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Submission date: 13-Apr-2023 08:18AM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 2063017502

File name: ISTIC_NATIONS_AND_PREVENTING_THE_ETHNO-RELIGIOUS_DIVERGENCES.pdf (367.26K)

Word count: 8424

Character count: 49469

PLURALISTIC NATIONS AND PREVENTING THE ETHNO-RELIGIOUS DIVERGENCES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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Received: 07.03.2020

Revised: 09.04.2020

Accepted: 10.05.2020

Abstract

This study analysed the socio-ethno-religious divergences in Southeast Asia, and the role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The three main foci in this research are: 1) the dynamics of the social-ethnic and religious divergences in Southeast Asia Nations; 2) factors causing the Southeast Asian social divergences; and 3) the role of ASEAN in the social divergence resolution strategy in Southeast Asia. The research method is qualitative. The data was collected by using literature review. The results show that there are several factors that cause social-ethnic and religious divergences in Southeast Asian countries: Indonesia, Myanmar, Philipina, Thailand, and Malaysia. Those major factors are related to facilitating contexts: 'inheritance' of various colonial discriminatory policies, socio-economic and political imbalances, demographics, and minority-majority ethnic relations. The core of divergences are the level of social deprivation or an intolerable social marginalization, the tendency of socio-economic inequalities in a pluralistic society, differences and mental attitudes, differences of ethnicity, race, and religion, differences in cultural level and issues of majority-religious minorities. The fuse factors are the 'axes' of divergences that have been waiting to be ignited. Triggering factors are the momentum where various elements accumulated give rise to social-ethnic and religious divergences. The role of ASEAN in social-ethnic and religious divergence resolution strategies in Southeast Asia appears to be suboptimal due to the dilemma of the ASEAN mission relating to the 'Non-Interference' principle which prohibits the intervention of the internal affairs of a member country.

Keywords: The Ethno-Religious divergences, Southeast Asia, the Role of ASEAN

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.31838/jcr.07.12.61>

INTRODUCTION

A divergence is 'a fight, a collision, a struggle, a contest, opposition of contest, opinions or purposes, mental strife, agony. It is a logical consequence of an interaction between two parties. There are several causes of divergences, including the problems of inequality resulting from the jealousy toward certain parties due to the social, economic, cultural, and religious inequality. This inequality leads citizens of a country to aspire to have their own form of authority in regulating their territory. This aspiration is demonstrated by resistance and riots from the people who feel disadvantaged. The end of the Cold War has caused world political change, the war between nations began to decrease, but the civil war increased. This phenomenon mostly occurred in developing countries involving ethnic groups. This new type of divergences usually involves a variety of ethnic groups within the country due to the difference in a various group of people in it, such as differences in ethnic, cultural, religious identity and the socio-economic inequality.

Many Southeast Asian countries are pluralistic nations destined with diverse race, ethnic, religion and other beliefs. On the one hand, this diversity is the nation's 'treasure'. On the other hand, a diverse, pluralistic nation often deals with social divergence affecting the relationship between majority and minorities related to the ethnic and religious nuances. Almost every Southeast Asian country has its own experience in dealing with ethnic and religious divergences. Southeast Asia has a lot of a majority-minority ethnic relationship that sometimes grows into ethnic and religious divergences. The triggers of social-ethnic and religious divergence can be related to military 'pressures', but the fundamental trigger is the disputes between absolute ideologies, the lack of compromise, and the insistence of state nationalism against ethnic nationalism.

Ethnic and religious divergences, therefore, are common in pluralistic societies in several Southeast Asia countries. Differences in religious beliefs and socio-historic-colonialism experiences of a nation also have a strong influence as a 'root of divergence' with religious nuances in Southeast Asia. Differences in social, ethnic, religious, economic, political and cultural structures are other factors, which contribute significantly to the 'development' of ethnic and religious divergences. Efforts to bring a 'solution' to the divergence between the ethnic minority (Muslim) and the non-Muslim majority (support of 'rulers') in Southeast Asia should consist of non-discriminatory internal state policies in various aspects. However, admittedly, many efforts and 'sacrifices' made in many cases of ethnic and religious communal divergences in several Southeast Asia countries have been unsatisfactory. To this date, the ethnic and religious divergences appear to continue.

The three main issues discussed in this paper are: 1) the extent of escalation of ethnic and religious divergences in Southeast Asia; 2) factors causing ethnic and religious divergences in Southeast Asia; and 3) the role of the Association of South-East Asia Nations (ASEAN) in the reconciliation strategy of ethnic and religious divergences. A qualitative approach was used in this study. Secondary data was collected by researching books, journals, articles, documents, and other studies related to the topic of this research. The technique of collecting data was a review of literature from journals, books, newspapers, and other documents. The clarified data were analysed and reconstructed with a qualitative approach into a description to be further analysed to draw conclusions.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ⁵

A pluralistic society is the existence of ⁵ mented sociological groups formed effectively in terms of cultural and political cohesion within the society, on the basis of group identity. Sometimes this cohesion is direct and primordial, and sometimes it is also created outside the political opponents (Bell, 1996). Malaki (2001) argues that there are two approaches in ethnicity studies: primordialism and instrumentalist. Primordialists are the study of ethnicity in relation to religion, blood ties, race, language, region, and customs. Instrumentalist places ethnicity as a social construction and political and cultural resources for differences in interest and group status. In this view, the meaning of ethnicity can vary depending on the identification as the push-pull factor, such as in a situation where ethnic identity experiences a transition or reconfiguration.

In the theory of the origins of ethnic groups, Weber (1996) it is revealed that a tribe is clearly restricted when it becomes a sub-part of the community which in reality often forms it. An ethnic community is artificially declared as a number of ethnic groups, which is a political artefact. The tribes that existed before an ethnic community was formed is identic with political group relations, which is later associated with a community called ethnos. The politically unorganized tribes in a long period of time, which is considered as blood community, will use their memory to participate in the political activities in the form of a single conquest or defence. These political memories form a tribe. In fact, tribal consciousness is shaped primarily based on the same political experience, not on the basis of the same offspring, which becomes a 'source'. This experience oftentimes becomes a belief in common ethnicity. Weber (1996), further argues that a 'source' is not only related to certain conditioned customs which probably came from various origins. The movement from the natural condition adaptations as well as imitation of the surrounding environment (neighbourhood) in turns practically gives birth to tribal consciousness, which generally has a political meaning. It is simply become a basis to follow the political act of the tribes (volgenossen) which considers each other as blood relatives. The belief common ethnicity, most of the time, but not always, becomes a challenge to a group existence or facilitate social interaction (soziale verkhergemeinschafen). Simpson and Yinger (1972) state that ethnic minority group has several characteristics. First, a minority group is a part of more complex nations' society. Second, it has several characteristics that weaken their self-esteem. Third, it is a group with a high sense of belonging, which is developed because each member has the same number of similar special traits, whether they are beneficial or detrimental. Fourth, membership in the minority can be detrimental to future generations, although the prominent physical or cultural characteristics are no longer existing. Fifth, members of a minority group, whether it is their own choice or needs, have a tendency to marry those from their own group.

Dahrendorf (1962), furthermore, in the context of characteristics of the majority group, mainly related to the authority and the structure of authority argues that: first, authority describes the 'superordinate' and 'subordinate'. Second, the superordinate or the dominant group dominated over the subordinate, which is depicted in the form of commanding and prohibiting behaviour. Third, the superordinate has a right to make statutory provisions because authority is the legitimacy of superordinate and subordinate relations. This authority is not based on the personal or situational causes, but rather on the reward associated with the social status. Fourth, the right to authority is limited to the 'level' of certain people. Fifth, there are penalties of ignoring the law, as well as legal or customary systems that are quasi-legal in nature that can protect the effectiveness of authority.

Ethnic background is one of the causes of internal dispute. In the last decades, divergences of ethnicity and the birth of nationalism

movement have caused the destruction of social relations in several countries. This has also led several social scholars to study the complexity of the concept of ethnicity, nationalism, and national development. Studies about ethnicity and nationalism (Billig, 1995; Christie, 1998; Hutchingson & Smith, 1994, 1996; Erikson, 1993; Kellas, 1991; McCrone, 1998; Naim, 1997; Schwzrmanted, 1991) have shown that they are not easily eroded by modernization (Deutsch, 1996; Weber in Gerth & Mills, 1948). Although at present it is rather difficult to develop a general theory of ethnicity and nationalism (McCrone, 1998), the theoretical framework needs to be considered especially with regard to the ethnic group and ethnicity—for instance, the reasons why ethnic groups enter politics and the effects of political movements in a pluralistic society (Ishak, 2016). Ishak (2016) proposes that there are at least two factors that form an ethnic group. First, the similar traits in ethnicity, which generally refers to the distinguished cultural aspects such as race (biological trait), language, and ancestors. However, this objective perspective seems to be too arrow since it only emphasizes on the social continuity instead of the social adaptation (Barth, 1969). A more subjective perspective should be considered such as the awareness aspect of a group of its own identity, which is also acknowledged by other groups (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963; Weber in Parsons, 1961). Phadnis (1989) holds that 'a psychological dimension seems to have its own issue: how and when can a group realize this?' Phadnis specifically emphasized that 'objective and subjective perspectives complement each other to understand the process of evaluation and development of an ethnic group which is characterized by sustainability, adaptation, or changes. This view is somewhat similar to those of Gordon (1964), Royce (1982), Schermerhorn (1978), and Smith (1986). It is believed that identity is a sure thing to experience changes and can produce some new ethnicity. Based on Phenis (1989) 's view, an ethnic group can be seen as 'a community that is historically formed, it has a specific territory with a physical or imaginary mark, and it shares the same belief and values that distinguish it from other groups. The second factor that forms an ethnic group is interaction. Stryker (1973) argues that ethnic groups do not exist in isolation, but rather a product of interaction. Wallerstein (1990) adds that 'a membership system in an ethnic group is a matter of social definition, which is influenced by the personal definition of members and definitions from other groups. When two or more ethnic groups interact with each other in the socio-politics context, it leads to the ethnicity phenomenon. Erikson (1973) states that ethnicity refers to 'an aspect of social interaction between groups in which the members consider themselves as having a different culture from members of the other group' (Ishak, 2016).

This shows that the gap between ethnic groups is a social estrangement, not necessarily as cultural. Although people have various elements of culture such as religion, language, customs, and traditions, it does not mean that they are in the same ethnic group. For example, although the Croatians and Serbians seem to have some similar elements in their culture, they come from a different ethnicity. Therefore, it is crucial to understand that the same culture does not necessarily lead to a sense of belonging. On the contrary, White (1978) argues that a community can stand without the existence of a supporting social structure or the same culture. In essence, ethnical differences arise from the institutionalized contacts within a region. Burgess (1978) states that ethnicity can also be seen as 'the tool and the purpose of group movement by its leader through the use of ethnic symbols in relation to the socio-cultural and political-economy group'. This also encourages an ethic political movement with the purpose of protecting the ethnic interest (Ishak, 2016). Schermerhorn (1970) asserts that the paradigm of 'congruent and incongruent orientation of centripetal and centrifugal tendency towards the subordinate as seen in 'subordinate-superordinate' shows that a centripetal tendency leads to a

cultural nature. It is related to the generally accepted values and lifestyle in society as well as structural characteristics, which is the social participation in a group, association, and general institution. A centrifugal tendency occurs when a minority group (subordinate) has a desire to separate (segregation) from the majority group (superordinate). With various social ties in a society, the minority group tends to maintain and preserve the members' identity, the value system, language, religion, recreational pattern, and so forth. If the minority group has a centrifugal tendency, social integrity and assimilation are difficult. If the ethnic majority has a centripetal tendency, although the subordinate tends to be centrifugal, integration and assimilation are more likely to occur, which is called assimilation with incorporation. Ideally, both superordinate and subordinate have a centripetal tendency in efforts to create social integration and assimilation.

Schermerhorn's paradigm about the centripetal or centrifugal tendency in majority and minority as described above can explain that the majority group play a significant role in the development of the inter-ethnicity relationship, including the possibility of social integration. A majority group has power and other ability in a social institution, politic, economy, and culture that facilitate social interaction. However, if the majority group does not show their proper role (in the social, politic, economic, and cultural institution) and the minority groups appears to play a more significant role instead, integration is difficult to occur, and divergence tendencies are possible.

From the case of countries in Southeast Asia, the majority-minority ethnic relationship is less likely developed into ethnic and religious divergences that threaten social integrity. The triggers of social-ethnic and religious divergence in Southeast Asia are sometimes related to the military pressure, but the fundamental triggers are the dispute between absolute ideologies, lack of compromises, and the insistence of country nationalism against ethnic nationalism. Therefore, in Southeast Asia, the intensity of inter-ethnic majority (ruler)-minority is larger compared to the inter-ethnic, which leads to the separatist movement. In many cases, the government of the country oftentimes give 'label' to the ethnic minority as 'rebels', 'terrorists', and 'separatism'. This unilateral claim is detrimental to the minority ethnic, and it also makes it difficult to find solutions to the divergence between ethnics and religions. The Weberian views (Sanderson, 1995) argue that the phenomenon of social divergence is not merely due to the factor of inequality between economic or production resource, as often proposed by some researchers. Weber asserts that divergence can occur in a wider way, but Weber also acknowledges that economic resources are the fundamental characteristic of social life. Weber explains the two types of divergences within a society (Abrar et al., 2018; Muazza et al., 2019; Mukminin et al., 2017). First, divergence in the political aspect. This divergence is not only motivated by some individual or group desire to gain power or economic benefit. Weber argues that this type of divergence is not only occurring on the formal political organization, but also in every type of group, religious organization, and education. Second, the divergences related to ideology and aspiration. This type of divergence, Weber describes, occurs when an individual or group are often challenged to gain dominance in their world view, related to the religious and cultural values doctrines, social philosophy, and the concept of cultural lifestyles. It can be understood that other than the economic inequality there are other factors that cause divergences within society (Mukminin & McMahan, 2013; Mukminin et al., 2015; Mukminin et al., 2017; Retnowati, 2017).

Emile Durkheim argues that although religion in social level acts as an integration of social institution, its functions as social integration in individual level can lead to problems. Each member of a society has different needs, so the possibility of the differences in needs pluralistic society can cause divergences.

The phenomena such as widespread alienation, increased cynicism, the drastic change of personal morality in the patterns of occupations, sex, family, and other various group actions that chase economy interest with no regards to other group's interest is also the situation that Durkheim describes as social divergence threat that in turns can lead to the disintegration (Retnowati, 2017; Syaiful et al., 2018).

The religious divergences in society can occur due to the different way of understanding in interpreting the sources which are influenced or supported by other aspects such as politics, and economy. In this context, the religious divergence in society can occur because these differences are made more prominent as well as the barrier between each other when the economy and political statuses in society have implications to the different understanding. Religion can contribute to the clash between religious believers. Therefore, several social problems can cause divergences in a society such as individual differences as well as different ideologies attitudes and feelings. Every member of a society is bound to the patterns that form the development of culture in their group. These differences can be caused by the physical and socio-cultural environment, different interest in economics and politics, and social changes (Habibi et al., 2018; Muazza et al., 2019; Mukminin et al., 2019). The rapid social changes supported by globalization and modernization directly or indirectly influence the values within a society. Some people accept the changes, and some resist. This unreadiness to social changes can trigger divergences. Moreover, divergence can be caused by the feelings of suspicions between the ever-interacting members of society. This suspicion is caused by unnatural views, the prejudice against other groups, or the ingrained negative stereotypes. It is also caused by the determination that their own group is good, and the others are basically bad, so there is no room for tolerance. The dispute has never led to prosperity in humanity because it brings chaos and unrest in society. Therefore, divergences need not be prolonged, and instead, it has to be solved. In this context, Simmel in Johnson (1994) comes up with ways to solve divergences. First, eradication of divergences from those who are involved (Hadiyanto et al., 2017; Prasojo et al., 2017; Mukminin et al., 2018). Second, one side wins, and the other side loses. Third, compromises, and fourth, conciliation. Fifth, the impossibility of reconciliation (Retnowati, 2017).

From the perspective of functional theory in the elementary forms of religious life (1976), Emile Durkheim argues that religion must exist because the social system needs integration. It is believed that it is not the interesting differences between characteristics of beliefs and ritual such as Totemism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Protestantism, and Catholicism. In this view, the interesting thing is what is similar in the system, which is the integrative functions in this religion toward the social system (Jones, 2009). Hasan (2005) argues that every religion has its own theological basis in the truth claims. However, all religions also have a theological basis for saying that only God and revelations have the weight of absolute truth, while the humans who convey religious teaching merely provide interpretations. Therefore, human interpretations of the revelations are not the absolute truth, but rather relative to the limitations as human beings. With the spirit of that attitude, it is possible to pursue the harmonization of religions. In a pluralistic society, religion can play a unifying factor, but in certain aspects, religion can also be the divergence factor.

3. METHOD

The methods for this qualitative study were systematically searching internet resources, abstracts, and databases including ERIC, British Library Direct, Academic Search Elite, Libris, google scholar, research gate, Questia and High Beam and journal sources such as Emerald, Sage, Science Direct, and Open DOAR

related to the application of the Ethno-Religious Divergences in Southeast Asia.

Also, studies of documents related to ethnic and religious divergences in Southeast Asia are available in related literature, especially in the context of socio-historical and sociological perspectives. Data sourced from documents related to ethnic and religious divergences in ASEAN are analyzed, coded, and categorized qualitatively. Data sourced from the documents are then organized, grouped, analyzed, and drawn conclusions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

From data analysis with a review of the literature, it can be explained that there are four main findings in this study. First, the ethno-religious divergence is common in pluralistic societies in Southeast Asian countries. The ethno-religious divergence between Muslim ethnic minority and the indigenous ethnic majority of the country (which usually receives support from the ruler) seems to have a different background of ethnic and religion. This difference in ethnic and religious belief and the socio-historical-colonialism experience of a nation gives a significant influence as the 'root' of divergence in ethnic and religious nuances in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, the different conditions of social structure, ethnic, religion, economy, politics, education and culture are other factors which bring a significant contribution to the potential and the escalation of ethnic and religious divergence.

Second, the socio-ethnic and religious divergence in Southeast Asia can be influenced by several factors. In Indonesia, the cases of socio-ethnic and religious divergence can be explained through the facilitating contexts such as the ethnicity politics of Dutch imperialism or the 'devide impera' politics, natural and economical resources exploitation, inequalities in the economy, demographics, and majority-minority, colonial economy motives and 'neutrality' towards religion and customs. PM. Laksono (2001: 3) argues that the indigenous society was dealt with their own customs; the European society was dealt with European laws. The Foreign Easterners (India, China, and Japan) were dealt within European laws. The Christians were also adopted as European law subjects. However, between the 1930s until the infiltration of Japanese, the pluralistic society was very much alive, and it was understood that there was a barrier between the indigenous and the ruling migrants. The customary laws guaranteed and provided privileges towards the customary authorities, the local authorities to maintain its community with local nuances, and they were also obedient under the interest of local authorities.

The core of divergences, a level of social deprivation or social marginalization that is intolerable in the development of resource as well as power are as follows: socio-economic inequalities within a pluralistic society especially between the indigenous majority and the Chinese minorities that has been established since the Dutch and English imperialism era since the 17th and 18th century. At the beginning of the 19th century, many Chinese merchants held important positions as leaders in European companies, as kings' business counselors, as the captain in Chinese community, as local experts, and middlemen (Idi: 2015; Lan, 2010; Asry, 2010); differences and mental behavior; differences of tribes/ethnicity, race of religious believers (Mulia, 2009). The fuse factors of divergence that has been long waiting to ignite can be traced back into the Reformation era with the rise of the various mass religious organizations that have different views towards other ethnic and religion (Mulia, 2009). The triggering factors are the momentum where several elements described above are accumulated and leads to a divergence such as the socio-historic religious teachings (Azra, 2009); political and justice policies (Zubir & Zaysda, 2009); local politics and religious manipulation (Lubis, 2015); weakness in bringing justice to the authority (Panggabean, et al., 2014: 309); competition between religious

believers (Panggabean, 2014); ethnic community competition (Idi, 2016); exclusive behavior and arrogance (Idi, 2016); and the suboptimal role of the Forum of the Religious Harmony (Badan Litbang Diklat Departemen Agama, 2008).

The Rohingya-Myanmar case of ethno-religious divergence can be explained through the facilitating contexts such as the English colonial migration policy, the discriminative acts and Rohingya anti-ethnic that has been established since English colonialism, and the dominance of Buddhist culture and Burmese ethnicity (Raharjo, 2015). The core of divergences is the discriminative acts by the Myanmar military government, the population and source of economy where the majority of the Rakhine hold the assumption that the Rohingyas are competitors in obtaining employment; in politics the Rakhine assume that the Rohingyas have betrayed them because they did not vote the majority party that is mostly consisted of the Buddhist majority, the Rohingyas are considered as migrants with no legitimate citizenship (Muhamad, 2017). The fuse factors are related to ethnicity and religious sentiments. The triggering factors are the Myanmar military government's actions that support Buddhist fundamentals instead of encouraging reconciliation (Kusuma, 2016); the many cases of rape and murder of Rohingya Muslim women has caused anger in Rohingya society (Raharjo, 2015: 46); and the tendency towards 'ethnic cleansing' towards the Rohingya ethnic minority (Suastha, 2016).

In Mindanao-Filipina, the socio-ethnicity and religious divergence can be analyzed through the facilitating contexts such as the past sentiments especially about the Spanish and American colonial-imperialism policy (Bresnan, 1988: 7-8; Helmiati, 2008: 2017; Mangandaralam, Syahbuddin, 1988), religious demography and sentiments towards Islam that were instilled by the colony, the case of Jabidhah Massacre (Diana, Anisa, 2016), and the colonial discriminative acts and violence (Nadeak, Kustigar, Admadji, 1986: 170). The core of divergences are related to the migration policy of Christian ethnicity to Mindanao, the sentiments of Christian religious-missionary, law discrimination and marginalization (Nadeak, Kustigar, & Atmadji, 1986), work and livelihood difficulties (Susetyo, 2009), and the risk of implementing special autonomy government (Budiwanti, 2003). The fuse factors are related to the natural resource and economy inequality (Budiwanti, 2003: 83); the impact of special autonomy and the potential of new separatism act (for example the formation of the Mindanao Independent Movement / MIM; Moro National Liberation Front / MNLF; Moro Islamic Liberation Front / MILF) (Cesar Adib Majul, 1989: 34). The fuse factors are related to the accumulation of the elements described above that facilitate the socio-ethnicity and religious divergence in Mindanao.

In Fattani-South Thailand, the ethno-religious divergence can be seen from the facilitating contexts related to the Siamese kingdom intervention (Farish Noor, 2008); the impact of cultural assimilation policies (Endang Turmuzdi, 2010: 44); ethnic and religious settlements (Republika, 2017); military operations (Republika, 2017); the relatively large number (size) of Muslim ethnic minority which is around 20 percent (Republika, 2017). The core of divergences is related to the politics-administrative integration policies (Yuniarto, 2005: 89-117), the disparity between Thailand government and the Fattanis (Moddakakul, 2005; Abdullah, 2001; Keyes, 2003); and language factors (Moddakakul, 2005). The Fuse factors include the inequality of human resource and economic disparity (Turmuzdi, 2010); religious and ethnic recognition (Turmuzdi, 2010); and job discrimination (Turmuzdi, 2010). The Triggering factors include economic and job discrimination (Turmuzdi, 2010) and ethnicity, race, and religious discrimination (Turmuzdi, 2010).

In Malaysia, the ethno-religious divergences through facilitating contexts are related to the English colonial discriminative policies (The Strait Times, 25/12/2015) and the Chinese who

control the large part of country's resource generate a great sentiment from the Malays (Agus Sunyoto, 2017). The core of divergences are related to the special rights of the Malays and New Economic Policy (NEP) (Sari, 2010), and the claim of discriminative acts to Indian minority in economic policies (Sari, 2010). The Fuse factors are related to sentiments of ethnicity, race, and religion and economy competition (Aditya, 2015). The Triggering factors are related to the accumulation of the past elements (the English colonial discriminative policies and sentiments of race, ethnicity, religion, and economy).

It can be explained that the ethno-religious divergences in Southeast Asia are caused by several factors such as the socio-historic experience of nations, which is specifically related to the socio-historic experience about the colonies policies which were discriminative in various aspects of life of the natives, especially in relation to the social, economic, politics, education, culture, and religion. The gap in socio-economic was deliberately created by the colonies in Southeast Asia countries, which was later influenced and continued to disrupt the relationship between the different ethnic and religious. To this date, in fact, the socio-ethnicity and religious divergences in Southeast Asia are dominantly caused by the sociological reality that shows a structural gap among the pluralistic society in those Southeast Asian countries. The existence of the different ideologies and religious teaching is indirect and not a dominant factor or merely the triggering factors that serve as a justification for the start of social divergence (ethnicity and religion) on a larger scale.

Third, the role of the ASEAN organization in ethno-religious divergence resolution in Southeast Asia is far from optimal. In particular, it is caused by the dilemma of ASEAN mission and the 'non-interference' principle. The vision of ASEAN community is to be 'politically cohesive, economically integrated, socially responsible, and a truly people-oriented, people-centred and rules-based ASEAN'. ASEAN holds the 'Non-Interference' principle that prohibits interventions of domestic affairs in each country. Therefore, several cases of internal divergences in Southeast Asian countries are often resolved by international institutions. In dealing with complex cases of ethnicity and religious divergences in Southeast Asia, ASEAN tends to act rigidly, and therefore, it receives criticism. ASEAN seems unable to solve cases such as human rights violations that directly influence the stability and the security of a region (Wakhidah, 2014).

Various ethno-religious divergences in Southeast Asia are oftentimes started by the unresolved group prejudices. The existing prejudice against ethnicity, social, economy, and religion has subsequently led to various types of divergences. The stages of development in pluralistic Southeast Asian society seem to show that they have not been able to eliminate the group prejudice as a whole in order to avoid the unnecessary social stigma, or in certain limitation constitute social unrest and sometimes lead to ethno-religious divergences in Southeast Asia. This is because the government is yet to positively and accurately respond to the substantive needs of a nation's interest. This is in line with Anderson (1991)'s view that this condition is experienced by countries that have just gained independence, which are the post-colonial countries using a state approach with its functions in dealing with their own societies. The government tend to use the state apparatus and its policies to secure the interest of the state as a nation. Bureaucracy and military also played a role in securing the state interest.

In Southeast Asia, ethnic majority-minority relations tend to potentially become ethnic and 'religious' divergences that can threaten social integration in the country. The trigger of socio-ethnic and religious divergences can be related to the military pressure, but the fundamental trigger is the dispute between absolute ideologies, the lack of compromises, and the insistence of state against ethnic nationalism. Therefore, in Southeast Asia,

the intensity of interethnic majority (often supported by rulers) are more common compared to the interethnic divergences that lead to separatism acts. In many cases, the government often gives a label to the ethnic minority (especially towards Muslim minority) as 'rebels', 'terrorist', and 'separatism'. This unilateral effort can be detrimental to the minority and can complicate the efforts to find a substantial solution to the exact root of ethno-religious divergences.

From the roots of divergences, the minority group (ethnic and religious) in a country demands that the territory or region is an integral part of the centre of the state government (Thailand for example). On the other hand, within the Muslim community groups, the individuals have different views and agendas. In this context, several Southeast Asia countries prefer to use the state rather than the nation approach, as stated by Anderson. In the end, the product of this policy is the divergence of ethnic and religious identity of each group in the form of resistance (Erikson, 1991). Religion is one of the most important and influencing elements of human civilization. Almost every religion in the world teaches people about the value of kindness and peace to live in harmony. Religion is also the source of individual and group identity. The strong religious identity later leads to the ingroup-outgroup perspective where people of the same religion are considered as friends and relatives, while people of other religions are seen as competitors, or even associated as opponents. This leads to the religious contradiction, or religious ambivalence, in which religion teach goodness and peace but on the other hand, it creates divergences and violence (Appleby 2000; Basedau et al., 2011; Philpott 2007 in Raharjo, 2013). In this context, at least there are five factors that make religion as the driving force of violence acts: the claim of absolute truth, the blind obedience to a religious leader, the tendency towards the ideal period, the justification of all means to achieve goals and the call for offensive holy war. Divergences that carry religious issues generally have the potential to grow into intractable divergence/unnegotiable divergence that lasts long. The religious-based divergence can also get more complicated when it involves ethnicity issues, where certain ethnicity groups convert to another religion, known as ethno-religious divergence. Several social divergences that involve ethnic and religion that continue to this date are Israeli-Palestinian divergence between Islam-Judaism, divergence in Northern Ireland between Catholic-Protestantism; divergence in Kashmir between Islam-Hinduism; divergence in the Southern Philippines between Islam-Catholics; and divergence in Southern Thailand between Islam and Buddhism; divergence in the Central African Republic and Nigeria between Christian-Islam; and the divergence in Rakhine-Myanmar, between Islam-Buddhism (Raharjo, 2013). Ethnic and religious divergences can be caused by feelings of suspicion, displeasure, jealousy accompanied by stereotypes towards individuals, and groups that are different from their own. For instance, it is caused by prejudice, such as the negative attitudes towards someone due to lack of openness and getting to know each other correctly and properly between people or groups of one against another. From various historical experiences about disputes or divergences between human beings, we can be sure that divergence can never bring peace in relations between individuals and groups. Non-peace never results in prosperity for humanity, but rather gives birth to chaos and unrest in life. Therefore divergences need not be prolonged but rather need to be ended and resolved.

As stated by Paul Recoeur in Haryatmoko (2010), people will not be able to face divergence, violence, and uncertainty continuously. A rational political system that calculates the management of divergences is needed to ensure a better future. This type of political system cannot ignore ethics in politics, which goals are to live in harmony and freedom and to build a justice institution. Whereas in an effort to fulfil the rights of civil society participating in democracy, as Heffner said, at least it is

necessary to pay attention to three things: freedom, equality, and tolerance — as valuable formulas of political integration, as the bases of values, or democratic civility. Therefore, countries in Southeast Asia need to pay attention to the civil rights, as stated by Heffner (1998) that in an interaction between citizens in a pluralistic-multicultural society, the important thing to note is to facilitate civil, free, and democratic, where in the last decade, the crucial challenge of democracy civility has become more apparent globally. A number of cases of social-ethnic and religious divergence occurred in Southeast Asia have occurred for centuries. One of the problem factors is related to divergence and violence, which are not only caused by differences in political interests but also have deep-rooted divergences. That can be caused by socio-historical, political, economic, cultural, religious, educational, linguistic, and historical claims on land or regions. Based on the roots of divergences, a minority group, in Pattani's case, for example, claim that their land or region is not an integral part of the Thailand government with their demands. On the other hand, the Muslim community itself sometimes consist of different groups or individuals with their own views and agendas. In this context, some ASEAN countries generally use a state approach rather than the nation approach, as Anderson said. Often, in the end, the results of various policies in the form of divergence are based on identity (ethnicity and religion) adopted by each group, such as the resistance that occurred in Pattani (Eriksen, 1991).

Seperti stated by I Gusti Agung Wesaka Puja (Masyarakat ASEAN, Edisi 8/Juni 2015) various research related to the topic needs to take some valuable lessons. First, small-scale internal divergences can escalate into large divergences that threaten the security of the region. Therefore, the government needs to immediately manage existing divergences before escalating further and transforming into terrorist movements. Second, the importance of the humanitarian aspect in the deradicalization program makes future deradicalization programs need to pay attention to family relationships, values and outlook on life, as well as the personal aspirations of former terrorists. A country needs a comprehensive and effective strategies to combat terrorism.

CONCLUSION

The main factor causing ethno-religious divergence in Southeast Asia is the strong socio-historical 'heritage' of the colonial nation's policy in Southeast Asia which tends to be discriminatory. Discriminatory policies in various fields of social life have formed gaps in various social structures (economic, political, educational, ethnic/racial, cultural, and religious). In its development, there have not been many significant changes for these countries until the independence era, even though the development process continues. To anticipate and reduce various potential divergences that are expected to emerge in the future, there is a need for affirmative policies in an effort to improve the welfare of the ASEAN people in various aspects of life. The improvement in the welfare of the ASEAN community is expected to strengthen social cohesion, tolerance, integration, unity and independence of the ASEAN Community, which at the same time can reduce the intensity of social-ethnic and religious divergences.

In the future, ASEAN countries are also expected to foster a climate of internal (regional) democratization as an effort to strengthen the solidarity of their fellow members in an effort to strengthen the existence, role and function, and the authority of ASEAN institutions in the association of global society. In responding to various ethno-religious social divergences in Southeast Asia and as a resolution and reconciliation effort, in the future, it requires revitalization of ASEAN's more explicit roles and functions in the ethnic and religious divergence resolution strategy, which so far has not been as expected. Involving or asking for international assistance in divergence

resolution (ethnic and religious) occurring in ASEAN countries can be justified, as long as it really cannot be resolved in the ASEAN regional context.

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