

SPIRITUAL INTELLIGENCE AS THE POLITICS OF MULTICULTURALISM AMONG JAVANESE MUSLIM MIGRANTS IN MALUKU

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Abstract: How does spiritual intelligence serve as foundation for multicultural politics? This article explores how spiritual intelligence becomes a multicultural political base among the Javanese Muslims who immigrated to Maluku Province. The spiritual intelligence in this study refers to the understanding of Javanese values, i.e., accepting what's given by life (*nrimo ing pandum*), empathy (*tepa salira*), and beautifying the world (*memayu bayuning bawana*) as well as how they enrich pluralism in Maluku. Previous studies on the topic mostly focused on the religious factor and neglected cultural aspects, especially among migrants who brought their cultural traits with them to their new place. Based on ethnographic research through observation and in-depth interviews with 60 Javanese migrants in Waihatu, Maluku, the research shows that multicultural politics among Javanese Muslim migrants cannot be separated from spiritual intelligence on Javanese values so that interreligious social solidarity is sustainable. Spiritual intelligence in this article highlights that Javanese migrants' adoption of Islamic values in Maluku is connected to their philosophical foundation of Javanese values.

Keywords: Spiritual intelligence, politics of multi-culturalism, pluralisms, Javanese migrant, Maluku.

Introduction

Spirituality intelligence (SQ) is related to an embodiment of universal values of the common good.¹ It is the third human

¹ Danah Zohar & Ian Marshall, *SQ: Spiritual Intelligence, the Ultimate Intelligence* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000); *Spiritual Capital: Wealth We Can Live By* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2004).

intelligence, alongside emotional intelligence (EQ) and intellectual intelligence (IQ).² Previous research has shown that the key to human prosperity is spiritual intelligence.³ The discussion of spiritual intelligence revolves around three important ideas. The first is that spiritual intelligence is all a person has within of them that relates to values and meanings they have learned through daily life.⁴ Second, it is important to recognize and arrange human conscience in adaptive and responsive ways using spiritual intelligence.⁵ Third, spiritual intelligence is human's capability to organize non-material resources, which is demonstrated by their involvement in religious rites or rituals.⁶ Those essential components, when critically identified, are closely tied to the moral obligation to perform properly. As Wigglesworth stated that spiritual intelligence may be found in both religious believers and agnostics; if a person's life exemplifies universal goodness, this

² Ibid., 4-8

³ Robert Emmons, "Is Spirituality and Intelligence? Motivation, Cognition and the Psychology of the Ultimate Concern", *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 10(1) (2000), 3-26; Michael Levin, *Spiritual Intelligence, Awakening the Power of your Spirituality and Intuition* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2000); Richard N Wolman, *Thinking with your Soul: Spiritual Intelligence and Why It Matters* (New York: Harmony Books, 2001); Frances Vaughan, Frances, "What is Spiritual Intelligence?", *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 4(2) (2002), 16-33; D D Nasel, *Spiritual Orientation in Relation to Spiritual Intelligence: A New Consideration of Christianity and New Age/Individualistic Spirituality*, Ph.D Dissertation (University of South Australia, 2004); Cindy Wigglesworth, *SQ21: The Twenty-One Skills of Spiritual Intelligence* (New York: Select Books, 2014); David B King & Teresa L DeCicco, "A Viable Model and Self-Report Measure of Spiritual Intelligence", *International Journal of Transpersonal Studies* 28(1) (2009), 68-85; Natti Ronel & Ramat Gan, "The Experience of Spiritual Intelligence", *The Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* 40(1) (2008), pp. 100-119; Brian Draper, *Spiritual Intelligence: A New Way of Being* (Oxfordshire: Lion Hudson, 2009); Jan Phillips, *No Ordinary Time: The Rise of Spiritual Intelligence and Evolutionary Creativity* (San Diego: Livingkindness, 2011).

⁴ Zohar & Marshall, *SQ*; Wolman, *Thinking with your Soul*; Vaughan, "What is Spiritual Intelligence?"; Ronel & Gan, "The Experience of Spiritual Intelligence"; Draper, *Spiritual Intelligence*

⁵ Emmons, *Is Spirituality and Intelligence?*; King & DeCicco, "A Viable Model and Self-Report Measure of Spiritual Intelligence"

⁶ Nasel, *Spiritual Orientation in Relation to Spiritual Intelligence*; Phillips, *No Ordinary Time* ; Wigglesworth, *SQ21*; Elmi Bin Baharuddin, & Zainab Binti Ismail, "7 Domains of Spiritual Intelligence from Islamic Perspective", *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 211 (2015), 568-577; Zanariah Abdul Rahman & Ishak Md Shah. "Measuring Islamic Spiritual Intelligence", *Procedia Economics and Finance* 31 (2015), 134-139.

indicates that they possess spiritual intelligence.⁷ Despite being referred to as human morality, spiritual intelligence does not acknowledge human relations, particularly when pluralism is present.

How can spiritual intelligence be used as the foundation of the politics of multiculturalism? In the context of Indonesia, colonialism might have unified diversity. Hefner, however, stated that colonialism had nothing to do with equal and inclusive citizenship; rather, it had been developed by the Indonesian people.⁸ Pluralism in Indonesia today has produced dissociated relationships in terms of democracy and fractured interpersonal ties. Furnivall proposed that a plural society is one whose people with co-exist with limited interactions, save from economic activity, and who have different ethnic backgrounds and religious convictions.⁹ In response, Hefner emphasised the importance of historical aspects in bringing diversity together, not only economic activities.¹⁰ Indonesia's independence is a long history of national integration which also served as a gate to celebrate diversity. In accordance with that statement, Zohar and Marshall noted that embracing variety by showing acceptance and admiration for those who are different is one component of the spiritual intelligence dimension. This has rooted in one's spiritual sphere as one's core belief.¹¹

Reflecting from pluralism and spiritual intelligence in Indonesia, this research focuses on the philosophy influencing spiritual intelligence in the midst of diversity and differences in Indonesia. Specifically, this article explores in depth the spiritual intelligence of Javanese migrants in Maluku context. The developed/ formed spiritual intelligence is the correlation between Javanese philosophy, i.e., accepting fate (*nrimo ing pandum*), empathy (*tepa salira*), beautifying the world/earth (*memayu hayuning bawana*), and pluralism in the Maluku context. This produces a spiritual intelligence that manifests as a survival strategy, an empathic performance, and sense of vocation; it is the end consequence of giving philosophy as text and pluralism as

⁷ Wigglesworth, *SQ21*

⁸ Robert W Hefner. *The Politics of Multiculturalism, Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001)

⁹ John Sydenham Furnivall. *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (New York: Macmillan, 1944)

¹⁰ Hefner, *The Politics of Multiculturalism*

¹¹ Zohar & Marshall, *SQ*

context meaning. This research explains and claims that spiritual intelligence has the possibility to serve as the base of the politics of multiculturalism when human is given virtues to celebrate diversity.

Illustrating spiritual intelligence of Javanese migrants in the politics of multiculturalism in Maluku, this research is carried out in Waihatu Village, Seram Bagian Barat Regency, Moluccas Province, Indonesia. Waihatu is located on the coast of West Seram, it's one of the villages formed by Javanese migrants in 1974. Although Javanese migrants were the main actors of Waihatu village formation, there were also other people coming to the village from various parts of Indonesia, some as part of the transmigration program, while others were spontaneous or local migrants.

This study focuses on immigrants from Java who have embraced Javanese philosophy (*Kejawen*) in the context of pluralism. Javanese migrants are selected as sampling in this research for a number of reasons: (1) Javanese migrants in Waihatu come from different areas, such as Banyumas, Blora, Grobogan, Jepara, Kebumen, Pati, Wonogiri, and Wonosobo; (2) those who arrived in 1973 were not only Muslims but also Christians; (3) the majority of Javanese migrants in Waihatu are Muslims from a variety of backgrounds; (4) they live there other migrants from different parts of Indonesia and among local host Malukan Christian community, and; (5) Javanese migrants in Waihatu played a role as peacemaker during the 1999-2004 communal conflict in Seram Island, Maluku.

Should We Celebrate Plurality Spiritually?

It is inevitable that plurality creates problematic situations within groups of different religious beliefs, ethnicities, as well as cultures. Plurality has arisen options whether to live within a group of similar religious beliefs, ethnicity, and culture to protect identity, or to live inclusively by accepting plurality to celebrate together. What if plurality is accepted spiritually, then applied in a much more multicultural life? A similar situation is experienced by Javanese migrants in Waihatu. They were faced with these options to survive while at the same time being aware and sensitive to plurality.

The lives of Javanese migrants in Maluku were challenging. The challenges they face include problems arising from the transmigration program and communal conflict in Maluku during the 1999-2004. For Javanese migrants in Waihatu, the transmigration program did not

solve the problems they had in their previous homeland, but rather brought them new problems. Kustadi and Raharjo stated that the transmigration raises land-related problems and cultural glitches—including traditions and religious beliefs.¹² Javanese migrants experienced this when they first arrived in Waihatu and started to live in west Seram, Maluku. Research showed that there were six phases that required them to activate spiritual intelligence: government subsidies, land's incompatibility to farm, local communities' resistance, village celebration rituals (*slametan*; *slamet*, *selamat* = *safe*, *safety*, *prosperity*), arrivals of migrants from other parts of Indonesia, and the communal conflict occurred in 1999-2004 in Maluku.

The Maluku regional government at the time only offered subsidies to Javanese migrants for a short period of time—a few months. Bartels and Lattu found that government assistance was insufficient for Javanese migrants to survive.¹³ Bartels mentioned that the government purposefully halted the subsidies as a sign of their hostility for immigrants from Java.¹⁴ The local government, or the government of Central Maluku, provided government subsidies to Javanese migrants in Waihatu, but then it was discontinued. Because the promised residential area by the local government was still being built at the time, migrants from Java were still living in Desa Gerakan Masyarakat Baru (GEMBA, Village of New Community Movement). In GEMBA, the migrants shared housings with other Javanese migrants who originated from East Java. They donated a portion of their subsidies to the home's owner since they didn't want to be a burden. After the planned home projects were completed independently with assistance from other Javanese immigrants, the subsidies were cut off.

In the new residence area, Javanese migrants were provided with 1.5 hectare land by the local government. One hectare was allocated

¹² Kustadi. "Masalah Pertanahan di Daerah Pemukiman Transmigrasi", *Transmigrasi: dari daerah Asal sampai Benturan Budaya di Tempat Pemukiman* (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1984); Budi Raharjo and Chodidah, "Benturan Sosial dan Budaya di Daerah Pemukiman Transmigrasi", *Transmigrasi: dari daerah Asal sampai Benturan Budaya di Tempat Pemukiman* (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1984)

¹³ Dieter Bartels, *Di Bawah Naungan Gunung Nunusaku: Muslim-Kristen Hidup Berdampingan di Maluku Tengah* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2017); Izak Y M Lattu, Izak. *Menolak Narasi Tunggal: Diskursus Agama, Pluralisme dan Demokrasi* (Salatiga: Satya Wacana University Press, 2018)

¹⁴ Bartels, *Di Bawah Naungan Gunung Nunusaku*.

for rice fields or farming, and the rest for housing and yard/garden.¹⁵ The land, however, was too dry for rice fields. At that time, there were no dams to irrigate the fields. To survive, Javanese migrants grew cassavas, yams, and bananas in their yards. Securing their livelihood, they initiated to establish relationships with Seram local people.

The interaction process with the local people of Seram was not easy due to land disputes. There were two local communities, i.e. Tala ritual fellowship in the village of Hatusua and ritual fellowship Eti of Waisamu village, claiming to own the piece of land where the Javanese migrants were residing. This dispute then spurred opposition against local government in their daily life such as disallowance to have any building erected. Sadly, this resistance was not taken seriously by the government. At this time, Indonesia was in the New Order regime, where the government was affiliated with the military, which caused both local communities having dispute unable to go against the military superiority. This condition affected the Javanese migrants as local people cursed them, particularly towards the Muslim ones.

On the other hand, Christian Javanese migrants had already had good social relationship with Christian local people. They took part in ceremonies and religious activities held by the local church. Radianto as a missionary of Gereja Protestan Maluku (GPM) played important role in connecting them; he was the head of congregation in Hatusua. The Muslim Javanese migrants felt threatened and insecure because they imagined that local Maluku community was barbaric. The resistance and bad image were short lived since Christian Javanese migrants were the actors for eliminating dissociative prejudice. They also acted as mediator in building associative interaction between Muslim Javanese migrants and Christian local community. This associative interaction influenced the naming process of the village using Maluku identity, i.e. *ai* (water) and *hatu* (stone/rock), hence Waihatu.

Another challenge occurred in 1978. By then, Waihatu was crowded demographically with the arrival of Sasak ethnic group from West Nusa Tenggara (shortened as NTB) and DKI Jakarta. Those of Sasak ethnic group came via transmigration program, while those from DKI Jakarta were the result of society control by the Social Service in Jakarta. Their arrivals forced Javanese migrants to share land and

¹⁵ Lattu, *Menolak Narasi Tunggal*.

housing with them. The situation encouraged social conflicts (verbally) between Javanese migrants and other migrants in Waihatu.

There was one internal challenge within the Javanese migrants, i.e. different variants of Islam. Studies in Javanese Islam mentioned that there were conflicts between *abangan* and *santri* due to different religious practicisms and ideologies.¹⁶ Similarly, this also happened in a village celebration (*slametan*) in Waihatu. Muslim Javanese migrants do not consider themselves as part of either *abangan* or *santri*, they view themselves as grassroots society who observe *kejawen* as well as Islamic teaching. The village celebration (*slametan*) tradition in Waihatu started when a Javanese migrant was possessed (by spirits/ghosts). Many speculated about this; some told that the person was possessed by one Waihatu guardian spirit, some said it was a Javanese spirit possessing the person. Regardless the reason, Javanese migrants, particularly those observing *kejawen* agreed to carry out *slametan* to keep destructive stuff away. Some witnesses claimed that the spirit asked for several things as sacrifices (*uba rampel/sesaji*) to keep the village safe from disturbance; the sacrifices included *wedus kebendit* (the head of a black goat whose belly has a white spot), *piitik jago* (a rooster), and some food in a *takir* (food container made of banana leave). The *slametan* rite was to be observed in *Jumat Kliwon* (a sacred Friday for Javanese) in *Bulan Apit* (the eleventh month), with a *wayang orang* and *gamelan* performance.

Basically, Javanese migrants agreed to carry out *slametan*. However, those observing Islamic teaching considered *slametan* as part of necromancy practices. For them, *slametan* should be done to celebrate Javanese tradition, not because of spirits' influence. This situation shows that in their daily life, Muslim migrants have respect for one another, however this respect is not shared in rituals/rites.

Complex challenges in terms of psychic, social relations, politic and economic stability was the Maluku communal conflict in 1999-2004. During this period of time in Seram Island, Javanese migrants from outside Waihatu involved themselves as combatants. In fact, this conflict was also caused by prejudice between local residents and newcomers, including migrants from outside Maluku who have

¹⁶ Clifford Geertz. *The Religion of Java* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); M.C. Ricklefs. *Polarising Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions (c 1830-1930)* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2007); Michael Picard, "Agama, adat, and Pancasila", *The Politics of Religion in Indonesia: Syncretism, Orthodoxy, and Religious Contention in Java and Bali* (New York: Routledge, 2011)

different religions.¹⁷ For instance there was also a communal conflict in GEMBA which was a transmigration village, while also functioned as economic center in Kairatu. GEMBA community members who took part as combatants were affiliated with *Laskar Jihad* from Java Island. On the other hand, Javanese migrants in Waihatu faced various effects of the communal conflict, such as a murder, economic instability, and some NTB migrants in Waihatu emigrated. Javanese migrants in Waihatu predicted that Waihatu would be an empty village without preventive efforts.

In truth, these challenges faced by Javanese migrants in Waihatu are real problems caused by pluralism. Unless the Javanese migrants were able to manage diversity and differences in harmonic relations, it would result in horizontal conflicts. In the Maluku conflict, many efforts and actions were carried out as part of conciliation and reconciliation of the 1999-2004 communal conflict, some of them were strengthening the Maluku cultural network (*pela* and *gandong*) and depicting *folk songs Nunusaku* (Maluku mythology).¹⁸ Javanese migrants, however, didn't have cultural network that bound them together as a group of similar culture. Moreover, as a nation, Javanese migrants' imagination of Malays and Maluku local people's imagination of Melanesia became a separator for them to communicate their cultures. Diversity and differences acceptance and celebration requires integrated spirituality and intelligence. These traits are not separated from human's virtues or good values, including to celebrate diversity.

¹⁷ Jacques Bertrand. *Conflict in Maluku, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Gerry van Klinken. *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Jeroen Adam. *Communal Violence, Forced Migration and Social Change on the Island of Ambon*, Ph.D diss Ghent University (2009); Sumanto Al Qurtuby, *Religious Violence and Conciliation in Indonesia: Christians and Muslims in Moluccas* (New York: Routledge, 2016)

¹⁸ Birgit Brauchler. *The Cultural Dimension of Peace: Decentralization and Reconciliation in Indonesia* (New York: Macmillan, 2015); Al-Qurtuby, *Religious Violence and Conciliation in Indonesia*; Izak Y M Lattu, "Beyond Interreligious Dialogue: Oral-Based Interreligious Engagements In Indonesia", *Annual Review of the Sociology of Religion Vol 10 From Religion to Geopolitics* (Leiden: Brill, 2019)

Spiritual Intelligence: Javanese Philosophy and Pluralism in Maluku

Spiritual intelligence is related to one's core belief that is also influenced by philosophy.¹⁹ Spiritual intelligence cannot be separated from one's view of life in line with their culture. The way of life of Javanese migrants in Waihatu cannot be separated from the philosophical meaning of Javanese worldview. Despite leaving Java Island for a better life in Maluku, the first generation of Javanese migrants in Waihatu revealed that they still identify as Javanese and that their culture is embraced spiritually. *Nrimo ing pandum*, *tepa salira*, and *mamayu hayuning bawana* are examples of Javanese cultural expressions that have been verbally and physically handed down the generations. Spiritual intelligence is being passed down to create harmony. Suseno mentioned that Javanese harmony is based on individual understanding and respect.²⁰ This is practiced by Javanese migrants in Waihatu in giving meanings to *nrimo ing pandum* as a survival strategy, *tepa salira* as an empathic performance, and *mamayu hayuning bawana* as a sense of vocation.

Nrimo Ing Pandum: Spiritual Intelligence in Survival Strategy

Etymologically *nrimo* means 'accept', *ing* is conjunction 'with' while *pandum* means 'whatever given, allocation', hence *nrimo ing pandum* means accepting whatever is given or allocated. The philosophical meaning in the word *nrimo/narima* is related to the willingness to accept fate or destiny gratefully and without resistance.²¹ However, the word also contains honest hard work.²² The phrase *nrimo ing pandum* depicts Javanese self-management to survive in accordance with their conviction either to accept or to change their fate.

Javanese migrants in Waihatu view *nrimo ing pandum* as a strategy to survive. According to some first-generation informants, the reason they opted to join transmigration program was due to lack of land, and because they are considered as marginal people in their place of origin.

¹⁹ Zohar & Marshall, *SQ*

²⁰ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijakan-sanaan Hidup Jawa* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1984)

²¹ Geertz, *The Religion of Java*; Suseno, *Etika Jawa*; Niels Mulder, *Mysticism in Java: Ideology in Indonesia* (Amsterdam: Pepin Press, 1999)

²² Suwardi Endraswara, *Falsafah Hidup Jawa: Menggali Mutiara Kebijakan dari Intisari Filsafat Kejawen* (Yogyakarta: Cakrawala, 2012)

Arriving in Maluku did instantly improve their quality of life; they encountered numerous challenges, including the inability to farm the land, a different language and means of subsistence, as well as the discontinuation of government subsidies. For the Javanese migrants in Waihatu, *nrimo ing pandum* also reflects their conviction to endure their lowest life condition and get through in life.

As survival strategy, *nrimo ing pandum* takes form in these Javanese migrants' life as honesty and humility. In the context of migration, survival strategy refers to the capability to develop social network by understanding culture, ethnicity, languages, and nationality.²³ This is what the Javanese migrants in Waihatu have done. They learned the local language, dialect, cosmology, and skills. The territorialized process of giving meaning to *nrimo ing pandum* in context of plurality benefited Javanese migrants in Waihatu to access Moluccans resources. As a sign of respect for the native culture, the Javanese immigrants gave the village the name Waihatu. Additionally they also learned how to produce sago, sewing sago leaves to cover the house (house roof), and others. In fact, there is social dynamic in the mutual interactions between Javanese migrants and local people through enforcing local knowledge and wisdom based on everyday skills. Local people taught Javanese migrants to produce sago powder, while Javanese migrants taught local people to plant rice.²⁴

Nrimo ing pandum as spiritual intelligence shows social change happened adaptively and responsively along with an increase in prosperity. In an interview, one migrant from Wonosobo admitted that their parents never thought of being fishermen since they lived in a mountain before coming to Waihatu. They had no experience with fishing or the sea, yet they started working as fisherman at Waihatu. This highlights that *nrimo ing pandum* as survival strategy gave them prosperity. They were poor farmers in Java before becoming landowners, independent contractors, and owners of fishing boats. Their average income now is more than IDR 5,000,000.00. What was experienced by the Javanese migrants in Waihatu is in line with Zohar and Marshall, who stated that spiritual intelligence is responsive action

²³ Noshipo Hlatshwayo and Kambidima Wotela, "Social Capital as Survival Strategy for Immigrants in South Africa: A Conceptual Framework", *Immigration and Development* (2018)

²⁴ John D Goss. "Transmigration in Maluku: Notes on Present Condition and Future Prospect", UHM CSEAS *Cakalele* 3 (1992); Lattu, *Menolak Narasi Tunggal*

towards situations and contexts, also the capability to learn and change obstacles into opportunity.²⁵ In order to thrive adaptably and responsively in the setting of pluralism, Javanese migrants in Waihatu live by the value of *nrimo ing pandum* and put it into practise in their daily lives as migrants and people of Maluku.

Tepa Salira: Spiritual Intelligence through Empathic Performance

Etymologically, *tepa* means measurement and *salira* means body.²⁶ *Tepa salira* means measuring one's body and action sensitivity.²⁷ Generally, *tepa salira* is viewed as the empathy owned by Javanese people, and is influenced by one's willingness to tolerate in social life.²⁸ *Tepa salira* is self-awareness to keep social relations stability through self-control as not to offend others.²⁹ *Tepa salira* is actualized in the language used, sensitivity to body language, and respectfulness.³⁰ In other words, *tepa salira* is spiritual awareness about performative emotional management in relation to caring and sensing.

Javanese migrants in Waihatu put meaning into *tepa salira* not only through empathy but also the capability to accept diversity and differences, which requires respect. There are four levels of spiritual intelligence found in this research related to the meaning of *tepa salira* by Javanese migrants in Waihatu: memory, negotiation, inclusiveness, and imagination, which then they are performed in the plurality context. The term "perform" here refers to the play or drama the Javanese migrants in Waihatu do according to their ability to have empathy in their plural life.

²⁵ Zohar & Marshall, *SQ*

²⁶ Elisabet Titik Murtisari, "Some Traditional Javanese Values in NSM: From God to Social Interaction", International, *Journal of Indonesian Studies* 1(2013)

²⁷ Ibid., 114.

²⁸ Suseno, *Etika Jawa*

²⁹ Eni Setyowati. "Profesional Indonesia dalam Dimensi Budaya di Kawasan Perbatasan", *Membangun Kedaulatan Bangsa Berdasarkan Nilai-Nilai Pancasila: Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dalam Kawasan Terluar, Terdepan, dan Tertinggal* (Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2015); Nita Trimulyaningsih. "Konsep Kepribadian Matang dalam Budaya Jawa-Islam: Menjawab Tantangan Globalisasi", *Buletin Psikologi* 25, 2 (2017), 89 – 98.

³⁰ Hiro Tugiman, *Budaya Jawa dan Mundurnya Presiden Soeharto* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1999)

In memory level, Javanese migrants in Waihatu continuously embrace their interactional experience in the past as a collective memory, namely interactions between Christian and Muslim migrants, between varied Islam ways, as well as between other migrants and local people. The interaction experiences as collective memory were then given verbal narration by previous generation to current generation. This includes the good things of Christian Javanese migrants as actors who bridged the relationship between Muslim Javanese migrants and local people. There were also narrative on how local people shared their alternate source of income with Javanese migrants, how local nurses in Waihatu assisted Javanese women who gave birth, and many others. Although guided by different versions of Islam, Muslim migrants always respect and nurture their varied Islam-Javanese cultures. Unlike conflicts in Java that happened between *abangan* and *santri*,³¹ in Waihatu *slametan* is carried out by performing various Javanese elements and dogmatic Islam, such as respecting ancestors and praying in Islamic way. Additionally, Javanese migrants also shared memory with other migrants in Waihatu in taking part in the development of their villages.

In negotiation level, Javanese migrants in Waihatu who live in the context of plurality possess capability to build negotiation sphere. Negotiation here does not refer to the assimilation nor acculturation process, but territorialization process, which clearly shows in the naming of their children. First generation names were like *Sutrah*, *Sukiem*; second generation were *Mulyono*, *Hartono*; now the third generation are named *Cyntia Rumi*, *Andi Novianto*.³² Other than names, there are other solidarity symbols built with Maluku nuances, for example there are *papeda* (Maluku traditional dish made of sago) provided in *slametan*. There are also performances from various ethnic in Waihatu in *Kirab Budaya* or culture celebration. These all have long history related to cultural negotiations in the past.

In inclusion level, Javanese migrants understand what it means to be open. The welcoming mindset of the Javanese immigrants in Waihatu extended respect for diversity as well as acceptance. Javanese migrants would address older or respected persons in higher Javanese language (*keromo*). They would also use Maluku dialects in speaking with

³¹ Geertz, *The Religion of Java*; Rickelfs, *Polarising Javanese Society*

³² Lattu, *Menolak Narasi Tunggal*

local people; employ the use of specific honorific like *daeng* (older brother) when they are speaking with migrants from South Sulawesi, or other specific honorific in accordance to the origin or identity of their speaking counterparts. Additionally, they still bow to agree or to ask for permission, kiss hands, and other mannerism to create harmony in their environment.

Lastly, Javanese migrants are aware of the fact that there are other factors besides race that separate them from natives, such as culture and lifestyle. There is an imaginary encounter between Malay and Melanesian, Javanese and Maluku, Kejawen and *Alifuru* (first tribe of Seram people). This imaginary meeting encounter created unique dialect with Javanese accent, which also delivered social cosmology related to the naming of Waihatu. This naming process cosmologically can be translated as the way Javanese people understand their life in Maluku.

In reference to Goffman's approach on *front and back stage*,³³ *tepa salira* in memory, negotiation, inclusion, and imagination levels are performances played by Javanese migrants in Waihatu to show emphatic performance towards plurality. *Tepa salira* is one of spiritual intelligence possessed by Javanese migrants in Waihatu where they employ emotions not only to give empathy but also to respect and accept diversity and differences. Zohar and Marshall as well as Amram state that spiritual intelligence is holistic, it can accept and celebrate diversity.³⁴ *Tepa salira*, which is owned by immigrant Javanese communities in Waihatu, has undergone territorialization, therefore its principles have not changed. This spiritual intelligence is celebrated in the form of emphatic performance transcendence and relational reality.

Memayu Hayuning Bawana: Spiritual Intelligence as Sense of Vocation

Etymologically, *memayu hayuning bawana* means beautifying (*ayu*) the earth that is created beautifully.³⁵ *Memayu hayuning bawana* stresses the value of life welfare in terms of cosmology and spiritually.³⁶ In relation

³³ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Anchor Book, 1959)

³⁴ Zohar & Marshall, *SQ*; Yosi Amram, *The Seven Dimensions of Spiritual Intelligence: An Ecumenical, Grounded Theory Paper*, 115th Annual Conference of the APA (2007)

³⁵ Based on interview, 2018

³⁶ Suwardi Endraswara, *Memayu Hayuning Bawana* (Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2013)

to cosmology, *memayu hayuning* is about the harmony of physical world (*bawana*).³⁷ Whereas in relation to spirituality, *memayu hayuning* is about anything spiritual that encourages good deeds.³⁸ Based on interviews with Javanese people in Central Java, *memayu hayuning bawana* is a philosophy born from human's deeds to beautify oneself, relationship with others, nature, and God.

In Waihatu, for Javanese migrants, *memayu hayuning bawana* means a philosophical value about good deed to beautify the world. As most Javanese, they understand world concept as something that is related to spiritual, material, and relation. Spiritually, Javanese migrants in Waihatu view that *memayu hayuning bawana* guides them to understand the values within their religion and the Javanese value, which leads them to develop character that is aware of morality and immorality. For material, Javanese migrants in Waihatu think that *memayu hayuning bawana* forces them to nurture material world, i.e. nature. For them, nature is not only to preserve and maintain, but also to function as their source of livelihood. As for relation, *memayu hayuning bawana* is thought to be able to integrate them in relationships that is not based on interests but the awareness to be openly and freely develop relationship. These three concepts within *memayu hayuning bawana* in fact occurs in the life of Javanese migrants in Waihatu because of the territorialized process of being Malukans and the understanding that Javanese migrants are newcomers in Maluku.

Memayu hayuning bawana that is lived by Javanese migrants in Waihatu is related to spiritual intelligence. As stated by Zohar and Marshall, spiritual intelligence is about conviction and potential to prosper, as well as to motivate.³⁹ This awareness develop *sense of vocation* or sense of calling to serve or to be involved in urgent matters for shared or communal concerns/interests. Zohar and Marshall said that *sense of vocation* is an intelligence to serve others by giving less importance to oneself.⁴⁰ In line with the view, Javanese migrants in Waihatu think *memayu hayuning bawana* as motivation and potential to develop self, material and metaphysical world, as well as social relationship. Their self-development is related to their identity as

³⁷ Ibid., 34

³⁸ Endraswara, *Memayu Hayuning Bawana*

³⁹ Zohar & Marshall, *SQ*

⁴⁰ Ibid., 30

Javanese people, migrants, members of Maluku society, and religious group. This self-awareness encourages spiritual intelligence to justify themselves for communal interest. Javanese migrants took part in preserving local food in Maluku, i.e. *sagu*. In time of communal conflict in 1999-2004 in Maluku, Javanese migrants were one of peace actors to prevent conflicts by conducting *Ikerar Bersama*, or a communal pledge to empower local people of Maluku through the development of a Waihatu market. This market is operated through barterers.

Javanese Spiritual Intelligence as the Base of Multicultural Politics

As mentioned previously, the Javanese philosophy held by Javanese migrants in Waihatu forms spiritual intelligence. Those philosophies namely *nrimo ing pandum*, *tepa salira*, and *memayu bayuning bawana* went through territorialized process in Maluku. This process is connected to the concept of plurality, which includes issues of ethnicity, religion, and culture that Javanese migrants in Waihatu encounter. As a result, it encouraged them to manage diversity continuously in their lives, whether it be on a daily basis or only in specific situations and contexts. In accordance with Javanese ideology, managing diversity involves not only fostering exclusivism but also ensuring that Javanese people living in Maluku or Maluku residents of Javanese ethnicity survive, are sensitive, and maintain order.

Spiritual intelligence in Waihatu was born from Javanese philosophy and plurality in Maluku. First thing is to put spiritual intelligence as philosophy. Zohar, Marshall, and Emmons, as well as Ronel and Gan mentioned that spiritual intelligence is one's action that is influenced by their deepest conviction, while man's deepest conviction is built by spiritual information (philosophy).⁴¹ Morality is created by experiences that are founded on righteous conduct. Integrating spiritual intelligence means developing correlation among spirituality, religiousness, and awareness that is fundamentally influencing body, mind, soul, and life to walk along the deepest conviction.⁴² Amram stated that spiritual intelligence is formed from seven dimensions, i.e. (1) *consciousness* that is related to awareness to build intuition; (2) *grace* relates to harmony that is built by purity, love,

⁴¹ Zohar & Marshall, *SQ*; Emmons, "Is Spirituality and Intelligence"; Ronel & Gan, "The Experience of Spiritual Intelligence"

⁴² Vaughan, "What is Spiritual Intelligence"; Phillips, *No Ordinary Time*

and trust; (3) *meaning* relates to important experiences; (4) *transcendence* relates to acceptance, respect, empathy, and generosity; (5) *truth* relates to live openly, curiosity, and love to all creations; (6) *peaceful surrender to self* relates to finding self-peace by surrendering selfishness, and; (7) *inner-directedness* relates to creativity, consciousness, and responsibility.⁴³ Javanese philosophy within each Javanese migrant in Waihatu has developed *spiritual sphere* to organize themselves in line with their values.

Plurality in Waihatu depicts that Javanese migrants are able to build inclusiveness. They were part of an initiative that's supposed to deliver a national food self-sufficiency program. They faced not only geographical challenges, but also cultural and social plurality in Maluku. Hefner believed that the working class was the backbone of democracy and that this gave them the capacity to self-govern in terms of citizenship and multiculturalism.⁴⁴ Hefner added, however, that while there are still class interests, inclusivity and public engagement are insufficient. This concern in fact is addressed through various approaches, one of which is the role of civic society. Regardless Al-Qurtuby explained that civic society would be ineffective in citizen war if virtues are not involved.⁴⁵ Also Therik stressed that in case civic society fails, an alternative is through culture strengthening and functioning.⁴⁶ It's a bit naïve if multiculturalism politics is based only on universal tolerance or sympathy. In multiculturalism approach, Parekh said that multiculturalism is a creative innovation that encourages culture experimentation.⁴⁷ Thus, multiculturalism is an effort to empower culture continuously whilst performing inter-culture experimentation for the creation of new cultural sphere. This, however, is not easy to achieve unless accompanied by spiritual intelligence.

Nrimo ing pandum is seen as spiritual intelligence in livelihood. The meaning of *nrimo ing pandum* in Waihatu is shifted from the original

⁴³ Amram, *The Seven Dimensions of Spiritual Intelligence*

⁴⁴ Hefner, *The Politics of Multiculturalism*

⁴⁵ Sumanto Al-Qurtuby. "The Paradox of Civil Society", *Asian Journal of Social Science* 46 (2018), 5-34.

⁴⁶ Wilson M A Therik, *Relasi Negara dan Masyarakat di Rote* (Salatiga: Satya Wacana University Press, 2014)

⁴⁷ Bhikhu Parekh. *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (New York: Macmillan, 2000)

meaning that is held in Java, i.e. accepting their destiny or fate gratefully. In Waihatu, it is an effort to survive, which then encouraged them to be responsive and adaptive in accepting differences and diversity. Surviving strategies in human life is said to be successful whenever they are able to organize, communicate, and innovate.⁴⁸ Similarly, Javanese migrants in Waihatu learned the culture of Maluku like language, skills, cosmology, and other to survive in plurality context. *Nrimo ing pandum* in plurality context is spiritual intelligence that is adaptive and responsive towards their context and situation.

Tepa salira as spiritual intelligence by Javanese migrants in Waihatu is categorized as a performance in the awareness level. *Tepa salira* is *holism*, because it is related to memory, negotiation, inclusion, and imagination. Memory about past relationship, cultural negotiation, inclusive solidarity symbols, and imagination about diversity becomes new ways to strengthen the empathy of Javanese migrants in Waihatu. This is performed through daily mutual-relationship, rituals, and formal relationships, which shows shared awareness. The negotiation process between Chinese and Islamic cultures that the transnational Muslim Chinese community went through is comparable to what happened in Waihatu, which is why mosques with Chinese architecture were built in Indonesia.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Javanese migrants in Waihatu empathically negotiated through their awareness to accept as well as celebrate diversity. *Tepa salira* as spiritual intelligence put empathy as the foundation of performance in the plurality context.

Memayu hayuning bawana as spiritual intelligence by Javanese migrants in Waihatu is part of *sense of vocation*, in the view that *memayu hayuning bawana* formed morality based on one's deepest conviction through religious rituals and interactional experiences. The forming of morality based on *memayu hayuning bawana* is not separated from multi-identity of the Javanese migrants, i.e. as Javanese, migrants, Maluku community, and religious group. This gives a calling to serve shared interests that is in line with experiences gained through virtues or good deeds. Pariela's research in Wayame, Maluku, mentioned a peace actor called Team 20, who assigned themselves to maintain peace in the

⁴⁸ Emily Shuckburgh, "Survival of the Human Race", *Survival* (New York: Cambridge University, 2008)

⁴⁹ Hew Wai Weng, "Beyond 'Chinese Diaspora' and 'Islamic Ummah': Various Transnational Connections and Local Negotiations of Chinese Muslim Identities in Indonesia", *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 29, 3 (2014).

communal conflict 1999-2004 in Maluku based on shared calling and responsibility.⁵⁰ Similarly in Waihatu, Javanese migrants were called and feel responsible to nurture nature as their source of livelihood and solidarity symbols; they were also involved in preventing 1999-2004 communal conflict, as their effort to beautify the world in the plurality context.

The spiritual intelligence possessed by Javanese migrants in Waihatu shows a civic vision aiming at inclusive diversity and differences. Spiritual intelligence is a life quality, one that is related to diversity celebration.⁵¹ Spiritual intelligence as a set of spiritual resources or capacity – including philosophy – encourages human to create wisdom and to maintain peace continuously along with their deepest conviction. This is what Javanese migrants in Waihatu did to understand their Javanese in plurality context. By establishing a spiritual realm, this Javanese philosophy establishes morality. The daily multiplicity of morals among Javanese migrants in Waihatu leads to the formation of spiritual intelligence. Spiritual intelligence in plurality context is the result of territorialized-experiments of various cultures. These territorialized-experiments contribute to create virtues for individuals and community life in Waihatu. Correlation between Javanese and plurality in Maluku creates spiritual intelligence such as *nrimo ing pandum* which becomes territorialized in plurality becomes *survival strategy*, *tepa salira* to become *performance*, and *memayu bayuning bawana* becomes *sense of vocation*. Spiritual intelligence in terms of *survival strategy*, *empathic performance*, and *sense of vocation* is the base of multiculturalism politics since it has to do with how diverse cultural groups appreciate one another. That diversity is not seen in light of tolerance but through daily life.

Islamic Solidarity of Javanese migrants in Waihatu in the light of Spiritual Intelligence

In Indonesia, Muslim communities have somewhat paradoxical solidarity. Their solidarity is based on primordialism and particularism (*ukhuwah islamiyah*). On the other hand, their solidarity can bridge relationships based on nation brotherhood (*ukhuwah wathaniyah*) and brotherhood among the human race (*ukhuwah basyariah*). Universally,

⁵⁰ Tonny D Pariela, *Damai di Tengah Konflik Maluku: Preserved Social Capital sebagai Basis Survival Strategy*. Ph.D diss. Satya Wacana Christian University (2008)

⁵¹ Zohar & Marshall, *SQ*

the discourse on Islamic solidarity in Indonesia is based on similarities, not yet on differences. Political conflicts between traditional and modern Islam, the emergence of Islamic groups as opposition, the banning of congratulating other religious holidays by the Board of Islamic Leaders (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, MUI), and various hate-speech towards other religions by Islamic figures, show that solidarity is indeed paradoxical. Those phenomena affect daily interreligious relationships, even among different variants of Islam, particularly those in cities. However, Muslims who live in villages or kampongs—who tend to have a simple way of thinking—are those who develop harmonious relationships instead of insisting on theological doctrines and religious interpretation.

Relationship tensions between Javanese Muslim migrants and local Christian Mollucans had started since 1999-2004 communal conflict in Maluku. With the arrival of Islamic militants (*Laskar Jihad*) from Java to Maluku, Mollucan Christians' beliefs in Javanese Muslim migrants slowly faded. Based on their variant, the *Laskar Jihad* from Java arrived in Maluku had different missions, i.e.; (1) defending fellow Muslims in Maluku from local separatists, and; (2) planning to establish an Islamic Sharia nation.⁵² In contrast to other Muslim migrant communities, Javanese Muslim migrants did not possess a market network. For instance, Butonese migrants led grassroots markets where they showed their sovereignty.⁵³ Hence, despite being moderate in their interreligious relationships, Javanese Muslim migrants were still stereotyped as Islamic radicalists among Mollucan Christian communities.

The tension between Mollucan Muslim-Christian communities was solved quickly thanks to the cultural network (*pela-gandong*). However, Javanese Muslim migrants do not have any cultural network to achieve a peace agreement, particularly among moderate Islam communities in Waihatu village. One way to show their moderate Islam is through philosophy-based spiritual intelligence so they can be accepted by the local Mollucan community. Here lies the Javanese spiritual intelligence that does not use religious identity to build an intimate social sphere. In contrast, Javanese Muslim migrants in

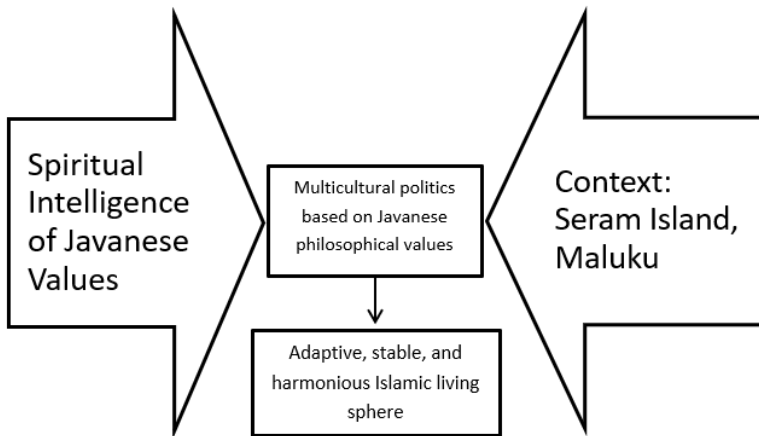
⁵² Al-Qurtuby, *Religious Violence and Conciliation in Indonesia*

⁵³ Hatib Kadir. "Migrant Traders in the Marketplaces (Pasar) and their Domination in the Post-conflict Society of the Moluccas Province, Indonesia", *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, (2019)

Waihatu tried to declare their Islam identity that upholds Javanese values. Javanese Muslim migrants were able to adapt and manage Mollucans' natural resources, strive for peace work during the faith-based communal conflict, celebrate Javanese values in their daily life as rituals, and create multicultural social relationships. One Javanese Muslim migrant in Waihatu stated that their Islamic identity is a matter of legitimate issue of living as a citizen of Indonesia; and that the Javanese values embodied in their life in Maluku is a way to go beyond tolerance, that is solidarity as human beings.

Image 1.

Spiritual Intelligence as Multiculturalism Political Base



Spiritual intelligence among Javanese Muslim migrants in Waihatu does not originate from the Islamic religious dimension but is born from conscience and logic in reading the context of Seram Island in Maluku. Thus, Javanese values were arisen by each Javanese Muslim migrant in Waihatu to establish multicultural politics in surviving and empathizing, but also in contributing as social actors voicing religious moderation. This is performed to create a stable, adaptive, and harmonious living sphere for Javanese Muslim migrants. That living sphere is a symbol of continuous social solidarity, as Alexander mentioned that social solidarity can create multicultural tenacity.⁵⁴ This multicultural tenacity is identified by interethnic economic morality,

⁵⁴ Jeffrey Alexander. *The Civil Sphere* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)

moderate religiosity, and celebrating Javanese values and rituals in the host location. They gain sovereignty to develop themselves as a subordinate community in Maluku. Hence, the Javanese migrants' Islamic identity in Waihatu is strongly affected by spiritual intelligence based on Javanese values. There is no clash between Mollucanese and Javanese cultures since Javanese values are how to spiritually view life, and not to oppose nor dominate Mollucanese values. Among Javanese Muslim migrants in Waihatu, spiritual intelligence based on Javanese values has assisted the creation process of Islam's civil sphere influenced by social solidarity so that pluralism is celebrated continuously.

It cannot be denied that Javanese Muslim migrants in Waihatu have different variants. So far as this research, Islam in Waihatu consists of *kejawan* and *santri*. However, the *santri* are not particularistic nor radical but very moderate. On the other hand, *kejawan* is more inclusive towards Mollucan's values and Christianity around them. Islam which is based on the spiritual intelligence of Javanese values even turns Waihatu into a physical, virtual, and ritual solidarity sphere. It means that interreligious solidarity has taken place relationally. This reality is then uploaded into virtual spheres to show analog solidarity (based on reality instead of an image). Moreover, Javanese rituals enrich Islam identity through *slametan*, *kirab budaya*, *kungkum*, *sedekah bumi*, and others. Islamic solidarity in Waihatu is the manifestation of spiritual intelligence based on Javanese values that multicultural politics can be applied cohesively and inclusively.

Conclusion

Despite Javanese values may be glorified in this article, Islamic values and relationships between religions flourish in accordance with the lifeview. Javanese Muslim migrants in Waihatu has embodied Javanese values as spiritual intelligence, especially philosophically, since their life on Seram Island began. Since then, Javanese Muslim migrants are accepted socially due to their humility and being inclusive to the social-cultural landscape in Maluku, particularly Christianity. During 1999-2004 communal conflict, they took part in the work peace. To date, Javanese Muslim migrants keep maintaining the stability of Islam's social sphere with social solidarity obtained from the spiritual intelligence of Javanese values.

Javanese philosophy and pluralism in Maluku, such as *nrimo ing pandum*, *tepa salira*, as well as *memayu bayuning bawana*, which constitute a spiritual sphere on good values and morality, have an influence on spiritual intelligence as a multicultural political base in the setting of Javanese migrants in Waihatu. The life of Javanese migrants in the context of pluralism encouraged the birth of territorialized-experimental process. The meeting of spiritual sphere and territorialized-experimental process in the daily life creates spiritual intelligence (SQ). This then functions as multicultural political, which later shift the meaning of *nrimo ing pandum*, *tepa salira*, and *memayu hanyuning bawana* into *survival strategy*, *empathic performance*, and *sense of vocation* respectively.

Nrimo ing pandum, which represents life's surrender, has been territorialized into *survival strategy* by studying various locality of Maluku. *Tepa salira* which initially cased on emotions went territorialized, hence awareness to celebrate diversity (*empathic performance*). Lastly, *memayu bayuning bawana* was territorialized into *sense of vocation*, and as a result, efforts were made to further shared goals as part of beautifying physical and non- physical world. *Survival strategy*, *empathic performance*, and *sense of vocation* as spiritual intelligence are related to multiculturalism politics since it is created experimentally by studying various cultures based on morality in the midst of plurality.

In Indonesia, contents on diversity and differences have become weakest points on democracy. This sparked radicalism, disintegration, dissociative interaction, racism, and extremism in inter-religion and – ethnic relationships. Nationalism in development is restricted to the government's provision of infrastructure to a specific ethnic group, and intercultural relationships are losing their importance as the foundation of sustainable development. It the purpose of this research to elaborate multicultural politics based on spiritual intelligence. It is not as naïve as tolerance campaign, but comes from everyday spirituality in celebrating diversity and differences (*the politics of multiculturalism*) as the conviction of virtues or good deeds (*spiritual intelligence*). []

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