

Harmonization Discussion of Islamic Party and Christian Journalists Association at Public Sphere

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Abstract

This study aims to reveal the involvement of Islamic party politicians, in this case politician Mardani Ali Sera from The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), in conveying his thoughts to the public and private spheres, as well as in a discussion of multiculturalism. The discussion had the theme of implementing Pancasila and culture organized by the Christian journalists' association (Pewarna). The study used a qualitative approach through a critical paradigm, with a textual analysis method known as discourse analysis with reference to Habermas 'public and private sphere theory and Talcott Parsons' theory of structural functionalism. The results of the study reveal that Mardani Ali Sera uses the delivery of his opinion both through public and private spheres by using more latent pattern maintenance values for the theory of functional structuralism in solving current problems. The findings from this research are that a healthy public sphere is needed to increase understanding of the differences in values in the private sphere, strengthen them, and share them in the public sphere by prioritizing harmony.

Keywords

Discourse Analysis; Harmonization; Islamic Party; Public Sphere; Structural Functionalism Theory.

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Introduction

In the 2019 presidential election, the debate between religion and the state took place again. The debate that occurred was not on Islam as the basis of the state, but growing to the contestation of the presidential election, religious attributes were raised, such as: scriptural competition, conversion status, ethnic descent and accentuating certain religious, thus giving rise to the populism of identity politics. (Arjon, 2018; Meyerson, 2008). The relationship between the state and Islam, at the conclusion of Abshar's research, notes three paradigms, namely "secularist", "traditionalist", and "reformist or moderate Islam". The "secular" (liberal) Islamic paradigm holds that Islam separates political and religious affairs, while the "traditionalist-revivalist" paradigm (Islamism) holds that Islam includes social and state system, a kind of way of life, obliged to establish an Islamic state, finally the paradigm "reformists" (moderate Islam), have the view that governance issues are left to human *ijtihad*, however, Islamic values such as honesty, responsibility, justice, brotherhood, plurality, equality, deliberation, peace, freedom and social control must be practiced referring to in the Qur'an (Abshar, 2019; Qodarsasasi & Ghofur, 2020). The term public sphere was introduced by Habermas in the early 18th and 19th centuries. Habermas developed the concept of a public sphere that functions as an intermediary for individual private concerns in social, economic and family life, which is described as allowing debate and expression of opinions in equal conditions in the public sphere (Ibrahim, 2010; Noor, 2012). The public building, but rather a space to convey interests and opinions, the aim is to overcome differences to reach a common consensus (Mustaqim, 2013). Religious issues that are drawn into the public sphere are not new problems (Hayati, 2018; Welton, 2001; Abidin, 2014; Mustaqim, 2013).

The theory of structural functionalism was built by Talcott Parsons by offering a balance (equilibrium). This theory assumes that society is in a state of movement in balance, society is bound by values, norms, and general morality. Society is united in a social system consisting of parts leading to balance. Changes in a certain part will also bring changes to others. Parson introduced the AGIL theory, namely Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration, and Latency pattern maintenance. Adaptation, is promoting self-conformity by prioritizing public interests. Goal attainment is using resources effectively by considering the priority of the main goals. Integration is using the form of regularity between elements, prevents mutual intervention so as not to cause friction. Latency pattern maintenance is ensuring the system runs according to norms, maintains culture, maintain relationships without breaking each other's trust (Tittenbrun, 2013; Puspitawati, 2012). Several studies have found that in order to avoid friction, the community maintains harmony in the form of government involvement by carrying out fair laws, maintaining local wisdom values, involving religious leaders, community leaders, and traditional leaders who become aspirations for justice and family life. (Sukardiman, 2019; Sahfutra, 2012; Ritauw, 2018; Ruslan, 2017; Kurniawan, 2017). Meanwhile, Abshar's research leaves a suggestion that politicians have a high level of awareness, not to use religion as a political tool. This can be a factor in the occurrence of religious disintegration (Abshar, 2019). This paper states to reveal how Islamic parties, in this case PKS represented by politician Mardani Ali Sera, implement Pancasila and cultural values in the private and public sphere based on Habermas theory which supports Talcott Parson's structural functionalism theory, thus answering these values. Islamic values brought by the PKS Islamic party implement the values of Pancasila and culture in public and private spheres. This is related to the fact that PKS has become an open party that not only belongs to Islamists, but non-Muslims can become part of PKS (Luthitianti, 2019). Although previous studies have been found, and presented research results regarding solutions in overcoming multiculturalism conflicts, there is no research on multiculturalism that suggests the views of politicians who separate the problem of multiculturalism in public and private spheres, the novelty of this research is discusses how politicians harmonize Pancasila values and culture in the public and private spheres.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach through a critical paradigm, with a textual analysis method known as discourse analysis, as shown in figure. 1. Discourse analysis is used to reveal the involvement of politicians from Islamic parties, Mardani Ali Sera from The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) who is also a member of the Commission I of The House of Representatives of The Republic

of Indonesia (DPR-RI). The object analyzed was the message conveyed by Mardani Ali Sera as a representative of the Islamic party in conveying his thoughts about the implementation of Pancasila and culture. The message is translated using text. Participants who attended the discussion came from a variety of cultures, religious, ethnicities, and intergroup, held by the Christian Journalists Association (Pewarna).

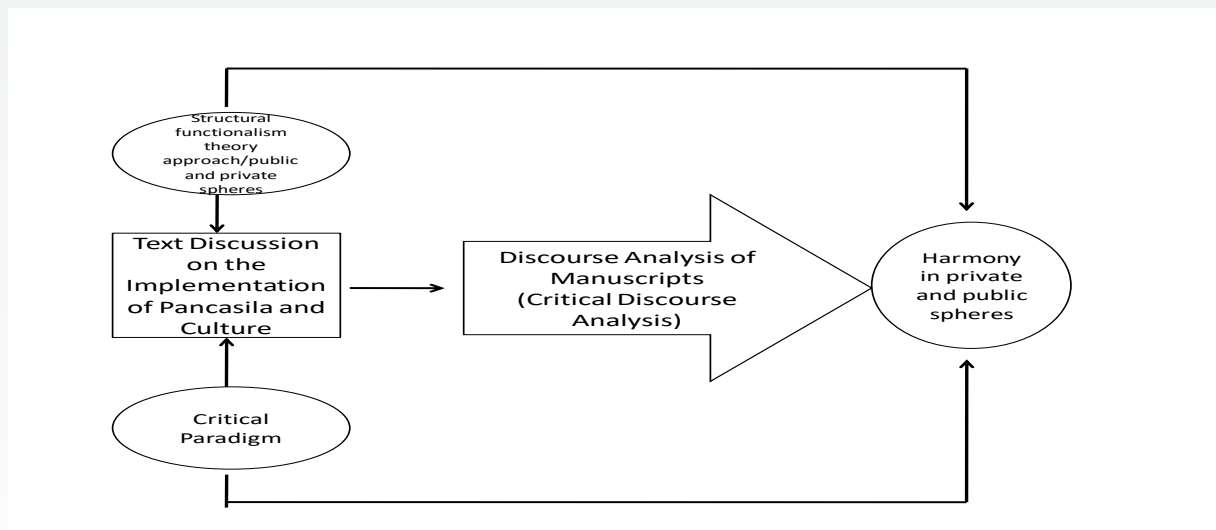


Figure 1. Discourse Analysis Process
Source: Processed data

This study uses Habermas's theory of public and private sphere and Talcott Parsons' Theory of Structural functionalism to analyze Norman Fairlough's Critical Discourse Analysis as shown in Figure 2. The data collection technique is done by taking a discussion and then making it in the text form.

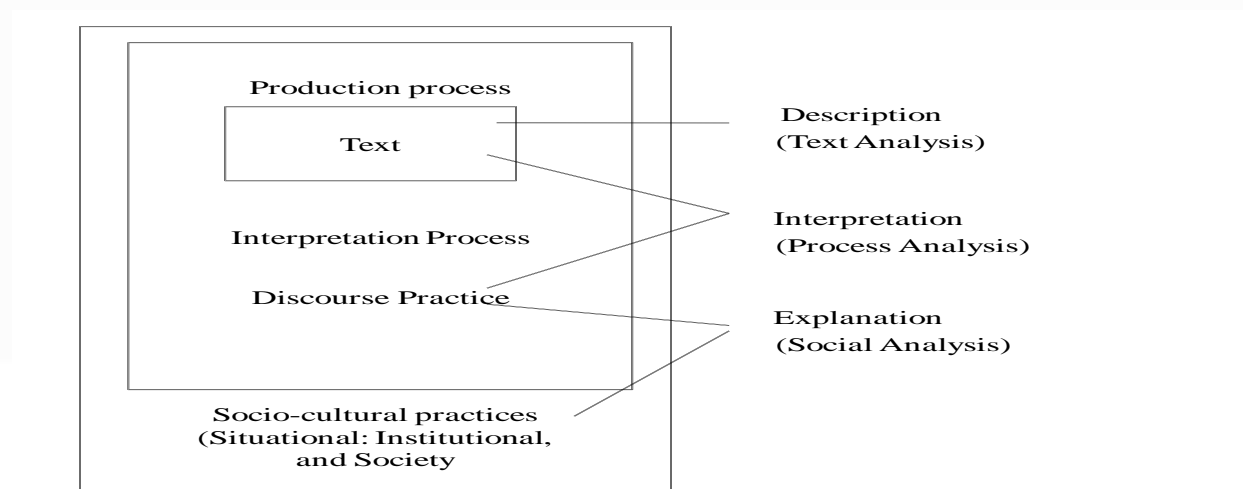


Figure 2. CDA Norman Fairlough
Source: (Hamad, 2007)

Result and Discussion

The discussion program was organized by The Christian Journalists Association (Pewarna) which was held on Thursday, July 30, 2020 from 10.00-12.00 am by zoom application. The theme is Implementation of Pancasila and Culture, inviting speaker Mardani Ali Sera, member of The Indonesia House of Representatives Commission I of the PKS Faction, Sugeng Teguh Santoso, chairperson of the One Foundation Justice, Advisor for Pewarna, and Rahayu Saraswati, a candidate for Deputy Mayor of South Tangerang, Gerindra Politician, and Chair of the Women's Advocacy Division of the Gerindra Central Leadership Council (DPP). Other speaker, Dr. Hj. Siti Nur Azizah Ma'ruf who was unable to attend due to a meeting with the party, meanwhile Firman Jaya

Daeli, Chair of The Indonesian Centre for Political and Security Studies (Puspolkam), did not attend.



Figure 3. Pewarna Discussion activity flyers

Source: Perwarna Discussion Flyer

The following are the opening session, questions and answers, and closing statements delivered by Mardani Ali Sera as a one of speakers from the Members of the Indonesian Parliament Commission I of the PKS Faction:

Table 1.

Opening Session

Topics/ Questions	Public Sphere	Private Sphere	Harmonious
Opener	Permit for the next 10 minutes to convey some of my thoughts and ideas related to the theme of Pancasila and culture good morning towards noon, best wishes to all of us,	"bismillahirrahmanirrahim, assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh", the opening sentence of religion	Opening with a more general sentence (public sphere) inserts the opening expression of the private sphere
The first principle	That every person has religious values, belief values, it is legal and permissible, Mosques, Churches, Pure, and all of them become a source of values, a source of morals, personal morals, how are we able to contemplate, able to increase love for the Powerful	That every individual has religious values, belief values, it is legal and permissible, Mosque as a source of values, morals, personal morals, each individual increases his love for the Almighty	Confirming in the public sphere of Almighty God, individuals have God and their beliefs as the source of values, morals, and morals starts from increasing his love for God and contributing to togetherness

Second precept of Pancasila	Humans are not preoccupied with themselves but are able to act fairly and civilized, balance personal and communal interests, the earth and the sky, and become the basis for our mutual cooperation, mutual compassion, nurture.	Balancing between the world and the hereafter, becomes the basis for mutual help	Balancing personal, group, State, mutual respect
The third precept of Pancasila	We construct our thoughts, how to construct so that existing values are manifested in the form of a state, able to formulate a society into a nation into a state with the concept of Indonesian unity	Constructing religious values is manifested in the form of a State with the concept of Indonesian unity	Construct the values that already exist in society, to unite to form a country
Fourth Precept of Pancasila	This is not something easy, but we continue to walk, how it turns out we are able to experiment, even though our point of view is not finished. this is our responsibility	Continue to try to harmonize religious views in a state, the responsibility of the ummah	Trying to equalize different views in the state, shared responsibility
Fifth Precept of Pancasila	Pancasila is the source of our values, our mutual concern, must be guarded together, there should be no efforts like the old order, the new order or any order that tries to interpret one-sidedness, let it be an open ideology, has strong roots, grows with branches that illuminate, protect, inspire for the whole nation.	Pancasila is in harmony with religion, there should be no effort to eliminate the values of Pancasila, become an ideology, the strong roots of values that are not against religion, so that it grows based on these values.	Pancasila, the source of values, must be maintained, there should be no efforts to reduce its values. Become an open ideology rooted in cultural values, grow together, enlighten, protect and inspire.
culture	our education does not provide room for culture. Chairil Anwar translates poetry, extraordinarily creative, poetry Girl Go Home Girl, "Gadis Pulang Gadis", the word girl can be interpreted as ladies, "Puan", women, finally "Dara". It's becoming "Dara Pulang Dara", culture softens, literature makes us melt, Culture queues us up, not yet, culture adorns different thoughts, not yet,	Culture as well as religious teachings, softens. With softening religious values will grow mutual respect, softening values will have an impact on a culture of mutual respect	Understanding culture through literary works helps to understand the selection of the right words to respect each other, has an impact on the appreciation of different ideas of thought, including the culture of queuing for applications of mutual respect

Source: Results of text analysis

In the table, we can see how the speaker provide his understanding of Pancasila in the concept of public and private spheres in a public sphere, the speaker open with a speech representing the public and private spheres to balance it (Adaptation). In the first principle, the speaker wants to emphasize the concept of godhead by underlining the personal right to worship according to his religion, and from that individual belief, will appear in the public sphere of moral resources, personal morality, and being able to contemplate increasing love for God.

In the second principle, the resource person wants to relate to the first principle by giving a picture that humans are not busy with themselves, but then dividing their interests between public and private spheres, which then creates an attitude of mutual help, compassion, hone, foster. Then the third principle is also associated with the values that have grown in the public and private spheres from the first and second precepts to form the state. Both the first to the third precepts, sources refer to the Latency pattern maintenance.

Whereas in the fourth precept, the resource person acknowledged that there were unfinished views in both the public and private spheres which were continuously pursued by experimenting to implement the fourth precept referring to the Goal attainment. In the fifth principle, the speaker emphasizes not to reduce the values that exist in Pancasila both in the public and private spheres (Integration).

Furthermore, in the material about culture, the speaker gave an understanding that the aspect that must be put forward is an understanding of language with a deeper meaning so as to find softer meanings to respect each other and appreciate different ideas of thought (Latency pattern maintenance).

Table 2.

Question and Answering Session

Topics/ Questions	Public Sphere	Private Sphere	Harmonious
How do you think about Kampung Sawah that respects each other and even Eid at the church?	because the harmony is going well, the "silaturrahmi" goes well, the leader of neighbourhood treats all fairly, so that in Kampung Sawah, Lebaran Betawi is carried out in the church and in the community, how can Kampung Sawah become a small laboratory that we can continue to develop, which we can continue to cultivate and distribute to the community	"Silaturrahmi" is good communication between fellow citizens, fair, mutual respect between religions, Eid Betawi as a culture celebrated in the church and as a religion celebrated by the Islamic ummah. Coexistence between the ummah and mutual respect can be an example in social life	Balancing between culture and religion through fair treatment so that one can respect each other by celebrating Eid together at church and in society. Mutual respect, continues to be developed as an example in social life
religion should not be included in the education curriculum, what do you think?	This idea is counterproductive, what must be done to the community is to socialize how the public sphere becomes a healthy sphere, containing mutual help, mutual respect, there is a thesis, antithesis, synthesis is allowed. If there is coercion,	Religion is part of education, there is opposition from religious people who want to instilling religious values as part of living a healthy society. Worried that the pros and cons are getting tapered, in the space of religion, justice, truth and equality are clear. There needs to be a deeper	It needs careful thinking on the pros and cons and improvements in a healthy public sphere, so as to allow for discussion in a mutually respectful manner There should be no coercion, but it can be discussed in a public sphere where justice, truth, equality is put forward. If the public sphere is healthy, there will be a balanced discussion to realize the rights of every

	<p>I am worried, my public sphere agrees, there is a room where justice, a space where truth, equality must be put forward,</p> <p>Later it will automatically reach a consensus where the public sphere is a space that must give every single of Indonesian citizen the right to be heard, supported and considered, so that the goal of a state to protect all land, territory, and all spilled Indonesian blood can be realized.</p>	<p>understanding of religious values and strong culture, so that everyone is aware of the purpose of the State in protecting every person, territory, homeland of Indonesia.</p>	<p>person in the nation and state.</p>
<p>what about the results of the research which stated that 67 percent of Pancasila teachers were exposed to radicalism?</p>	<p>We need to define radicalism, 67 percent of Pancasila teachers exposed to radicalism need a second opinion, what kind of definition of radicalism, what format the questionnaire is? I believe with the normal curve there are 20-60-20, 20 extremes left, 20 extreme right, 60 normal, wherever this kind of thing will always apply, we are busy dealing with the 20 percent while ignoring the main 80 percent.</p>	<p>The understanding of radicalism in religion is different, it needs to be clearer what is meant by radicalism, so that 67 percent is the correct number. Thinking 80 percent is better than thinking about 20 percent</p>	<p>Separating radicalism in the sense of religion and understanding in general, it is easier to reconcile 80 percent of thought and try not to highlight the differences in the 20 percent</p>
<p>How to interpret Pancasila, is it necessary to make a law so that there is equality in interpreting it?</p>	<p>Let Pancasila be interpreted by each of us, because it is our big house, but there is mutual agreement. It is associated with elite, elite, elite. I</p>	<p>Pancasila is interpreted with religious values. Especially elite behavior which exemplifies from time to time with religious values and their underlying. Prayers in</p>	<p>Pancasila is interpreted by the values embedded in society. Prayers can be done by anyone who is considered capable of mutually agreed upon values. The elite is an example in instilling wise values, which can be</p>

am sad about the prayer, Ms Saras, the public sphere should just be ignorant, even though Mas Sugeng was very extreme, only says good morning, Ms. Saras is very fair, the important thing is that we respect the public, become the decisive elite. Any interpretation of Pancasila if the elite behavior of the quote n unquotes does not reflect, it will be difficult. Interpretation is not required, but exemplary elite examples are needed.

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and PKS are different, HTI carries the caliphate, PKS is clearly NKRI, HTI has its own concept, HTI forbids democracy, PKS respects democracy.

PKS tries to accommodate, when we have communicated, beautiful, delicious. We need role models and Pancasila is not done with rules, but role models. I agree on how we separate which public space and which private space, where we try to always present and get their rights.

the private sphere already have their own rules, the greeting will refer to the private, elite space that reflects Pancasila with examples of elite behaviour

PKS and HTI have the same values in the concept of religion.

PKS collaborates with mass organizations that are in accordance with religious values, as well as seeing the problem substantially by following religious rules. balancing the public and private spheres according to religious rules

In Islam, a woman cannot be a leader or lead a prayer for men

reflected in the Pancasila values followed by the Indonesian people in applying the values of Pancasila.

PKS and HTI have different concepts from a democratic perspective

Harmonization between friends of religion (HTI) and public pressure in general. Seeing problems by following the established rules, and criticizing the procedures carried out

Leading prayers can be done in accordance with generally accepted values, regardless of social status, gender, etc.

Pancasila does not need to be regulated in law, but it is reflected in the attitude and behavior of a wise elite, by promoting the values of unity.

Again, the case of Ms Saras (Rahayu Saraswati unable to lead a prayer during the DPR session) cannot be a minor matter, that's where Pancasila exist.

Pancasila is not in the statutory book, but in the attitude of the elite, especially the leadership, in deciding cases, from there the community will judge Pancasila as alive, so that really everyone has a voice, every group can deliver, because Indonesia is so diverse how humiliated we are

Pancasila is carried out with religious values that respect each other; these values will serve as examples in developing Pancasila

Source: Results of text analysis

There were four questions posed to a speaker from PKS, Mardani Ali Sera, regarding the implementation of Pancasila and culture. This question was asked more to Mardani than other speakers who is inviting, in a fairly short time, presenting three speakers within 120 minutes. The first question asking how Kampung Sawah, whose inhabitants are from the Betawi tribe, have various religions, but respect each other, even celebrate Eid at church. The speaker answers by provide views regarding leaders, communities, and examples of a place of harmony. According Mardani, leaders and the community stay with each other, in the private sphere "bersilaturahmi" means will get a lot of luck, meanwhile in the public sphere it is establish communication to understand each other. In this case the speaker tries to describe the community celebrating, expressed by celebrating in the church as part of culture, and celebrating in the community as a part of the Islamic ummah, referring to Adaptation. Mardani said Kampung Sawah can be an example of mutual respect between religious and cultural communities. It is referring to the Latency pattern maintenance. Second question asking about regarding to religious subjects, that should not be included in the curriculum, Mardani answering by separating the public and private spheres by calling them counterproductive. In the private sphere, of course this becomes a counter that will result in friction, it is referring to Integration. Meanwhile in the public sphere, this needs to be socialized as a healthy sphere to discuss with each other and strengthen the private sphere by creating justice, truth, and equality, so that in the public sphere healthy discussion will be created and will appear in the goal of the state which protects all citizens, the nation, and the state of Indonesia. It refers to the Goal attainment.

Third question asking about a research result found that 67 percent of Pancasila teacher exposed to radicalism, it will take consequences for the education, the speaker referred to the private sphere to define radicalism and the public sphere to define and review the instruments being carried out. Thus, it shares a common view in both the public and private spheres of Integration. Mardani also gave an overview of the harmony with the normal curve, where in the private sphere there are pros and cons of 20 percent, so that harmony can work well, 80 percent will prioritize instead of 20 percent. It is referring to Goal attainment.

At last, an equally exciting question is asking whether it is necessary to make a law for Pancasila values so that they are easy to apply. Mardani conveyed that by looking at the wealth of individuals with private values they had by mutual agreement to interpret Pancasila. One example that was expressed was when the Gerindra party representative (Rahayu Saraswati) could not lead a pray during a session at the MPR DPR, because she is not coming from a majority religion and a woman. In a private sphere, women and other religion could not lead a pray in the majority group. Mardani distinguishes between the public and private domains by saying that this happens in the public sphere, so that things that cannot be done in the private sphere can be done in the public sphere. Pancasila will provide examples of cases that can be learned from experience in solving value problems. So that Pancasila will be seen in the public and private sphere. Mardani emphasized the elite to be living examples with Pancasila values in the public and private sphere. The emphasis is on Integration. Another thing that was also conveyed by the speaker was related to his party which is close to the party labelled radicalism, namely Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). According to the speaker, his party has never defended HTI, but it has put forward procedures. In the public sphere, procedures must be adhered to by conducting a trial first and then dismissing them, not to the other way around. In this case, Mardani emphasized Integration. However, in the private sphere it cannot be avoided, because the party and HTI have the same religious ideology.

Table 3.

Closing Session

Topics/ Questions	Public Sphere	Private Sphere	Harmonious
Division of society	We are also grateful that not only six religions, but added with Belief, let this process, the existing religions, there are divisions, that is a fact, what is happening now is money politics, dynastic politics is getting stronger, big ideas, big thoughts, such as autumn, leadership and big ideas, like mushrooms in the rainy season on issues and hoaxes, this is our collective responsibility.	Strengthening the values of belief and religion by increasing the recognition of Belief as a religion. Issues that must be resolved with belief in religion are fighting money politics and dynastic politics, as well as issues and hoaxes.	With the increase in religion with Belief, it will strengthen each religious element that respects each other and becomes a shared responsibility to fix money politics, dynastic politics, as well as issues and hoaxes.
Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Intergroups	We have to start with ourselves, what I am talking about is in the public sphere, Mr. Ahok is one of the ones who gave many good breakthroughs in leading DKI, but when we comment on one verse, it is unfortunate, I happen to be the Leader of the Anis-Sandi Winning Team, never use SARA, our party is together with Ms. Saras's party, there is no single policy to raise SARA, nothing, but we cannot prohibit other people	Instilling Pancasila values must start from oneself with a belief in strong religious values. Pak Ahok entered the realm of SARA, in the DKI regional election the source party did not use SARA, but got "luck" from SARA,	Starting from ourselves to instill Pancasila values wisely, judging Mr. Ahok from the element of professionalism to make a breakthrough, but not letting it offend when he offended SARA. The source party does not use SARA, but cannot prohibit other people
Identity Politics	It cannot be just two pairs of candidates, because there will be divisions in society, if division, identity politics is strengthening, because	Avoid religious clashes by evaluating the electoral system, justice	Evaluating the electoral system so that there are no clashes between groups / religions so

	identity politics is also related to the system. The system determines behavior, therefore we want to build a more egalitarian system, lowering its entry to barrier, so that what happens is that we can really provide justice for every single of the individual in any condition.	that it can give justice to each individual
Integrity	The principle of island of integrity, no matter who you are, what your religion, what your racist, or what your sex orientation, no problem, as long as you have an integrity, you are with us, the currency is integrity, Pancasila should build a country that is Having great social capital and integrity, that's our collective responsibility, according to us in the DPR, Nyuwun Sewu more or less, thank you, everyone, good afternoon everyone, I will follow Mr. Sugeng.	Building the Indonesian nation together with people who have integrity, do not know SARA, class, gender and even sexual orientation, because all PKS delegates in the DPR are forward-oriented with integrity, I just closed with good afternoon like Pak Sugeng (Pewarna's advisor) open his presentation

Source: Results of text analysis

In the closing session, several topics that the speaker want to raise are strengthening religious values in the private sphere, and fixing cases with values that carried from religious values to the public sphere. This refers to the Latency pattern of management. In the private sphere, it starts from instilling religious values, while in the public sphere embedding wisdom values (Latency pattern maintenance). Mardani made an example of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok) case, he argues that Mr. Ahok has entered into the integrity space as well as SARA, while in the public sphere, Mr Ahok is professional but it is unfortunate he also touches on SARA (this refers to Adaptation and Integration). Whereas in the point of relation to bringing religious element, he admitted that his party has never done it. In the private sphere, his party has luck, in the public sphere his party cannot prohibit other people from doing it. (it refers to Integration). Regarding identity politics, in the private sphere we don't want clashes on religion, while in the public sphere, we must evaluate the system so that friction does not occur, this refers to Integration. On the value of integrity being developed by PKS, in the private sphere PKS invites the ummah to unite by looking at integrity, while in the public sphere, PKS builds the nation with integrity (referring to the value of integration in the theory of structural functionalism). Mardani closed the session using the Adaption value, which is a more common greeting in the public sphere.

Conclusion

Multiculturalism research, especially on religion that uses the public and private sphere, has not been widely found, especially in discourse analysis. This study provides an overview of the values of Pancasila, religion and culture, both in the public and private spheres by looking at how harmony is built through differences in these domains. The cultivation of Pancasila values needs to be developed, especially in the private sphere to then be brought into the public sphere by prioritizing harmony. This is expected to create balance and mutual respect, without leaving values in the private sphere. In the discussion about the implementation of Pancasila and culture, the speakers from the Islamic political party PKS mostly used the value of Integrity, which is 7 times, even integrity is a value that will be built by the PKS party which was appointed by the speaker in the closing statement. In the opening statement, the speaker used the Latency pattern

management value 2 times, and in the Question-and-Answer session, the speaker used the Goal attainment and Integrity values from functional structuralism theory, 2 times each in solving problems in the discussion of Pancasila implementation and culture.

Limitation and Study Forward

This research only describes a case in a multicultural discussion where participants have a common desire to respect each other by delivering statements in a healthy sphere. A healthy sphere in discourse like this is very much needed to increase understanding of differences in values in the private sphere, strengthen them, and share them in the public sphere by promoting harmony. Further research will be urgently needed on a healthy discourse sphere.

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