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THE ROOT CAUSES OF SOCIAL VIOLENCE IN THE NAME OF RELIGION IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Various models of violence in social life might be caused by religion. Violence in the name of religion does not only occur in Indonesia but has spread all over the world. Frequently, the violence, cruelty, and tragedy of humanity are not only caused mainly by religion, but also triggered by political factors, power, racism, ethnocentrism, colonialism as well as capitalism. This paper is the result of field study using the social definition paradigm with interpretive symbolic theory. The data sources are limited to socio-anthropological factors that lead to violent behavior in the name of religion.

This article has revealed two socio-anthropological factors resulting in the behavior of religious violence: a) theological-normative-conservative factors and b) sociological-pragmatic-economic, sociological-pragmatic-political, and sociological-religious-ethical factors. The first factor has led to a fanatical, truth claim, exclusive, textual and scriptural attitude, which became the main factor of religious radicalism. Meanwhile, the second factor has produced religion-based violence due to political aspects, economic sectors, and social integrity.

INTRODUCTION

Various forms of violence between religions consist of two models: physical violence non-physical violence (Segal, 2007). The non-physical violence can take the form of violence related to political, sociological, and anthropological aspects (Wim Beuken and Karl Joseph Kauschel, 2003). The definition of violence in the name of religion is not limited to individual follower, but also to group followers (Heidar Nasir, 1999, 64-66).

The facts about interfaith violence have attracted the world's attention (Mukhibat dan Muhammad Ghafar, 2019). For instance, violence between Islam and

Bosnian-Croatian Christianity took place in Europe, between Catholics and Anglican Christianity in Ireland, between Hinduism and Islam in India, between Islam and Christianity in the Philippines, Yemen, Sudan and Indonesia. In addition, internal conflict of Christianity also occurred in Rwanda. Conflicts also happened among three followers of different religions: Islam, Christianity, and Judaism in Lebanon (Miall, at.al., 2000, 37-38).

Sociological violence among religious adherents in Indonesia specifically has significant growth. This statement was proven by the longest inter-religious violence in the post-reform Indonesia, i.e. religious violence in Poso Central Sulawesi in 1998-2007. Poso became the most important operational area of the Jamaah Islamiyah international jihad network (Dave Mcrae, 2008).

More violence in the name of religion can be seen in 2010 data of 216 violence cases against religious minorities. There were 244 cases of religious violence in 2011. The number of religious violence increased significantly to 264 cases in 2012. Data presented by the Wahid Institute in 2010 shown 64 violations of religious freedom and 134 religious intolerances while in 2011 there had been a significant increase to 92 violations and 184 religious intolerances (https://www.hrw.org/id/report) .

The documents of the Setara Institute, Jakarta, on February 6, 2011 showed around 1500 Islamic militants attacking 21 Ahmadiyah worshipers in the village of Umbulan Cikeusik, West Java with stones, bamboo, and machetes. On August 26, 2012 there was an internal religious conflict between Sunni and Syi'i in Sampang, Madura (Saiful Bahri, https://www.hrw.org/id/report). In that case, Sunni Muslim community members burned around 50 Syi'i houses. All religious violence described above are considered as tangible manifestations of the expression of religious radicalism (Johan Effendi, 2000).

Religion-based violence will not only threaten national pluralism, culture, and human rights, but also the integrity of the nation and the state. Hans Kung, Lecturer of Ecumenical Theology at Tubingan University, Germany states that we must admit regretfully that religion has become a significant element in various cases of domestic violence, global terrorism, and collective unrest in various parts of the world today (Sumanto, 2010).

A large number of religion-nuanced riots were labeled as *jihad* in the way of Allah. According to Machasin (2004: 792), such a theological root arises from paradigmatic construction of the jihad concept that very scriptural, seems to support violence to gain personal and limited benefit.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Religion and Violence in Various Perspectives

Academic discourse on radicalism and global terrorism has invited many experts to give their opinions. Bruce (2003) said that religion, especially Islam and Christianity, has the potential to produce radicalism. Meanwhile, Armstrong (2002) believed that large number of violence, cruelty, and tragedy of humanity are not only caused by religion, but also by political factors, power, racism, ethnocentrism, colonialism, communism and capitalism. Violence is commonly connected to religion, even though religious teachings, especially in Islam, always teach peace, love, kindness, justice, and honesty (Putra and Sukabdi, 2018; Kuppens and Langer, 2020).

The notion of religious radicalism is assumed to be an innovative and modern movement (Armstrong, 2002). In addition, Juergensmeyer (2002) stated that the trend of religious violence related to the world's major religions has such a strong theological root justification. In line with him, Ilyas (2004) concluded that Islamic radicalism movements generally are rooted on theological-exclusive grounds. The results of the same study are also carried out by Bruinessen (1994) that the emergence of radical Islamic movements with various existing motives and characteristics are inspired by the DI/TII (Islamic State) movement, Masyumi (radical party), and PII (Muslim student movement) who promoted to establish an Islamic state.

Furthermore, Arifin (2004) also adds another perspective that the Islamic movement of fundamentalism is not merely due to religious phenomena, but also because of political interests, i.e. re-establishing the daulah Islamiyah. Similarly, Roibin in his research insists that the melting of the ultra-conservative salafi movement towards the salafi progressivism was caused by the practical political interests (Roibin, 2011: 87). In other words, the theological problem of the salafi movement that is very purificative-dogmatic can fade to some extent as it collides with partial-practical economic interests.

Religion and Global Violence: between Challenges and Opportunities

Many countries have introduced various global efforts to build and foster the values of religious awareness. Several intensive conferences on religion and peace have been held since the twentieth century. One of the core goals is to build the faith of religions to protect the world. These efforts are carried out due to the increasingly strong escalation of global violence (Ahmad Isnaeni, 2014, 214).

The first conference was held in the 1970 in Kyoto. Then, the same activity continued in Lauvain in 1974. Finally, the third conference was held in 1979 at Princeton. The conference was attended by 338 participants from 47 countries with different religions and beliefs. The result of the religious conference was to call for world peace based on the paradigm of love, freedom, justice, and truth

(Ahmad Isnaeni, 2014, 214). In the midst of the efforts of the world community to call for peace, the fact of the violence shows that the expression of any religion is always overshadowed by a cruel and frightening attitude. Religion and its teachings as a system of moral values that soothes and reconciles people suddenly manifests itself as a teaching that has the potential to divide people into some groups and lead to conflict and violence (Yuangga Kurnia, 2017).

RESULTS

Socio-Anthropological Factors Causing Community Violence in the Name of Religion

Based on the results of field study, the causes underlying the emergence of religious violence behavior are two main factors, i.e. 1) normative-theological-conservative factors, and 2) sociological-pragmatic-economic, sociological-pragmatic-political, and sociological-religious- ethic factors. These two factors can be seen in the table below:

Socio-anthropological factors Causing Religious Violence Behavior
In the Views of the Indonesian Religious Elites

No	Informants	Views of the Indonesian Religious Elites	Typology
1	KH. M. Sholeh KH.Faqih Usman KH. Isrofil Amar Ust. Badruddin Ust. Isroqunnajah Ust. Irfan Ust. Samar Ust. Abdul Qodir Ust. Rofi'i KH. Ali Iqbal M. Fauzi KH. A. Fauzi KH. Misbahussudur Ust. Wajidi KH. Mas Nur A Zaini Ust. Yazid KH. Sodiqin Nico Yosep H KH.Idam Kholid	11). Monologue, singular and partial religious understanding 2). Normative-theological (textual) religious understanding 3). Shallow understanding of the religion and only the surface (artificial) 4). The spirit of religion is high, weak in the science of religion 5). Very high truth claims to religion (doctrine) 6). Closed attitude to religion (exclusive) 7). Blind obedience (taqlid) and 8). Religious fanaticism, both internal and external religions.	*Normative-theological-conservative*

	KH. Salim Imron Kristianto		
2	KH. M.Sholeh KH. Faqih Usman Ust. Abdul Qodir Ust. Sohilun	1) Low level of economy, economic disparity, geographical conditions, social media, 2) The injustice of the authorities and the rulers 3) Discontinuation of social communication	*Sosiologis-Pragmatis-Ekonomik*
	Ust. S. Bagyo Ust. Basit KH. Isrofil Amar Ust. A. Rofi'i M. Fauzi	4) Social jealousy 5) National and trans national political influences	*Sociological-Pragmatic-Political*
	KH. A Fauzi KH. Misbahussudur Ust. Wajidi KH. Mas Nur A Ust. Yazid KH. Sodiqin Irianto Ust. Irfan KH. Salim Imron Nyoman A.W. Nico Yosep H	6) Unstable community emotion, low tolerance, weak affection, lack of obedience to religion 7) Bad elite morality and society i.e. jealousy, envy, misery, arrogant, tend to conflict, and not to follow the rules	*Sociological-Religious-Ethics*

Ways of Understanding the Religion Normative-Theological-Conservative
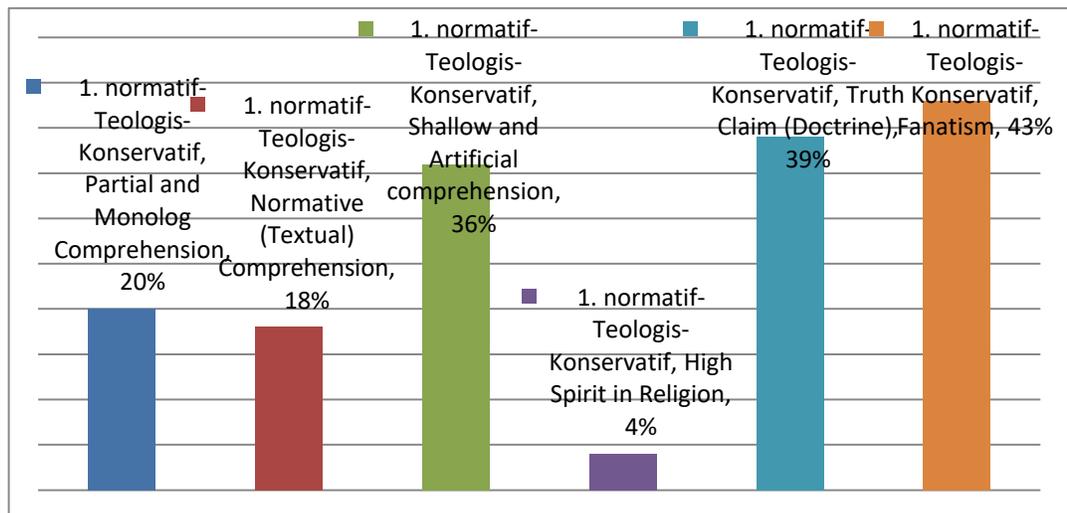
DISCUSSION

Before analyzing the development and dynamics of religious elites' thoughts related to socio-anthropological factors of the emergence of religious violence behavior, this study first describes the understanding of several terms: a) normative-theological-conservative   b)   sociological-pragmatic-economic, sociological-pragmatic-political, and sociological-religious-ethical.

Normative-theological-conservative factors

The term "normative" comes from the word "norm" which means teachings, references, good and bad provisions, as well as orders and prohibitions on doing things. The word "norm" is identical to morals, which is a natural action without any coercion and pretense carried out on its own accord. Since morals are the essence of religion, norms are often assumed to be religion. Thus, the norm is an object that is believed to be true, not to be denied and is obligatory to obey (Abudin Nata, 2001, 18, also read Andi Eka Putra, 2017, 74).

Furthermore, the term "normative" as an approach means an approach that refers to religious text as a tool of analysis. Therefore, the normative approach is a textual method without providing a space for contextual understanding for the researchers. In addition, theology is the nature of a study that underlies religious text as the analytical tool. Theological normative study means theocentric scriptural study which focuses on the area of divinity, not the aspect of humanity. It is an approach that truly separates between revelation as a divine entity on one hand and humanity on the other hand (Andi Eka Putra, 2017, 75).

The theoretical construction above is relevant to the emic meaning that develops during the interview process. The religious elites say that normative-theological-conservative concepts are a religious perspective of a person or community that is inspired by religious texts as authoritative norms (Al-Quran and al-Hadith) which are absolute and understood with a single perspective, i.e. perspective theology. According to Ibrahim Abu Bakar, as quoted by Fahrurrozi, normative-theological-conservative Islam tends to be militant and exclusive (Fahrurrozi, 2015, 22), and is believed to be a viewpoint that has teleological-finalistic truths. This perspective often rejects modernism, humanism, and liberalism.

This logic of thinking is justified by Juergensmeyer (2012) that religious violence is essentially based on very strong theological roots. This opinion is supported by Ilyas who concludes that the Islamic radicalism movement generally rests on theological-exclusive grounds. Bassam Tibi also confirms that normative-theological-conservative Islam is identical to fundamentalist Islam. The above approach rejects new thinking in empirical social life that is not yet available in the doctrine of religious teachings. Islam is a total and comprehensive religious teaching. Islam does not require any efforts to include new ideas from outside Islam to solve the problems of Muslims (Fahrurrozi, 2015, 23). A conservative attitude in Islam is similar to a conservative religious attitude towards religions,

especially in Christianity and Catholicism. They think that actual and relevant thing does not need to be changed. This is in line with the understanding of Jabariyah theology in Islam which was pioneered by Al-Ja'd Ibn Dirham in the VIII century AD. This group has a paradigm that humans are following God's commands. Humans do not have the ability to change social situations because everything has been outlined by Allah, the Almighty (Wedra Aprison, 2017, 407).

Finally, the characteristic of "normative-theological-conservative" religious understanding is is textually bound to the authoritative norms of theologically religious texts. This religious understanding does not accommodate the empirical-sociological aspects underlying the revelation of religious texts.

The impact of this approach can encourage group fanaticism. This attitude is the main cause of the emergence of violent behavior in the name of religion. According to Achmad Mubarok, fanaticism is a statement that serves to refer to beliefs without a theoretical and data basis. However, that belief is strongly established so that it becomes a hard-to-change and straightened doctrine (Yosida Heatubun, 2011). The act of fanaticism is totally illogical and rational. Therefore, the strategy to influence people is not by rational thinking. Such rational thinking is absolutely rejected by this attitude of fanaticism. Fanaticism is a sentiment that guides and influences humans in various ways in terms of perceiving, deciding, understanding, feeling, as well as behaving (Yosida Heatubun, 2011).

In one article on "fanaticism" in the Dictionnaire Philosophique, Voltaire states that when fanaticism has become the cause of the decay of the brain. The disease cannot be cured. More extremely, before his death, he desired to die while praising God, loving friends, and avoiding hating enemies, but he only hated one thing: hating "fanaticism". This shows the enormity of the danger of fanaticism in life. Therfore, fanaticism became a special note before Voltaire died (Yosida Heatubun, 2011).

Fanaticism is assumed to be a source that strengthens group sentiment to have the attitude of aggression. Fanaticism tends to weaken one's self-awareness that his/her attitude is always irrational and uncontrolled (Hanna Meridian, 2011). It may cause religious conflicts and violence to arise in various places. This argument is in accordance with the findings of this study that 43% of informants says the fanaticism of the group have the highest resistance to the emergence of religious violence in the community. Fanaticism, with its various types, such as the fanaticism of religion, ethnicity, ideology, groups, and schools of thought, has become the main cause of chaos, setbacks, riots, and human conflicts. Various facts about the progress of human civilization, such as scientific progress and virtuous social behavior that finally are destroyed, are caused by the attitude of fanaticism.

Fanaticism in groups, religions, and ethnicities that may cause physical violence often occur in many places. Social violence, which disrupts the stability of life,

not only threatens the cohesiveness of the community on a micro scale, but also endangers the nation's integration. Fanaticism with its various kinds is considered a dangerous social virus that can reduce the productivity of mankind. Uniquely, this social virus never disappears, but it always evolves over time. Akhrani (2018: 40) found a significant effect between religious fanaticism, religious prejudice, and the intention of religious conflict, both simultaneously and partially between the three variables.

The second factor is truth claims that are integrated in every religion. Adherents of certain religions often claim that their religion is better, truer, and more original than other religions. This study shows that 39% of informants says that the truth claim attitude in society has caused religious violence behavior. According to Amir, the community faces serious problems, especially the problem of the interaction of religions in theological and ideological aspects (Amir Tajrid, 2012, 194). As a result, truth claims in religion encourage people to judge, discredit, suppress, and limit different religious ideas. This phenomenon occurs in the area of external religion and internal religion (Amir Tajrid, 2012). Some of these subjective claims eventually lead to extreme terms, such as splinter, heretical, deviant, infidel, and agnostic. People often assume that only they themselves and their groups are pure. The basic character of a belief as in religion has the potential to lead to the emergence of the truth claim. Truth of religious claims raises the mainstream attitude in religion. The mainstream group is in fact often regarded as the sole and the legitimate interpreters in religion. Meanwhile, other religious interpretations are considered not have a clear basis and a real standard.

Borrowing the terminology of Ferdinand D Sausure, he says that we often deal with the behavior of "binary opposition." This behavior always opposes the paradigm that deviates from its mainstream. The presence of a new face in religion, such as its teachings, its understanding, and its kind is always blamed as a form of deviation from the popular mainstream (Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, 121). However, religious morality in all religions governs and directs human behavior in a holistic manner which can anticipate the truth claim action. The message of religion about the arrogant ban, the attitude of tawadhu' (low profile) attitude, tolerance, and being wise in action is a real solution to the truth claim in society. However, in historical fact, it is just a jargon and accessories attached to every religion.

Truth claims in each religion cannot be avoided because each religion has the potential for truth claims. However, according to Fitriyani, truth claims in each religion do exist, but ideally, they are internal and just in the internal areas of each religion. Claims of truth do not need to demand an outgoing statement for followers of other religions who do not believe in their religion (Fitriyani, 2011, 341). In other words, religious believers can say that their religion is the most perfect one without expressing out against other believers who do not have the same religion.

The third factor, there are 36% of informants who says that a superficial, minimal, and artificial religious understanding could lead to religious violent behavior. The results of the workshop on "Deradicalization of Religion" held by PB Ansor NU concludes that radical Islamic ideology is spread due to superficial and artificial understanding of religion (Abah, NU Online. 2019).

Furthermore, there are 29% of religious violence arising from exclusive and closed attitudes. This exclusive and closed attitude is also dangerous for other religions. Komarudin Hidayat says that exclusivism is a part of the five attitudes that always appear in every religion. The five attitudes are exclusivity, inclusiveness, pluralism, eclecticism, and universalism (Erlindaa, 2019). Each of these attitudes is not separated from one another and is not permanent. In another word, each attitude is a fluctuating symptom. Each believer has a dominant tendency among the five attitudes. It depends on the capacity and quality of the religious understanding of the religion followers (Casram, 2016, 192). Every religion has the potential to cultivate the five attitudes above. The exclusivism attitude according to Komaruddin is similar to the truth claim of religion.

Exclusivism is an embryo for the emergence of religious truth claims. Every religion, according to Komaruddin Hidayat has the opportunity to claim that the best religion is his/her own religion while the other religion is deemed heretical and deviant (Komaruddin Hidayat, 2003, 89-90). Similar view is expressed by Nurcholish Madjid. For Madjid, exclusivism always accuses other religions of being wrong. In fact, they are not reluctant to say that other religions mislead their followers. This paradigm remains dominant and popular up to now (Nurcholish Madjid. 46).

Meanwhile, this study finds that 20% of religious violence is due to monologue and partial religious understanding, 18% is due to textual understanding, and 4% is due to high enthusiasm in religion, but minimal religious knowledge. All of the religious attitudes are caused by normative-theological-conservative religious understandings, as described above.

The phenomenon of religious violence does not show significant changes from time to time. On the contrary, this phenomenon often recurs in different situations. However, this action increasingly gains legitimacy from certain religious communities. Over time, the relationship and acculturation of internal and external religious communities in the macro scale has the potential to increase conflict. Some of these value systems have encouraged people to feel free to commit violence in the name of religion, such as killing and oppressing in the name of religion. This is the danger of a normative-theological-conservative understanding of religion. In their minds, they defend God even in a hard way. The practice of violence in the name of religion has occurred repeatedly.

Such socio-religious actions are not easy to solve because these acts of violence are carried out in the name of religion and are considered part of worship to God. Therefore, the number of people acting in this way is getting bigger.

Sociological-Pragmatic-Economical, Sociological-Pragmatic-Political, and Sociological-Religious-Ethics Factors

In contrast to the first factor, this second factor, "sociological-pragmatic-economic, sociological-pragmatic-political, and sociological-religious-ethical" factors are some important factors that influence the attitude of religious violence in society. The causes of the behavior of religious violence lead to sociological problems which are directly experienced by the community.

According to some informants, the behavior of community violence is caused by social factors: i.e. economical, political, and ethical factors. This reason is supported by the results of empirical studies showing that some main causes of violence are essentially derived from several aspects, including economic, political, social, social inequality, social injustice and immorality. Zirmansyah, et al. say that violence is multi-meaning. According to the famous psychologist, Sigmun Freud, the violence arises because of instinct, i.e. psychological manifestation of a source of stimulation from birth. Thus, all people have a tendency to commit violence (Zirmansyah, et al. 14).

Furthermore, religious violence from fundamentalism groups has extreme negative connotations, such as the Wahhabi movement in Saudi Arabia, Hasan al-Banna, and Sayid Qutub in Egypt. Some people judge that fundamentalism is a group that opposes the existing political order. Therefore, Islamic opposition groups are often regarded as fundamentalists. This group is also considered a subversive movement (Richard C Martin, 1985, 1).

The results of the study from Sukawarsini Djelantik, et al, entitled "Terrorism and Religious Background Violence in West Java" concludes that some factors driving religious violence among Indonesian society are very closely related to domestic social, political, and economic problems (Sukawarsini Djelantik, et al., 2013, 3) A similar view emerges from Armstrong (2002) argued that various violent, cruel, and horrific tragedies of humanity in history are caused not only by religion, but also by political, power, racism, ethnocentrism, colonialism, communism, as well as capitalism. The notion of religious radicalism is assumed to be an innovative and modern movement that adapts itself to a more advanced direction rather than just a religious phenomenon that returns to the classical period.

Sociological factors, for instance, economics, politics, and ethics are part of the factors which clearly cause violent behavior in the name of religion. More systematically, discussions on sociological factors, both economic, political and ethical, will be explained sequentially starting with the first sociological phenomenon, i.e. the occurrence of gaps or community clash due to low economic factors.

Low economic phenomena are part of sociological factors that influence the emergence of violent behavior in the name of religion. The act of community violence in this domain illustrates the existence of economic-materialistic symptoms. Everything is completely measured from the aspect of fulfilling economic needs (Sukawarsini Djelantik., Et al, 2013, 3). Poverty in this context is considered to be one of the most crucial factor. This view is in line with the results of the analysis related to the economy and conflict which confirms that a low economy triggers dissatisfaction and violence. Therefore, aggressive attitude is often triggered by imbalance socio-economic conditions, despite the existence of injustice and poverty (Sukawarsini Djelantik., et. al, 2013).

Such a community situation is vulnerable to conflict and violence. Conflict and violence resistance from low economic community groups has strong grounds, considering that they are easily deflected and utilized by other communities with their multiple interests. Low economic communities are people who do not have strong stances and principles. Their interests are easily exchanged, bought, bargained, and negotiated with other benefits without thinking about the effects. They only need a strong economy that can guarantee the fulfillment of the family's daily needs. In a religious perspective, the poor are close to kufr (infidelity).
The low economic community is a strategic target for people who have certain political interests. Low economic people are easily mocked. With simple services, they feel that they have obtained their needs as well as their existence is recognized.

Bruinessen says that the emergence of radical Islamic movements with various motives and characteristics is inspired by political movements. The political paradigm of the Islamic state has full of concepts and promises of economic prosperity. The paradigm of a new political system offers a fairer change in the future of the economy. In this way, many people with low economic backgrounds are interested in giving full support. The economic offer has never been separated from the alternative political system.

However, the offer of an idealized new political system has been positioned as a critical opposition system. The political system with a particular concept seeks to weaken the legitimate government by claiming it as an unjust government using religious arguments. Low economic communities easily accept political doctrine on the basis of religion. They have been confronted with the ideology of the government in power. They easily accuse the ruling government of being an authoritarian and immoral leader with no evidence and logical reasons. Community economic disparity becomes a strategic object for certain groups.

From here, the sentiments, jealousy, and misunderstanding of society, especially in the low economic community towards the ruling government, are increasing. The seeds of radicalism as the root of the social violence of the people have grown stronger. At the same time, the public's belief in the new political

alternative, which is packaged on religious grounds, for instance struggling to uphold justice, truth, eradicate disobedience, and reject the unjust system, becomes even greater. The motives and interests of the people are the motives of economic interests framed with politics and religious arguments.

This situation illustrates that economic inequality is easily ignited by political provocations with religious arguments. The political offer quickly responds to justice, equity, and economic prosperity. Religion in this context acts as a tool to mobilize the community by offering a new political system.

Furthermore, Arifin (2004) adds that the Islamic fundamentalist movement is not only because of religious phenomena, but also because of socio-political interests: re-establishing the Islamic state. The political motivation of this group is not different from that of Bruinessen (1994) by promoting a lot of criticism to the legitimate government. They put politics in opposition to the government, by embracing and influencing the oppressed people to hate the government. In addition, this politics also offers social welfare for the community by building justice, openness, and public welfare through religious basis. They promise to build an Islamic government that avoids evil behavior and immorality. As a consequence, they accuse the ruling government of being an unfair government.

This action is easy to encourage people to commit violence in the name of religion. The practice of violence is due to pragmatic economic interests with religious considerations. The violence arising from these interests is also as dangerous as the violence because of religion.Such a community, in realizing its plan, does not think long about the effects. This is a form of real violent behavior. Attitudes and actions are emotional actions based on external interests.
The relation of three entities: economy, politics, and religion, is a symbiotic mutualism relation. Each element, according to structuralism-functional theory (Syam, 2007), was very functional for other elements. Low economic societies function for upper class economic societies with their interests, both political and religious interests. The power of religion, economy and political power are three power entities that cannot be separated. Society plays a political role because sufficient economic position can encourage people to join practical politics. Religious power also plays an important role in economic power and political power. How can a person engaged in practical politics effectively get legitimacy from the community? They often use religion as a legitimacy tool. Pure politics matters are often associated with religious issues. On the contrary, religious issues are often linked to political matters.

If economic and political interests carry religious symbols as an identity and as a value system, religion in this case has been used egoistically by political elites and economists. In this situation, religion can no longer play an objective role. Religious truth moves towards subjective truths according to the political and economic interests of certain elites. In this phase, there will be more violent behavior in the name of religion.

In contrast, research of Roibin (2011) showed that the melting of the ultra-conservative salafi movement towards the salafi progressivism is due to practical socio-political interests. Practical political interests sometimes bring hospitality to politicians. They do not use religious arguments to mobilize people to hate certain groups. They make religious values to shape the personality of politicians so that people sympathize with them. They are more friendly and polite when playing a political role. They use religious morality to build their political ethics. Religious morality is used to improve quality and change the behavior of political actors, not for mass mobilization and politization of interests.

Besides social facts about economic and political inequality, violence in the name of religion is also caused by low religious and ethical values in society. The practice of community violence caused by "sociological-religious-ethical" factors illustrates psychological symptoms about the self-concept of society. Violence in the name of religion occurs in the community because of the weaknesses connected to personality and mental development, not related to political or economic problems.

Violent behavior in the name of religion in society arises from sociological-religious-ethical factors related to intolerant social behavior, low affection, and lack of religion. It is linked to the movement of religious elites to improve the integrity and character of the people. The violence of religious behavior caused by sociological factors, which lead to social immorality, requires serious long-term solutions. This must involve religious leaders and educational institutions, from the basic level to higher education (**Mujiburrahmana et. al., 2020)**. Morals are natural habits. If natural habits in society still show violent behavior, religious elites must be involved to make transformative changes by giving best example in society.

CONCLUSION
Based on the results of the presentation and analysis of data related to socio-anthropological factors that result in community violence in religion, the conclusions are follows.

There are two important things in this empirical study of socio-anthropological factors that lead to religious violent behavior, i.e. a) theological-normative-conservative factors and b) sociological-pragmatic-political, sociological-pragmatic-economic, and sociological-religious-ethical factors. The theological-normative-conservative factors cause fanaticism, truth claims, exclusivity, and scripturalism, which become the forerunner of religious radicalism. Factors of sociology-pragmatists-politicians, sociologists-pragmatists-economics, and sociologically-religious-ethical have led to acts of violence in the name of religion, because of political, economic, and weak character of society.

The first factor causes the attitude and behavior of community violence in the name of religion due to the way of understanding and implementing religion. The

second factor, religion-based violence is caused by economic inequality, political interest, weak character and community personality. The two factors above have the same potential. First, error paradigm in reading, understanding, and implementing religion, economics, politics, and ethics will result in the emergence of violent behavior in the name of religion. Second, accurate paradigm and approach in reading, understanding, and implementing religion, economics, politics and ethics will lead to polite, peaceful, and harmonious life.

Suggestions and recommendations for this research are addressed to 1) the government, especially the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, as well as religious leaders, traditional leaders, and academics to consider that community actors should try to display religious, inclusive, and moderate behaviors and be aware of the resistance of extremist attitudes, 2). The next researchers should continue similar research, for example, research on strengthening multicultural values towards a peaceful society.

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