Research article

Social Interaction in Petamburan as a Form of Socio-Religious Tolerance in Indonesia

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Abstract. Petamburan is a sub-district of Jakarta, Indonesia's capital city, and it has been a center of attention in Indonesia because of the growth and movement of the Islamic Front Defenders (Front Pembela Islam: FPI) within it. Before the FPI was officially banned by the Indonesian government on December 30, 2020, all of its activities and controversies performed in the name of Islam and its leader had become a main attraction for Indonesia's mainstream media. This impacts Petamburan, which is described as a conflict-prone area in terms of social and religious factors. However, the image of Petamburan from the mass media does not describe the depth of its social reality. This research proposed a core hypothesis that the Petamburan people have deep riches of social harmony in terms of religion, race, and social factors. This study used a social interaction approach and analysis that focused on interactions in the actual public spheres in Petamburan. The final result was a picture of social and religious tolerance from the wide social diversity in the Petamburan community as a form of harmonious and inclusive social life in Indonesia.

Abstrak. Petamburan, sebuah kecamatan di ibu kota Jakarta, menjadi salah satu pusat perhatian di Indonesia karena tumbuh dan berkembangnya Front Pembela Islam (FPI). Sebelum resmi dilarang oleh pemerintah Indonesia pada 30 Desember 2020, segala aktivitas dan kontroversi yang dilakukan FPI atas nama Islam dan para tokohnya menjadi daya tarik tersendiri bagi media mainstream Indonesia. Hal ini berdampak pada Petamburan yang digambarkan sebagai daerah rawan konflik dari segi sosial hingga keagamaan. Namun, citra Petamburan dari media massa tidak menggambarkan kedalaman realitas sosial di Petamburan 3-4. Penelitian ini mengajukan hipotesis utama bahwa masyarakat Petamburan memiliki kekayaan harmoni sosial yang mendalam dari segi agama, ras, dan tingkat sosial. Penelitian ini akan menggunakan pendekatan dan analisis interaksi sosial yang akan fokus pada interaksi di ranah publik aktual di Petamburan 3-4. Hasil akhir dari penelitian ini adalah suatu gambaran toleransi sosial dan agama dari keragaman sosial yang luas di masyarakat Petamburan sebagai bentuk kehidupan bermasyarakat yang rukun dan inklusif di Indonesia.

Keywords: social interaction, religion, public sphere, virtual space, FPI

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1. Introduction

Petamburan III & IV is an area that always arouses great curiosity in Indonesia. The series of events that have occurred in recent years has made the Petamburan III & IV area one of the prima donna areas of the spotlight from the news hunters camera flashes. This is due to the existence of one of the organizations in Petamburan, the Islamic Defenders Front (*Front Pembela Islam/*FPI).

The most recent situation was that the Government made a Joint Decree regarding the prohibition of activities, the use of symbols and attributes, and all of the activities of the FPI starts from December 30, 2020. This decree became authoritative because it was carried by a combination of key government officials, from the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Law and Human Rights, the Minister of Communication and Information, the Attorney General, the National Police Chief, and the Head of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency. One of the main points of banning and stopping the FPI activities is because this community organization has not extended the Certificate of Registration/*Surat Keterangan Terdaftar* (SKT) since June 21, 2019. The SKT has not been issued by the government because, in the explanation of the FPI's Articles of Association/Bylaws, there are points in article 6 that explain the establishment of a *khilaffah Islamiah* or the rise of Islamic reign. FPI had received an SKT recommendation from the Minister of Religion at that time, Mr. Fachrul Razi, also had written a stamped letter that its community organizations would not doubt the Indonesia's main philosophy, Pancasila, and be loyal to the Republic of Indonesia. Still, the FPI's legality was hampered by the Minister of Home Affairs at that time, Tito Karnavian. The Ministry considers that the phrase *khilaffah Islamiah* has a questionable language. As if from these words, FPI wants to establish a state system that is contrary to the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia [1]. In the end, FPI was disbanded because they did not meet these requirements.

The existence and controversies from FPI make the information presented in the mass media related to Petamburan sometimes conveyed in provocative tone. This can be seen for example from Google Trends accessed in 2021 for the last 5 years, which has captured media reports and conversations on Internet and also social media. It was found that the keyword 'petamburan' would result in topics related to 'FPI,' 'narcotics' and 'riots' [2]. People who are very dependent on the information provided by the mass media will be easily indoctrinated that Petamburan stands an area full of social chaos and religious intrigue. Nevertheless, the media reports failed to capture the life at the grassroots and the hidden beauty of the Petamburan area.

FPI is indeed a community organization that cannot separate from the history of Petamburan. However, apart from FPI in Petamburan III, in Petamburan IV there are other religious institutions whose existence is quite strong and impact, namely GBI Petamburan (Indonesia Bethel Church of Petamburan), a church that established in 1942 [3]. Until this day, GBI Petamburan has a congregation of approximately 2000 people who are residents of Petamburan and other areas. Next to GBI Petamburan, there is the Bethel Education Foundation, one of the centers of Christian education in Jakarta (Indonesia), including elementary, middle, high, vocational Christian school, and also seminary.

Besides the existence of these religious institutions, the Petamburan III and IV areas are also inseparable from the plurality of the people who live there. In common assumption, the wider community knows the Petamburan area as the 'Arab Village,' where indeed, in this neighborhood, there are communities of Arab descent who have lived there for tens or even hundreds of years. But Petamburan 3-4 is not just a place to live for Arabs. There are other ethnic groups who have lived there for a long time, such as Chinese, Betawi, and other immigrants such as Africans who also live there.

This makes Petamburan III and IV very diverse regions. Multiple groups in society usually distinguish themselves from other groups based on their identity [4]. Based on this, the Petamburan III and IV areas have the potential for inter-ethnic conflicts. However, regardless of whether or not there are inter-religious or inter-ethnic conflicts, the point that media mass spotlight eludes in Petamburan III and IV seems to be about social interactions between communities and the groups within them.

Leading on from the explanation of this background, we want to propose an article entitled. *Social Interaction at Petamburan 3-4 as a Form of Socio-Religious Tolerance in Indonesia*. This study will portrait the Petamburan community's diversity with social interactions between communities. This study also tries to explain how the people of Petamburan respond to news related to their area, which tends to be negative. The results of this study provide an overview that is rarely presented by the mass media regarding Petamburan and describe the social life of the people in Petamburan 3-4.

2. Methods

This research uses the case study qualitative method. We chose this method because this research focuses on the object of social interaction in a particular area [5], i.e. Petamburan 3 dan 4. With case studies, we get an accurate interpretation of the characteristics of the object under study. Jacobs said that the case study is a method

that investigates small units such as families, clubs, schools, youth groups, or small communities that are observed as a whole [6]. This qualitative research is descriptive because it wants to describe social interactions in Petamburan in real terms. Data were collected by interviewing several sources, such as the head of the Petamburan 4's Community Association (*Rukun Warga-RW*), ethnic diverse Petamburan people, leaders of existing Community Organizations (*ormas*), and village law enforcement officers from the govern (Bintara Pembina Desa-BABINSA).

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. The History of the Petamburan Society and its Ethnic Diversity

Lilie Suratminto, a lecturer in Dutch Literature at the University Indonesia, explained the origin of the name of the Petamburan area. According to Lilie, the name Petamburan probably comes from the word "tambur". Tambur is a round musical instrument or drum that accompanies Europeans who died during the Dutch East Indies. Usually, the Betawi people who played this instrument at that time [7].

A different version of the story appears from Zaenuddin HM. According to the information he found, the name Petamburan is related to folklore in the Petamburan area, which was once planted with many teak trees. Once upon a time, a very famous drum player was usually used by the Dutch soldiers when they were training around the village. Later, the drummer died and was buried under a teak tree widely planted in the village. That is why many people used to know this area as "*Jati* (Teak) Petamburan," but now people call it "Petamburan" [8].

In the social interaction of the community, the Petamburan 3 and 4 areas consist of heterogeneous ethnic communities. Ethnicity is a broad collection of relatives or families, coming from the same lineage, feeling as one group, having their language and customs derived from their ancestors, having the same cultural history and social organization, inhabiting a specific territory, and having the same cultural history and social organization—awareness of the same togetherness [9]. According to existing observations and literature, at least four ethnic groups interact with each other in the Petamburan community.

3.1.1. Chinese Ethnic in Petamburan

The first is ethnic Chinese. The arrival of the Chinese Petamburan needs to be seen from the arrival of this ethnic group into Jakarta. Chinese people have stepped on the archipelago since the 400. The presence of the Chinese people is to trade with the people of the archipelago, especially in the coastal areas. The Chinese entered from the coast of Banten, which was an entry point for foreign trade known as the Silk Road Cross. As for Java, the Chinese were concentrated in the Batavia area, which is now known as Jakarta [10].

In the 18th century, the Western colonizer recognized Batavia as the 'city of the Chinese' due to the significant increase of Chinese people [11]. At that time, the Chinese people were more prosperous economically. Batavia was no exception throughout the Dutch East Indies, the Chinese were known as ethnically proficient in the trade sector, even being labeled as 'economic creatures' because they only worked to earn money. The ability and perseverance of the Chinese people attracted the interest of the colonial government in Batavia at that time. The colonial government built a fort around the city of Batavia. The Chinese were allowed to live in the fort area to increase Batavia's trade, industry, and agriculture systematically. As soon as possible, it became the most significant trading city in the entire Dutch East Indies [12]. The Chinese people who were outside the walls by the colonial government functioned as security buffer around the city walls, and also because of their entrepreneurial abilities, the Chinese people outside were expected to be self-sufficient [13].

The history of Chinese settlement of the in Petamburan can be traced from those who lived inside and outside the fort. Tanah Abang and surrounding areas, such as Karet Tengsin, Petamburan, Petojo, and its surroundings, were settlements of Chinese people from the Dutch colonial period. The Chinese were the pioneers of opening up the area for trade and became one of the early traders who revived the economy in this region and Arab traders. The establishment of Tanah Abang was one of the factors when Chinese people were gathered in one place with the same community. Their skills and abilities in entrepreneurship eventually made Tanah Abang a center of commerce for the people of the city of Batavia at that time. The Petamburan area was a hill, so it was used as a cemetery during the colonial era. Over time the hills were razed and then turned into settlements. Other than in Petamburan, Public tombs of the Chinese West Jakarta cannot be found anywhere else. This is because many ancient Chinese did not carry out burials when their relative died. Instead, they prefer to cremate or burn; then,

the ashes are placed on the ashes table, thrown into the sea, or stored in ash houses and temples [14].

3.1.2. Arabic Ethnic in Petamburan

From the 18th century until the end of the 19th century, Betawi land has been visited by Arabs from Hadramaut, South Yemen. They are often referred to as Hadhrami Arabs who live in groups voluntarily and fulfill their needs by trading [15]. In its development, these Arabs formed colonies in various cities in Indonesia, one of which was in Batavia, more precisely in the Pekojan area. Under the strict supervision of the Dutch East Indies government, the center of this group's colonies was in the areas of Krukut, Petamburan, and Tanah Abang. It was only until the abolition of the settlement system in 1919s, most of the Arabs in Pekojan then spread to the surrounding areas such as; Sawah Besar, Jatinegara, Tanah Tinggi, and Condet [16].

According to Muhammad Amin bin Sholeh Al Habsyi, a Pekojan figure in his interview by tirto.id, the Arabs in Pekojan itself is starting to decrease and become few. These Arabs spread to other areas in Jakarta. From the old Arab village in Pekojan, they are scattered in several locations. In East Jakarta, for example, Arabs are concentrated in the Kampung Melayu and Condet areas. South Jakarta is in Pancoran, Pasar Minggu, and Jagakarsa. Central Jakarta is in Kwitang; North Jakarta is outside Batang. West Jakarta, concentrated in the Krukut and Rawa Belong areas, originally lived in Tanah Abang and Jati Petamburan [17]. There are still many people of Arab descent living in Petamburan due to the spread of people of Arab descent at that time. That is why the Petamburan area, especially Jl. Petamburan 3 and 4 are often referred to as 'Kampung Arab' (Arab's Villages) [18].

3.1.3. Betawi Ethnic in Petamburan

The term "Betawi" began to appear when the colonial period was firm in Jakarta. Indigenous people who live near Batavia call the residents of Batavia as Betawi people. At that time, the native tongue was challenging to say 'Ba-ta-via.' Hence, they said 'Betawi.' The mention of a community name begins with the presence of the community first. Then it is recorded in the document. However, Betawi was used as a tribal name after J.P. Coen conquered the Kraton Jayakarta in 1619 and named Batavia. The first mention of the Betawi people can be found in a 1644 document in the form of a testament

to Nyai Inqua, the widow of Landlord Souw Beng Kong, the first Chinese Captain in Batavia. Nyai Iqua mentions the name of a female servant as Betawi people [19].

Lance Castle, an Australian historian, said that the Betawi ethnicity was formed around 1815-1893. The study stated that the government always carried out population census activities based on ethnic groups or nationalities during the Dutch colonial period. When the census data was conducted in Batavia in 1615 and 1815, there were no records of the Betawi ethnicity. The emergence of the Betawi ethnicity was known during the 1930 census data. In the data, there were 778,953 Betawi ethnic people and became the majority of the population in Batavia at that time [20].

However, this opinion was denied by Ridwan Saidi. According to him, the Betawi ethnicity has existed since 3000 to 4000 years ago which was marked by the discovery of a stone ax, this is the proto Betawi man. The stone ax was a versatile tool of the past. In the 1970s, excavations in Jakarta found stone axes scattered almost throughout Jakarta, namely Kebon Sirih, Cengkareng, Sunter (Sontar), Cilincing, Rawa Belong, Sukabumi, Jatinegara, Cililitan, Kramat Jati, Cawang, Pondok Gede, Condet , Sunday Market, Tanjung (East), Kelapa Dua, Cipete, Lenteng Agung, Karang Tengah, Ciputat (Tangerang), Pondok Jengkol (Tangerang), Pondok Cabe (Tangerang), Serpong (Tangerang), also Tanah Abang.

3.1.4. Afrikaans in Petamburan

From the many foreign nationals in Jakarta, Africans can primarily be found around Tanah Abang and Petamburan. According to Marselinus Gual, a reporter for Merdeka.com, most Africans in the Tanah Abang and Petamburan areas have professions as clothes and textiles traders [21]. In line with Gual, Eka Yonavilbia also said that Tanah Abang is one of the favorite destinations for traders who come from abroad, including traders from Africa. This is due to the guaranteed quality of goods at that location and competitive prices [22].

Unfortunately, the Africans are often not well received by the local population, and even the authorities have to step in and move them to other places. It is sometimes because of their scary faces or because of several arrests that linked them to several crimes such as drug trafficking and counterfeit money [21]. Research conducted by M. Alvi Syahrin, Anindito Rizki Wiraputra, and Dwi Septianto shows that African immigrants have a poor track record, especially regarding residence permits in Indonesia. Harmful or detrimental impacts on society, nation, and state. So that not a few African citizens are forced to be deported back to their home countries [23].

3.2. Petamburan Community Social Interaction

The definition of *social interactions* is a reciprocal relationship between individuals, between human groups, and between individuals with human groups, which is built dynamically by several individuals who have orientation and goals. This process then produces dynamics in actions and reactions that influence each other and are scientifically capable of causing change. Social interaction can only occur when there are 2 (two) underlying things, namely social contact, which is the beginning of social interaction, and communication, which includes delivering messages from one person to another so that mutual understanding occurs [24].

Social interactions often occur in public spaces. *Public space* is defined as a state that is accessible to everyone. Stephen Carr classifies public space into two types: the first is public space that is privately owned or institutionally but used by the general public in a limited circle. According to Carr, there are several types of public spaces. First, the public space located inside the building. Examples are schoolyards, office building yards; Second, public space is public property and is used by the general public without exception. Usually, this public space is located outside the building, such as roads, sidewalks, playgrounds, city parks. [25]. Jan Gehl then said that there are 3 (three) activities in public spaces: The first is *necessary activities,* which are activities that we should do daily. Such as school, work, waiting for the bus, and so on; The second is *optional activities*, which are optional and not mandatory to do so. Like, taking a walk in the park, sunbathing in the morning, and so on; The third is *social activities*, which are types of activities that all depend on the presence of other people in the public space. Such as children's social activities when playing, greeting each other, and conversing [26].

Petamburan 3-4 is a very densely populated area. According to the latest data from the government of the Petamburan area, there were 32,946 people recorded. The specific data we found at the RW secretariat office noted that the Petamburan 3-4 area has at least 1000+ households [27]. Observations also show that the Petamburan 3-4 area can be categorized as a suburb of downtown Jakarta which is very densely populated. However, the density between residents is becomes a stimulus for social interaction between communities.

Previously, Kasmudin Harahap had conducted research related to the relationship between a dense space and social interaction in the community of Petamburan Village, precisely along Petamburan 2-3. Harahap found that the orientation and position of the people's houses facing each other at such a close distance (about 3 meters or 9 feet)

created a sense of mutual understanding and closeness socially and culturally among the surrounding residents. The courtyard of the house that is too narrow and does not even exist causes residents to leave the house to sit on the front porch so that there are simple interaction activities (initial meetings) such as just chatting. Harahap explained that the position of the house, which was tightly attached to it, actually created social equality among the Petamburan people. Social interactions in Petamburan Village also occur in places known as 'crowded spaces' such as food stalls, mobile food stalls, street lamps, and benches placed on the edges of the Ciliwung river, which is directly behind Petamburan 3-4 street. Residents use these spaces to interact with each other and realize the existence of the Petamburan community [28].

3.3. Petamburan 3-4 Social Interaction in Public Spaces

Our results observations in this paper also found the same thing as what Harahap had explored regarding the dense situation of the population's residence and its spaces. However, after interacting with Budi (male – 50 years old) as the head of RW Petamburan 4, we found a place called *Balai Warga* (Community Hall), which functions as a public space in Petamburan 3-4. The function of *the Balai Warg*a is used as a coordination place for the RW Petamburan 4 administrators in advancing order in the local community. However, the *Balai Warga* daily becomes a gathering space for the surrounding community, especially men, to interact with one another. According to Budi, the function of the *Balai Warga* is basically for anything for the benefit of the people. Ranging from *posyandu*, a socialization or operating health activities for the people, to ceremonies of specific events such as birthdays, circumcisions of son *(khitanan),* and others.

We also found another unique public space that is usually used as a place for residents to interact with each other, that is the headquarters of mass people organizations (*ormas)* in Petamburan. Our observations found that the headquarters of *ormas* such as *Pemuda Pancasila* (Pancasila Youth), Forkabi *(Forum Anak Betawi)* [Children of Betawi Forum], FBR (Forum Betawi Rempong) [*Betawi Rempung Forum*], *dan* BPPKB (*Badan Pembinaan Potensi Keluarga Besar Banten*) [Banten's Large Family Potentional Development Agency] in Petamburan became a place where residents gathered to interact with each other in the afternoon. Of the four mass organizations above, 3 of them are ethnic organizations, namely FBR and Forkabi from the Betawi tribe, and BPPKB from the Banten region. However, their members do not only come from the one tribe that has been mentioned, but from various races; they open to other people to become members.

3.4. Petamburan Community Interactions in Virtual Space

The development of information and communication technology allows social interaction in cyberspace or what is commonly referred to as virtual interaction. This has led to several changes in social interaction, particularly the shift from oral tradition to digital tradition, both through computers (computer-mediated communication) and mobile (mobile-mediated communication) [29].

In advancing information technology, public space also evolved and multiplied into a virtual world. Virtual public spaces do not contain virtual communities but involve real (genuine) people and actual communication. However, what makes the difference is that the virtual community can use a fake identity to impersonate anyone. They can submit opinions or comments on anything without special skills and almost without being held accountable for it. In this case, anyone can give opinions and comment on various matters, but no one is willing to be directly involved, and no one has the desire to be responsible [30].

Budi explained that the virtual communication built in the Petamburan community is usually built-in WhatsApp communication application groups. In addition, Budi explained that community leaders from all RWs in Petamburan to their RTs have their own WhatsApp groups to coordinate other about the benefit of the community. Apart from local leaders, residents, as Budi said, also have WhatsApp groups. If the groups of RW/RT leaders are more rigid and coordinated, then the WhatsApp groups belonging to the residents tend to be more fluid and contain daily chatter. This indicates a virtual interaction that has also taken place in virtual spaces.

According to Neti and Baktiar, virtual communication between the Petamburan people also includes more than just interaction and communication. Through virtual communication, other things related to the community are also conveyed, one of which is related to the distribution of community assistance, which is very important to pay attention. They explained that they were informed about the place and location of the available assistance through virtual communication. In their opinion, virtual communication between the Petamburan people became essential.

Community organizations, in this case, Pemuda Pancasila are also starting to use technology in their interactions or communication with the vast virtual world. There is a Facebook social media group and google maps from Pemuda Pancasila Petamburan. Bero explained that this was done by members of Pemuda Pancasila who were young because they understood technology better than old.

3.5. Petamburan 3-4 Community Doubts About Online News

Both Mukhlis and Neti both understand that social media is full of hoaxes or fake news. As an ethnic Arab, Haikal sees that such news forms a lousy perception of Petamburan for outsiders. According to Haikal, journalists who cover Petamburan's situation are not objective in describing Petamburan; they even tend to look for the bad news. He called for the news seekers to see the actual situation in the Petamburan area. When asked how he responded to the emergence of bad news regarding Petamburan, Haikal said that he completely ignored and regretted the assumptions made by the current news.

As the Petamburan 3-4 community leader, Budi also gave his views on that situation. He explained that the residents actually were happy to see the media coverage that highlighted Petamburan often. This is because they think their Petamburan 3-4 area is famous in Indonesia because of the various reports. However, on the other hand, Budi represents the voice of the people of Petamburan, explaining that nothing has happened in the area where they live. Budi even said that all the riots and media coverage were only carried out on the outskirts of the Petamburan area; it rarely covers the Petamburan community's activities that occur in the inner area, where the community's areas interact and have activities. This shows that the media coverage that describes the Petamburan area is identical to chaos, which is broken by the genuine recognition of the local community.

3.6. Socio-Religious Tolerance in Petamburan 3-4

The community's social life must experience and carry out a life of togetherness that differs from one another [31]. In social community, the tendency to have more superiority due to having more ethnic groups or having more religious similarities than others must be eliminated. The built of the main identity from the community is not ethnicity, religion, race, and certain groups, but nationality. Unity of identity as the Indonesian nation [32]. Even more universal must come to the understanding that all our fellow human beings [33]. These actions and principles of togetherness can be seen and carried out in their socio-religious tolerance.

Social tolerance in a pluralistic society can be demonstrated by the shared responsibility of all the nation's children to balance the rich and the poor. This action is manifested by mutual assistance, sharing, and tolerance without seeing differences in religious, ethnic, racial, and class identities but seeing similarities as nation children. The spirit of "we." This understanding departs from the pillars that support tolerance, not only

religion but also political, economic, and social [34]. Plurality is understood as religious differences and differences in social aspects of society, which are a blessing from God Almighty to pay attention to them [35].

In the context of religious tolerance, the struggle to provide freedom for adherents of a particular religion to worship freely is still ongoing. This struggle continues, of course, because this issue that has become an open secret does not yet have a point of completion. Although the government has regulated the construction of houses of worship in the Joint Regulations of the Minister of Religion and the Minister of Home Affairs Number 9 dan 8 of 2006, the implementation is not like the substance aspired. A measure to see if an area has a high tolerance is when the houses of worship in the area vary according to the variety of religions in that place [36]. In addition, accepting the original culture (local wisdom) in Indonesia for a long time is also part of religious tolerance. Although it does not fall into syncretism, it absorbs good values and is carried out with a new face in the context of religion. This action confirms that culture is a medium for religion to become grounded in the lives of its adherents [37].

3.7. Mass People Organizations Masyarakat as Pillars of Community Harmony in Petamburan

Baktiar mentions the role of community organizations in Petamburan to maintain order and harmony between communities. Baktiar is also a member of one of the mass organizations in Petamburan, namely Pemuda Pancasila. When he carried out his duties of guarding by going around the Petamburan area, there was never a Petamburan community who acted to make a bustle. There are several other mass organizations in the Petamburan 3-4 area, such as FBR, FORKABI, BPPKB, Pemuda Pancasila and others

One of the religious-based organizations, namely *Wahdi Berbagi*, conducted the GASSEBU or *Gerakan Sedekah Sehari Seribu* (One Thousand Alms a Day) in the Petamburan 3-4 community. The results of the GASSEBU made the *Wahdi Berbagi* organization successful and even coordinated with its central organization to procure a facility in the form of an ambulance that the people of Petamburan 4 can share. As explained by the head of the local RW, the ambulance intends to transport the people in a health emergency. The car can also be used as a hearse if there are people who experience a grief event, which can even carry the bodies to migrant communities who may come from areas outside Jakarta. In this case, the community is only charged a fee with a nominal value of Rp. 1,000 (one thousand rupiahs), which is even voluntary. Bakhtiar said that the presence of the ambulance was beneficial for people who could

not afford to rent a hearse specifically. We also observed a banner explaining the use of the ambulance, which contained the statement *'24 JAM KAMI SIAP MELAYANI MASYARAKAT'* (24 hours we are ready to serve the community). This shows a willingness for this Petamburan community organization to serve the community.

Another community-based organization is Pemuda Pancasila. We interviewed the head of Pemuda Pancasila Branch Petamburan, Bero (male – 50 years old). The members of Pemuda Pancasila we interviewed said that the function of these mass organizations is basically to coordinate and complement each other to maintain communal harmony in Petamburan. If there is a conflict, these mass organizations are immediately ready to separate the conflicting person. This is intended to prevent the problem from spreading to other residents and resolving immediately between the conflicting parties. Mr. Bero as the chairman of the Pancasila Youth Organization, explained that the mass organizations in the Petamburan area also stay in touch with each other, which makes the unity and cohesiveness of the mass organizations in the Petamburan area maintain social harmony in the community. The mass organizations also coordinate with *BABINSA* (The village law enforcement officers from the govern) to maintain harmony, order, and security in the Petamburan area 4-5.

Bero finally explained that there had never been such a significant conflict between villages or religions in the Petamburan area. According to him, the conflict will produce nothing for the people of the Petamburan area 3-4. In this case, we see a willingness from the existing mass organizations to get along, not to care about their organization. We found that the examples set by these mass organizations also made the residents of Petamburan 3-4 get along well.

3.8. Different (Ethnic and Religion) but One (Petamburan)

As described in the previous section, people of Petamburan 3 and 4 have various social backgrounds. Our observations also found that the Petamburan community consisted of different economic backgrounds. As the head of RW 04, Budi explained that the majority of Petamburan people work as traders in Petamburan's People Market. Others work daily as employees, parking attendants, and housemaids. The Other ethnic groups in the Petamburan area, the Arabs ethnic, becomes entrepreneur. The difference in the social background don't make the Petamburan people only care about themselves, but the life of helping each other is visible in their daily lives. Ethnic Chinese and Arab communities who are high-income earners help their fellow Petamburan 3-4 residents in social activities that require funds, such as community service, compensation to

orphans, and other actions. In addition, the local government also does not force all its citizens to pay security fees every week or month. According to Budi, the government only asks those who are able and willing to give, if they do not want to give, then do not force them.

Baktiar (male - 53 years) and Neti (female - 50 years) are Petamburan's indigenous people born in this area. They admit that in the decades they have lived in Petamburan, there has never been any major conflict between the communities. If this happens, it will only be in the form of minor interpersonal conflicts like neighboring relationships in general, but these can be resolved immediately. In Baktiar's memory, the only significant conflict around the Petamburan area occurred had during the Reformation era in 1998, when there was an incident that brought down the power of the New Order under Suharto.

Baktiar and Neti said that we should not equate the Petamburan area with the Tanah Abang area. The Tanah Abang area, which is one of the centers for buying and selling clothes and other textile materials, is indeed well-known as an area that is prone to criminal acts [38,39]. In the Petamburan area, according to him, there has never been a commotion, especially in RW 4. If there is a brawl between communities (*tawuran*), then it does not happen between the people of Petamburan 4 but on the road close to their residential area. The brawl events are also usually provocateurs from outsider who are not the indigenous Petamburan people.

As the Petamburan 4 community head, Budi also explained that those who often make a fuss in the area where they live are people outside the Petamburan 3-4 area. He also mentioned that FPI is often stigmatized as rioters in the Petamburan area. He saw that the FPI forces (*laskars)* often made trouble are the outsider of the Petamburan 3-4 area. The actions of outsiders give rise to a stigma that the Petamburan is an area that often creates chaos. Haikal, an ethnic Arabs-Indonesia (male - 45 years), who lives in the Petamburan area 4 also emphasizes the Petamburan area's conduciveness. He is the 3rd generation since his grandfather was born in the Petamburan area and now lives there. He and his cousin Husein (20-year-old male) founded an Arabic food and beverage business in Petamburan 4. Haikal described that the various ethnic groups living in Petamburan live in harmony and peace; there is no friction or conflict.

However, the local communities' head explained in the interview that Africans in the Petamburan community did not interact much with the surrounding community. These Africans tend to gather in their African community. Budi, as the head of the RW explained that these Africans usually only reported to the local neighborhood association (RT). This is because Budi may be due to the limitations of their Indonesian language skills.

In Petamburan 3-4, religious tolerance is shown by the presence of houses of worship located in local domiciles. There are at least six mosques and one church that live side by side safely. There was never any destruction of the church or vice versa. The Muslim community voluntarily guards the church (GBI Petamburan) area on certain days, such as December 25 Christmas, Easter, and year-end services. The government and mass organizations jointly guardhouses of worship from other religions. In fact, in Petamburan, the Pastor's School, Seminari Bethel (Bethel Seminary Indonesia), has been standing peacefully for 65 years. There was never any big conflict to the Seminary from the Petamburan muslim community.

Another tolerance is shown by allowing people of different religions to worship in their private homes. As a densely populated area, of course, when one house carries out its worship rituals, other neighbors will hear it. However, residents have never rejected it, as long as it is within reasonable limits. If it disturbs the comfort of the community, it will be reprimanded. According to Budi, people from Christianity worship at home freely, and ethnic Chinese celebrate certain rituals on their big day. People still accept it as long as it is within reasonable limits.

Acceptance of religious differences comes from understanding the value of plurality as a gift from God for Indonesia. If one tribe can split into several countries in the Middle East, thousands of tribes can unite into one country in Indonesia. Understanding this value will become a practice in social life. If the understanding of mono religion, ethnicity, and class is still maintained, surely tolerance can't be realized. If it is not changed, there will be dissociative socio-religious interactions, namely competition (showing each other who is superior and influential), controversy (verbal and physical disputes), conflict (violence as a way to scare other groups). On the other hand, the value of togetherness is marked by the existence of shared discussion spaces, helping each other in the form of material, power, and energy, taking care of each other's houses of worship of different religions, and exploring the spirit of pluralism in the social interactions. This goal is not challenging because humans are "religious humans," and someone who indeed carries out his religion will certainly humanize humans [40]. Petamburan can provide an example of an open and harmonious life even though they come from different social classes, ethnicities, and even religions.

4. Conclussion

As explained in the results section regarding the mass media coverage, both on the internet and social media, it is far from the reality of social interaction between communities in Petamburan 3-4. The news about Petamburan tends to be described as an intolerant area, to the point that it is full of conflicts and intrigues related to religion and ethnicity. However, the Petamburan 3-4 area shows a contrasting situation with the mass media coverage. Petamburan 3-4 is an area that is very tolerant in terms of religion, harmonious in terms of social interaction, and plural in its community composition. This can be a good example for other regions in Indonesia.

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