

*Archival Institution As Agent of Representation of Religious Plurality
in Indonesia*

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Abstract

Using qualitative research through literature analysis and observation, this paper shows that archival institutions could act as a strategic agent of representation to develop a network with religious communities in Indonesia. Thus, they all together could collect, preserve, and exhibit religious archives. Through that action, religious archives collection in the archival institution could represent the plurality of religions, including “official religion” and “non-official religion”. Furthermore, religious archive could be used as a tool (weapon) to construct counter-narrative against dominant narrative that explain Indonesia only having 6 religions yet also wants to abolish the history of religious plurality in Indonesia

Keywords: Archival institutions, Religious Archives, Representation, Dominant-narrative, Counter-narrative

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Introduction

Indonesia, as a country with a high religious plurality, adopts only 6 religion as official religions; Islam, Christian, Catholic, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Empirically, outside those 6 official religions, many other religions are life, from international religions such as Sikh & Baha'i to indigenous religions such as Kaharingan, Sunda Wiwitan, etc. The population of religious adherent in Indonesia could see as shown in table 1.

Table 1. Populations by Religions in Indonesia

No.	Agama	Population	Percentage (%)
1.	Islam	207.176.162	87.18
2.	Catholic	6.907.873	2.91
3.	Christian	16.528.513	6.96
4.	Hinduism	4.012.116	1.69
5.	Buddhism	1.703.254	0.72
6.	Confucianism	117.091	0.05
7.	Other	299.617	0.13

source: <http://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=321> reprocessed by researcher

Data in table 1 is taken from 2010 census held by Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS-Statistics Indonesia). As shown in the table 1, statistically non-official religions has labelled as other. Critically, the other is labelled to those who are perceived as strange and excluded from the group (Given, 2008). Ideally, they have equal rights as like what officials religion gets. Even though, as the other, those non-official religions have not enough “space” to speak up their position in society. Instead of getting equal treatment, they are eliminated, the state doesn't represent them as official religions have. In a short, the non-official religions are voiceless and need more effort to show that they are exist.

Actually, the problem of religious life in Indonesia is more complicated than official religion and non-official religion issue. The description about some cases of religious conflict could illustrate how sensitive the religious issues are in Indonesia. In 1999, open conflict between Muslim and Christians in Ambon happened (Mufid, 2014). The rejection of the establishment of the Church in some place such as; Aceh, Jakarta and Bekasi is still going (Ahnaf, Maarif, Ashari-Afwan, & Abdillah, 2015). As well as a rejection of the establishment of mosques in Papua and North Sulawesi too (News: Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies, Graduate School, Universitas Gajah Mada, 2015) (Penolakan Masjid di Bitung Perkeruh Konflik Rumah Ibadah, 2015).

In that context, archival institution is growing. Archival institutions grow as institutions that preserve the collective memory. Preserve the collective memory that recorded in the archives. Archives generated by all entities of the Organization, group or person that has lived in this country. In connection with it, the Archival Institution, especially the national archival institution develop a vision that is making the archive as a unifying the nation. That vision translated in one of the missions of the national archival institution that is preserving the archives as the collective memory and national identity and national accountability evidence.

Contrarily, with that vision and mission, the archival institution do not recognize the concept of religious archives. In this regards, a position of archival institutions within the community turned out to be alienated. Archival institutions not popular, and regardless of the context of the society where it grows.

Problem Statement

Plural society where archival institutions has grown being attacked by two groups. The one is those who superficially interpreting the meaning of plurality. Another one is those people who are against the plurality. Archival institutions with the jargon of a national identity, collective memory and great vision as a node unifying the nation certainly has to response this kind of situation. If this is the jargon and the big vision want to be achieved substantially, not just jargon and sheer bureaucratic administrative vision.

On the other hand, archival institutions alienated and always be on the side of the periphery of society. This is the effect of the archival institutions that had been insensitive to the sociological reality of the society in which it grew up. Such conditions will directly or indirectly led to negative conducive for the development of both archival institutions and archival field at large.

To do with those all, religious archives could be the door if optimally utilized. Optimal utilization on religious archives not only have implications for the strengthening positively of the position of archival institutions, but also beneficial for the sustainability of the plurality of religions in society.

Research Questions

This research was guided by the following questions:

1. How does the archival institutions could construct its strategic position through religious archives?
2. Through what religious archives can be used to represent the religious plurality, especially for “non-official religions” in Indonesia?
3. What relations that can be built by archival institutions and religious communities in developing a counter narrative against the (dominant) narrative that resist the plurality?

Research Objectives

The following specific objectives are sought to achieve in this study:

1. Describing how does the archival institution could construct a strategic position through religious archives;
2. Describing through what religious archives could utilize to represent religious plurality, especially “non-official” religions in Indonesia;
3. Describing what relations could developed by the archival institution to religious communities to developing counter-narrative against the (dominant) narrative that resist the plurality.

Conceptual Framework

a. Archive & Archiving

I used the definition of archives as conceived by Jenkinson. According to Jenkinson, archives are the documents are set aside for preservation in official custody (Craven, 2008). In parallel definition with some extension, Ketelaar described archives relates to memory. He wrote that archives are memory because they are evident. They are not only evidence of a transaction, but also evidence of some historic fact that is either part of the transaction itself, or that may be traced via the transaction, or that which is otherwise embodied in the record, or in the context of the archiving process (Ketelaar, 2006). The archiving process its including the archivalization and archivization. Archivalization is a framework for deciding whether something is worthy to be archived or not, which is influenced by the socio-political and cultural conditions (Keteelar, 2001). Meanwhile, archivization refers to the concept that the archives are public (Keteelar, 2001). By this description we could see clearly the relation between archive, archiving, and memory.

b. Religion

The definition of religion that i used in this research paper as defined by Milton and Yinger. Milton and Yinger explain that religion is a system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people struggling with fundamental or ultimate issues of life (Robert, 1984).

c. Religious archives

After explaining about the concept of archives and archiving, and also religion, now i explain about concepts of religious archives. Religious archives according to the Society of American Archivist are archives relating to the traditions or institutions of a major faith, denominations within a faith, or individual places of worship (Home: Using Archives society of american archivist, t.thn.). Based on that definition, i re-construct the definition, so could contextual by the condition where i research. In this research paper, religious archives are archives that produce by a religious organization, a group or individual that relating to tradition or religious issues.

d. Archival institutions

Archival institutions that defined in this research paper are state archival institutions. As defined by Law of The Republic of Indonesia Number 43 of 2009 on Records and Archives Administration, archival institutions are an institution that has the functions, duties, and responsibilities in managing archives and maintaining development in the administration of records and archives. There are 3 degrees of archival institution in Indonesia, national, provincial and municipal. Outside those 3 are university archives, that is autonomous. The relation between those archival institutions are in coordination, not in a term ordinate and subordinate. But, as national archival instutional, ANRI, is taking the responsibility for the work of archival system in Indonesia.

e. Agent

In sociology perspective, an agent is an independent entity with the ability to pursue a goal (glossary: thwink, t.thn.). A social agent is an agent in the human system, such a people, nations, organizations, cultures, and ideologies. Giddens argues that the agent has ability to create and shape a social life because the agent has a knowledge and capability that constructed by the power that it held (Ritzer & Goodman, 2008).

f. Representation

Merriam-Webster dictionary defines representation as a person or group that speaks or acts for or in support of another person or group (Representation, t.thn.). In this paper, representation is defined as a way that a person or group that speaks or acts for or in support of another person or group. There are at least two critical issues related to representation (Eriyanto, 2001). The first is how a group, or the idea displayed when linked with reality, in the sense of whether displayed in accordance with the facts or likely to be impaired so that the impression marginalize or show only the bad side of a person or entity in a communication. Secondly, how to execute the presentation of the object in the media.

g. Narratives

Narratives could be defined as stories that either collectively or collaboratively produced and not only take place under particular social conditions, but also relating to social action (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001). The narratives that dominantly spread are defined as a dominant-narrative. When it spread as a "legitimate" stories, then it becomes master narratives (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004). Usually, along with the dominant-narratives, there are counter-narrative. Counter-narratives are the stories which people tell and live which offer resistance, either implicitly or explicitly, to dominant-narratives (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004).

Methodology

This research used qualitative method through literature analysis and observation (2010-2015). For data validation, i used triangulation.

Scope and Limitations

The scope of this research is on issues of religious archives and national archive under the reformation order (orde reformasi). As a qualitative research, this research can not be generalized.

Description and Analysis

Indonesia Policy on Religions

Discuss of religious policy issues in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of the Ministry of Religion. Through the Ministry of Religious Affairs religious life is defined. Meanwhile, the formal definition of religion was apparently not owned by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. During this time, the Government's reference in

defining religion refers *Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1/PNPS Tahun 1965 tentang Pencegahan Penyalahgunaan dan/atau Penodaan Agama* (Act Against Blasphemy). In the rules explicit mentioned the religions, then considered official religions. Official religions mentioned in the regulation are Islam, Christian, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Although mentioned that beyond non-official religion remain free to grow. However, in reality non-official religion are facing many difficulties, from the difficulties of registration of a marriage, to be labeled as heretical.

Although, formally the state has yet to have a definition of religion, but there is such a category used as guidelines in categorizing a group as an religion. These categories include; have a holy book, had a prophet, believe in the Almighty God is personal, international recognition, and a comprehensive system of religious law (Intan, 2006).

Researcher indicated that the reasons behind the use of these categories in defining religion influenced by pressure from groups that carry this dominant narrative in pushing its interests to the state. One group of dominant narrative bearers of the most vocal is the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI).

To understand more about the dynamics of the category of official religions and non-official religions in Indonesia, can be seen in table 1. On table 1, researcher describes the religions under three Government era, *Orde Lama*, *Orde Baru* and *Orde Reformasi*.

Table 1.
Official Religions Under The Government

Religions Under The Government		
<i>Orde Lama (1945-1966)</i>	<i>Orde Baru (1966-1998)</i>	<i>Orde Reformasi (1999-now)</i>
Islam	Islam	Islam
Christian	Christian	Christian
Catholic	Catholic	Catholic
Hinduism	Hinduism	Hinduism
Budhism	Budhism	Budhism
Confucianism		Confucianism

Referring to the table 1, it is clear that the category of official and non-official religions religion is not fixed but changed. These changing conditions are influenced by many things, one of which is the socio-political climate. Under the Orde Lama, when the political climate in a situation that was so delirious as it pertains to the situation of a country that is promoting the formation of the national character and also the atmosphere of confrontation with the West, which is labeled as neo-colonialism and imperialism by the Orde Lama. In the context of such socio-political, the government of the Orde Lama to make the 6 religions as official religions; Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. In this era of Orde Lama, the Baha'i religion was banned by *Surat Keputusan Presiden RI Nomor 264*

Tahun 1962 on the grounds that the Baha'i Faith is not in accordance with the spirit of the Indonesian revolution (Schumann, 1999) (Nuh, 2014).

Then, under the Orde Baru era, official religion is reduced 1 by the abolition of Confucianism from the list of official religions. Confucianism deletion from the list of official religions are based on *Inpres Nomor 14 Tahun 1967 tentang agama, kepercayaan dan adat istiadat tionghoa* (Presidential Decree No. 14 of 1967 on Religion, Beliefs and Tionghoa Customs). Elimination of Confucianism influenced by political upheavals that took place in 1965 where the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) is considered revolting by rolling a movement called the 30 September Movement (G30S/(PKI)). G30S/(PKI) have successfully thwarted by a movement led by Suharto, who later became the leader of the Orde Baru. By the Orde Baru, G30S/(PKI) is considered to have a strong relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC). It then becomes a reason why not long after the G30S / (PKI) foiled, government of the Republic of Indonesia under the Orde Baru suspended diplomatic relations with the PRC (Dewabrata, 2015). Along with the abolition of Confucianism from the list of official religions, the new order adds new categories, namely Aliran Kepercayaan (the Devotee of beliefs). This belief system is a 'pouch' for the spiritual group that the Government cannot be categorized as a religion. According to the Orde Baru, Aliran Kepercayaan is a culture, that is why the Aliran Kepercayaan is under the stewardship of the Ministry of Culture and not the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Under the Orde Reformasi, specifically when it under President Abdurahman Wahid (Gus Dur), Confucianism is back to the list of official religions. In this era, Aliran Kepercayaan as a category retained. Despite, during this era, state are more accomodative for non-official religions, but nonetheless, the adherents of non-official religions have come across many difficulties in obtaining state services and still be considered the other by the state. Beside that, its also appeared various groups in response to the state policy on religion, each group voicing their aspirations. At least, there are three aspirations are carried by groups:

1. Support the status quo of maintaining the number of official religions remain 6;
2. Support the dominance of the religion of the majority;
3. Recognition of religion by the State not required

In conclusion, it is clear that the plurality of religions in Indonesia is legal-formaly reduced by only covers official religions.

The Dominant Narrative of Religious Plurality in Indonesia

Refer to the previous analysis, we can say that the dominant narrative on religious plurality in Indonesia that endorsed by the state can be said as an administrative plurality. Administrative Plurality is the condition when a plurality in the empirical level is reduced in such a way under the pretext of administration. The real religions that live in Indonesia is just official religions, outside those official religions are not legally exist.

As I wrote before, in addition to the dominant-narrative also dispersed the counter-narrative that is opposite to the dominant narrative, at least two counter-narratives that circulated.

First, the monolithic narrative. According to the group, although the Indonesian situation is plural, but the majority should be dominant. The minority should submit to the majority. Examples can be seen in the case of Aceh and West Java, the church is difficult to get permits establishment and often opposed by a majority of Islam there. By contrast, in Papua and Manado, the establishment of mosques is often opposed by the majority of Christians there.

Second, the sociological plurality narratives. According to this group, there are no majority and minority because each of religious community is equal. The group also believes the plurality of religion in Indonesia is not merely confined to the official religion as prescribed by the state. Examples can be seen in the case of Wonosobo and world interfaith harmony week 2016. Case of Wonosobo, religion of mainstream and non-mainstream that flow in other areas deemed heretical, in Wonosobo equally recognized as part of the community of Wonosobo. The celebration of World Interfaith Harmony Week 2016 organized by Non-Government Organization involving not only official religion, but also non-official religions.

The concrete image of how state constructing the representation of religious plurality in a simple can be seen in the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah or TMII. TMII is a recreational areas that are considered a miniature of Indonesia (Anoegrajekti, 2011). As involved in the picture, there are seven religions worship places which reflects the official religion of the State recognized. As seen in the picture, *Masjid Pangeran Diponegoro* (Islam), *Gereja Katolik Santa Catharina* (Catholic), *Gereja Kristen Protestan Haleluya* (Christian), *Pura Penataran Agung Kerthabumi* (Hinduism), *Wihara Arya Dwipa Arama* (Buddhism) and *Sasono Adiroso Pangeran Samber Nyowo* (Aliran kepercayaan/devotee of beliefs). See figure 1 below

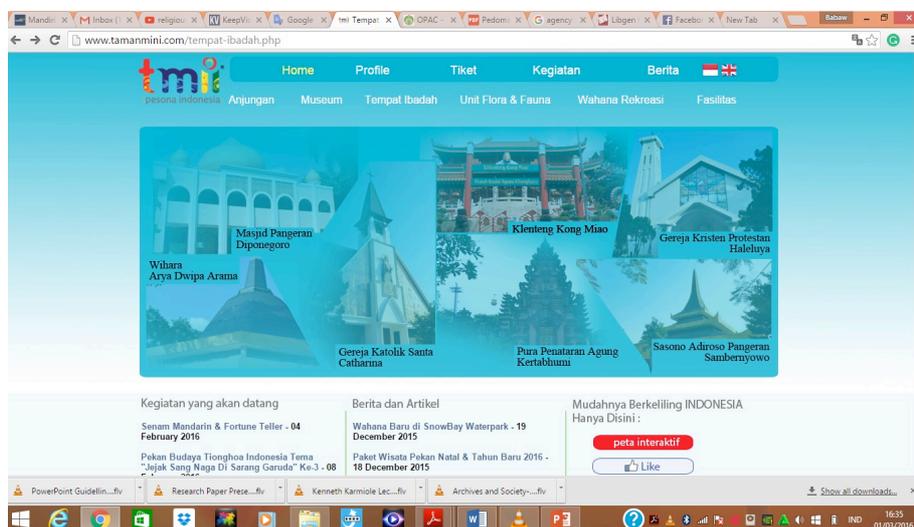


Figure 1. Religious Plurality in Indonesia as Represents at *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah*

Indonesia Policy on Archival Administrasion

Discuss on archival policy in Indonesia cannot be released from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI). ANRI is an archival institution at the central level that responsible for the sustainability of the archival system in Indonesia

(Karabinos, 2015).¹ In addition, there are also regional archival institutions, provincial and district / city and university archives. ANRI is the primary agent that produces archival discourse in Indonesia. In the discourse of archival spread by ANRI, archives always identified with the concept of collective memory and national identity. However, as the issue of religious plurality has not been touched by ANRI. In fact, even though ANRI has many archives collections from religious organizations, but conceptually it is not recognized as religious archives. These archives recognized as a part of the political and social organization archives (arsip ormas/orpol).² It is could be an evidence that ANRI is not familiar with the concept of religious archives. Whereas, the concept of religious archives has a more rhetorical effect than the social organization archives.

The Dominant Narrative and The Representation of Religious Plurality

There are several ways how the state represents the non-official religion as the implication of the adoption of administrative plurality, i.e:

First, the non-official religion should be fused into one of the non-official religions but without changing the initial characteristics of the non-official religions concerned, e.g. Sikhs. Sikhism is administratively considered a Hindu without having to adjust to the Hindu characteristics.

Second, the non-official religion should be fused into one non-official religion in total, this means there are changes to the initial characteristics of the non-official religions are concerned, e.g. Kaharingan. The religion of Kaharingan religion which is indigenous in addition administration are regarded as Hindus, but also ritual and all its characteristics must be adjusted with the Balinese Hindu (Budiman, 2005).

Third, non-official religion must be willing to be represented as an Aliran Kepercayaan, for example Sapta Dharma.

Fourth, if not lucky, non-official religions represented as deviant group or heretic, an example Salamullah/Lia Eden.

From the description above, it is clear that non-official religion cannot freely represent itself as a religion. They must comply with the patterns of representation built by the state that adopt administrative plurality narrative as perspective. In this case means the state does not provide a viable channel to non-official religions to speak. In other words, the non-official religions are voiceless.

The Dominant Narrative and The Archival Institution

If we want to understand how the effect of the dominant narrative to an archival institution, it can simply be seen in how ANRI representing the plurality of religions, as reflected in the *Diorama Sejarah Perjalanan Bangsa*, see figure 2.

¹ see also, Article 6 point (1) Law of The Republic Indonesia Number 43 of 2009 on Records and Archives Administration

² *Keputusan Kepala ANRI Nomor 348 Tahun 2015 Tentang Jumlah Khazanah Arsip Statis Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia Tahun 2014*



Figure 2.
 Religious Plurality in Indonesia as Represents at *Diorama Sejarah Perjalanan Bangsa*

According to the illustration that shown in figure 2, we could understand that the archival institution has drowned under the wave of administrative plurality as state defined. The position taken by archival institutions in favor of the administrative plurality narrative indicates that archival institutions are not sensitive to the sociological reality where archival institutions that grow and develop. It also became one of the reasons why the use of religious archives has not performed optimally by archival institutions. It has also somewhat affected the position of archival institutions that are less popular in the public.

Archival Institution, Religious Archives and Representation of Religious Plurality

As has been described before, although it already has a collection of religious archives, but essentially archival institutions have yet to recognize the concept of religious archives. This can be seen by it identifies religious archives collected by archival institutions as archives of social organization.

With the existing collection, it turns out archival institutions have not utilized optimally religious archives. Roles are not merely an administrative issue, but a strategic role. The strategic role of the archive as a medium to voice those who are voiceless in society. Because the archive is always associated with social, cultural and political context that surrounded it.

The real picture about the role of archives that are not purely administrative matters described in very clear in studies conducted by Flinn (2011). Taking place in the UK, He found a strong link between the archives, representation and activism. In His studies, He described at least 4 movements (Flinn, 2011) :

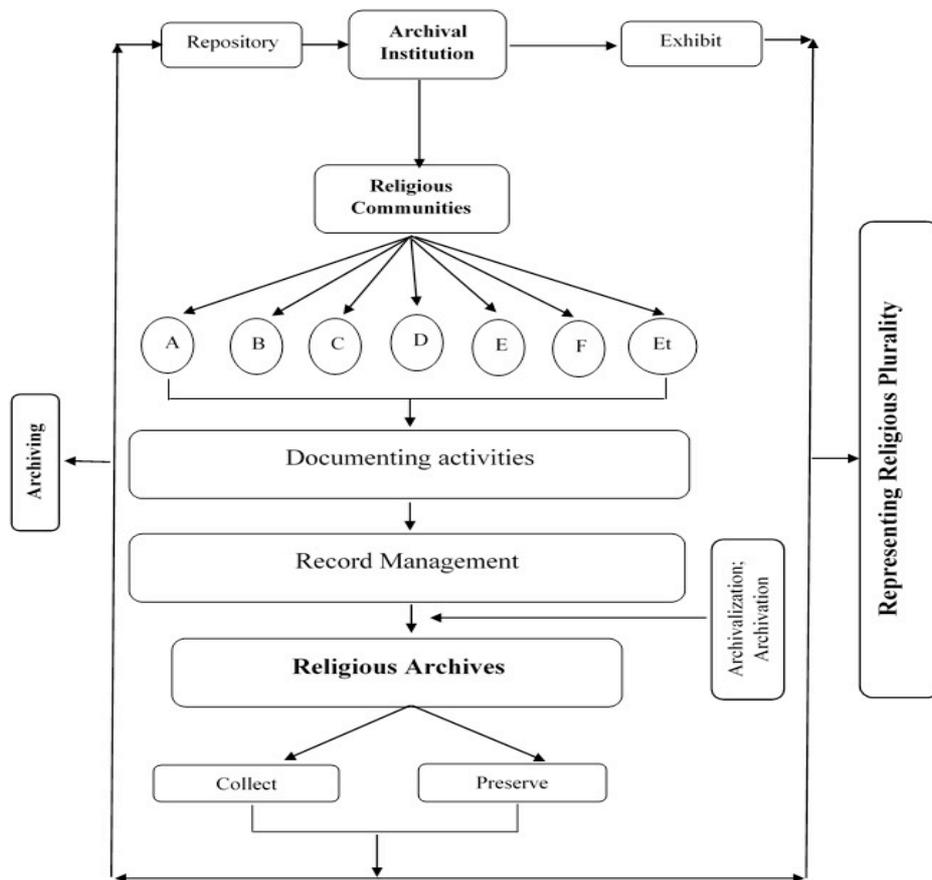
- **Future Histories** promoting the inclusion of African and Asian British history and culture” in mainstream institutions;

- **rukus! the Black LGBT Archive project** rukus! seeks to collect and preserve materials and then use them in a series of public events and interventions at which these histories are made more visible;
- **Moroccan Memories** to ensure active interaction with the materials collected through public programming and aim to make sure that these resources are deposited in various locations around the country to ensure a place for UK-based Moroccans in local and national narratives;
- **Eastside Community Heritage** to document the cultures and hidden histories of East London's diverse working-class communities, notably by the collection of digital oral histories and photographs.

The findings of the study that has been done by Flinn, in line with previous studies conducted by Carter (2006), Harris (2007) dan Jimerson (2009). In their study, they found that the power and importance of creating permanent representations of the voices of marginalized Populations (Carter, 2006), as well as ways the documentary legacies of marginalized people can be used to counterbalance the mainstream narratives in the struggle for justice (Harris, 2007) (Jimerson, 2009).

Based on the illustration can be inferred that ideological standpoint is important. The ideological standpoint that makes an action into something meaningful. By doing so, so that the vision and mission of the archival institution is not just a mere slogan bureaucracy that the archival institution must change from the administrative plurality standpoint into the sociological plurality standpoint. Through this ideological standpoint the next step can be designed.

The next steps that can be built by the archival institution in establishing its strategic position can simply be seen in scheme 1 below.



Scheme 1.

Relations Between Archival Institution, Religious Archives and Representation of Religious Plurality

As shown in scheme 1, the archival institution can further build a positive collaboration either by official religions as well as with non-official religions. In this collaboration, the archival institution must be able to ensure and encourage the religious communities to documenting their activities. There are at least 2 benefits will be obtained by this collaboration:

1. Archival Institution will certainly additional collection records can be stored, preserved and presented to the public;
2. A religious community independently manage their archives as part of the management of the community itself.

From the documentation, records are produced. These records should produce and manage by the records management systems. These records may then go through the process of archivalization and archivation. These records may be archived (religious archives). Then, by archival institutions, religious archives are collected to be stored and preserved. All this process is referred to as archiving. By archiving the religious archives it is equal to archiving the plurality itself.

Of the samples collected by archival institutions, then through a certain process of religious archives on exhibition to show that the empirical reality of religious plurality in the society is not limited to 6 official religions, or limited to mere majority religion. Because, all religions who live in society have a participation in shaping the identity

of Indonesia-ness. Through it all, archival institutions have been able to build on its position as an agent who represents the plurality of religions.

Conclusion

Refer to the description and analysis before, it is confirmed that the archival institution could develop its strategic position through collaboration with religious communities. Through this collaboration, the archival institution can optimally use of the religious archives. In addition, religious communities also benefit through mentoring by the archival institution so that it is able to independently ensure the management of the records they have. By archiving and preserving the religious archives, the archival institution and religious communities can construct a counter-narrative, that the reality of religious life in the society is not only limited to 6 official religions. With this in the mind, will be confirmed that the reduction of religious pluralism in Indonesia becomes merely 6 official religions is an anomaly and does not have a clear sociological and archival base.

Last but not least, it is important to reflect on the thoughts expressed by The Italian National Association of Archivist, *“the way we build our archives is the representation of how we conceive social relationships and also the society that we would live to build”* (Archivist, 2016).

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