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## **Intercultural Sensitivity of Religious Muslim Women amid Racism Issues in Jakarta's Gubernatorial Election**

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### **Abstract**

The frequent sectarian conflicts that took place in Indonesia indicated that some people have not fully realized the principle of democracy that respects the differences. In a democratic country, every citizen must be able to live side by side and live in peace with other citizens. A person's ability to live side by side is determined by the degree of his or her intercultural sensitivity seen as an essential ability needed by those living in a democratic and pluralistic society. This study measured the sensitivity of religious Muslim women in Jakarta in the midst of divisive racism issues ahead of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial elections attacking the strongest candidate from minority group. Measurements were made using Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS) developed by Guo-Ming Chen and William Starosta (1996, 2000). The research method used is survey by distributing questionnaires. Sampling technique is purposive with the criteria of Muslim women, wearing hijab and domiciled in Jakarta. Results showed more than 80% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta have good intercultural sensitivities and are even very good and the Jakarta election case can not be generalized as an indication that Indonesian Muslims are intolerant or there is a decline of tolerance level.

**Keywords:** *Racism, Muslim, intercultural, sensitivity, election.*

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**Introduction:** The issue of racism, or the practice of discriminating against people based on their tribal affiliations, religion, race and societal groups (abbreviated in Indonesia as SARA) re-emerged ahead of the Regional Head Election (Pilkada), especially the Jakarta Regional Gubernatorial Election, held in February 2017. The election has become the center of attention of the Indonesian people, not only because Jakarta is the capital of the state, but also because the incumbent candidate governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, or more often called by Ahok, the strongest candidate, was not the follower of Islam, the majority religion in Jakarta.

Ahok is the only Chinese who became Governor of Jakarta. Not only that, Ahok is also Christian. People of Chinese descent or often called Tionghoa is a minority community in Indonesia. Similarly, Christian is a minority religion in a country with 85% of its population

being Muslim. Ahok represents the two minority groups. The double minority status that Ahok wields often makes himself the target of SARA campaign that his political opponents pose.

At the time Indonesia was still led by an authoritarian government, the minority group of Chinese descent must feel the suffering due to discriminatory politics imposed by the New Order government. For example, people of Chinese descent are not allowed to become members of a political institution or government agency. In the reform era, the government implemented policies that provide better treatment for the Chinese community. Today, the state no longer imposes legal and institutional barriers for Chinese citizens to participate in taking full role in public life.

Ahok is not the only non-Muslim leader in a Muslim-majority country. London City in Britain for the first time has Pakistani Muslim mayor Sadiq Khan, who was elected through a historic election in May 2016. Khan was the first Muslim to become the mayor of one of the country's most important cities. He was even voted the greatest vote of any politician in England (James, 2016; Homa, 2016; Asthana, 2016). Another non-Muslim leader in the Muslim world is Februniye Akyol who became the first Critical woman who served as deputy mayor of the Turkish city of Mardin with a population of 99.8 per cent Muslim. Alees Thomas Samaan became the first Christian woman to lead the Shura Council, the upper house of parliament in the city of Bahrain with 70.3 per cent of the Muslim population.

Pakistan, with 96.4 per cent of Muslims, currently owns Kamran Michael, port and Harbor minister, who is Christian. In Egypt, Boutros Boutros Ghali, a Coptic Christian, served as Foreign Minister for 14 years in a country with a population of 90 percent Muslims. The Ramallah city of Palestine once had the mayor of a Roman Catholic woman, Janet Michael. Senegal with a population of 95.4 percent of Muslims has had a Catholic president for 20 years, late Léopold Sédar Senghor. Lebanon with a population of 54 percent of Muslims once had a Christian president, Michel Suleiman.

In the case of the Jakarta election, supporters of candidates for governor who will compete against Ahok have exploited racial and religious sentiments (Toha, 2016). SARA issue becomes a commodity used by political opponents because Ahok was the incumbent candidate who was not easily defeated by using the program argumentation. This was evidenced by the results of various survey institutions that showed the highest support for the incumbent governor that showed the success of Ahok in leading Jakarta. As governor, Ahok managed to build a clean government reputation. He managed to build trust by demonstrating the concept of comprehensive city development in an effort to transform Jakarta into a better city. Ahok also showed his performance in improving the bureaucracy and supporting the cultural life of citizens. Local government of the city is praised for being transparent; Ahok recorded every meeting and broadcast it on social media YouTube. He also implemented an e-budgeting system to track budget placements and guarded the budget from inappropriate changes.

Ahok was also credited with building public facilities throughout the capital from hospitals to garbage dumps. Several large-scale infrastructure projects were also built. One of them is Mass Rapid Transportation (MRT) system which is a subway project connecting Lebak Buluk district to the city center of Bundaran Hotel Indonesia. Under his leadership, the Jakarta government won numerous awards including the best planning, the most innovative planning, the most progressive planning and the best city in meeting the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). His ability to address educational problems and the threat of citizen hunger through Jakarta Smart Card program (the Jakarta Smart Card) is another achievement made by Ahok. In short, Ahok managed to show real progress in building the city and improve the lives of its citizens.

Ahok emerged as a new phenomenon in Indonesian politics because of his bold and courageous style of leadership, seemingly not to fear anyone with open and frank way of communication. This style of leadership raises the pros and cons. His scathing comments often infuriated those who criticized him, including his political opponents, members of the Jakarta's legislative body (DPRD). This style of leadership and achievements has made Ahok a national figure with a steadily rising popularity. *Globe Asia* magazine named him man of the year. The popularity of Ahok was evidenced from the various results of the survey ahead of the Jakarta regional election that showed Ahok as the most popular and unrivaled candidate. Nevertheless, hardline Islamist groups are still waging a SARA campaign. Ahok's political opponents and his supporters waged the black campaign against the incumbent governor. They considered Ahok did not represent Indonesian people and thus were not entitled to become governor because he was not from the majority religion group (Toha, 2016).

Various reasons were put forward so that Muslims do not vote for Ahok as governor. The Holy Qur'an was used as a reference. War verses and interpretations occurred between opponents and Ahok's advocates. Ahok's opponents argued that the governor should come from and represent the interests of the majority of religions. If this condition continued then not only will the quality of democracy degenerate but also be harmful to the stability of the country and the unity of the nation. As a pluralistic country with diverse ethnicity, race, religion and class, Indonesia is the most vulnerable country to SARA conflict. Different views among groups of people in a region often trigger the outbreak of clashes between them. The degree of conflict and intolerance ranging from mild ones, for example different SARA ideas or views including Ahok's case above to the heaviest of horizontal conflicts involving destruction, riots, physical violence to murder.

Some serious horizontal conflicts that have occurred in Indonesia, for example, inter-religious conflicts in Ambon in 1999; conflict in Sampit between Dayak and Madurese communities in 2001; religious conflict in Tolikara, Papua 2015; inter-religious conflicts in Poso Central Sulawesi that have even taken place several times since 1992; the burning of houses of worship in Situbondo in 1996; Sunni and Shia Conflicts in East Java in 2011; conflict between Chinese and local people in Tanjung Balai Sumatera Utara in 2016 and many more SARA conflicts that occurred in Indonesia. The above conflict cases are an

example of how some citizens have not fully realized that Indonesia is a democratic country where every citizen must be able to live side by side and live in peace with other citizens. In the political arena, for example, everyone has the right to vote and be elected irrespective of the background of their tribe, religion, race or class. Everyone is also free to speak and express his views.

In a democratic society, every citizen has a basic rights which the state should not take. These basic rights have been recognized and internationally guaranteed. Everyone has the right to embrace their beliefs, obtain information, assemble and union and demonstrate. However, every citizen has an obligation to obey the law and respect the rights of others. A person's ability to coexist peacefully with other citizens of different cultures (for example, different religions or tribes) is often determined by the degree of intercultural sensitivity of the person. A person is called to have good intercultural sensitivity if he can appreciate others from different cultures. Intercultural sensitivity is seen as an essential ability needed by those living in a democratic and pluralistic society (Tamam, 2010).

To be able to have intercultural sensitivities, one must have an interest in other cultures, have an awareness of cultural differences, and have a desire to modify their behavior as a form of respect for people of different cultures. Thus intercultural sensitivity is related to the emotions felt by a person vis-a-vis the intercultural situation he or she encounters (Triandis, 1977). According to Lambert (1993), one is called to have 'interculturally competent' if he was aware of cultural differences, honors and respects those differences as well as the motive and will to communicate properly with other members of the culture and have the skills to do so.

Individuals who rarely communicate with people from other cultures tend to be narrow-minded, ethnocentric and easily suspicious with strangers. On the other hand, the demands of globalization happening today have encouraged some members of the community to be more dynamic characterized by their frequent travel to other areas and interact with members of the community from other tribes or religions and even interact with members of society from other nations. This has caused individuals to no longer think ethnocentric and to value more intercultural relationships. Someone who can increase their intercultural sensitivity level then their interaction with people with different cultural backgrounds will become more meaningful. This can be achieved through a deeper understanding resulting in greater benefits to the various parties involved.

This study attempts to contribute to the study of intercultural sensitivities in particular with regard to how factors such as religious and racial differences affect intercultural sensitivities, especially among religious Muslim women. In this study, intercultural sensitivities of religious Muslim women will be measured using the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS), developed by Guo-Ming Chen and William Starosta (1996, 1997, 1998, 2000) and designed by integrating various features of crosscultural attitudes with various models of behavioral skills (Fritz & Mollenberg, 2001, p. 54). Based on the description previously discussed, the question asked in this research are: How is the intercultural sensitivity of

religious Muslim women in the midst of SARA issues ahead of Jakarta 2017 elections?

**Intercultural Sensitivity:** The current demands of globalization have encouraged members of society to become more dynamic characterized by their frequent travel to other areas and interacting with other members of the community or even interacting with members of the community from other nations. This has caused many individuals to no longer think ethnocentrically and respect intercultural relationships more. A person is called to have intercultural sensitivity if he can appreciate others from different cultures. To be able to have intercultural sensitivities, one must have interest with other cultures, have an awareness of cultural differences, and have a desire to modify their behavior as a form of respect for people of different cultures. Thus intercultural sensitivity is related to the emotions that a person perceives to the intercultural situation he or she encounters (Triandis, 1977).

According to Anderson, Lawton, Rexeisen, and Hubard (2005, p47): "Our ability to function effectively in an environment depends upon our skill in recognizing and responding appropriately to the values and expectations of those around us". Thus a person's ability to interact with his environment will depend on the skill or ability that the person has to acknowledge and respond appropriately to the values and expectations of the people around him. Greenholtz (2000) calls this interpersonal qualities as intercultural sensitivity. According to Lambert (1993), a person is called interculturally competent if he is aware of cultural differences, and respects those differences, has the motive and will to communicate properly with other members of the culture and have the skills to do so. Intercultural sensitivity is seen as an essential ability needed by those living in a democratic and pluralistic society (Tamam, 2010).

Many people quickly realize and immediately know the existence of someone with a different cultural background. For example, many people find it easy to know someone comes from a different country when they interact with that person; for example, through different styles of clothing or speech accentuation; but most people do not realize that these cultural differences affect other aspects of life such as decision making, thought processes, friendships, behavior and interaction styles. In this case, successful intercultural communication is determined not only on the basis of an awareness of physical or surface differences such as skin color, facial features, speech, or fashion but also the human side of these differences and how these factors influence everyone when they communicate with others. Individuals who can increase their intercultural sensitivity level then their interaction with people with different cultural backgrounds will become more meaningful because there is a deeper understanding, and this interactions result in greater benefits to the various parties involved. This study attempts to contribute to the study of intercultural sensitivities in particular with regard to how factors such as religious and racial differences affect intercultural sensitivities.

**Intercultural Communication:** The majority of Muslims in pluralistic Indonesia can be categorized into several types. A Muslim in Jakarta, for example, can be categorized into a

conservative, moderate or fundamentalist Islamic group. Many Muslims who have a good Islamic education but not a few who do not care about the principles of Islamic teachings. Many Muslims are diligent to worship but not a few who regard religion as something less important (The latter group is often dubbed 'Islam KTP'). No matter the category where a Muslim is, because Indonesia is a secular country with a diverse population (bhineka), then Muslims must have the ability (competence) to communicate with other people. This ability is called intercultural communication competence needed to live side by side with other non-Muslim communities.

According to Chen and Starosta (2000), the competence of intercultural communication is an umbrella concept that includes the cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills of an individual in the intercultural communication process. Intercultural sensitivity is an affective aspect of intercultural communication competence, and is defined as "an individual's ability to develop a positive emotion toward understanding and appreciating cultural differences" (Chen & Starosta, 1997a, p 5). In modern society, the media plays an important role in the cognitive abilities of individuals that enable one to have the competence of intercultural communication. Based on dialectic philosophy by Hegel there are three stages of social life namely: individual cognition, communication and cooperation (Fuchs, 2008, 2010). In this dialectical approach, information is accepted as a three-stage dynamic process. First, the existence of individual subjective cognitive processes, and based on this process, social relations (communication) take place, which is the second stage. Social relations between individuals will then result in a co-operation, the third stage, so a new system established.

Cognition, communication and cooperation work together to establish the formation of social life structures. Individual action is the basis of communication, and this communication in turn becomes the basis of community cooperation and development. The media has always played an important role at each of these stages because of its function of turning ideas and thoughts into content and delivering that content to other users (Sulistyo, 2016; Briandana & Ibrahim, 2015). As for the unique thing of social media is its ability to combine the three processes (cognition, communication and cooperation) into one. In social media, individual cognition almost always automatically becomes a social relationship as well as a collaborative effort. For example, someone wrote his ideas in social media, this writing then perused by other social media users who then responded to it. If the idea is accepted by many other users then there is a reaction that produces attitudes and actions together (cooperation) directed to other parties.

**Intercultural Sensitivity Scale:** In this study, intercultural sensitivities of religious Muslim women will be measured using the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS), developed by Guo-Ming Chen and William Starosta (1996, 1997, 1998, 2000), and designed by "integrating various features crosscultural attitudes with various models of behavioral skills" (Fritz & Mollenberg, 2001, p. 54). ISS is a questionnaire with 24 questions aimed at measuring intercultural sensitivities. ISS has five factors that form the basis for the statement in the questionnaire as follows: (1) Interaction engagement. For example, "I like to hang out with



people who have different cultures; (2) Respect cultural differences. For example, "I think people from different cultures are narrow-minded"; (3) Interaction confidence. For example, "I'm pretty sure of myself when I hang out with people from different cultures"; (4) Interaction enjoyment. For example, "I am easily offended if I mingle with people from different cultures"; (5) Interaction attentiveness. For example, "I am very concerned about people from different cultures when interacting with them" (Chen & Starosta, 2000, p. 98).

As stated by Fritz and Mollenberg (2001) that ISS contains the concept of intercultural communication competence, which has three dimensions, intercultural awareness, intercultural sensitivity and intercultural adroitness. According to Chen and Starosta (1996), the three dimensions of the concept, although closely related, are three separate concepts. They also stated that the concept of intercultural communication ability has three aspects, namely: cognitive, affective and individual behavior in intercultural communication process (Chen and Starosta, 2000, p70). Intercultural awareness is a concept that represents the cognitive aspects of intercultural communication skills in showing understanding of cultural habits that influence how we think and behave. Intercultural sensitivity is a concept that represents the affective aspect of intercultural communication skills with reference to "the individual's active desire to motivate themselves to understand, appreciate, and accept intercultural differences" (Chen & Starosta, 1998).

Intercultural adroitness is a behavioral aspect of intercultural communication skills which refers to "the ability to get the job done and attain communication goals in intercultural interactions" (Chen & Starosta, 1996, p 76). Thus intercultural adroitness is the ability to communicate till the end and obtain communication goals in an intercultural interaction. Furthermore Chen and Starosta (2000, p80) state that the individual must have six affective elements in order to have intercultural sensitivities: self-esteem, self-monitoring, open-mindedness, empathy, interaction involvement, and suspending judgment. Chen and Starosta further concluded that one's intercultural sensitivity would be determined by those six attributes.

Self-esteem refers to one's ability to show an optimistic outlook and confidence in intercultural interaction (Chen & Starosta, 1997a). How someone feels someone else has an important influence in how he or she communicates with others. Kipnis (1976) and Tedeschi (1990) found that low self-esteem individuals have a higher tendency to use harsh strategies such as coercion and legitimacy in social relationships than those who has a high self-esteem. In another study of self-confidence, Instone, Major, and Bunker (1983) found that high self-confidence individuals have a greater chance of using influence and persuasion and less likely to use coercion in their social relationships than people with low self-esteem.

Self-monitoring is the ability of a person to consciously regulate his behavior when dealing with the constraints of the situation and seeks to overcome the problems he or she faces by using its conversationally competent behavior. People with high self-control (High self-monitors) have the ability to manage their behavior according to the situation they are



facing. This self-monitoring capability is considered highly relevant to minimize conflict within the organization. Caldwell and O'Reilly (1982) found that individuals with high levels of supervision would experience fewer interpersonal conflicts within the organization than those with low self-control. Baron (1989) also shows that those with high self-control will find it easier to choose peaceful efforts such as compromise and collaboration.

Open-mindedness is the ability of a person to explain himself openly and properly and willingly accept the explanations of others. Open-minded people have a stronger desire to consider and integrate other people's ideas than narrow-minded people. Open-minded people prefer a flexible and adaptive approach when looking for solutions to a conflict by taking into account the views of the other side. For example, Moberg (2001) reported that people with an open mind are more likely to compromise and resolve conflict directly.

Empathy refers to a person's ability to position himself or herself in the position of others to feel the different roles needed in dealing with different situations. According to Hakansson and Montgomery (2003), a person with empathy is able to understand the feelings, emotions and desires of others. People who have empathy can feel and understand the situation faced by others. Empathy plays an important role in the resolution of emerging conflicts.

Interaction involvement refers to a person's ability to understand the topics and situations at hand to initiate and end interactions between cultures smoothly and appropriately. Individuals with highly involved will be more sensitive and attentive to others and situations they are facing and respond appropriately. High-involvement people are more effective in face-to-face communication than people with low involvement. In contrast, according to Cegala (1981), people with low involvement tend to distance themselves or even withdraw from interaction because they focus more on the world of inner and personal experience.

Ultimately, suspending judgment refers to a person's ability not to grant others hasty judgments and encourage a sense of pleasure for cultural differences. People tend to judge other people, objects, or issues based on the limited information they have just received so as to produce a biased and narrow judgment, especially if they don't obtain important information about the target of his judgment (Anderson 1981; Johnson 1987).

People who realize the unavailability of relevant information when making judgments tend to avoid extreme evaluations and they immediately change their judgment if additional information is available (Jaccard & Wood, 1988; Yates, Jagacinski, & Faber, 1978). In general, people who are not easy to give judgments (non-judgmental) to others will not be easy to engage in beliefs and attitudes that are still doubtful. Such people are more focused on themselves and their own culture.

**Islamic Political Values:** In this study, the chosen research subjects were religious Muslim women. As noted earlier, Muslim women were chosen to represent Muslim communities in Jakarta, where some of them rejected the Governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or

Ahok who was non-Muslim, as against the Sharia. The Islamic legal system called Sharia (شريعة) is the source that determines the behavior of most Muslims especially in Islamic countries. In this case there are two sources of Sharia: Quran, the holy book of Islam and Hadith (the words and customs of the Prophet Muhammad). Muslims accept the Quran as the word of God, and Sharia as the regulator of society and daily life. Sharia regulates many aspects of the life of Muslims, both the spiritual life or the relationship between the individual with his God and secular life including criminal, politic, economic and personal issues, for example, how women should dress.<sup>1</sup>

In connection with politics, especially in choosing leaders, the Quran says: "Let not the believers take the unbelievers to be *wali* by leaving the believers. Whosoever does so, surely let him out of the help of Allah except because (tactics) keeping themselves from something that is feared. And Allah warns you against Himself. And only to God you return"(Qur'an 3:28). This verse is often interpreted by certain parties to show that Islam does not encourage Muslims to be friends with non-Muslims. Only in the case of a much smaller number of Muslims can Muslims pretend to be friendly with non-Muslims. On the other hand, the Quran says: "The Jews and Christians will not please you (Muhammad) until you follow their religion (Al Baqarah: 120). On the other hand, the Quran also says: "O those who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as friends and allies in which they are friends and allies to one another. And whoever (Muslims) come to them (as friends and allies) has become part of them, know Allah does not guide those who do wrong "(Al-Maidah: 51).

The Quran also says: "O ye who believe! Do not take to be your confidants those who are out of your circles (for) they are incessant (cause) harm to you. They like what's troubling you. There is real hatred from their mouths, and what their hearts conceal is even greater. We have indeed explained to you our verses, if you understand them (Ali Imran: 118). For sectarian Muslims, the above Quranic verses are often understood textually without regard to context. In a language, a person is called a sectarian "... if he or she is adheres in a bigoted or narrow-minded fashion to a sect or body of persons who have agreed upon particular doctrines or practices" (Oxford English Dictionary). This means that sectarianism is a narrow view of a sect (read, religion) and doctrine, resulting in a prejudicial, discriminatory and even evil attitude towards another group ("What is sectarian?" n.d.).

The teachings embodied in Sharia are often seen as contrary to what westerners consider democratic principles. For certain Islamic political groups, the shape of the state is of less importance than the application of Sharia. This is because the Quran does not mention a particular state or a particular system of government that Muslims must build but above all Sharia must be obeyed by Muslims. People often hold that Sharia is not in line with western

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<sup>1</sup> The dress worn by adult female Muslim in public must cover the entire body except what has been specifically excluded: the hands, the feet and the face They also must put on hijab or a piece of cloth that covers the head.

democratic principles because Sharia provides restrictions on, for example, free speech, women's rights and the rights of minorities. Such rights are highly respected by western democracy. Muslim scholars split on the issue of non-Muslim leaders. They can be categorized into two groups: conservative and moderate. The conservative scholars think the above Quranic verse does not need to be interpreted anymore because it is clear whereas the moderate scholars view the above verses should be reviewed in their historical aspect and context. Based on this conservative point of view, Sharia is often seen as an obstacle in introducing Western democratic values in the Islamic world.

**Hijab as Religiosity Symbol:** Symbols play an important role in a person's mental life both in the individual's life and in social activities. Each symbol consists of face value and hidden value. Religious symbols give a sense of sacred to those who show it as the following thought: "Religious symbols take on a sacredness that gives them a strong presence and power in many people's daily lives" (Zwick & Chelariu, 2006). This means that the sacred nature arising from religious symbols will give those who show them a force in their daily social environment. The presence of those who exhibit religious symbols becomes very powerful while giving them power in social life. Those who have a habit of showing religious symbols are often referred to as religious people. In this case religiosity is a term in social science that is used to denote, "the condition of being religious to the degree to which one believes and is committed to their chosen faith or belief system" (Allport & Ross, 1967). Thus religiosity is the condition of a religious person in the degree to which a person believes and has a commitment to the belief or belief system he or she chooses.

Another definition of religiosity is proposed by Jorg Stolz (2008) which states: "I define religiosity as individual preference, emotions, beliefs, and actions that refer to an existing religion". Furthermore, it was explained that religiosity could not be separated from the system of religious symbols (religious symbol-system). Thus, those who are in the category of religious Muslims are individuals who practice Islamic religious practice and like to show various Islamic symbols. The use of religious clothing and other religious symbols are important form of expressions of one's religious identity (Kulenovi, 2006). Hijab as a symbol of Islamic female, as part of a Islamic female dress, serves to show the religiosity of its wearer. Users of hijab want to show that they understand the religious provisions as stated by the majority of scholars that wearing hijab is mandatory for Muslimah or Muslim women. Hijab also serves to show Muslim women's commitment to religion while enhancing their spiritual life. The use of hijab as a Muslim dress also serves to show openly to the public an attitude of self-affirmation that they are good Muslim women.

More than just as a religious identity or user religiosity, hijab also serves to "perform a behavior check, resist sexual objectification, afford more respect, preserve intimate relationships, and provide freedom" (Byng, 2010, p.111). Thus, hijab also serves as a control of the behavior of the wearer, rejection of all forms of sexual harassment, the demand for respect and freedom. According to Bullock (2000) Muslim women in Western countries wear hijab on the grounds to show their identity as Muslims and refuse to imitate western culture.

**Method:** The population of this study is religious Muslim women who are domiciled in Jakarta. The number of these religious Muslim women are unknown and also there is no list of names of its population members so that the sampling can only be done by using nonprobability sampling techniques. The nonprobability sampling technique is a sampling technique that does not follow mathematical probability guidance as a probability sampling technique. However, the most important characteristic that distinguishes these two types of sampling is that probability sampling allows researchers to calculate the number of sampling errors, whereas nonprobability sampling is not. The data withdrawal is done by using a survey method that is defined as "a quantitative research project in which a set of questions, posed in the same way each time" (The Association for Qualitative Research: 2013). This means the survey is a quantitative method because the data obtained by interviewing respondents in relatively large numbers. Respondents will answer the predetermined questions in the questionnaire.

Sampling technique used in this research is purposive, one of the nonprobability sampling technique. The reason for using purposive sampling in this research is because there is no list of all members of the desired population of religious Muslim women living in Jakarta. In this study, hijab is used as an indicator of a Muslim woman falling into the religious category. The criteria used in attracting samples using purposive techniques are: (1) Muslim women at least 17 years of age; (2) Wearing the hijab; (3) Having a Jakarta Identity Card; (4) Domiciled in Jakarta. The purposive technique is used to target religious Muslim women in DKI Jakarta marked by a veil that is part of a Muslim woman's dress and a symbol of the religiosity. The hijab is so easily recognizable that large quantities of samples will be easily obtained, and for this reason Muslim women is selected as sample instead of Muslim men. This is because Muslim men do not have identifiable and universal religious symbols.

A questionnaire containing 24 questions about intercultural sensitivities developed by Chen and Starosta (2000) will be filled up by the respondents. The questionnaire has five factors or constructs that form the basis for the statements contained in the questionnaire as follows: 1) Interaction involvement (7 statements); 2) Respect cultural differences (6 statements); 3) Confidence in interaction (5 statements); 4) Fun interaction (3 statements) 5) Attention interaction (3 statements). Selected respondents must express their opinion of 'agree' or 'disagree' measured using a Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly agree, weight 5; (2) agree, weight 4 (3) doubt / do not know, weight 3; (4) disagree, weight 2 and; (5) strongly disagree. The scal will measure the level of intercultural sensitivity of the respondents. According to Chen and Starosta (2000, p10), "higher scores of this measure are suggestive of being more interculturally sensitive". Thus, the higher the score obtained by individual respondents shows a better cultural sensitivity.

**Findings & Discussions:** In this study, as many as 503 respondents gave their opinions through the questionnaire and the data obtained are presented in Table 1. The results of the data collection show that most (the majority) or more than 80% of religious Muslim women

in Jakarta have good intercultural sensitivities and even very good. This is not too surprising because Muslims in Indonesia have long been known as a tolerant and open society to outside cultures. This high tolerance raises the view that Islam in Indonesia has different character with Islam in the Middle East (Arab). The emergence of the term 'Nusantara Islam,' claimed to be the hallmark of Islam in Indonesia that puts forward the values of tolerance and contradicts to the 'Arab Islam,' has raised the pros and cons among Muslims in Indonesia. Although considered not a new term, the term Islam Nusantara has recently been campaigned vigorously by the largest moderate Islamic organizations, especially Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Islamnus, 2016). According to NU, the term Islam Nusantara refers to the historical facts of the spread of Islam in the world's largest archipelagic nation, called Nusantara, that used cultural approach, not with a rigid and hard doctrine as Arab Islam.

**Tabel: The intercultural Sensitivity Level among religious Muslim women in Jakarta, n = 503**

Intercultural Sensitivity level	Frequency	%
Very good	96.0	19.1
Good	307.0	61.0
Acceptable	53.0	10.5
Poor	43.0	8.5
Very poor	4.0	0.8

Based on historical context, Islam Nusantara was preached by embracing, preserving and respecting Indonesian indigenous culture, not by muzzling it. From this historical footstep, the character of Islam Nusantara is friendly, anti radical, inclusive and tolerant. The Islamic model of the archipelago is different from the Arab Islam that always conflicts with fellow Muslims and civil wars. At the beginning of the campaign, there was support for the Islam Nusantara model voiced by Islamic groups or Islamic moderate figures. President Joko Widodo openly expressed his open support for the Islam Nusantara model. "Our Islam is Islam Nusantara, Islam with full of manners, Islam with full of etiquette, that is Islam Nusantara, Islam with full of tolerance," said President Jokowi (Affan, 2015). In addition to President Jokowi, a similar vote was also voiced by a number of other Indonesian officials, including Vice President Jusuf Kalla who more often use the term Islam Indonesia (Tempo, 2017).

But almost simultaneously, there was also criticism and rejection of the Islam Nusantara, which was characterized by violent debate mainly through social media or in open discussions. Broadly speaking, the rejection of Islam Nusantara because the term seems to reflect that the teachings of Islam is not single. According to Azyumardi Azra, the world needs Nusanta Islam because of its moderate nature, the middle way, not the extreme right and left, is always balanced, inclusive, tolerant and able to coexist peacefully with other religions, and can accept democracy well. He said there is a difference between Indonesian Islam and 'Middle Eastern Islam' in the socio-cultural-political realization. According to him, the Islamic model of Nusantara can be traced from the history of the coming of Islamic

teachings to the archipelago, which he calls through the process of vernacularisation followed by indigenization in such a way that Islam becomes embedded in Indonesian culture so that it is no longer something foreign. Therefore, in its cultural appearance, Indonesian Islam is very different from Arabi Islam because there has been an acculturation process, the process of adoption of local cultures.

**Ahok Case:** The issue of tolerance and moderate Islam is highlighted by many parties especially during the election of the Governor of Jakarta where the candidate couple Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) and Djarot Syaifullah Yusuf were defeated by Anies Baswedan and Sandiag0 Uno. The Jakarta elections seem to stigmatize that the tolerant Islami Nusantara is no longer existed because of the intensity of SARA politics that some Islamic groups have expressed. A number of foreign media interpret the victory of Anies and the defeat of Ahok as a guide how the Indonesian people in urban areas, especially Jakarta in addressing religious and racial issues. Anies' victory by a number of western media was seen as the victory of Islamist hardliners. <sup>13</sup> "Hard-Line Strain of Islam Gains Ground in Indonesia, Worlds Largest Muslim Country", the Wall Street Journal made the title (Otto & Rachman, 2016). The article signaled the results of the Jakarta Pilgub as a revival of radical Islamic groups in Indonesia.

Similarly, SBS Australia, published an article entitled "Jakarta election: Radical Islam tested 'if Ahok Wins'". According to the media, diversity in Indonesia will continue to awaken if the incumbent still rode in the governor's seat (Booth, 2017). Meanwhile, Times Magazine, Associated Presse (AP) and ABC News Australia also articulated Ahok's defeat and Anies victory in a similar tone. "The polarization of the campaign period has damaged Indonesia's reputation of moderate Islam," the AP wrote. There are a number of causes Ahok-Djarot was defeated by Anies-Sandi. The first cause, the stronghold of Anies-Sandi became melting pot, where the anti-Ahok segment gathered (Dariyanto, 2017). Some Jakarta residents support Anies-Sandi because they like them, but some support Anies-Sandi because they are anti-Ahok and do not want Ahok to win due to Ahok's position as defendant in case of defamation as result of provocation of slander launched by Buni Yani who later received support from the radical Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). Thus the case of Jakarta Head Election can not be generalized as an indication that Indonesian Muslims are no longer tolerant or there is a reduced level of tolerance, but if radical groups remain free then the tolerant Islam Nusantara will truly end.

**Conclusion:** This study used a questionnaire containing <sup>1</sup> 24 questions in an effort to measure intercultural sensitivity by utilizing inter-cultural scale (ISS) developed by Chen and Starosta (2000). The questionnaires were distributed purposively to 503 respondents of religious Muslim women living in Jakarta. Selected respondents must express their opinion of 'agree' or 'disagree' in a measurement using the Likert scale with the following results: (1) More than 80% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta have good intercultural sensitivity and are even very good. While the rest of about 20% have a less good to the very bad level of intercultural sensitivity; (2) The results obtained support the argument that Muslims in Indonesia have long been known as tolerant and open to outside cultures. This high



tolerance raises the view that Islam in Indonesia is different than Islam in the Middle East (Arab). (3) The Jakarta Election case can not be generalized as an indication that Indonesian Muslims are intolerant, or there is a decline of tolerance level, but if radical groups remain free to promote intolerance then the tolerant Islam Nusantara will truly end.

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