

PANCASILA, ISLAM, AND HARMONISING SOCIO-CULTURAL CONFLICT IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

The compatibility of Islam and Pancasila, the Indonesia's national philosophy, is still interesting to elaborate even though there have been numerous discussions on the theme. Notably, this paper addresses the harmony of Pancasila and Islam as the umbrella for nationhood and statehood in Indonesia. The writers argue that Pancasila and Islam coexist harmoniously in Indonesia, and this kind of harmony is a valuable esteem to reinforce unity, diversity, and cultural heritage within the society. The acculturation of Pancasila is an effort to integrate its values into daily life through traditions and practices involving various stakeholders. This acculturation will encourage acceptance of diversity and prevent religious extremism. On the other hand, conflicts between political Islam and nationalist groups in Indonesia affect cultural-religious expressions and disrupt harmony. Pancasila is vital in addressing these conflicts and promoting diversity and ongoing dialogues.

[Kesesuaian Islam dan Pancasila sebagai falsafah bangsa Indonesia masih menarik untuk dijabarkan meski sudah banyak pembahasan mengenai tema tersebut. Secara khusus, tulisan ini membahas tentang kerukunan Pancasila dan Islam sebagai payung kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara di Indonesia.

Penulis berpendapat bahwa Pancasila dan Islam dapat hidup berdampingan secara harmonis di Indonesia dan keharmonisan tersebut merupakan sebuah penghargaan yang tinggi untuk mempertegas persatuan, keberagaman, dan warisan budaya dalam masyarakat. Pembudayaan Pancasila menjadi upaya untuk mengintegrasikan nilai-nilainya ke dalam kehidupan sehari-hari melalui tradisi dan praktik yang melibatkan berbagai pemangku kepentingan. Akulturasi ini akan mendorong penerimaan keberagaman dan mencegah ekstremisme agama. Di sisi lain, konflik antara politik Islam dan kelompok nasionalis di Indonesia berdampak pada ekspresi budaya-agama yang mengganggu kerukunan. Pancasila menjadi penting dalam mengatasi konflik-konflik ini serta mendorong keberagaman dan dialog yang berkelanjutan.]

Keywords: Pancasila, cultural-religious expressions, socio-cultural conflict

A. Introduction

Pancasila, the Indonesian state philosophy, accommodates both cultural and religious values.¹ It is the nation's foundational ideology, which consists of five basic principles for national life. In theory, Pancasila should be able to support religious, social, and political harmony and guide the development of a just and inclusive society. In practice, however, a rather severe problem occurs when tension between Islamic and nationalist groups rises, causing cultural and sociological clashes in the community.²

In recent decades, the clash has stemmed from various factors, such as the court case of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, the former governor of Jakarta, who was accused of religious blasphemy against Islam. The case led to the emergence of the 212 movement, which was politically very influential in directing the popular points of view toward Purnama. After Purnama's case was officially closed, the movement continued to voice their support for the elected governor Anies Baswedan and organised a grand reunion in 2018, an event that nationalist groups later muted.

Another case is the dissolution of the HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) organisation following the issuing of the Ministerial Decree

¹ Robert W. Hefner, "Whatever Happened to Civil Islam? Islam and Democratisation in Indonesia, 20 Years On", *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 43, no. 3 (2019), pp. 375-396.

² Leli Salman Al-Farisi, "Benturan Ideologis: Mungkinkah Harmonisasi Antara Pancasila dan Islam Politik Pasca-Reformasi?," *Aspirasi*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2019), pp. 81-96.

Number: AHU-30.AH.01.08 of 2017. The Supreme Court upheld this dissolution in a case registered as 27K/TUN/2019. HTI is a group of Muslims in Indonesia that strives to establish an Islamic caliphate.³ HTI operates through activities of preaching, education, and political engagement. The dissolution of HTI has triggered a significant conflict as the organisation has many followers.⁴

Since its establishment before Indonesia's independence in 1945, Pancasila has played as norms and rules in harmonising cultural and religious expressions.⁵ Pancasila provides a space of expression for the Indonesians and sets the boundaries using religious values. Therefore, although the first principle of Pancasila, "Belief in One God", is a cultural product inspired by Muslim figures involved in the birth of Pancasila as the State foundation,⁶ this principle has accommodated objections from non-Muslims, namely with the deletion of the seven words [*"Dengan kewajiban menjalankan Syariah Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya"* (with the obligation to carry out Islamic Sharia for its adherents)] in the Jakarta Charter.⁷

The birth of Pancasila as the foundational ideology of the Republic of Indonesia reflects the Indonesians' eagerness to unite. In its establishment, the influence and inspiration of some Muslim figures, such as Mas Mansur (d. 1946), Abdul Kahar Muzakkir (d. 1973), Bagus Hadikusumo (d. 1954), Masjkur (d. 1994), A. Wahid Hasjim (d. 1953), Abikusno Tjokrosujoso (d. 1968), Agus Salim (d. 1954), Sukiman Wirjosandjojo (d. 1974), A. Sanusi (d. 1950), and Abdul Halim (d. 1962), were perceptible. The strong connection between Islam and Pancasila is particularly evident in the first verse of Pancasila, which emphasises the belief in One Supreme God.⁸ That said, the transcendent Islam

³ Musawar Musawar and Gatot Suhirman, "Khilāfah in the View of Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, and Nahdhatul Wathan (NW) Ulema in Lombok", *Al-Jāmi'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 59, no. 2 (2021), pp. 317–46.

⁴ Al-Farisi, "Benturan Ideologis", pp. 81–96.

⁵ Ismatu Ropi, *Religion and Regulation in Indonesia* (New York: Springer, 2017).

⁶ Douglas Edward Ramage, *Ideological Discourse in the Indonesian New Order: State Ideology and the Beliefs of an Elite, 1985-1993* (PhD. Dissertation, Columbia, University of South Carolina, 1993).

⁷ Puspo Renan Joyo, "Harmoni Nilai-Nilai Pancasila dalam Agama Hindu," *Dharma Duta*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2017).

⁸ Mirjam Künkler and Hanna Lerner, "A Private Matter? Religious Education and Democracy in Indonesia and Israel", *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2016), pp. 279–307.

and the profane Pancasila are in harmony.⁹ No single Indonesian local culture is contrary to the norms of Pancasila. Likewise, the norms of Pancasila are not contradictory to the practice of Islam in Indonesia. That is why Islamic religious organisations in Indonesia that endorse Pancasila share a similar stance regarding globalisation. This stance entails rejecting cultures deemed inconsistent with Pancasila and Islamic teachings. This rejection encompasses aspects like promiscuity, same-sex marriage, and the perceived “godless” cultures. The general populace has already reached an unwritten consensus that cultural manifestations should not clash with the rules of recognised religions in Indonesia and the principles of Pancasila.¹⁰

The debate during the drafting of Pancasila for the state foundation is sufficient to explain that tolerance and multicultural awareness have been embedded since the beginning of the Indonesian nation-state. Soekarno, a nationalist, on 1 June 1945, proposed five precepts: nationalism, humanity, democracy, social justice, and belief in God. Along with criticism from religious (Islamic) members, the committee accepted the concept of Pancasila in the Jakarta Charter, with the addition of the seven words to the precept of the belief in God, namely “*dengan kewajiban menjalankan Syariah Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya.*” This formulation changed again when the representatives of eastern Indonesians had different opinions and felt unrepresented, so on 18 August 1945 at the BPUPKI Assembly, Moh. Hatta put forward the accepted formulation: Belief in One Supreme God.¹¹ The process of formulating Pancasila showed a compromise between nationalist, secularist, and religious groups.

This paper examines three formulated problems. *First*, how is the harmony between Islam and Pancasila according to historical views? *Second*, how does culturalisation strengthen the position of Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state? *Third*, how does the conflict between political Islamic groups and the nationalist groups in Indonesia affect the harmony between cultural and religious expressions within the

⁹ Achmad Ubaedillah, “Civic Education for Muslim Students in the Era of Democracy: Lessons Learned from Indonesia”, *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2018), pp. 50–61.

¹⁰ A. Malthuf Siroj, Ismail Marzuki, and Elkhairati Elkhairati, “Transformation and Future Challenges of Islamic Law in Indonesia”, *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, vol. 8, no. 1 May (2023), pp. 95–116.

¹¹ Faisal Ismail, “Religion, State, and Ideology in Indonesia: A Historical Account of the Acceptance of Pancasila as the Basis of Indonesian State”, *Indonesian Journal of Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies (IJIS)*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2018), pp. 19–58.

context of Pancasila.² The research questions in this study are crucial for understanding not only the process of religious accommodation in the formulation of Pancasila and its culturalisation that strengthens the position of Pancasila but also the tension between political Islamic groups and the nationalist groups in Indonesia. The research questions aim to shed light on the historical view of the harmony between Islam and Pancasila, the culturalisation of Pancasila, and the socio-anthropological conflict between political-Islamic and nationalist ideologies. These questions provide valuable insights into the complex interactions between Islam, Pancasila, and culture, advancing our understanding of Pancasila as a guiding principle for the nation.

B. The Harmony of Islam and Pancasila in Historical View

Pancasila as a cultural product could be identified from several key factors. First, Pancasila emerged in a diverse Indonesian society, which fostered a broad framework capable of accommodating the diverse philosophies of life within the country's pluralistic context. This inclusiveness allowed for the integration of various perspectives and contributed to the overall harmony. Moreover, the third principle of Pancasila (Unity of Indonesia) played a vital role in reflecting the cohesive aspirations of a heterogeneous nation, making Indonesian people prioritise national safety and unity above individual or group interests. By upholding Pancasila and its principles, the nation aimed to foster a sense of togetherness and social cohesion despite the country's existing diversity.¹²

As a core component of Indonesian beliefs, Islam emphasises unity and harmony. It promoted a sense of togetherness among its followers and encouraged peaceful coexistence. The Pancasilaist government consistently prioritised religious harmony, and this commitment was exemplified through various joint efforts. One such example was the collaborative work of Muslims and Christians in fostering peace in regions like the Moluccas and Bali.¹³ They strove to maintain a harmonious

¹² Zakiyuddin Baidhawiy, "Building Harmony and Peace through Multiculturalist Theology-based Religious Education: An Alternative for Contemporary Indonesia," *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2007), pp. 15–30.

¹³ I Nyoman Yoga Segara, "Relasi Hindu dan Islam di Bali", in *Monografi Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Indonesia*, ed. Kustini, Cetakan pertama (Jakarta: Litbangdiklat Press, 2019); Wildaniyati and Fransiska Dewi Setiowati Sunaryo, "Dinamika Kerukunan Antar Umat Beragama: Eksistensi Masyarakat Islam di Bali Pasca Bom Bali Tahun *Al-Jāmi'ah*, Vol. 61, No. 1, 2023 M/1444 H

environment, promoting understanding and respect between different religious communities. Additionally, both Muslims and Christians united in rejecting the presence of radical transnational Islamic groups in West Papua.¹⁴ This collective stance showcased the strength of unity amidst religious diversity as they stood together to preserve peace and stability in the region. It is worth noting that the recognition of diversity in unity was not limited to Indonesian cultural values alone; it was also mentioned in the Quran, the holy book of Islam. The Quran emphasises the creation of humans in various cultures, highlighting the importance of accepting and embracing diversity while fostering unity among believers.¹⁵

Secondly, Pancasila provided ample space for religious freedom, respecting the beliefs of all communities, including the belief in the Almighty God.¹⁶ This commitment to religious freedom allowed individuals to practice their faith without fear of discrimination or persecution. The concept of respect for other religious communities nurtured a pattern of local wisdom among Indonesian Muslims. They understood the importance of social cooperation and actively engaged with adherents of other faiths. This idea appeared in resolving socio-religious conflicts through local structures like *Pela Gandong*, where community leaders from different religious backgrounds came together to find peaceful solutions. “*Pela Gandong*” is a cultural tradition of the Bugis-Makassar ethnic group in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, involving a system of brotherhood and friendship between two different groups or villages. It includes mutual adoption, protection, cultural exchange, and the importance of peaceful conflict resolution in those relationships. The values of *Pela Gandong* are highly respected and passed down through generations in Bugis-Makassar society. Through these collaborative efforts, Indonesian Muslims demonstrated their commitment to fostering harmonious relationships and maintaining social cohesion within the country’s diverse religious landscape.

Islam, like Pancasila, valued respect for differences through the concept of “nations and tribes.” This concept, rooted in the teachings

2002-2012”, *Humanis*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2018), pp. 127–32.

¹⁴ Ridwan, “Religion and Peacebuilding: A Preliminary Study on Transnational Islam and Communal Harmony in Papua”, *Harmoni*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2019), pp. 555–69.

¹⁵ Idi Warsah, “Forgiveness Viewed from Positive Psychology and Islam”, *Islamic Guidance and Counseling Journal*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2020), pp. 1566 - 2614.

¹⁶ Lyn Parker, “Religious Environmental Education? The New School Curriculum in Indonesia”, *Environmental Education Research*, vol. 23, no. 9 (2017), pp. 1249–72.

Pancasila, Islam, and Harmonising Socio-Cultural Conflict in Indonesia of Islam, recognised and appreciated the diversity among human beings.¹⁷ It emphasised the importance of embracing and celebrating the unique cultures, traditions, and backgrounds within different nations and tribes. Islam, as a religion, places a strong emphasis on human values, promoting compassion, justice, and respect for all individuals regardless of their backgrounds. In this regard, Pancasila's emphasis on diversity and plurality aligned harmoniously with the teachings of Islam.¹⁸ Both ideologies recognised the inherent value of diversity and viewed it as a strength rather than a source of division. Pancasila's inclusive framework, which accommodated various philosophies of life, complemented Islam's approach to harmoniously regulating human nature and culture. Together, they promoted a society where individuals could coexist peacefully, appreciating and learning from one another's differences.

Thirdly, Pancasila, as a cultural product, was inseparable from the *ijtihād* of Indonesian scholars, including influential figures from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. Pancasila, as a cultural product, was inseparable from the *ijtihād* of Indonesian scholars, including influential figures from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. "Ijtihad" refers to the process of independent reasoning and interpretation of Islamic teachings by scholars to derive new understandings and applications relevant to contemporary contexts. In the context of Pancasila, the *ijtihād* of NU and Muhammadiyah scholars have played a significant role in shaping the principles and values of Pancasila to align with Islamic teachings while promoting unity, tolerance, and social harmony in Indonesia. These scholars engaged in critical thinking and intellectual efforts to reconcile Islamic principles with the broader national ideology, contributing to the development and evolution of Pancasila as a foundation for the nation's identity and cultural heritage. Through their *ijtihād*, they contributed to developing an Islamic Pancasila that embodied the values of grace, compassion, and justice for all creatures.¹⁹ This Islamic Pancasila also encompassed human rights protections,

¹⁷ Muhadi Zainuddin and Miqdam Makfi, "The National Spirit of Kiai Pesantren: An Analysis of the Ideas and Spirit of Independence of KH. Bisri Mustofa in the Interpretation of Al-Ibriz", *Al-Mawarid: JSYH*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2019), pp. 1–22.

¹⁸ Husnul Fatarib et al., "Sultan's Law and Islamic Sharia in the Ottoman Empire Court: An Analysis of the Existence of Secular Law", *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, vol. 8, no. 1 May (2023), pp. 117–34.

¹⁹ Syamsun Ni'am and Anin Nurhayati, "Pemikiran Kebangsaan K.H. Achmad Siddiq dan Implikasinya dalam Memantapkan Idiologi Pancasila sebagai Dasar Negara di Indonesia", *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2018), p. 239.

recognising every individual's inherent dignity and worth. These scholars' influence and efforts to harmonise Pancasila with Islamic beliefs led to widespread acceptance and support among Indonesian Muslims. They embraced Pancasila as it aligned with the core principles of Islam whilst emphasising unity, justice, and the well-being of society.²⁰ This strong resonance between Pancasila and Islamic teachings further strengthened the commitment of Indonesian Muslims to uphold and promote the values enshrined in Pancasila, contributing to the harmonious coexistence of diverse religious communities in Indonesia.

While implementing Pancasila faced criticism during the New Order era, the state took a strong stance against that criticism. It recognised the importance of preserving Pancasila's ideology of unity in diversity and safeguarding the principles it constructed. As part of this commitment, certain Islamic groups that posed a challenge to the integrity of the state were dissolved. This decisive action by the government was supported by the ulama, Islamic scholars who played a crucial role in the formulation of Pancasila. The ulama's endorsement of these measures highlighted the harmony between Islam and Pancasila, as both emerged from the same cultural roots. They recognised the need to protect the inclusive nature of Pancasila and its ability to accommodate diverse religious beliefs and practices.²¹ By working together, the state and the ulama reinforced the principle of unity in diversity, ensuring that Pancasila continued to serve as a unifying force in Indonesian society. This episode in Indonesian history underscored the significance of Pancasila as a unifying ideology transcending religious and cultural differences. It demonstrated the commitment of both the state and Islamic scholars to preserve the harmony between Islam and Pancasila, reinforcing their shared cultural heritage and collective vision for a united and diverse Indonesia.

In summary, the historical perspective indicated that Pancasila, as a cultural product, emerged from a diverse Indonesian society and was influenced by Islamic principles. It promoted inclusiveness, unity, and religious freedom, aligning with the values of Islam and shaping Indonesia's cultural and political landscape. The inclusive nature of Pancasila, influenced by Indonesian Muslim leaders, aligns with the values and teachings of Islam, fostering unity, respect for diversity, and the protection of religious minorities within Indonesian society.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Yudi Latif, "The Religiosity, Nationality, and Sociality of Pancasila: Toward Pancasila through Soekarno's Way", *Studia Islamika*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2018), pp. 207–45.

C. Culturalizing Pancasila Values

Culturalizing Pancasila values means making them an integral part of everyday life for people from all backgrounds, irrespective of religion, class, gender, or socioeconomic status. It involves formulating these values into traditions and natural practices.²² To achieve this, the government and civil society, including NGOs, should improve networking quality and promote Pancasila values in everyday practice. Currently, the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah are actively involved in promoting Pancasila values through cultural activities, such as Wayang performances and local culture-based da'wah initiatives. Wayang refers to a traditional Indonesian puppet theatre that combines storytelling, music, and intricate puppetry. Wayang plays often depict moral and ethical lessons, embodying the values of Pancasila in their narratives. The NU and Muhammadiyah utilise wayang as a powerful medium to convey Pancasila principles, fostering a deeper understanding and appreciation of Indonesian culture while promoting unity, tolerance, and social harmony. Through their active involvement in wayang performances and local cultural initiatives, these organisations contribute to preserving and disseminating Pancasila values in Indonesian society. Accommodating local cultures is seen as essential in promoting Pancasila values. This effort is supported by Muhammadiyah youth activists, as expressed in their book as follows.

The Muhammadiyah doctrines of TB (*tabayyul, bid'ah, and churafat*) have been understood in a formal context and provided no room for interpretation outside the rules of fiqh. This has also been the main cause of the stumbling of the *manhaj tarjih* stipulated by the Tarjih National Conference at the 44th Muhammadiyah Congress. Therefore, if the Cultural Da'wah recommended by the Tanwir Assembly in Bali suffers a similar fate to the *manhaj tarjih*, then it is certain that the Muhammadiyah locomotive will run without its carriages.²³

²² Anne Warfield Rawls and Jason Turowetz, “‘Discovering Culture’ in Interaction: Solving Problems in Cultural Sociology by Recovering the Interactional Side of Parsons’ Conception of Culture”, *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, vol. 9. no. 3 (2021), pp. 293–320; Laura Grindstaff and Ming-Cheng M. Lo, “Culturalizing Sociology”, in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Sociology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2019), pp. 104–23.

²³ M. Thoyibi, Yayah Khisbiyah, and Abdullah Aly (eds.), *Sinergi Agama dan Budaya Lokal : Dialektika Muhammadiyah dan Seni Lokal* (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, PSB-PS UMS dan Majelis Tarjih & PPI PP Muhammadiyah, 2003); Dwi Fajri et al., *Kemuhammadiyahan untuk Perguruan Tinggi*, ed. Zamah Sari, Hilal Ramadan, and Muhib Rosyidi (Jakarta: UHAMKA Press, 2017).

Muhammadiyah has made cultural changes in their meetings, abandoning the practice of dividing clothes between men and women to align with Indonesian traditions. Additionally, unique Sufistic gatherings called “Noto Ati” have also been introduced at Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta. These cultural efforts address obstacles to Pancasila values, including ethnic in-group feelings, ethnocentrism, and exclusivism.²⁴ Culturalizing Pancasila values is expected to be readily accepted by the wider community and benefit society. It raises awareness of the plurality of cultures and beliefs, emphasising Pancasila as the unifying foundation. When Pancasila becomes ingrained in society’s culture, its noble values will guide the nation and public administration with honesty, consistency, and accountability.

D. The Impacts of Political Conflicts between Islamic and Nationalist Groups on Cultural-Religious Harmony

The conflicts between political Islamic groups and nationalist groups in Indonesia stem from differing views on the role of religion in public life.²⁵ Political Islamic groups, one of which is Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and its followers, advocate for an Islamic-based state and Sharia law, while the nationalist groups, those affiliated with nationalist political parties such as the followers of PDIP and Gerindra, prioritise national unity, cultural diversity, and Pancasila as the state ideology.²⁶ The conflict between political Islamic groups and the nationalist groups in Indonesia stems from differing views on religion’s role in public life. Political Islamic groups aim to advocate for Muslim rights and implement Islamic principles, while nationalist groups prioritise unity, diversity, and Pancasila as the state ideology.²⁷ Their goals and demands vary, with political Islamic groups seeking greater recognition and conservative policies and the nationalist groups striving to preserve Pancasila and balance religious and national interests. Understanding the

²⁴ Bambang Suteng Sulasmono, “Peluang Revitalisasi Nilai-Nilai Pancasila dalam Kehidupan Berbangsa dan Bernegara,” *Satya Widya*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2019), pp. 75–85.

²⁵ Edward Aspinall et al., “Elites, Masses, and Democratic Decline in Indonesia,” *Democratization* 27, no. 4 (2020), pp. 505–26.

²⁶ Bourchier, David M. Bourchier, “Two Decades of Ideological Contestation in Indonesia: From Democratic Cosmopolitanism to Religious Nationalism,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 49, no. 5 (2019), pp. 713–33.

²⁷ Robert W. Hefner, “Islam and Covenantal Pluralism in Indonesia: A Critical Juncture Analysis,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2020), pp. 1–17.

Pancasila, Islam, and Harmonising Socio-Cultural Conflict in Indonesia conflict's background is crucial for promoting dialogue and inclusivity in Indonesian society. The conflict between political Islamic and nationalist groups in Indonesia impacts cultural expression. One group may restrict cultural expressions they deem contradictory to their values, while the other group faces challenges maintaining cultural diversity while upholding national unity.²⁸

Conflicts can hinder collaboration and dialogues among cultural groups, negatively impacting the development and preservation of culture.²⁹ However, conflicts can also stimulate debates on cultural values and national identity, leading to a stronger focus on cultural heritage and fostering innovation in cultural expression. Promoting dialogues among conflicting groups is vital to mitigate the impacts of conflicts on cultural expression. By fostering understanding and tolerance, dialogue can uncover shared values supporting the sustainability and development of diverse cultural expressions within Pancasila and Indonesia's pluralistic identity.

The ideological conflict between political Islamic and nationalist groups in Indonesia significantly impacts religious expression. It can restrict religious freedom, hinder interreligious interactions, and disrupt social harmony. Tensions between religious groups may lead to discrimination and limit individuals' freedom to practice religion. Interreligious harmony can be disrupted, hindering social interactions and dialogue among religious communities, thus affecting social cohesion.³⁰ Conflicts impact religious understanding and freedom of worship. Narrow interpretations of religion can distort understanding, hindering tolerance and inclusivity.³¹ Conflicts can also restrict religious practices and lead to desecration of places of worship. Promoting dialogue, tolerance, and interreligious understanding is crucial to address these

²⁸ Otto Gusti Madung and Winibaldus Stefanus Mere, "Constructing Modern Indonesia Based on Pancasila in Dialogue with the Political Concepts Underlying the Idea of Human Rights," *Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights*, vol. 5 no. 1 (2021), p. 1.

²⁹ Jamaluddin Hos et al., "Conflict Management in Multiethnic Communities: A Case Study in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, vol. 23, no. 4 (2022), pp. 1963–85.

³⁰ Hartoyo et al., "The Role of Local Communities in Peacebuilding in Post-Ethnic Conflict in a Multi-Cultural Society," *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*, vol.12, no. 1 (2020), pp. 33-44.

³¹ Diego Fossati, "The Resurgence of Ideology in Indonesia: Political Islam, Aliran and Political Behaviour," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, vol. 38, no. 2 (2019), pp. 119–48.

impacts. Government, religious institutions, and civil society should foster harmony, educate about religious tolerance, and safeguard freedom of religion. Collaborative efforts can alleviate conflicts and promote a harmonious society that respects cultural and religious diversity.

Pancasila plays a vital role as the foundation of the state and mediation in addressing the ideological conflict between political Islamic groups and the nationalist groups in Indonesia. In the existing reality, Pancasila is recognised as the national basis that regulates the relationship between the state, society, and individuals. In this context, it is crucial to analyse the role of Pancasila in accommodating the diversity of cultural and religious expressions and maintaining harmony within society. As the foundation of the state, Pancasila provides a solid ideological foundation for Indonesia.³² The principles of Pancasila, such as Belief in the One and Only God, Just and Civilized Humanity, the Unity of Indonesia, Democracy led by the Wisdom of Deliberations/Representations, and Social Justice for All Indonesian People, reflect the spirit of inclusivity, tolerance, and diversity. Pancasila places these values as a basis for building a state based on justice and social harmony.

In the context of the conflict between political Islamic groups and nationalist groups, Pancasila serves as a mediation that can overcome differences and facilitate dialogue among these groups. The concept of Indonesian unity in Pancasila emphasises the importance of cooperation and dialogue among various groups, including religious and cultural groups.³³ Pancasila teaches the importance of reaching mutually beneficial agreements and respecting diversity as a foundation for building a sustainable society. Additionally, Pancasila also provides a foundation for accommodating the diversity of cultural and religious expressions within society. The principle of Belief in the One and Only God in Pancasila respects freedom of religion and recognises the diversity of beliefs in Indonesia. The principle of Social Justice for All Indonesian People emphasises the importance of ensuring that the rights of all individuals and groups are protected, including the right to practice, maintain, and develop their respective cultures and religions.

However, despite Pancasila's important role in accommodating diversity and maintaining harmony, challenges still exist. Ongoing conflicts and societal polarisation can pressure the consistent implementation of

³² Madung and Mere, "Constructing Modern Indonesia", p. 1.

³³ Ahmad Faisal et al., "Strengthening Religious Moderatism through the Traditional Authority of Kiai in Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2022).

Pancasila's values.³⁴ Therefore, it is essential to continuously strengthen the understanding and implementation of Pancasila through education, interreligious dialogue, and active participation of society in efforts to maintain harmony and address ideological conflicts. Pancasila has the potential to preserve the diversity of cultural and religious expressions and maintain harmony in Indonesian society as the foundation and mediation in facing the conflict between political Islamic groups and nationalist groups. In facing these challenges, collective awareness of Pancasila's values, increased understanding, and a commitment to building an inclusive and harmonious society will be vital in nurturing diversity and strengthening Indonesian unity.

Protection and recognition of cultural and religious minorities are important in Indonesia, with Pancasila promoting diversity and social justice. Efforts are made to safeguard their rights amidst conflicts. Pancasila, as the state foundation, ensures minority rights. Social Justice for All Indonesian People in Pancasila emphasises justice for all, including minorities. Freedom of religion and cultural expression are valued and protected. The government has taken steps to protect minority groups. The 1945 Constitution guarantees human rights for all citizens, including minorities. Laws like the Law on Freedom of Religion protect religious freedom. Religious institutions also play a role in protecting minorities. The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) has issued fatwas emphasising diversity and minority rights. MUI advocates justice and tolerance among religious communities.

Despite efforts for protection, challenges still exist in safeguarding the rights of minority groups. Conflicts can pose a threat to minority groups and impact the protection of their rights. Misinterpretation or narrow understanding of certain religions and cultures can lead to discrimination or violence against minority groups.³⁵ To protect minority rights, the government should raise public awareness through education and campaigns promoting tolerance, interreligious dialogue, and cultural diversity. Furthermore, it is crucial to enhance cooperation among the government, religious institutions, and civil society to protect minority

³⁴ Ulf Sundhaussen and Barry R. Green, "Indonesia: Slow March into an Uncertain Future," in *The Political Dilemmas of Military Regimes* (Routledge, 2021), pp. 95–127.

³⁵ Muhammad Wildan, "Religious Diversity and the Challenge of Multiculturalism: Contrasting Indonesia and the European Union," *Sunan Kalijaga International Journal of Islamic Civilization*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2020), p. 245.

groups' rights. Strict law enforcement against violations targeting minority groups is also essential to provide legal certainty and deterrence to perpetrators of violence or discrimination. In the context of Pancasila, it is crucial to understand that diversity is an asset and wealth of the Indonesian nation. The protection and recognition of cultural and religious minority groups reflect our commitment to achieving justice and harmony within society. By upholding the values of Pancasila, protecting the rights of minority groups, and enhancing understanding and cooperation among institutions, we can preserve diversity as a source of national strength and weave harmony in Indonesian society.

In summary, conflicts between political Islamic groups and the nationalist groups in Indonesia significantly impact the harmony between cultural and religious expressions within the context of Pancasila. The conflicts arise from differences in views on the role of religion in public life, with political Islamic groups advocating for the implementation of Islamic principles in governance and the nationalist groups emphasising national unity and cultural diversity under Pancasila. Conflicts affect cultural expressions by restricting certain expressions perceived as conflicting with religious values or nationalist ideology. The conflicts also hinder the development and preservation of culture by disrupting collaborations and dialogues among diverse cultural groups. Similarly, religious expressions are impacted through restrictions on religious freedom, disruption of interreligious interactions, distortion of religious understanding, and limitations on freedom of worship. However, Pancasila serves as a foundation and mediation in addressing conflicts, promoting dialogues, respecting diversity, and ensuring social harmony. Efforts to protect and recognise the rights of cultural and religious minority groups are crucial,³⁶ and collaboration among government, religious institutions, and civil society is essential for maintaining harmony and upholding the values of Pancasila. By nurturing diversity and fostering a commitment to inclusivity, Indonesia can strengthen unity and preserve the richness of its cultural and religious expressions.

As a final note from this article, so that the Indonesian nation does not repeat the occurrence of friction or conflict among citizens of the Indonesian in the future, there are several essential things as recommendations. *First*, all Indonesian people must implement religious

³⁶ Sugeng Bayu Wahyono et al., "Multicultural Education and Religious Tolerance: Elementary School Teachers' Understanding of Multicultural Education in Yogyakarta", *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 60, no. 2 (2022), pp. 467–508.

moderation consistently. “Religious moderation” refers to adopting a balanced and tolerant approach to religious beliefs, practices, and interactions. It promotes understanding, respect, and cooperation among individuals of different religious backgrounds while discouraging extremism or exclusivity. Religious moderation encourages open-mindedness, inclusivity, and dialogue, allowing for peaceful coexistence and harmony in a diverse society like Indonesia. By embracing religious moderation, individuals can bridge differences, promote mutual respect, and contribute to a more united and cohesive Indonesian community. *Second*, implement mutual respect among fellow Indonesians. *Third*, fellow Indonesians must consistently implement an attitude of helping each other. *Fourth*, fellow Indonesians do not drop each other. *Fifth*, fellow Indonesians must maintain and establish togetherness. With the implementation of the five things above, the harmony of national and state life for the Indonesian people will be realised.

E. Concluding Remarks

This paper ends with three sets of conclusions. First, in terms of harmony between Islam and Pancasila, according to the historical view, Pancasila, as a cultural product, represented the influence of Indonesian Muslim leaders and their efforts to foster harmony with Islam. It emerged in a diverse Indonesian society, accommodating various philosophies of life and promoting integration. Islam emphasised unity and peaceful coexistence, which aligned with Pancasila’s principles. The Pancasila government prioritised religious harmony and collaborated with Muslims and Christians to maintain a harmonious environment. Furthermore, Pancasila provided religious freedom and encouraged respect for other religious communities, resulting in local wisdom and the resolution of conflicts through collaboration. Islam also valued diversity and pluralism, which resonated with Pancasila’s inclusive framework. Indonesian Islamic scholars played a crucial role in shaping Pancasila’s understanding and implementation, leading to its acceptance among Indonesian Muslims. Despite facing criticism during the New Order era, the state and the ulama worked together to protect Pancasila’s ideology and preserve its inclusive nature. This historical perspective highlighted Pancasila as a unifying force that transcended religious and cultural differences, fostering harmony, respect, and the well-being of diverse religious communities in Indonesia.

Second, culturalizing Pancasila values involves integrating them

into everyday life for people regardless of their background, aiming to turn these values into traditions and natural practices. This culturalizing process requires the government, civil society, and NGOs to improve networking quality and promote Pancasila values through practical means. Efforts by organisations like Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, through cultural activities and accommodating local cultures, play a vital role in this endeavour. Muhammadiyah, for example, has made cultural changes in their meetings and introduced unique Sufistic gatherings to address obstacles to Pancasila values. By culturalizing Pancasila, the aim is for these values to be widely accepted and benefit society by raising awareness of cultural diversity, emphasising Pancasila as the unifying foundation. Integrating Pancasila into the cultural fabric of society can guide the nation with integrity and accountability, effectively preventing religious fundamentalism.

Third, the conflicts between political Islamic and the nationalist groups in Indonesia profoundly affect the harmony of cultural and religious expressions within the context of Pancasila. The conflicts stem from differing views on the role of religion in public life, with political Islamic groups advocating for the implementation of Islamic principles in governance. In contrast, the nationalist groups prioritise national unity and cultural diversity under Pancasila. These conflicts impact cultural expressions by restricting certain expressions that conflict with religious values or nationalist ideology. They also hinder the development and preservation of culture by disrupting collaborations and dialogues among diverse cultural groups. Similarly, religious expressions are affected by restrictions on religious freedom, disruption of interreligious interactions, distortion of religious understanding, and limitations on freedom of worship. However, Pancasila plays a crucial role as a foundation and mediator in addressing these conflicts by promoting dialogues, respecting diversity, and ensuring social harmony. Efforts to protect and recognise the rights of cultural and religious minority groups are essential, and collaboration among the government, religious institutions, and civil society is necessary to maintain harmony and uphold the values of Pancasila. By nurturing diversity and fostering a commitment to inclusivity, Indonesia can strengthen unity and preserve the richness of its cultural and religious expressions.

In order to eradicate division and further strengthen harmony in the future, this research suggests promoting open dialogue and communication between political Islamic and nationalist groups,

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reinforcing education on Pancasila and cultural diversity, raising awareness of the rights of cultural and religious minorities, and maintaining collaboration among the government, religious institutions, and civil society. Additionally, it is crucial to establish inclusive policies, encourage active participation of communities in cultural and religious activities involving various groups, and bolster mediation institutions and the values of equality and mutual respect within religions. These efforts will contribute to building a harmonious society that respects differences and upholds the values of Pancasila, which appreciates diversity.

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