Breaking Down Religious Boundaries : The Construction of Peace in Susuru, West Java

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Abstract

This study is qualitative research. Data was collected through three methods. *First*, participant-observation was done by participating in the activities undertaken by the four communities. Such activities include: daily life, weddings, funerals and *tahlilan*; construction of houses of worship; celebration of religious holidays; and cleaning the village. *Second*, semi-structured interviews was done with government officials, religious leader, and ordinary people. *Third*, personal documentation , include camera, sound recorder, field-note to maintain data accuracy and so library data to support research data. Field visits were conducted during the period January to April 2013, but early research has been conducted by researchers before the study began. The interview considered the fairness on the amount of representatives from each of the four communities. Interviews have been conducted with over 20 respondents representing public figures and ordinary people with diverse religious backgrounds.

This study concludes that the shared values of Susuru community that are based on the belief in Susuru kinship ties are and effective foundation in integrating citizens both at the elite level and the mass level. the result of this study cannot be generalized. Object of study and period of research would affect the results

Keywords: *Religious Boundaries, the Construction of Peace*

1.   Background

In the midst of rising violence in the name of religion in various places in Indonesia, West Java, a province in Indonesia, has drawn extensive attention because it was reported as the province that has the most cases of violence in the name of religion and belief. Reports issued by many NGO"s that are concerned with religious life in Indonesia, such as The Wahid Institute, Setara Institute, and CRCS (Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies)[3] place West Java as the most violent province in religious incidents. These reports seem to justify that either the central government or local governments and religious elites, especially in West Java, have not succeeded in fostering religious harmony. However, amid reports of "black" West Java, there are still rural areas in West Java with a diversity of religions and beliefs that have long lived in harmony and peace. This shows that there is still a "white spot" in the middle "black record" of West Java. One of those rural areas is *Susuru*. Peaceful and harmonious Susuru has attracted the attention of the mass media, especially since the national newspaper *Kompas* reported news under the title "*Damai di Susuru*" (Peace in Susuru)." Susuru"s appeal resurfaced when *Kompas* wrote wrote another article entitled "*Keguyuban di Lembah Ciamis*"(Harmony in the Valley of Ciamis).

Susuru is a picture of a multi-religious society. Its population consists of four different religions; namely Islam with 699 people, Catholicism with 114, Sunda Wiwitan with 54, and Protestantism with 3. At first, the whole population were Muslims, but in the first half of the 20th century, one of the residents of Susuru Ki Sumarta, decided to look for knowledge. In his efforts he went to Cigugur-Kuningan. There he met and studied with Prince Madrais[6] which originally was from *Gebang* palace-Cirebon-West Java. When finished, Ki Sumarta returned to the village and spread the teachings of Kyai Madrais known as ADS (*Agama Djawa Sunda*- Religion of Javanese-Sundanese). ADS disbanded in 1964 due to pressure from the government. Prince Tejabuana Alibassa as the head of ADS at that time then ordered his followers to embrace one religion recognized by the government, then some of his followers in the village of Susuru converted to Catholicism, Islam, and Protestantism.

Martin Forward stated "dialogue begins when people meet" (Forward, 2001: 11). Since the early 20th century, Susuru Muslim residents began to meet, communicate, and interact with followers of Sunda Wiwitan. In 1964, Susuru Muslims and Sunda Wiwitan followers started interacting with Catholics and Protestants.

Religious differences are not a barrier and can even be a force to unite the people of Susuru.

Tolerance is practiced in social activities and religious activities. For Susuru people, togetherness is more important than ritual. Thus, it is not strange, if there are Muslims following Christmas celebrations at the Church. Conversely, when Muslims celebrate *Eid al-Fitr* or *Eid al-Adha*, Catholic and Sunda Wiwitans come and mingle together to celebrate and congratulate.Peaceful and harmonious Susuru appears in at least two respects: *first*, the pattern of inter-religious relations in a family. Each member of the family accepts and respects the family members of different religions. Even religious conversion as a result of their own will or inter-faith marriages does not become a barrier to family harmony. In this case, the parents liberate their children to choose their own religion as they wish. *Second*, the reality of harmony is reflected in the social environment. The social interaction and everyday life in a harmonious attitude seem more prominent. Each community involved in social activities and religious activities. In social activities, they are involved in the construction of houses of worship, weddings, and cleaning the village. In the religious activities they attend religious festivals and *tahlilan* rituals (pray for the deceased).

Based on the above reality, Susuru can be seen as an important case that could indicate that religious differences do not trigger acts of intolerance and even become an energy that creates inter-religious harmony. This study will examine the conditions that exist in Susuru which allow the creation of a peaceful situation. In particular, the study will look at some of the activities in which the three communities are involved. Activities that involve the three religious communities include; everyday life, weddings, funerals and *tahlilan*, construction of mosques, schools, churches, and Sunda Wiwitan house of worship; celebration of religious festivals, and cleaning the village. These activities will be the object of research to look deeper into the factors that support the construction of peace in Susuru.

This research is intended to answer the question: what are the forms of integration among Susuru people? what are the factors that contribute to the construction of peace in Susuru. To study the peaceful situation, it needs observations by looking at various aspects of the community including community integration. Behind the peaceful situation, of course there are the conditions that allow for the creation of a peaceful situation. Conditions are reproduced from generation to generation through joint activities. This research is intended to find out the forms of community integration in Susuru and what factors contribute to the construction of peace in Susuru.

Acording to Tadjoeddin, studies concerning the construction of peace within civil society are divided into two; first, emphasize the importance of network of civic engagement; second, emphasize the importance of elite integration. (Tadjoeddin, 2004: 1) Among studies that examine the importance of networks of civic engagement is Robert Putnam‟s. Based on his research in Italy, Putnam argues that the stronger the civic network in a community, the less likely the occurrence of communal violence between communities (Putnam, 1993:174). In line with Putnam, Dhavan D. Shah in his research about individual assessment of social capital has concluded that civic engagement has a very significant role in growing levels of interpersonal trust in the community (Syah, 2002:496). Ashutosh Varshney said that the network of inter-community citizenship in the form of citizen participation in joint activities could moderate communal conflicts (Varshney, 2002: 36) Furthermore, Varshney explained that intra-community engagement as agent of violence while inter-community engagement as agent of peace (Varshney, 2001:362). James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin added the importance of conflict resolution mechanisms at mass level. Fearon and Laitin argue *in-group policing* mechanisms could contain communal conflict (Fearon and Laitin, 1996: 715). In contrast to Putnam and Varshney who stressed the importance of mass integration through civic engagement, Tadjoeddin stressed elite integration as a factor that supports a peaceful situation. Elite integration is required when mass integration is difficult (Tadjoeddin, 2004: 7). Ahnaf and Aziz confirm Tadjoeddin‟s theory. Ahnaf and Aziz see that the mass integration in Lasem, Central Java is not strong enough to reduce the conflict (Ahnaf and Aziz, 2012:40). Based on that literature review, the theories that will be used in this research are the theory of elite integration proposed by Tadjoeddin, Varshney‟s theory regarding inter-communal civic engagement, and Fearon‟s theory regarding the mechanism of „*in-group policing*‟. The reason for using these theories is that all scholars believe these mechanisms could moderate communal violence; however they have different mechanisms in preventing communal violence.

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April 2013, but early research has been conducted by researchers before the study began. The interview considered the fairness on the amount of representatives from each of the four communities. Interviews have been conducted with over 20 respondents representing public figures and ordinary people with diverse religious backgrounds.

2.   Socio-Religious Aspect of Susuru

Susuru area is an area of cool, lush and rolling hills located in the district of Ciamis - West Java. Susuru is derived from the word *susurupan galuh*, meaning where the pervasive cultural values of Galuh Kingdom exist. Ciamis district was formerly called *Galuh* district because around the year of 612 AD in Ciamis district there was the Galuh Empire founded by Wretikkandayun. He was Kandiawan's youngest son who ruled the kingdom of Kendan (597-612 AD). Susuru people have some ancestors (the founders of the village) and among them the most famous one is *Eyang Anggayuda*. Eyang Anggayuda started developing Susuru village in the 17th century. His grave is located on a street side in the middle of Susuru village.

2.1 Social Aspects

The total population of Susuru in 2012 was 870 people consisting of 376 men and 494 women. Susuru population growth is not a rapid growth. In 1995, the population numbered 775 people. Composition of young age (20-30 years) is the highest number in comparison to other ages. The area of Susuru village comprises approximately 250 acres, consisting of public housing, fields, ponds, dry land, and others. Dry land area of 215 ha in the form of plantations and forests is the most extensive. Administratively, Susuru village has 4 RW (*rukun warga*-community associations) and 9 RT (*rukun tetangga*- neighborhood association). Susuru is a distant area. The distance from Susuru to the village office about 1 KM, to the sub-district office about 6 KM, and to the office of Ciamis district 45 KM.

Based on population census data in 2000, Susuru village only had 12 college graduates, but now the amount of graduates from under-graduate programs has reached 23 people plus a few young men who are still studying under graduate. This indicates the increasing of awareness of Susuru people to education. Formal education institution in Susuru is pretty complete compared to other places in Ciamis. For elementary education, there is a Kindergarten and Elementary School as a place to gain knowledge for students from Susuru and other places. There are also junior secondary education and high school which are m anaged by the Islamic Education Foundation (YPI-*Yayasan Pendidikan Islam*). Various students from places outside Susuru come to study. In Susuru the availability of education institutions provides interfaith interaction between students with different religious backgrounds. In school institutions, students of early education were introduced to diversity and learning to respect differences.

Looking at economy aspect, Susuru is included as one of the timber-producing areas in the district of Ciamis. This is due to the largest area of Susuru is dry soil in the form of plantations and forests. So do not be surprised if the majority of residents are wood farmers. Most of Residents farm by planting trees in their gardens to be sold to timber companies when they are big enough. However, many also work as traders and poultry farmers. For trading businesses in the form of small stalls, there are about 32 stalls scattered throughout Susuru village. Economic interaction between wood farmers, chicken farmers, traders and all villagers is based on interdependence and mutually beneficial relationship that is built through transactional interaction patterns.

Social structure is the thing that concern the relationship between individuals or groups of individuals in a society which has thus become a system patterned ties (Suhamiharja: 1984: 207). Relationship between individual tied with a very strong kinship. The emergence of the term *'dulur deuheus'* (close relative) and *'dulur jauh'* (distant relative) is proof that they assume all citizens are brothers. „*Dulur deuheus*" is a term used to describe a close relative or a direct descendant whereas „*dulur jauh*" refers to distant relatives who come from the same descendant. However, both „*dulur deuheus'* or „*dulur jauh*" for Susuru residents are brothers who must be treated the same in many ways.

2.2 Religious Aspect

In general, residents of Susuru are a heterogeneous population. Based on religion, society embrace four different religions, namely Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, and local beliefs of *Sunda Wiwitan*. This show is unique in comparison to other villages in Ciamis district. For instance, *Dayeuh Landeuh* village consists of four different religious communities but less significant difference in the number of adherents. So as *Cirukeum* village and almost all other villages in the sub-district *Panawangan*-Ciamis only consists of Muslims. Interfaith social intermingling that occurred in Susuru is more intensive compared to other villages because of the

concentration of adherents of the four religions settlements concentrated in Susuru.

Religious heterogeneity supported by the appropriate religious facilities. This is indicated by the existent of the mosque and Islamic boarding school, the Catholic Church, and the house of worship for Sunda Wiwitan followers. With this, it can be said that Susuru is the center of religious worship from outside Susuru as well as the venue for religious festivals.

In sum, socio-religious aspects of Susuru is very heterogenic. It can be seen from the following several aspects: in terms of Susuru history, Susururesidents handed down beliefs from generation to generation that they come from the same ancestor *Eyang Anggayuda*. It makes interaction patterns between Susuru citizens full of the spirit of brotherhood. In terms of education, increasing educational level of residents is proof of the increasing awareness of citizens to education. In addition, the availability of education formal institution from kindergarten till high school makes space for intensive interaction where students of various religions interact and begin to learn to respect the differences. Based on the structure of the economy, the majority population as a timber farmer, chicken farmer, and merchant open vast spaces for transactional interaction for the citizens. Relationships built on economic interaction is mutually beneficial relationship with each other regardless of religion and belief. In terms of religion, Susuru people embraced four different religions, namely; Islam, Catholicism, Sunda Wiwiwtan, and Protestantism. Seeing from social structure, kinship ties between the figures support the communication between them and provide space for interaction among the elite. As the following discussion, the following part will examine the forms of integration of Susuru people

2. Forms of Integration in Susuru

Concrete manifestation of civic engagement is not just limited to social activities (social engagement) alone but included also in religious rituals (religious engagement). Mass integration in social-religious activities of the following is the reproduction process of peace culture involving all citizens of both elites and ordinary citizens. Activities take place through a process of involving each other in various activities such as *slametan* like wedding celebration, death, *tahlilan* ritual (prayer for the dead), celebration of religious festivals, the construction of houses of worship, clean village, the integration in social organization and interaction in the field of economics. Elite and ordinary people involvement has an important role for peace construction in Susuru.

As the culture of integration and tolerance, people involved in the whole event of *slametan* held by every citizen regardless of religious affiliation. *Slametan* event include life cycle stages of a person like *slametan* for birth, baby shaving, circumcision, marriage, and death. Willingness to help in the event *slametan* has become a tradition for Susuru citizens. On the other hand, one of the uniqueness of Susuru, in one family there are family members of different religions. It is difficult to find a family that embraced only one religion. According to Pak Totoy, chief of village, most of the population in Susuru is mixed-faith families. They live in a house and live together regardless of religious differences. Multi-religious family is formed due to cultural interaction through inter-religious marriages. Susuru residents do not mind if there is one family member marries someone of a different religion.

The involvement of the four religious communities is also can be seen when one person died. All residents flocked to give alms, such as rice, spurious money in order to participate condolences to the bereaved family regardless of religious affiliation. Although the arrangement of the body and performing the burial rites according to the teachings of their respective religions, it does not preclude residents to drive up to the cemetery and follow the funeral procession. In the following day, the family of the deceased held *tahlilan* ritual (prayer for the deceased). Although tahlilan generally performed by Muslims but in Susuru Catholics and Sunda Wiwitan followers also held *tahlilan* with the technical implementation in accordance with their respective teaching. Tahlilan ritual performed by holding a joint prayer for those who died during 7 days and fortieth days and sometimes there is the hundredth and thousandth. In celebration of religious festivals, all citizens participate. In the celebration of *Eid al-Fitr*, *Eid al-Adha*, the entire non-Muslim citizens lined up in front of the Mosque to congratulate all Muslims continued to visit each other houses of the Muslim population. Even some Catholics and Sunda Wiwitan followers send food as a sign of happiness in the celebration. Interestingly, the involvement of Catholics and Sunda Wiwitan followers was attended *rajaban* (celebration of Muhammad"s night journey) and *muludan* (celebration for Muhammad"s birthday). They attend and listen Islamic lecture in mosques mingle with Muslims. In a series of Christmas celebrations, Muslims and Sunda Wiwitan followers are invited to attend „Christmas celebration" held after Christmas mass. After Christmas mass, Muslims and Sunda Wiwitan followers flocked to the Church of St. Simon to congratulate and attended the „celebration of Christmas". So also in celebration of the event *seren taun* and *syuraan* of Sunda Wiwitan religious feast, all Muslims and Catholic attend the celebration. Although rooted in religious traditions of Sunda Wiwitan, *seren taun* and

syuraan seems to have become a tradition of Susuru people. In *seren taun* and *syuraan* celebration, Susuru people including adherents of Islam and Catholicism are reminded again about Sundanese cultural values that must be preserved by the Sundanese ethnic.

The existence of places of worship is the result of mutual cooperation of Susuru citizens. Residents of Susuru worked together to build the mosque, church and house of worship of Sunda Wiwitan. For instance, when the renovation of the Church of St. Simon was held in 2006, Muslims and adherents of Sunda Wiwitan followers participated in the renovation. Muslims and adherents of Sunda Wiwitan did not hesitate to help by donating materials, labor, and building materials and so on. Catholics adherents did the same thing when the construction of houses of worship of Sunda Wiwitan and the mosque *al-Ikhlas*.

Integration in Susuru can be seen also in the organization of PKK (*pembinaan kesejahteraan keluarga*-development for family welfare). PKK Organization consist of wives of government officials. They conducted regular meetings once on 17 every month. Besides that, there is also Youth organizations *Karang Taruna* consist of young generation of Susuru village. In this organization youths with different religious background together interacting in implementing programs of the organization. Activities are routinely conducted are meeting once a week for friendship and coordination among youth, especially when there is one of the villagers who hold a celebration (*slametan*).

3. Dynamic of Religious Life in Susuru

In the midst of harmony which is reflected in joint activities appear also cases that trigger inter-religious conflict. This was indicated by the case of mass on Friday, pig farmer issues, and the establishment of the Protestant Church. The explanation of cases is intended to provide an overview of the cases that have emerged that could potentially be a conflict between communities. It also deals with the basic theory was explained in the beginning about conflict resolution mechanism. Of course before discussing the mechanism must be shown first cases ever arise. Around the year 1980, Mass held on a Sunday but because of the limitations of Parish Pastor, Mass for Catholics held on Friday. This becomes a problem for Muslims because Mass is considered as "rival" and disrupt Friday Muslim prayers.

In addition to the above case, in 2006, Muslims against pig farm owned by two Catholic adherents. It was been a problem for Muslims because the pig manures pollute rivers used by Muslims. The latest case is the case of permitting the establishment of Protestantism Church. This case led to the rejection of Muslim. In sum, section C has explained about the concrete integration of elite and mass in the forms of citizen involvement in social and religious activities. Meanwhile section D has explained the cases that trigger inter-religious conflict. As a continuation of this discussion, the next section will analyze how the integration at the elite level and mass level contribute to a peaceful situation in Susuru and as a continuation of the exposure cases have appeared above, then in next section will analyze the conflict resolution mechanism carried by Susuru citizens.

4.The Construction of Peace in Susuru

This section will analyze the elite integration, mass integration, and mechanisms to resolve conflicts in the community that contribute to the construction of peace in Susuru. In this section I argue that the integration of the elite, equitable distribution of power (power-sharing), inter-communal civic engagement, and self-policing mechanism contribute to the construction of peace in Susuru.

The foundation for construction of peace in Susuru is kinship ties among residents. Kinship ties become value consensus that supports the integration among residents. Genealogically, Susuru citizens believe that they are descended from same ancestors *Eyang Anggayuda*. In addition, residents of Susuru have kinship system that recognizes and appreciates relatives descended from both father and mother. Relatives have a very broad sense. Relatives could mean *dulur teges* (close relatives) and *dulur ti gigir* (distant relatives). *Dulur teges* is relative due to marriage relationships and ties of blood either from the mother or father. While *dulur ti gigir* means relative from a large family unit of a common ancestor.

As a manifestation of a strong kinship ties between citizens then appear interfaith marriage among the four religious communities. Interfaith marriage has become common in Susuru. The phenomenon of interfaith marriage that has lasted longer produces mix-faith families. Mix-faith families facilitate interreligious communication within the family institution. In sum, kinship ties and interfaith marriage become the foundation of peace in Susuru. As a result it creates elite integration and power-sharing.

Elite integration

Integration elite become an important thing in supporting the peaceful situation in Susuru. According to Tadjoeddin, elite integration plays an important role in reducing the escalation of the conflict because when the elites segregated it would be easily be perceived by their followers, and it can be converted into violence among members of different communities. Elite integration, according Tadjoeddin, could be achieved if there are two things: 1) the existence of value consensus that promote mutual trust among elites and 2) the communication network that enables interpersonal communication among the elite (Tadjoeddin, 2004: 7). Related to the first, strong kinship ties unite elite in Susuru. While related to the second indicator, which is a network that allows the elite to easily interact and communicate effectively, in 2011 a forum of inter-religious dialogue was founded. A forum functions as communication media between religious elites and government officials in responding interreligious issue.

Power-Sharing

According to Tadjoeddin, elite integration might also be understood by power-sharing polity (Tadjoeddin, 2004:8). In Susuru, there is equitable distribution of power in the government composition. This likely suggests the existence of informal norms in society that in order to maintain religious harmony there should be a power distribution. The function of distribution of power is to facilitate elite coordination in response to a variety of problems that threaten the peaceful situation. In addition, the distribution of power will create an effective communication channel that allows the process of clarifying corrections to the dissemination of information that could potentially lead to conflict between communities.

Inter-Communal Civic Engagement

Good relations between elites, according to Varshney, are not strong enough to reduce the conflict if it is not followed by good relations between communities (mass). In other words, the integration of the elite must be followed by the integration of mass. Mass integration in Susuru in forms of civic network can be found in various social and religious activities. The community meetings become an effective medium of communication between people. The absence of civic networks will easily escalate the conflict because there is no clarification media between communities. In sum, inter-community civic networks function to neutralize communal violence, control and clarify suspicions and various negative information among communities.

Based on Varshney‟s theory of inter-communal civic engagement, citizen involvement in joint activities can be categorized as everyday forms of engagement. Unlike the explanation Varshney which said that the pattern of relations in the associational forms of engagement is stronger than the pattern of everyday relationships, based on findings in Susuru, relationship pattern that occurs informally actually has stronger in reducing conflict rather than association forms of engagement. Pattern of relations in informal meeting is interest-free from parties who want to take advantage from residents while organizational relationship patterns are often used for personal interest. Conversation and social relations that occur in informal meetings allow communication to exchange perspectives and knowledge in a relaxed atmosphere. Tensions between communities that could potentially be a conflict gain control and clarification through shared activities. In Susuru, the social integration occurs through social interactions is very effective in containing communal violence. When potential conflicts arise, awareness arises among residents to keep and protect each other.

Self-Policing as Mechanism of Conflict Resolution

This study, as already explained previously, has found some cases that can lead to conflict but with the conflict resolution mechanism built by Susuru people the case does not escalate into widespread conflict. One of the cases that threaten the peaceful situation in Susuru is implementing Mass on Friday. This case has the potential to be conflict but the religious elites of Susuru successfully respond to conflicts effectively. Pak Darimi, Catholic leader, contacted the leaders of Muslims and explained that the implementation of the Mass on Friday is not intended to interfere with Muslims Friday prayers but because of the limitations of Pastor in the Parish Tasikmalaya. The meetings between the religious elite resulted an agreement says that for interreligious harmony, the Catholic Mass is not held on Friday but on Thursday.

In addition to the above case, in 2009 the majority of Muslims against the planned construction of the Protestant church. To reduce that opposition, Susuru Muslim leaders asked the village government officials to facilitate meetings with leaders of other religions, including Protestant church leaders. The meeting was held in order to find a common agreement concerning the plan to build the church. As a result of the meeting, the

establishment of the church was canceled due to the number of its adherents is only 14 people. According to Pak Totoy, at that time there was an attempt from some Muslims to attack the Protestant leaders to oppose the establishment of the Church, but this effort can be mitigated by Muslim leaders. Pak Kurdi, Muslim leader, neutralizes the opposition. On the other hand, some Catholics opposed the establishment of the Church. Opposition was triggered due to a congregation claiming by Protestant leader. In the establishment license application letter, Protestant leader claimed 13 Catholics member as Protestant member. But the opposition can be muted by the Catholics leader, Pak Anang.

Referring to the theory of Fearon and Laitin, Muslim elite and the Catholic elite capabilities in resolving conflicts caused by misunderstanding a handful of their members called „self-policing‟. The second case shows the mechanism of „self-policing‟ is a case of pig farmers. The existence of one pig farm owned by Catholics who sparked Muslim opposition can be resolved by Catholics leaders. Pak Anang, asked pig farmer to stop his business. Self-policing mechanism in this case reduce the conflict so that the conflict does not escalate into cross-community conflict because potential conflicts can be resolved within the community.

5. Conclusions

As a form of elite integration and mass integration of Susuru it can be seen in the activities as follows: *selametan* event, the event of death, *tahlilan* ritual, celebration of religious festivals, the construction of houses of worship, cleaning the village, the integration of social organization, and interaction in the field of economics. Citizen involvement in various socio-religious activities (civic engagement) is not only influential for mass level but also affects elite level. At mass level, citizen involvement creates a network of communication between people. On the other hand, the involvement of the elite becomes a role model for people. The involvement of religious elites and government as well strengthens the bond between the elites and enables communication among them. However, religious life of Susuru people is not always harmonious. In the midst of harmony, there are also cases that trigger inter-religious conflicts. This is indicated by occurrence of the case Christianity Mass on Friday, pig farmer issues, and the establishment of the Protestant Church.

As the final explanation about the construction of peace in Susuru, this study concludes that the shared values of Susuru community that are based on the belief in Susuru kinship ties are and effective foundation in integrating citizens both at the elit level and the mass level. Moreover, those values put everyone in a positive way in daily interactions. Elite Integration that is supported by the distribution of power (power-sharing) is an adequate and effective energy to synergize the religious elites and government elites as well as facilitating coordination of the issues that threaten the peaceful situation. Elite integration which is also supported by the forum of inter-religious dialogue is a network that facilitates communication among the elite. In addition to the integration of the elite, mass integration become another social capital for Susuru. It can be seen from the involvement of citizens in the socio-religious activities. By doing so, each community could confirm or share information so that the information would not provoke or increase mass rage. Potential conflicts that arise are easily mitigated through civic network that exists in the public sphere in the form of socio-religious activities. Unlike the explanation of Varshney that say the pattern of relations in the institutional (associational forms of engagement) is stronger than the pattern of everyday relationships, based on findings in Susuru, more informal relationship patterns strengthen social integration of citizens. Relationship patterns that occur informally actually have stronger resistance in reducing conflict rather than organizational relationship patterns which are called association forms of engagement. Pattern of relations in the informal meetings is interest-free from parties - especially politicians- who want to take advantage from residents like in the organizational relationship patterns that are often used for personal interests.

This study is expected to inspire the global community as a whole, especially for Indonesians, in preventing communal violence and maintaining peace. However, the result of this study cannot be generalized. Object of study and period of research would affect the results. The foundation of peace in the form of kinship ties among citizens would be difficult to apply elsewhere because kinship ties are condition that cannot be created. However, the integration of elites supported by the power-sharing and dialogue forum, the citizen involvement in various socio-religious activities, and mechanisms to resolve conflicts in the community can be applied elsewhere. However, if the above conditions exist in other places, they can be the key to the success in reducing communal violence and maintaining peace

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