 6-8)

Location & Length of Research This research is located in Balun Village, Turi District, Lamongan Regency. The area was chosen because in Balun Village it can be said to be an Inclusive Village, where a culture of tolerance among religious people is highly upheld with differences in three religions (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism) they can live together harmoniously and peacefully. The duration of this study is around - / + 8 months. Research Informants Informants in this study consisted of individuals in religious communities, namely Islam, Christianity and Hinduism.

Data collection methods in this study data will be collected using the method observation, literature literature (literature liberary), and in-depth interviews (depth interviews) with the snowbal method. Shoffian (2012), the snowball method is the determination of informants who are initially small in number because of limited information, so the first sample is chosen to be asked to inform the next informant who can be asked for information. This method is used to determine the informant by first determined one or several informants are the Muslim, Christian and Hindu communities to be interviewed, so that it acts as the starting point for data collection, then the next informant is determined based on the instructions from the previous informant. In addition, the data collection method also uses the Focus Group Discussions (FGD) model.

3. Results of research and discussion
3.1 One Village "Tiga Tuhan": History of the Entry of Three Religions in Balun

The beginning of the process of Islam entered and developed in Balun Village for a long time. In the history of Balun, it was stated that Islam entered into Balun, estimated from the

end of the Majapahit Kingdom. So that Balun Village is known to be one of the old villages that has conditions with various historical values, including about the spread of Islam by the students of Walisongo's students and is still related to the history of the anniversary of Lamongan City. Where the word Balun comes from the name "Mbah Alun" a devoted figure and played a major role in the formation of the balun village since the 1600s. (Wikipedia / history-balun.lamongan / 5-7-2014).

Mbah Alun, known as Sunan Tawang Alun I or Mbah Sin Arih, is said to be the King of Blambangan named Bedande Sakte Bhreau Arih who holds the title Raja Tawang Alun I who was born in Lumajang in 1574. He is a child of Minak Lumpat who according to the tripe book is a descendant of the Miruda Ox from Majapahit (Brawijaya). Mbah Alun studied the Koran under the care of Sunan Giri IV (Sunan Prapen). After completing the study he returned to his place of origin to broadcast Islam before being appointed King of Blambangan. (Wikipedia / Sejarah-balun.lamongan / 5-7-2014)

During his reign (1633-1639) Blambangan was attacked by Mataram and the Netherlands until the Blambangan Kedaton was destroyed. At that time Sunan Tawang Alun fled to the west towards Brondong to seek protection from his son, Ki Lanang Dhangiran (Sunan Brondong), then given a place in the ancient village named Candipari (now Balun village) to hide from enemy pursuit. This is where Sunan Tawang Alun I began teaching teaching and broadcasting the teachings of Islam until his death in 1654, 80 years old as a Wali Allah. Because hiding his identity as a King, he was known as a scholar as Raden Alun or Sin Arih. Sunan Tawang Alun I as the ulema of the Giri Kedaton Islamic Boarding School was mastered the knowledge of Laduni, Fiqh, Tafseer, Shari'a and Sufism. So that he is known to be firm, knight, intelligent, Alim, Arif, persuasive, and what is famous is the nature of his tolerance for others, towards the local culture and his tolerance for other religions. (Wikipedia / history-balun.lamongan / 5-7-2014).

According to Suwito (an Islamic leader), in fact the majority of Balun's residents were formally Muslim, but the Islamic model was that of Kejawen and Islam, there were no Hindus and Christians. Kejawen Islam is the teachings and traditions of Islam that are mixed with Javanese philosophy and traditions or better known as Sinkretism. (Clifford Geertz, 1959) After the G30S / PKI events, Christianity and Hinduism began to enter and develop in Balun until now. The process of Hinduism and Christianization began after the crackdown or murder of people involved and allegedly involved in the PKI, where at that time the surrounding Turi region (Desa Balal) was a PKI base, so many Balun people including village officials were killed and thrown away. The impact of the G30S / PKI event was that the Balun village government structure was empty because many of the devices (Village Heads and Village Staff) were killed. Then the residents of Balun called the village son who was a member of the TNI named Bathi Mathius, maybe a Muslim but converted to Christianity while serving outside Java. At that time Pak Bathi at the service in Irian Jaya (Papua) was called to return to Balun to ask for security protection, because at that time the atmosphere of Blaun was very frightening and tense because there were many disturbances from outside parties. At that time there was the election of the Village Chief, Mr. Bathi Mathius joined in nominating the Village Chief and was elected, since then Christianity and Hinduism were able to enter Balun. (Interview, 07-17/2014)

Islam is still the majority religion embraced by the Balun community. This can be seen from the number of balun residents based on religion, Muslims who make up 70% of the population of Balun. Already have a place of worship (Miftahul Huda Mosque) itself and magnificent adjacent to the Church and Temple. According to Suwitio, the land built for the mosque was the village treasury that was given by the Village Head (Mbah Bathi) at the time, including land for the Church and Pura buildings as well. The Village Chief (Mbah Bathi) at that time was deliberately given land to build a place of worship (Church, Mosque and Pura) and was located very close to one complex, with the aim of being harmonious, tolerant and not conflict. (interview, 7-17/2014)

The history above can provide two descriptions: First, historically the existence of Islam has developed and proceeded for a long time (read; since the end of the rule of the Majapahit Kingdom) in Balun. So that it can be said that Islam is the indigenous religion of Balun people despite the mixing with Javanese tradition (Kejawen Islam). Until now, Islam is still the majority religion of the Balun community. From this plot it can be understood that Muslims in Balun have provided a foundation and contribution to the development of tolerance among people of different religions in Balun. Secondly, the socio-cultural history above shows that the foundation or basic building of tolerance culture in Balun has been built for a long time and has a long process. It means building a culture of tolerance amid religious differences cannot be instant, but it requires a long process of building socio-cultural and socio-religious awareness and it must be directly in contact with the community. So if so far the inter-religious harmony program promoted by the government has only stopped at the seminar level, training held at hotels and inviting representatives of religious elites is only a project. This means that it is difficult to expect that there will be a name for harmony between religious groups, because only the elite while members are never invited to be involved in the process of building awareness of tolerance among people of different religious backgrounds.

The tolerant socio-cultural tradition in the Balun community cannot be separated from the early traditions (Javanese traditions) and the transformation of outside cultures (Islam, Hinduism and Christianity). This means that the socio-cultural tradition that exists in Balun has been mixed from a variety of incoming cultures (Javanese, Islamic, Hindu, Christian). So that the symbol or identity of the community which as a community (Islam) is considered a symbol of Islamic religion, in Balun the symbol is a particular religion Islam. For example, the tradition of selametan people died and "Kopyah" (songkok). In some Islamic communities in other places, it is assumed that the tradition during the death of people and "Kopyah" is a symbol of Muslim identity. But in Balun, the traditions and symbols do not belong to one religion (Islam) but have become a tradition and cultural identity for all religions (Christianity and Hinduism). Like the opinion of Mr. Suwito (an Islamic leader), when there was a celebration to donate or help many women who wear headscarves (not headscarves) and many men who wear songkok or kopyah, even though their religion is not necessarily Islamic as in other communities.

This means the veil and kopyah are more meaningful as cultural symbols that are interpreted as honoring the celebration or event "Ngaturi / Kenduren. The culture of salvation is to pray for people who have died, and many are still practiced by most Balun people. Including the tradition of salvation of the deceased was also carried out by Hinds and

Christians. However, the spirit and purpose may be different from what is done by Muslims. (Interview, 17/7/2014)

According to Rokhim, the salvation activities carried out by Hindu-Christians are more intended or interpreted as social actions rather than religious actions because they are not Muslims. They interpret to bond between neighbors and about the time they harmonize with the choices of Muslims. The salvation for the dead was also still carried out by most Balun people, and invited neighbors and relatives including those who were Hindus and Christians. For them fulfilling the invitation is something important because there is strict social control. For those who do not come must say goodbye before or after. (Interview, 7/7/2014).

3.2 Worldview on pluralism in Balun Village

A nation is a collection of various interrelated components that have their own interests in social space interactions. Indonesian society is famous for its cultural diversity which has five religions. The Indonesian miniature can be found in Balun Village, Turi District, Lamongan Regency. A village whose people have heterogeneity in terms of beliefs (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism) but are able to maintain the existence of a social system that has been built for years. Community life in the village is wrapped in a strong element of diversity accompanied by a thick variety of life. Harmony in religious life is felt when presented with views of each place of worship (mosque, church, temple) which was built with relatively close distances. This evidence that management of rural communities with a portrait of characteristics not far from the description of the plurality of Indonesian society.

Balun Village is one of the pluralistic villages because there are three religions in the village, namely Islam, Hinduism and Christianity. But differences are not seen as a hostility but as a union that starts from differences. The difference is very beautiful for the people of Balun Village because God created everything that is on earth there is nothing in common but still one.

The view (Worldview) which considers that the difference (disparity) of religion as a source of disaster (the driver of violence) is not entirely true and correct. This view and assumption is refuted by sociocultural facts that occur in, better known as "Pancasila Village". Where differences (disparities) in religion or belief become a driver, a binder and a catalyst to build a culture of tolerance. Even though the majority of religions remain mostly Muslim, there are 3,498 people (75%) out of 4,644 the total population and the least religion is Hinduism, 289 people (7%) and the rest are Christianity 857 people (18%), but they maintain each other tolerant. Similarly, there is no grouping of places of residence based on religion, they mix and spread evenly. www.lamongan.go.id/balun. The above facts can be a picture that not always religious differences are a source of disaster but differences can be a blessing for the ummah.

Image 1: Christian and Hindu Muslim places of worship side by side in balun village
(Source: http://balun123.blogspot.com/2017/07/)

Some factors have influence, culture often shows the same thing, similarity on the basis of ancestors can make consciousness itself. Individuals or groups directly or indirectly have committed together in one dealetika. Interacting with one another, helping each other, greeting, neighbors, such patterns illustrate a form of evidence of the nature of togetherness towards unity. Things like this can bring a feeling of spacious soul, the flow that engrossed in the individual managed to melt emotional, anger, passion and others.

The essence of pluralism can be seen clearly in symbols, cultures, interactions as an example of collectivity that leads to unity. On the other hand the forms of pluralism are also reflected in the presence of political communication treatises from several observations within the government system. They never differentiate between an existence of hostility, manifest conflict, the opportunity to become a leader or to be anything that might be a village leader. Such harmony is an example of an appreciation for differences.

Back to the social situation in Balun Village, social conditions are formed due to latent coercion, due to social fact factors. One of them was built because of mutual needs, complement each other's shortcomings and even prevent excesses that could trigger the conflict. In other words, something that becomes a social fact occurs not only because there is a consequence, but sometimes something that arises is a need to share. Then religious pluralism is able to make its own ideology in a small village in Lamongan, and able to provide mutual encouragement as a new culture as a result of interactions, communications, patterns within the existing scope.

Pluralism makes a solidarity based on equality without the dependence of religion on one another. Although in essence there are obvious differences, namely religion. But keep in mind that religion can be said as an individual work, as a result of patterns that exist in the community, there are interactions that experience fluidity within individuals or groups that have a shared commitment in the community.

The community will experience a dilemma without the existence of religion, because it is realized or not their religious beliefs are created for a harmony in achieving essential unity. Unity means to God and fellow individuals, if individuals need a unity in a group then it is

possible to make religion a benchmark for unity. Seeing the reality in Balun Village, embedded unity is an example of pluralism.

The same emotion, the same feeling, is clearly seen in the social construction of the community, without blocking and reducing unity. Emotional shared is also realized when looking at the layout of the village, understand a crowd on one side. The same sense as an example of harmony in carrying out worship, upholding religion, respecting pluralism in a social one.

3.3. Forms of Pluralism in Balun Village

The development of a harmonious life in Balun Village can be applied in Indonesian society so that differences will create extraordinary beauty. The tolerance of the people in Balun Village is not tolerance that is forced but rather flows and is real. This was reinforced by the awareness of citizens in establishing differences between religious communities.

Durkheim argued that society and religion are one and the same thing. Religion is the way society expresses itself in the form of nonmaterial social facts. Religion is an integrated system of various beliefs and worship related to separate and forbidden objects, beliefs and worship that unite all those who adhere to a moral community.

In general, Balun villagers consider religion to be a means to achieve a better life for the community, so that if there are people who are not good in their lives, then they must carry the name of religion. They believe that the essence of what is taught by religion is something good for humans.

Harmony is an agreement on differences that exist and makes the difference as a starting point to seek and foster sincere mutual understanding. Like the Balun Village apparatus, which is to maximize the great cooperation to build a developed village. In addition, the residents also have high enthusiasm for what is determined by the village apparatus such as community service, August celebrations and so on. They do it happily, there is no fear and taunt each other among other diverse people.

Such a picture opens the meaning that high harmony or solidarity has played a role in society, humans as human social beings will never live on their own. Community life is sufficient for mutual needs without any viewpoint, moral in society is very important too, as a complement will emerge noble values, respectful culture, mutual culture please help until respect. On the other hand, solidarity was built in a small village on the basis of collective similarity, namely mechanical solidarity, they built high solidarity based on external stimulus, which was called the impact of social facts. Social in society is built by itself. Communities and individuals unconsciously carry out dialectics, patterns that are carried out and collective agreements between individuals and religious groups (religions in Balun Village).

Social groups and religious sentiments are built with confidence, with their respective functions. Structurally with the concept of solidarity. Society builds on balance, realizes shared strength, patterns that are often carried out even functions that are moved in a society create functional balance in the form of solidarity. In terms of community cooperation, it does not distinguish ethnicity, ethnicity and religion because they think something is sacred. The sanctity of religion lies in each other's hearts. Religious truths are seen as their respective beliefs and not to be disputed unilaterally.

The basic concept of Balun people to establish and build and preserve harmony is to believe in the truth of each religion. And guided by Pancasila as the main ideology. Without hesitation and hesitation togetherness is built intact without a political interest. But for the love of the homeland, love for ancestors and appreciate history. Thus solidarity will be intact and developing, will get a harmony, something when experiencing a commitment to easily get a prize in the form of harmony, how not when individuals interact, do things that are worldly, they indirectly occur friction between individuals. Such forms can be pricelessly expensive.

The form of harmony is reflected in voluntary work, a decent life, harmony as a product of harmony, greeting one another is breakfast for Balun village. It is not uncommon for them to fill in village activities such as in villages in general which are not just fellow believers. It has a moral interaction, because sometimes moral issues become a slap that hurts when morality criticizes individuals. But on the other hand the social harmony that Balun Village has is like fellow religionists, not even a few villages with one religion have prolonged conflicts and result in violence. However, harmony in Balun is very visible, such as the nearby places of worship there.

The theory of solidarity views these social phenomena as the impact of shared living habits, the existence of religious education, the role of religious leaders, which indirectly becomes a social fact for both individuals and groups. For example in school education there is religious education according to their respective religions. Such a factor can be a trigger for harmony because individuals believe in their respective religions and do not reduce empathy for others. Solidarity on the other hand provides a new culture for the Balun community, namely the "legawa" culture, various life systems and different products.

4. Conclusion

From the results of the study, the first Balun community paradigm in understanding its religious teachings (Islam, Hinduism, Christianity) is a substantive-inclusive paradigm. From inclusive understanding then it is implicated in sociocultural, socio-religious behavior that is tolerant amid the differences that exist in Balun society. The factors behind the tolerance building that thrive in Balun Village are as follows: first, the Balun community paradigm in understanding its religious teachings which are inclusive and substantial.

From inclusive understanding then it is implicated in the behavior of sociocultures, social-tolerance that are tolerant in the midst of differences that exist in the Balun community. Second, pluralist political policies, a political policy that distributes power (village apparatus) to all existing elements / groups of society, power not only belongs to the majority (Islam) but is divided into roles by minorities (Christians and Hindus) so that mutual ownership will be built to build a village.

Third, a socio-cultural tolerant tradition that thrives in society. A tolerant socio-cultural tradition greatly influences the different religious tolerance order in Balun. Fourth, the marriage traditions of different religions are still maintained, thus contributing to an attitude of tolerance, because from interfaith marriages this will require bonding in family ties despite different religions. The tolerance model patterned in Balun Village is as follows: First, pluralistic village instruments come from all elements of different religious communities, Islam, Hinduism, Christianity. Secondly, Multicultural Families consisting of various

religions (Islam, Hinduism, Christianity) on one roof of a house are one family house. Third, Kenduri / "Ngaturi" Multicultural, is an activity in responding to the life cycle (Pregnancy, Birth, Getting Rezeqi, Death) or in important moments in community (Republic of Indonesia Anniversary, Fasting, Hari Raya) by holding religious leaders' events with prayer ritual with food offerings and can be "blessed" kenduren, by inviting all citizens regardless of religious background.

Fourth, Inclusive Da'wah is a way to invite people to do good and warn people not to do evil by being polite, tolerant, respectful and respectful with groups of different cultures, religions. Hopefully the tolerance model built in Balun Village can be an inspiration and mirror for other Indonesian people who are prone to conflict, so that our hopes of building a united, tolerant, developed, peaceful and harmonious Indonesia can be realized.

Bibliography

Arifin, Syamsul. (2000). "Studi Konsep dan Sosialisasi Nilai-nilai Toleransi Beragama pada Dosen Pendidikan Agama Islam di Perguruan Tinggi Kota Malang". UMM, dalam Studi Agama: Prespektif Sosiologis dan Isu-Isu Kontemporer. Malang: UMMpress

_____ (2005). "Praktek Multikulturalisme Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Sebagai Perekat Sosial dalam Masyarakat berbeda Agama di pedesaan Batu". UMM. dalam Studi Agama: Prespektif Sosiologis dan Isu-Isu Kontemporer. 2009. Malang: UMMpress

Bagus, Lorens. (2002). Kamus Filsafat, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama Baehaqi, Imam. Agama dan Relasi Sosial: Menggali Kearifan Dialog, Yogyakarta: LKIS

Danim, Sudarwan, (2002). Menjadi Peneliti Kualitatif, Bandung: Pustaka Setia.

Effendi, Sofian. (2011). Metode Penelitian Survey. Jakarta: LP3S

Geertz, Clifford. (1959). The Religion of Java, London: The University of Chicago Press.

Hidayat, Qomaruddin. (2012). Agama Punya Seribu Nyawa. Jakarta: Naoura Books.

htpp//berita pengerusakan vihara, www.isukepri.com/ diakses tanggal 10 Juli 2014

htpp//profil-balun-turi-lamongan,

Husein, Fatimah. (2005). Muslim-Chiratian Relation in The New Order Indoensia: The Exclusivist and Inclusivist Muslims Perspetive. Bandung: Mizan.

Kimball, Charles. (2003). Kala Agama Jadi Bencana, 2003 (terjemah Nurhadi), Bandung: Mizan.

Krueger, Richard A. (1988). Focus Groups. A Practical Guide for Applied Research. New York: Sage.

Maliki, Zainuddin. (2004). Amok Massa dan Upaya Penyelesaiannya di Jawa Timur. Laporan Penelitian.

Muhadjir, Noeng. (2000). Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif. Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin.

Partanto, Pius. (1994). Kamus Ilmiah Populer. Surabaya: Arloka.

Riyanto, Armad. (2010). Dialog Interreligius:Historistas, Tesis, OPergumulan Wajah, Jakarta: Kanisius.

Sabri, Muhammad. (1999). Keberagamaan yang saling Menyapa: Prespektif Filsafat Perenial. Yogyakarata: Bigraf.

Said Al Syamawi, Muhammad. (1987). Al-Islam Al-Siyasi, Kairo: Sina li al-Nasy

Santoso, Thomas. (1996). Kekerasan Politik Agama: Suatu Studi Konstruksi Sosial tentang Perusakan Gereja di Situbond. Surabaya: Lutfansah Medikatama.

Snyder, Jack. (2003). Dari Pemungutan Suara ke Pertumpahan Darah. Demokratisasi dan Konflik Nasionalis. (Diterjemahkan oleh Martin Aleida dan Parakitri T. Simbolon), Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

Sudrajat, Ajad, dkk. (2009). Din Al-Islam.Yogyakarta: UNY Press.

The Wahid Institute. (2012). Laporan Akhir Tahun tenteng Kekerasan Agama di Indonesia, www.wahidinstitute.org

Tim Penyusun Kamus Pusat Bahasa. (2005). Kamus Besar B.Indonesia, Edisi. 3, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka

vivAnews, diakses tanggal 20/7/2014

www.kompas.com, diakses tanggal 20/7/2014

www.lamongan.go.id/diakses tanggal 10 Juli 2014

www.tempo.com, diakses tanggal 20/7/2014

Yaqin, Haqqul. (2009). Agama dan Kekerasan dalam Transisi Demokrasi di Indonesia. Yogyakarta: Elsaq Press
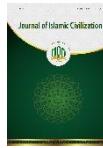
The Voting Behavior of Muslim Comunities in the 2014 Legislative Election in Kapas, Bojonegoro

Retno Ayu Safitri
Universitas Negeri Surabaya
retnowineit@gmail.com

Keywords:	Abstract
Voting behaviour, political party identification, religious organizations.	This research is an analysis of the voting behaviour of Moslem people shown by residents of Kapas r, Bojonegoro in 2014. It is a descriptive analysis to explain the correlation between 4 variables in determining people's vote in 2014's legislative election in Kapas regency. These variables are: legislative party/nominees proposed programme, identification of the party, money politics, and afiliated religious organization. The researcher used quantitative method to collect the data and descriptive analysis in the forms of data distribution and data frequency which were collected through questionnaires. In addition, the researcher used Chi Square testing and contingency coefficient to find whether the variables are correlated to each other. There are three general approach to describe the voting behaviour in this research: sociology approach, psychology approach, and rational approach. The majority of theories referred by the researcher were theories by Paul F. Lazarfeld- Bernard Berelson, Angus Campbel, and Anthony Downs. Result of this research suggests that two of the aforementioned variables have significant influence in determining voting behaviour: legislative party/nominee proposed programme and money politics. The two other variables which are political party identification and afiliated religious organizationare not influential in determining voting behaviour of Kapas' residents in 2014's legislative election.

Kata Kunci:	Abstrak
Perilaku Memilih, Identifikasi Partai Politik, Organisasi Keagamaan	Penelitian ini adalah analisis perilaku pemilih orang Islam yang ditunjukkan oleh penduduk Kapas r, Bojonegoro pada tahun 2014. Ini adalah analisis deskriptif untuk menjelaskan korelasi antara 4 variabel dalam menentukan suara rakyat dalam pemilihan legislatif 2014 di pemilihan legislatif 2014 di Kabupaten Kapas. Variabel-variabel ini adalah: program yang diusulkan partai legislatif / calon, identifikasi partai, politik uang, dan organisasi keagamaan terafiliasi. Peneliti menggunakan metode kuantitatif untuk mengumpulkan data dan analisis deskriptif dalam bentuk distribusi data dan frekuensi data yang dikumpulkan melalui kuesioner. Selain itu, peneliti menggunakan pengujian Chi Square dan koefisien kontingensi untuk menemukan apakah variabel berkorelasi satu sama lain. Ada tiga pendekatan umum untuk menggambarkan perilaku memilih dalam penelitian ini: pendekatan sosiologi, pendekatan psikologi, dan pendekatan rasional. Mayoritas teori yang dirujuk oleh peneliti adalah teori oleh Paul F. Lazarfeld-Bernard Berelson, Angus Campbel, dan Anthony Downs. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dua variabel tersebut memiliki pengaruh yang signifikan dalam menentukan perilaku memilih: program yang diusulkan partai legislatif / kandidat dan politik uang. Dua variabel lain yang merupakan identifikasi partai politik dan organisasi keagamaan yang terafiliasi tidak berpengaruh dalam menentukan perilaku memilih warga Kapas dalam pemilihan legislatif 2014.

1. Introduction

The Legislative General Election was held on 9 April 2014, it was intended to elect candidates for DPR, City and Provincial DPRD and DPD. The Legislative General Election itself is carried out based on Law No. 12 of 2003. In a democratic country, the mechanism used to convert the reality of society in the form of political representation which is then accommodated in representative institutions is elections. Through elections there are two main of about the meaning of representation that must be converted from the community into the legislature.

First, the concept of 'microcosm' which presupposes the legislature is a sample of a population called society. The legislature is a picture of the community it reflect the size of the community, how they think, feel and act. Second, the 'principal-agent' concept in which the legislature is how it can act on behalf of the parties who voted for it. A successful election can be seen from the implementation of all stages until the positions chosen are filled. It cannot be said to be a successful election if they are elected through methods that are full of violations and fraud which are contrary to the Luber principle and Jurdil (Pamungkas, 2010.p. 24).

On the other hand, unseccessfull election is a series of previous maturing political processes from yesterday to the 2014 Legislative Election, there must be a process of change considerations that underlie people's political choices. This change in political choice has become interesting to examine more on what factors influence voters, especially residents of the District of Kapas, Bojonegoro, in determining their choices during the Legislative Election to bring up choices that may change each election period, here are things that become the reason why the study is interesting to be conducted.

First, the absence of voters in the voting booth is indeed something natural. Because, in Indonesia, having actively participated in election is a right, not an obligation, as a result voters may use their rights but also may not. Voters who use their rights or do not exercise their rights should understand the implications of their choices, including their disadvantages. *Golput's attitude* is a response to the inability of the ruling party or government to carry out its functions. However, it could be that some of the other groups thought abstentions as meaning by giving approval to the ruling party to regain power.

Second, the existence of the Swing voter also determines the selection of one candidate. This occurs because the people who are less familiar with politics and have floating choices. In other words there are many factors that can influence swing voters to change their choices. One factor that is likely to occur is the issue of money politics. Money politics will have a negative impact to all levels of society. Because the power that should be given through a trust has been bought with money.

Third, one of the factors that can explain the voting behavior is *Party Identification*, namely when choosing in a public election, it will be influenced by the process of identifying itself with the party. The purpose is adopting psychoanalytic theory in the science of psychology where there are 3 processes a person has in certain behaviors, namely through the process of imitation, suggestion and identification, identification is someone's tendency to be the same as others. Other people who are the target of identification are called idols (a worshiped person) (Dieter, 2009, p. 38).

Fourth, the presence of the PKB as an Islamic-based party in Bojonegoro greatly determines the vote acquisition of Islamic parties in several electoral districts. Particularly in sub-districts with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) communities based and with the very active Nahdlatul Ulama Student Association (IPNU) making PKB gets the most votes among other Islamic parties in Kapas District. But the PKB's vote acquisition was still defeated compared to other liberal ideological parties such as Democrats, PDIPs, and Golkar. The following is a table of votes for the election of members of the Bojonegoro Regency DPRD in the cotton sub-district as the research location in the 2014 Legislative election.

2. Methodology

The method used in this study is a quantitative method and uses descriptive analysis in the form of analysis of frequency distribution data from answers to questionnaire questions and by using Chi Square testing and Contingency Coefficient to determine whether there is a relationship and the direction of the relationship of the variables studied.

The research location is the Kapas subdistrict area by taking research locations in all villages in Kapas sub-district namely Bakalan, Bangilan, Bendo, Bogo, Kalianyar, Kapas, Kedaton, Klampok, Kumpulrejo, Mojodeso, Ngampel, Padang Mentoyo, Plesungan, Sambiroto, Sembung, Semenpinggir, Sukowati, Tanjungharjo, Tapelan, Tikusan, Wedi. The sampling population of this study was the community of Kapas District, Bojonegoro Regency which was included in the final voter list (DPT) for the 2014 Legislative Election.

The target population of this study was people who exercised their voting rights in the 2014 Legislative Election because the research questions to be answered were around participating voters in the 2014 legislative election. While the withdrawal technique or the selection of informants in the study was *purposive sampling*. The sampling method used is *Stratified Random Sampling* 9 (Singarimbun,1989). This technique is used because the population used is heterogeneous in nature, does not have a common similarity in terms of character, work and other variables. The following is the number of permanent voter lists and voting rights users in Kapas Bojonegoro District during the 2014 Legislative Election.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theory used to explain voting behavior are 3 approaches, namely sociological, psychological, and rational approaches. Each approach uses many theories from Paul F. Lazarsfeld - Bernard Berelson, Angus Campbel, and Anthony Downs (2009).

The sociological factor of the Columbia School, which was initiated by Paul F. lazarsfeld and Bernard Berelson (2009), mentions several things, namely: sociological background, social grouping, socio-economic predisposition, and social class. What is meant by sociological background here is for example, religion, characteristics of the region where he lives, gender and age. Flanegan explained that women in Europe have a tendency towards political choice in favor of the bourgeoisie or bourgeois party if in America the political choice of women will depend on war issues stretched out by one legislative candidate, because instinctively a woman does not like violence then he tends to avoid choosing parties that have an agenda of physical confrontation or war. This social grouping is almost the same as social characteristics but he views that one's profession does not also influence himself but

the professional ties he has can provide his own impetus to influence his political choices (Muhammad Asfar,2006. p.137).

In addition to professional ties David Denver also explained that family and friendship can also have a powerful influence in determining one's political choices. Dean J grouped friendship into three namely primary, secondary and category groups where each type of group had different levels of group cohesiveness so the level of influence on each individual in the group also varied. Gerald Pomper (1978) describes the influence of social grouping on the voting behavior study into two variables, namely the socioeconomic predisposition of voters and voter families. The political outreach that someone receives in childhood greatly influences their political choices, especially when they first make political choices. Whether the father's or mother's political preferences influence the child's political preferences, while the socio-economic predisposition takes the form of religion adopted, residence, social class, demographic characteristics and so on. In studies of voting behavior in democratic countries, religion is the strongest sociological factor in influencing the choice of political parties. The relationship between religion and choosing behavior is very influential religious values always present in private life and the public is considered influential on the political and personal life of the voters. The purpose of social class here is that the people in making their choices are much influenced by the process of finding out which person has or represents the same class. Where the same class revolves around the same level of education, for example because the work of the employer, the tendency is to choose fellow entrepreneurs, then other than that based on income level.

The psychological approach here is present for the reaction of dissatisfaction with the sociological approach. This model is often referred to as the Michigan School introduced by Angus Campbel (2010). According to him psychology describes why someone has certain choices that can be explained by three functions of attitude. The function of the first attitude is a function of interest, each choice chosen is based on fulfilling his interests personally. The second attitude function is the adaptation function, that is in every choices he takes is a form of encouragement to adjust to the surrounding environment, for example, someone is forced to choose a particular candidate because he is under pressure from thugs or who otherwise he has to choose that person. The third attitude function is the function of self-defense and self-externalization where each choice that he chooses is especially superior, he projects ahead of time whether or not to pose a threat to his personality. This explanation is summarized by Dieter Roth in a trias determinant between party identification, candidate orientation and issue orientation. Where the community will consider these three things in determining their choices. The definition of identification here is that when choosing in an election the community will be influenced by the process of identifying itself with the party. The purpose of identifying itself with this party is adopting psychoanalytic theory in the science of psychology where there are 3 processes a person has in certain behaviors, namely through the process of imitation, suggestion and identification, where the definition of identification is a tendency in someone to be the same as others. Other people who are the target of identification are called idols (the word idol means a worshiped person).

There are several models in understanding the motivating factors of a person in behaving politically by using a rational approach, here are some of them: One of the classical theories of the rational approach was put forward by Anthony Downs. Downs explained that

rational voters are selfish because they only want to fulfill and prioritize their personal interests, especially to optimize their own well-being, but not all people always prioritize their own interests, they only want to say that rational choosing behavior is because people always want to fulfill their needs, actions which one will bring the greatest benefit to him then he will do, if this is included in the application of the science of choosing behavior, the choice of a person will always base on which candidate will bring the greatest value of benefits to him, he does not care about the concept of ideology in the party, what is important for him is whether the candidate's programs are in line with his expectations or not, to be able to estimate or calculate this profit, which is termed by the Downs with "utility maximation" which is to judge which candidate he will choose whether he must have information about the track record of the candidate or party in the past while serving or not yet serving as a representative of the people and projecting it in the future about what the candidates can do and whether it brings benefits to voters or not and voters will choose which party brings the most benefits to him (Surbakti,2010.p.165).

Political behavior is formulated as an activity relating to the process of making and implementing political decisions. Those who carry out activities are the government and the community. The activities carried out basically are divided into two, namely the functions of government held by the government and political functions held by the community. The government and society are a collection of people. Basically humans do activities divided into two, namely the function of government (government officials), and ordinary citizens who do not have the function of government (political function). But both the functions of government and politics are usually carried out by a separate structure, namely the political superstructure for government functions and political infrastructure for functions. The behavioralism approach answers that it is the individual who actually engages in political activities, while the behavior of political institutions is basically an individual patterned behavior. In reality, an action and political decision are not only determined by the function (task and authority) inherent in the institution that issued the decision, but also influenced by the personality of the individual who made the decision (Surbakti,2010. p.167-168).

According to Herbert Mc Closky, political participation is voluntary activities of the citizens of the community through the way they take part in the ruling process, directly or indirectly, in the process of making or forming public policies (Budiardjo, 1994, p. 183). Whereas according to Kevin R. Hardwic, political participation pays attention to the ways in which citizens try to convey their interests to public officials in order to be able to realize these interests. Political participation can be seen from several sides. As an activity, participation is divided into active participation and passive participation. Active participation includes activities of citizens to propose general policies, propose general policy alternatives that are different from government policies, submit criticisms and suggestions for improvement to straighten out policies, pay taxes, and participate in government leadership elections. On the other hand passive participation, among others, in the form of activities obeying the rules / orders, accepting and just carrying out any government decisions. From this category it can be stated that the orientation of active participation lies in political input and output, while passive participation lies only in the outcome or political output or output (Magill ,1996, p.183).

Some contexts of political behavior can also be explained through an analysis of participation in the voting process in general election activities. This participation activity, even though it looks only limited to the issue of voting, actually also concerns about the intentions implied in it. As in the general election process there are campaign activities that work to assist elections, help at polling stations, seek support for candidates, and actions that are basically intended to influence the final outcome. Therefore it must be realized that the general election activities are a form of large collective political participation that distinguishes it from other forms of political participation. In democratic countries general elections are a tool to provide opportunities for people to participate in influencing government policies and the prevailing political system (Surbakti,2010. p.142).

Broadly speaking, it can be stated that political participation is not only about the problem of high or low levels of participation, but also concerning the relationship of variables that influence the background of the emergence of participation, direction of development, consequences, and patterns of participation themselves.

4. Discussion

The voting behavior in this study was the participation of the community in using their voting rights to vote for one of the parties or candidates from a particular party in the 2014 legislative elections in Kapas District, Bojonegoro Regency. In this study the authors proposes four hypotheses, namely: the existence of a relationship between the choice of political parties with 4 consideration variables in determining the choice of political parties namely: a) Provision of Money Rewards, b) Party Identification, c) Program Conformity, and d) Religious Organizations

This first hypothesis is based on the assumption of Anthony Downs' theory that in determining his choices during elections, rational voters will be more inclined to base on which candidate will bring the greatest value of benefits to him, he does not care about the concept of ideology in the party concerned, which is important for him whether the candidate's programs are in line with his expectations or not, so he will choose which candidate will potentially provide the greatest benefit.

Departing from these theoretical assumptions, the researchers tested whether the Kapas Subdistrict community really based on the candidates' choices by considering the suitability of the program proposed by the candidates who were in accordance with the expectations of the Kapas District community. with the choice of candidates / political parties. The suitability of the candidate program has a positive and strong influence in determining party choices that will be taken by the community during the 2014 Legislative Election.

Then in the second hypothesis, based on the assumption of a psychological approach theory which explains why a person has certain choices which can be explained by three attitudinal functions. These attitudes are formed through a long process, that is, since we were little. The first stage is the stage where we get lessons from the family about what they think and teach us. Then the second stage is the stage of learning and socialization that we get from externally such as school friends, college and so on. Then in the third stage we begin to become involved in the ties of professional ties, certain reference groups, or political parties.

Then related to the third hypothesis, this hypothesis is based on a psychological approach to the theory assumption that explains why someone has a particular choice, because the voter identifies himself with a candidate, party figure, or party he likes that he will later choose when the election is held. This definition of identification is a tendency in a person to be the same as someone else. Other people who are the target of identification are called idols (the word idol means a worshiped person). Identification is a further form of imitation process and a suggestion process whose influence is very strong. For example, a teenager identifies himself with a famous singer whom he admires, then he will try to change his appearance to be the same as his idol singer, starting from the hair style, clothes, speech, even favorite foods. In general, the identification process takes place less realized by someone. But what is certain is that the idol is the target of identification is really known, whether directly (meeting, speaking) or indirect (through information media) If in the theory of choosing behavior the identification target is the party. The process of identifying itself with this party is identifying itself with all forms of identity inherent in the party such as the party platform, the program and the figure of the party figure that he idols and is proud of.

Departing from these theoretical assumptions, the researchers tested whether the identification process has a relationship with the choice of candidates / political parties during the election. From the results of these tests the researchers found that between the process of party identification and the choice of political parties had no relationship or had a very low relationship and were less significant in influencing the choice of political parties in the 2014 legislative elections in Kapas District.

The last hypothesis is related to the relationship of giving monetary rewards to the choice of political parties during elections. This hypothesis is based on the theoretical assumption of a rational approach that explains why a person has a particular choice, because every choice in him is orientated to get a greater profit compared to the effort he makes (in this case giving money in return).

5. Conclusion

Based on the findings, the researcher can draw conclusions, namely from four variables (program suitability, party identification, religious mass organizations, and giving money) that tested only two variables that have a strong relationship, namely program conformity and monetary rewards, while party identification variables and religious mass organizations have no relationship with the choice of political parties that will be punched during the election.

The findings show that it turns out that the suitability of the candidates / party program has a relationship with the choice of which party to choose in the legislative elections. The suitability of the respondent's program for candidates or political parties in Kapas Subdistrict is due to the role of the success teams from each party in this region. So that the public knows the candidates' programs from the dissemination of the successful team because not all respondents know the programs offered by all candidates or parties. Other findings indicate that the voting behavior has a relationship with the attitude of the Kapas District community when there are candidates / parties who give money to choose themselves, so the Kapas District community can be sure that all will accept it. However, for the party's choice, the community receives more money. To choose the party the community will elect candidates

with a certain nominal award. These two findings confirm Anthony Downs' theory of rational voter behavior theory, Downs explained that rational voters are selfish because they only want to fulfill and prioritize their personal interests, especially to optimize their own well-being, but not all people prioritize their own interests. rational choosing behavior because humans always want to meet their needs, which actions will bring the greatest benefits to themselves, they will do it.

This is indicated by the first behavior, namely choosing a party because it is based on a program that based on his personal expectations, which program will bring benefits to him, that party will be chosen, subsequently related to the phenomenon of the attitude of people who accept money but still choose in accordance with his own wishes indicate that the public wants to seek maximum profit for himself without considering the loss of the person who gave him money if he was not elected. Based on the research, from the 4 variables tested the dominant factor which became the main basis of consideration in determining the choice was the program suitability factor even though the respondents' answers had changed the researcher gave a question of boundaries and the main reason was the suitability of the program.

In addition, the findings of data in the field also show that religious organizations do not have a relationship with the choice of political parties in the 2014 legislative elections. This is contrary to Angus Campbell's attitude function theory that these attitudes are formed through a long process that is since we were young where the sub-district community since childhood already familiar with Islamic culture Nahdlatul Ulama then affiliates themselves automatically into it. However, this does not mean that they will vote for the NU Islamic Party because in the formation of attitudes there are many external influences from outside the influence of NU.

Bibliography

Asfar, Muhammad. (2006). *Pemilu & Perilaku Memilih 1955-2004*. Surabaya : Pustaka Eureka

Budiardjo, Miriam. (1994). *Demokrasi di Indonesia: Demokrasi Parlemen dan Demokrasi Pancasila*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama

Frank N, Magill (eds), (1996). *International Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*. Singapura: Toppan Company PTE LTD

Pamungkas, Sigit. (2010). *Pemilu, Perilaku Pemilih & Kepartaian*. Yogyakarta: Institute for Democracy and Welfarism

Pomper, Gerald. (1978). *Voter's Choice : Varieties of American Electoral Behavior*. New York : Dod, Mead Company

Roth, Dieter. (2009). *Studi Pemilu Empiris*. Jakarta: Friedrich-Naumann- Stiftung-fur die Freihet

Singarimbun, Masri. (1989). *Metode Penelitian Survei*. Jakarta : LP3ES

Surbakti, Ramlan. (2010). *Memahami Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: Grasindo