

## STRATEGY FOR ANTICIPATING VIOLENCE AND INTOLERANCE PRACTICES IN THE SPECIAL REGION OF YOGYAKARTA 2016-2019

David Efendi<sup>a\*)</sup>, Sanny Nofrima<sup>a)</sup>, Herdin Arie Saputra<sup>a)</sup>

<sup>a)</sup>Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

<sup>\*)</sup>Corresponding Author: [defendi83@gmail.com](mailto:defendi83@gmail.com)

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**Abstract.** Intolerance, discrimination, and violence are three different concepts with different motives and categories, but in the practice of social-society life, the three intersect with each other. This research uses qualitative research with a combination of literature and field studies (mix method). Supported by secondary data processed through the Nvivo 12 Plus analysis to compare alignment using the Nvivo QDA technique, the data is obtained from observations of research subjects using a qualitative data analysis model. To anticipate the practice of violence and intolerance in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, this research becomes a solution to deal with the problems of intolerance that often occur in Yogyakarta. If latent cases have manifested into social conflicts, repressive handling is urgently needed with a practical approach without ignoring human values. Potential acts of intolerance, discrimination, and radicalism in the latent stage can be prevented (preventive) or through guidance and direction activities to influence (persuasive).

**Keywords:** discrimination; intolerance; violence; conflict

### I. INTRODUCTION

Yogyakarta as a multicultural "city of culture" and a "tolerant city" because it is a meeting point for various groups, ethnicities, and religions seem increasingly difficult. One of the six indicators in the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI) for the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY), which is in the wrong category (scores below 60), is the threat or use of violence by the public that hinders freedom of expression [1]. "The threat or use of violence by a group of people or individuals in society that hinders freedom of expression" is one of the three derived variables in the Civil Liberties indicator formulated in the IDI. In addition to threats of violence from individuals or groups of people in society, other derived indicators are written rules (regulations) and actions of government officials (Setara Institute [2]).

Conflict arises when there are conditions behind it, and these conditions become a source of conflict in three categories: communication, structure, and individual (Ju et al., [3]). Conflict and violence in the name of religion in Indonesia continue to increase, one of which is a problem that often disturbs harmony between religious communities (Hartani & Nulhaqim [4][5]). Intolerance can lead to violent behavior, both physical and non-physical, such as discrimination, intimidation, vandalism, assault, expulsion, and murder (Tholkhah [6]). Conflict can be caused by human needs (physical, mental and social) (Bidayani & Kurniawan [7]). Internalizing conflict management is influenced by several factors, one of which is the ability to internalize knowledge about conflict management which is very important in the conflict resolution process (Maksum & Azizah [8]).

In 2016-2019, issues of violence, intolerance, and discrimination came to the fore again as the symptoms of conservatism (conservative turn) strengthened in religious understanding and practice among the majority in Indonesia. Conservatism is extremism, radicalism, intolerance, terrorism, and various types of violence with religious nuances (Assyaukanie [9]). The main symptom that became the public spotlight was the 212 actions in Jakarta at the end of 2016, followed by subsequent follow-up actions. In recent developments, the conservative turn has become a "grand narrative" in the understanding and practice of the majority of religious people in the country. This grand narrative is still intersecting or interrelated with other derivative issues, such as intolerance, radicalism, separatism, terrorism, and others that influence and develop to other regions in Indonesia, not least in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Most of them are unlikely to surface massively if they are not handled seriously (Jusman [10]). With the strengthening of conservatism, religious understanding and practices among the majority become exclusive, intolerant, and discriminatory. In this case, what is said to be tolerance is a traitor tolerance which is defined as interfering (appreciating, allowing, allowing) different or contradictory stances (opinions, views, beliefs, habits, behavior) (Effendi [11]). Meanwhile, this study shows the relationship between uncertainty intolerance and wellbeing, showing the moderating role of the rumination of the relationship between activities (Satici, Saricali, Satici, & Griffiths [12]).

The research report of the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INDIF), "Studies on Tolerance and Radicalism in Indonesia: Lessons from the 4 Regions of Tasikmalaya, Yogyakarta, Bojonegoro, and Kupang" (2016),

deserves attention in the context of socio-religious life in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Specifically, in the case study in Yogyakarta, the practice of intolerance and radicalism occurred in three cases: 1) the closure of the Al-Fatah Waria Islamic Boarding School (2016), 2) the disbandment of the Raushan Fikr community (2015), and 3) the rejection of Easter Adiyuswo (2014).

Intolerance in Yogyakarta is in two domains, both related to empirical facts and 'hyperreality conditions' due to excessive blow-up by the media related to specific events. This can be traced. For example, rumors circulating that Yogyakarta is not friendly enough or tolerant (UNHCR info) of immigrants, ideology, and politics have emerged in Yogyakarta. Intolerance is a latent condition, while violence and discrimination are manifest forms. Stigmatization will indeed damage the image, but it is inevitable for Yogyakarta as a miniature Indonesia so that what needs to be done is to ensure the stigma of intolerance as a tool of control and involvement of civil society that can be used to encourage a more inclusive life and maintain and strengthen peace through actual and emancipatory policies. Of awareness, defense, and empowerment).

Problems of violence, intolerance, and discrimination can trigger conflict in Yogyakarta, whose trend is increasing and needs to be responded to and anticipated. Therefore, the Regional Development Planning Agency (BAPPEDA) DIY in political and security sector development planning will respond to these problems. This encourages the need for a comprehensive study for three purposes, namely 1) identifying and mapping the problems of intolerance and potential conflicts/violence in DIY"; 2) formulating strategic issues and priorities for handling problems of violence, intolerance, and discrimination that have the potential to trigger conflict in DIY; and 3) mapping of actors (executors and parties involved) and their roles in implementing the problems of violence, intolerance, and discrimination in the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

## II. RESEARCH METHODS

Methodologically, this study is a type of qualitative research with a combination of literature and field studies (mix method). The available literature study is constructive in this research process to formulate the focus of the problem to be studied and supported by secondary data processed through Nvivo 12 Plus analysis to compare alignment using the Nvivo QDA technique, data obtained from observations of research subjects using analytical models qualitative data (O'Neill, Booth, & Lamb [13]). Meanwhile, field studies using focus group discussions involving stakeholders and stakeholders are beneficial in the process of collecting data and at the same time identifying relevant problems to be studied. The problems that emerged in Yogyakarta related to violence, intolerance and discrimination during 2016-2019 could not be limited to a specific time. This is because several cases that surfaced in the Special Region of Yogyakarta after being reviewed turned out to be old cases that had not been resolved. The Special Region of

Yogyakarta (DIY) consists of 4 regencies and one city with 78 sub-districts and 438 villages. The total population of DIY (DIY in Figures 2018 by BPS) is 3,762,167 people, consisting of 49.46% men and 50.54% women.

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## III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *Violence, Intolerance, and Discrimination in the Special Region of Yogyakarta*

Intolerance and discrimination can trigger social conflict even though it is still in the latent stage. However, even though it is still in the latent stage, intolerance and discrimination are clearly at odds with the principles of freedom of religion and belief, so that it has the potential to trigger social conflict. Intolerance and discrimination attitudes and practices can also occur outside of a religious context, such as intolerance with political, social, cultural motives, and others. The symptoms of intolerance that are often juxtaposed with a radicalism that has recently appeared to be rife are not only happening in Yogyakarta but also in several areas in the country, as an excess of the massive transformation process in the practice of national and state life in Indonesia since the 1998 Reformation.

The democratic transition in Indonesia after the New Order, in the view of Gregory Sahdan (2004), at least leaves systemic, contextual problems, and the transition process itself is so complex. Changes in the political order, social society, culture, and others have led this nation to an era of massive transformation in all fields. According to M. Amin Abdullah said that,

"Among the implications of the massive post-Reformation transformation are the decentralization of government which gave birth to the Regional Autonomy Law, the emergence of special laws for certain regions, the issuance of Sharia Regional Regulations (Perda), the rebirth of press freedom, freedom of expression, and association as guaranteed in the 1945 Constitution".

M. Amin Abdullah's observations, ideologically, many Muslims in Indonesia are affiliated with groups and movements in Middle Eastern countries, either through studying abroad or using social media that is currently easily accessible to anyone. Even. These two backgrounds (global and national political situations) make the political dynamics, conditions of social-social life, understanding, and practice of the majority religion in Indonesia different from what happened in the previous era (the New Order). In the last few years, we have seen that the Indonesian people have undergone changing religious practices, which is commonly known as a conservative turn. Whether they like it or not in DIY, they are also exposed to a plural phenomenon after the New Order.

Violence, intolerance, and radicalism in the Special Region of Yogyakarta can be said to be events of change and continuity. Local history provides a non-uniform illustration that the image of "Yogyakarta with a Comfortable Heart" is an imperfect picture of the color of social and political life in DIY. Events or festivals of violence almost occur in all corners of the connected country, precisely when the democratization process is widespread (Gerry v [14]). This communal event is understood as a phenomenon of failed states and governance, understood as a structural human rights violation issue, and understood as a violation of rights by citizens against other citizens (civil violence). In this phenomenon, it seems that it can be concluded that the practice of violence is everywhere, so it should not be careless to explain a communal event.

Acts of intolerance and discrimination—which prevent people from enjoying one's fundamental freedoms—are categorized as acts of violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms stated in the UDHR and are described in detail in various international human rights treaties. The Human Rights Law defines discrimination as any restriction, harassment, or exclusion that is directly or indirectly based on human differences based on religion, ethnicity, race, ethnicity, group, class, social status, economic status, gender, language, political beliefs, which result in a reduction, deviation or elimination of recognition, implementation or use of human rights and fundamental freedoms in life, both individually and collectively, in the political, economic, legal, social, cultural and other aspects of life.

DIY is an area with a very high social diversity. Currently, DIY is ranked third (3) on the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI). However, the phenomenon of intolerance in DIY is becoming more and more manifest, at least based on an analysis of cases that have surfaced in the last three years, so it is necessary to immediately clarify what needs to be institutionally responded to as an effort to realize "the city of tolerance" which was formulated in the era of the Mayor. Herry Zudianto City. The understanding of intolerance in government administration can be interpreted in heterogeneous aspects, such as regulating the implementation of religious freedom. Facts on the ground show that oppression, coercion, intimidation, and the exclusion of religious activities lead to social segregation. The groups that carry out intimidation always lead to the same group, namely the security forces themselves. The targets of intolerance discussed are in the economic, social, political, religious, and cultural contexts. Marginal groups, vulnerable groups, and minority groups have a higher acceptance of intolerant practices. Another example, such as the case of the Gafatar mass organization, is a clear example that sources of threats are not always found on site but can spread very quickly in the context of space and time. This is one of the exciting issues discussed at the policy and practical levels regarding the potential conflict.

#### *Violence in the Special Region of Yogyakarta*

Even though the scope and focus of this research are on cases of intolerance, discrimination, and violence in Yogyakarta from 2016-2019, cases that have occurred since

previous years remain the object of study. This is because several cases of intolerance, discrimination, and violence in Yogyakarta were handled slowly to seem like new cases. Based on the Wahid Institute's annual report, throughout 2014, there were 21 cases of intolerance in Yogyakarta regarding Freedom of Religion and Belief (KBB). Meanwhile, from 2015 to 2016, according to the Wahid Institute report, cases of intolerance and violations were not only related to KBB but expanded into cases that lead to freedom in general. On this basis, the Wahid Institute noted Yogyakarta as an "intolerant city." An increase in intolerance and violence has occurred in the last five years (Kompas [15]). So in the 2018 release of the Tolerant City Index (IKT), the Equivalent Institute did not include Yogyakarta in the "Tolerant 10 Cities in Indonesia."

Cases of violence with religious motives, unfair law enforcement, crime, inter-group conflicts, and misunderstandings between various parties during 2016 to 2019 in Yogyakarta are still the object of essential news coverage in the mass media, such as the issue of civilian militias, klitih and electoral political friction as well as religious sentiments that become latent and can also be transformed into the manifest.

Referring to the theory of violence according to Jamil Salmi, then included in the context of violence is the neglect of the protection of the rights of citizens to receive guarantees of protection from threats that can endanger body and life. The protection of women and children arises when society still views women in a discriminatory and intolerant manner, giving rise to various cases of violence, both in the domestic and public areas. The issue of child protection is a slice of the big issue of protecting women from threats and violence caused by discriminatory social constructions. Several cases of protection of women and children in Yogyakarta, such as:

- 1) Cases of domestic violence that afflict women and children are pretty high in Yogyakarta
- 2) Forcing children/adolescent girls to marry underage
- 3) Reproductive health of adolescent girls
- 4) The rise of street children and drug abuse

As in previous cases, the neglect of protection for women and children has resulted in various cases of domestic violence, sexual violence, child marriage, poor reproductive health for young women, and rampant street children, and drug abuse. The series of cases and the cause of the stigmatization that DIY has problems of violence, tolerance, and low protection are reported in the mass media. Referring to the IDI DIY report, which scores are in the low (poor) category, especially on the indicator "threat or use of violence by the community that hinders freedom of expression," with the reasoning and explanation above, efforts to address the threat and use of violence in society will soon be realized. With an inter-disciplinary approach. The structural approach through the Governor of Yogyakarta's policies, such as handling cases of intolerance, must be well guarded through a cultural approach (socialization, guidance, training, awareness, role model, etc.). Threats and violence in society are related to other

variables, such as intolerance, discrimination, violence, and neglect of citizens' protection. These four variables must be studied and parsed to find solutions to the strengthening of the symptoms of threats and use of violence that can hinder freedom of expression in Yogyakarta. In this way, the predicate of Yogyakarta as a "Tolerant City" or "Multicultural City" will remain significant in the future.

Independently, the team that compiled this study collected data using questionnaires in high schools and universities in DI Yogyakarta. One hundred forty-three responses were returned. In general, the acceptance of respondents who are millennials is very receptive to reacting in daily life to groups of different religions (86%), political parties (86.7%), presidential candidates (83.2%), different regional head candidates (82.5%) and ethnic background (91.6%). There are only two notes. Namely, the rejection of the LGBT group (56.7%) is still substantial, and the objection to interacting with religious beliefs, mainly Shia, is 41.7 percent. There is also a graph related to the results of this survey, which can be seen sequentially as follows:

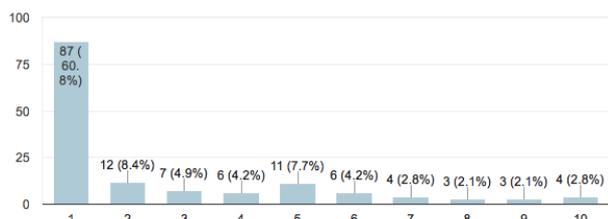


Fig 1. Reluctant to live with neighbors of different religions

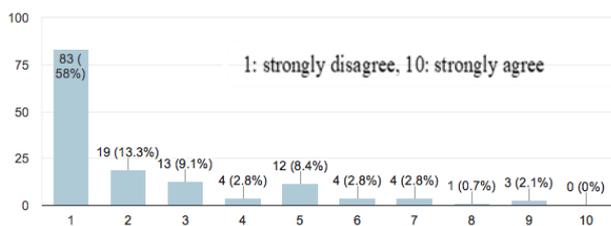


Fig 2. Reluctant to live Neighbors of different ethnicities

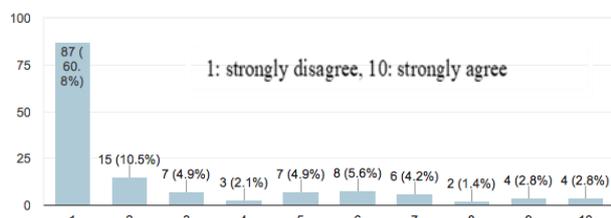


Fig 3. Reluctant to live in different neighbors the president's choice

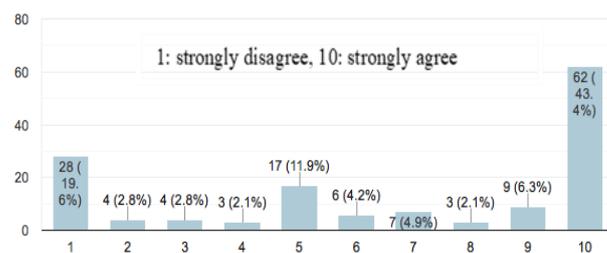


Fig 4. Reluctance to be neighbors with LGBT people

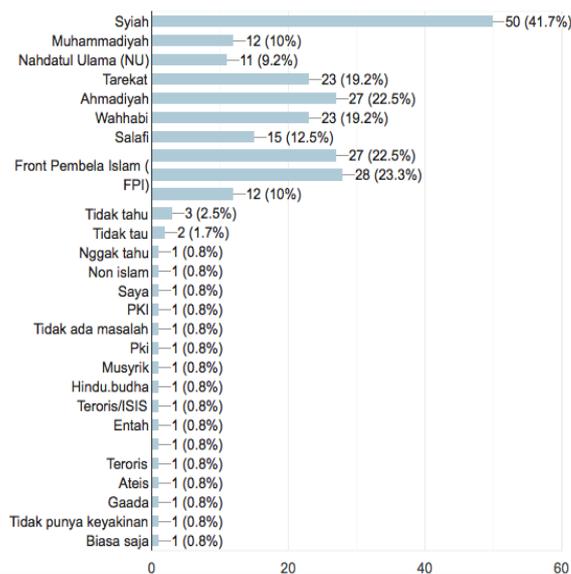


Fig 5. Reluctant to make friends with followers of different sects

Several factors that trigger acts of violence include, first: the strengthening of identity politics, the majority group feels insecure, is in a threatened position, or has their rights taken away. Second, due to the waning of social cohesion, the fading of solidarity is marked by civilizing the phenomenon of a 'silent majority'. Even though the economy is growing, inequality appears, and violence is generally the way out with insufficient solidarity. Third, due to the absence of the state (inadequate emancipatory and inclusive policies), and finally, the result of the above factors, namely exposure to the notion of 'religious radicals.'

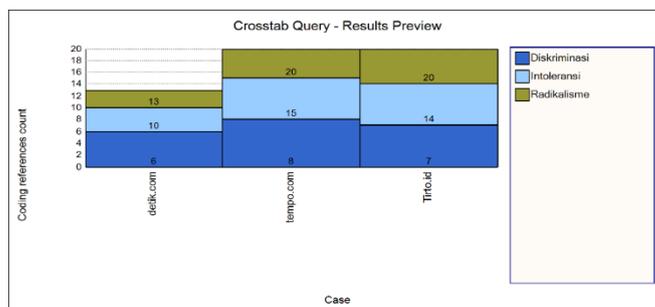


Fig 6. Crosstab Query Nvivo12 Plus, Source: Processed by researchers using NVivo12Plus(2019)

This analysis uses Nvivo12 Plus, a technology-based data analysis application. This application will create effectiveness and efficiency in qualitative data management. Crosstab queries provide a quick way to examine the spread of coding across cases and demographic variables. Based on the data above, the dissemination of information through web news, Tirta. id, tempo.com, and detik.com on the variables of Discrimination, Intolerance, and Radicalism, affect the dissemination of information that these variables affect disseminating information on the discrimination variable. As said by [2]that intolerance will not grow if there is no land to support it. Therefore, the emergence of intolerance is caused by economic, social problems, and cultural and policy friction in the constitution itself. The spread of information about intolerance causes discriminatory attitudes, which will lead to radicalism at the extreme point.

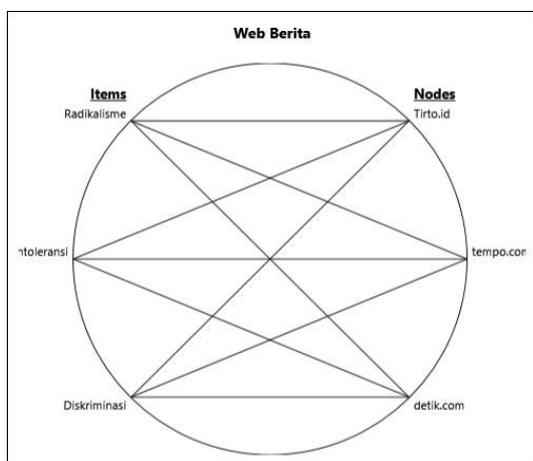


Fig. 7. Group Analysis NVivo 12 plus

According to the results of the Nvivo 12 Plus analysis of news webs related to radicalism, intolerance, and discrimination in Yogyakarta in 3 different websites, namely Tirta. Id, Tempo.com, and Detik.com, there are corresponding data due to disseminating information related to the three variables that have these meanings.

*Cases of Intolerance and Derivative Issues*

Intolerance, defined as a negative orientation or a person's rejection of the political and social rights of groups they disagree with, appears and develops in line with the strengthening of identity politics based on race, ethnicity, or religion. In religion-based identity politics, intolerance is born from religious interpretations that exclude people or groups considered different from the interpretations they believe. Groups of people excluded can range from adherents of other religions to adherents of the same religion but have different rites. In this context, religious radicalism can be seen as the most extreme part of forms of intolerance. Ideas and efforts to change the government system are always intertwined with rejection by groups considered different. On the other hand, groups that practice intolerance do not necessarily adopt radical ideas to change the legal and

governmental order in one country. This means that the practice of intolerance can stand alone without having to be accompanied by an agreement to change the existing government system.

Although political goals do not always accompany it, intolerance must still be seen as a severe problem in the state's life. For this reason, this study also distinguishes intolerance based on its manifestations of violence, namely: violent intolerance and non-violent intolerance. Empirical examples of acts of violent intolerance appear in many forms in Indonesia. One of the most common cases is the prohibition and sealing of houses of worship of other religions. In addition, there are also acts of violence against minority groups such as the Ahmadiyah followers in Cikeusik or the Shia in Sampang. In these cases, violence can be seen clearly because there is physical action.

In some other cases, violence can also arise even though it is not through physical action. Violent intolerance can also surface through hate speech delivered verbally or in writing. Hate speech can be characterized by forms of speech that demean and alienate groups that are considered different. Hate speech can be categorized as violence because various cases have shown that this action triggers and legitimizes physical violence committed against the other group. Due to its immaterial characteristics, hate speech has the flexibility to develop both online and offline. In Indonesia in recent years, hate speech has become one of the most widely reproduced political tools in political election moments, both at local and national levels.

*Acts of intolerance are not always manifested in forms of violence.*

Non-violent forms of intolerance appear in the narratives of religious groups that tend to view different groups negatively. This view is usually manifested in the form of oral and written utterances, both in closed spaces such as houses of worship to open group websites. Compared to the previous categories, the definition of this category is more elusive for at least two reasons. First, most religions, especially monotheism, were developed to assume that religion is better than other religions. Thus, to a certain degree, the tendency of intolerance can be said to be inherent in many religious traditions. Second, because the form is in the form of speech, non-violent intolerance has. The difference is fragile with hate speech. The difference between the two lies in proving whether the utterance has triggered or legitimized acts of violence against discriminated groups.

Nevertheless, this category still needs to be proposed to trace the roots of intolerance and radicalism, which are also accepted in mainstream religious interpretations. At the practical level, this category is also helpful in looking at some religious groups. One example is the Salafis in Indonesia, who generally do not have aspirations to change the government in the local area. Even so, the characteristics of the group are relatively exclusive, and it is easy to give negative judgments to different groups, even in some cases against fellow Salafi members themselves.

It should be noted that these categories will not capture the entire spectrum of radical and intolerant movements in Indonesia. In addition, the internal complexities of groups and inter-group dynamics cannot be fully described. These limitations are unavoidable because the technical implementation is intended as the beginning of a follow-up study.

Another derivative issue that is closely connected with violence and intolerance is radicalism. Radicalism is widely seen as a practice of religious understanding. This study is understood as a form of religious interpretation that encourages adherents both actively and passively to encourage replacing the prevailing political system in a country. Limiting the definition is essential because radicalism is often used in media coverage and academic terms of violent radicalism and non-violent radicalism. The first category refers to religious interpretations which in their ideological spread, allow or encourage violent ways. In Indonesia, this ideological category is represented by groups such as the Al-Qaeda network or ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). These groups strongly encourage their followers to commit acts of terrorism to change the state system. While the second category of ideology, namely non-violent radicalism, refers to religious interpretations that seek to change the government system but do not or have not encouraged their followers to use violence. The second category can be attached to groups such as HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) for the Indonesian context. The da'wah activities they run openly express their rejection of the democratic system. Like ISIS, they are pushing for a caliphate as a system of government. The similarity of ideas regarding the caliphate makes the ideology of their group members vulnerable to being transformed into part of the first category, namely violent radicalism.

Cases of violence, intolerance, and discrimination that occurred in Yogyakarta factually have damaged the image of Yogyakarta as a multicultural "City of Tolerance" and "Cultural City." Yogyakarta is a miniature of Indonesia. If latent cases have manifested into social conflicts, repressive handling is urgently needed with a practical approach without ignoring human values. Potential acts of intolerance, discrimination, and radicalism in the latent stage can be prevented (preventive) or through guidance and direction activities to influence (persuasive).

The year 2020 is not without challenges. There are many problems related to social life that are very vulnerable due to the structure of inequality that has not been anticipated. The study recommendations need to be systematically discussed and operationalized effectively and by utilizing our collective wisdom. Of course, this study still needs a lot of strengthening because the socio-political dynamics in society are also constantly moving and changing. The study is part of the basis for decision-making and public policy, so this tradition is significant to find the right way out and solutions that can work in the actual and long term. Therefore, the collaboration between government agencies is essential as well as civil society. Unification of

data and a shared agenda is a necessity to respond to future conditions.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Cases of violence, intolerance, and discrimination that occurred in Yogyakarta factually have damaged the image of Yogyakarta as a multicultural "City of Tolerance" and "Cultural City." Yogyakarta is a miniature of Indonesia. If latent cases have manifested into social conflicts, repressive handling is urgently needed with a practical approach without ignoring human values. Potential acts of intolerance, discrimination, and radicalism in the latent stage can be prevented (preventive) or through guidance and direction activities to influence (persuasive). The year 2020-2021 is not without challenges. There are many problems related to social life that are very vulnerable due to the structure of inequality that has not been anticipated. The study recommendations need to be discussed systematically and operationalized effectively and by utilizing our collective wisdom. Of course, this study still needs a lot of strengthening because the socio-political dynamics in society are also constantly moving and changing. The study is part of the basis for decision-making and public policy, so this tradition is significant to find the right way out and solutions that can work in the actual and long term. Therefore, the collaboration between government agencies is essential as well as civil society. Unification of data and a shared agenda is a necessity to respond to future conditions.

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