

EnArche

Indonesian Journal of Inter-Religious Studies

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EN ARCHE

Indonesian Journal of Inter-Religious Studies

Vol. 4, No. 1 (2015)

ISSN 2088-8228

En Arche is a biannual journal published in March and September by the Student Council of ICRS. It is dedicated to publishing and disseminating research and critical perspectives on inter-religious studies.

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THE FACTORS WHICH SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHOLIC PEOPLE IN ARJOWILANGUN VILLAGE SOUTH MALANG FROM 1965 TO 1975

Hariawan Adji

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Arjowilangun Village is located in a flat area surrounded by the rocky hills of the southern part of Malang residency. The north border of this village is Brantas river which has now become the main source of water of Ir. Sutami (Karangkates) Dam; the east is the dam itself; the west is the South Blitar; and the south is the steep valleys of Rajegwesi hills. Most part of the area is dry field (without irrigation) so that they only plant rice one a year and at other times they plant corn, soy bean, chilly, and cassava. The other huge part of the area is sugar cane plantation.

Most of the inhabitants are farmers; very few are civil servants and teachers. The number of people living in Arjowilangun village today is 12.972 in which 11.814 are Muslims (*putihan* and *abangan*), 543 are Catholics, 90 are Protestant and 525 are Hindus.¹ The religious facilities in the area includes 6 mosques, 59 Islamic prayer buildings (*langgar*), 6 churches (1 Catholic church, 3 chapels and 2 Protestant church) and 4 Hindu temples.²

Before 1965 this area was surrounded by teak (*jati*) forest. This forest was a ring that surrounded the village and made it a little bit isolated from the outside world. Inside the ring, there was a huge area of sugar cane plantation and rice field. Most of the areas of the sugar cane plantation belonged to the Dutch company while the rice fields belonged to the local farmers. The people lived in five *dusun*³ scattered in the area. The five *dusun* are Duren, PanggangLele, Barisan, Sidodadi and Lodalem (the two last *dusun* were the most isolated ones. Sidodadi is on the border with South Blitar, separated by a river, while Lodalem is just in the valley of Rajegwesi hills.) The distance between one *dusun* to another *dusun* is about two kilometer and all of them are covered by sugar cane plantation.

The people of Arjowilangun believe that they are descendents of central Javanese people. Linguistically, their Javanese is different from the Javanese regularly used by East Java people, but very similar to the Matraman (central Java) Javanese. According to local oral tradition they were the descendents of Prabujaka, the son of a hermit from Yogyakarta and KanjengRatuKidul of the South Sea. If this story is compared with the historical study, it is known that Prabujaka or Prince Singasari was a noble rebellion from Kasunan Surakarta.⁴ Historical data show that this

¹ Statistics of the population of Arjowilangun Village - 2012. The number of Catholic people presented in the statistics is very different from the data of the Catholic Church.

² Ibid.

³ '*Dusun*' is an area smaller than a village. A village may consist of several '*dusun*'.

⁴ Singasari (or Prabujaka) was the son of Amangkurat IV (1719-1726) of Mataram. During the Third Javanese War of Succession (1749-1757), he joined the rebellion of his half-brothers, Mangkubumi, and Raden Mas Said (Mangkunegara) against Sunan Pakualam II, the King of Surakarta. After a riot his brother, Mangkubumi accepted the Dutch idea of the partition of the state (Treaty of Giyanti), which was implemented in 1755. Mangkubumi got an area in Yogyakarta and became the King of Yogyakarta, with the title of Sultan Hamengkubuwono I. Singasari and Raden Mas Said continued their rebels against the King of Surakarta. In 1757 Raden Mas Said accepted the Dutch proposal of the partition of the area of Surakarta Kingdom (Treaty of Salatiga). He founded his own principdom with the title of Pangeran Mangkunegara I. See Sri Margana, 2007, *Java's Last Frontier : The Struggle for Hegemony of Blambangan, c. 1763-1813*, Doctoral Thesis, Leiden: Leiden University, p.54

prince fled from Central Java to South Malang⁵ after being attacked by the Dutch troops supported by the soldiers from Sumenep Madura, Kasunanan Surakarta and Kasultanan Yogyakarta. But, surely not all of the people of Arjowilangun village were the descendants of this noble family. There were a lot more local people but since these Singasari's descendants were regarded as the respected family, the local people referred themselves as a part of them. There is no record of their religion at that time, but just like other Javanese from Yogyakarta at that time they were probably Muslims who also practiced Javanese traditions.

The first Catholics in the area were not local people but the migrant plantation workers from Central Java.⁶ The sugar industry which had started to boom in 1820s and finally collapsed in 1930s,⁷ needed more land devoted to sugar. This allowed for the Dutch sugar businessman arrival at the eastern part of Java to start new sugar cane plantations. Since 1860s the sugar industry had mobilized workers to the new area.⁸ In 1900, immigrants from central Java, including Yogyakarta, were moving in a large number to Pasuruan to seek employment and land.⁹ At that time Pasuruan covered Malang. Some of them are Catholics.¹⁰ The fastest growing districts (in term of population) in Pasuruan¹¹ were those situated in south and west Malang, and in hilly Tengger region where many Madurese settled.¹² The people reclaimed the forests and marshes to set up sugar industry and its source, the sugar cane plantation.

Before 1965 there was no Catholic Church in the area.¹³ Until 1958 the services were provided by the priests who worked in Malang city, about 50 kilometres from that village.¹⁴ The nearby Catholic church was in Balarjosari,¹⁵ about 20 kilometres from the village to the North. This church only functioned as a chapel so that no priest was living there. The priest came there

⁵After being left alone by his cousins, Singasari decided to move to Malang and continue his opposition from the area. He, accompanied by Raden Mas, his son, and some descendants of Surapati went to Lodalem, the hidden place in the slope of Rajegwesi hills. See Sri Margana, p. 70

⁶D.B.Y.M. Blomesath, 1974, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Malang*, in KWI, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, Edisi 3b, Ende: Arnoldus, p. 1005.

⁷G.R. Knight, 1992, *The Java Sugar Industry as a Capitalist Plantation: A Reappraisal*, in E. Valentine Daniel, Henry Bernstein and Tom Brass (Eds.), *Plantations, Proletarian and Peasants in Colonial Asia*, London: Frank Cass p. 68

⁸According to Tommy Firman, the penetration of Western capitalism into Javanese society and mobility began in 1830, when the Dutch colonial government implemented the *cultuur-stelsel* system. See Tommy Firman, 1991, "Population Mobility in Java: In Search of Theoretical Explanation", in *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), p.78.

⁹Due to landlessness among growing population, together with the marginalization of landed peasants and reduced opportunities for work on 'peasant' crops as more and more land was devoted to sugar, many people were jobless and finally agreed to move to the new area in the eastern part of Java. See G.R. Knight, p. 81.

¹⁰It was mentioned that the number of Javanese Catholic was only fewer than 100. See Carmelrozen *Jaargang XI* (1992-1923), pp. 272-275.

¹¹Pasuruan in 18th to early of 20th century covered area which is now Malang, Bangil, Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Lumajang and Kraksaan, from the north coast (Pasuruan) to the south coast (South Malang). See the map in R.E. Elson, 1984, *Javanese Peasants and the Colonial Sugar Industry: Impact and Change in East Java Regency, 1830-1940*, Singapore: Asian Studies Association of Australia, p. 197.

¹²R.E. Elson, p. 167.

¹³The first Catholic Church in the area was established on 28th June 1971 (in 'dusun' Sidodadi) and the second (in 'dusun' Lodalem) on 30th June 1971. The second church functions as the parish church until present time.

¹⁴Since 1958, after the establishment of a parish Church in Purworejo, a village next to Arjowilangun, located about 28 kilometres to the South, services were provided by the priest working in the new parish.

¹⁵The church in Balarjosari was started to be erected on 30th April 1928. There was a rubber plantation there whose administrator was a devout Catholic. He was Mr. Blyndenstein. He, after his 50 years of age, decided to become a Carmelite priest. See Carmelrozen *Jaargang XVII* (1928-1929), pp. 62-64.

once every thirty-five days.¹⁶ Services were done from one house to another in rotations organized by Mr. Blyndenstein, the administrator of plantation in the area who was concerned about the spiritual needs of his workers.¹⁷ There is no information either about the number of Catholics at that time or about in which *dusun* they were living, but according to the interviewee it was about 30 people only.¹⁸

In 1960, disappointed with the low quality of the state elementary school (*Sekolah Rakyat*) founded by the government, the head of the village came to the parish priest in the parish of Purworejo to ask his support to start another elementary school. After some discussion, the location of the new Catholic school was decided to be in *dusun* Sidodadi where there were some Catholic families living in the area. The school (*Sekolah Rakyat Santo Yohanes*) was opened on 1st November 1960 with 15 students. Catholic mission through education had started. Martinus Gino Ut, a Catholic teacher who graduated from Catholic Teacher School in Magelang, was appointed to be the evangelist. He invited the students and the parents to gather and study Catholicism at his house. He also visited the nearby *dusun* and taught Catholicism to them. On 19th April 1965 eight students of the school were baptized.¹⁹ The adults, although were interested to listen to the teaching, refused to be baptized due to their fears of the commitments of being Catholics.

1. RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

This paper discusses the influence of the mass violence of 1965 and other factors relating to it on the development of Catholic people in Arjowilangun Village South Malang. Some scholars argue that the mass violence of 1965 significantly contributed to the increasing number of Christians in Indonesia during the period of 1965-1975. Alan Thomson theorizes that many survivors of the mass violence of 1965 who were nominal Muslims converted from Islam to Christianity due to the violence done by Nadlatul Ulama members toward them.²⁰ Other scholars, Greg Fealy and Katharine McGregor postulate that the survivors turned to Christianity because they felt more accepted within the Christian circles or were grateful for the welfare activities undertaken by this group.²¹ Singgih Nugroho, who did his research on the victims of the mass violence of 1965 in Ngampel in 2001, found that 80% of the population converted to Christianity due to political reasons.²²

M. C. Ricklefs states that after the killings of 1965-66, in the cities of East Java and central Java, there began an unexpected and unprecedented wave of conversion to Christianity; the Indonesians who were unwilling to call themselves Muslims therefore proclaimed themselves

¹⁶ The number 35 is the result of multiplication of 7 (the number of days in a week according to Roman calendar) and 5 (the number of days in a week according to Javanese calendar). The priests visited the communities on certain days based on the combination of Roman and Javanese calendar, e.g. every Thursday *Pahing* (*Pahing* is a day name in Javanese calendar) for one community and Friday *Legi* (*Legi* is another day in Javanese calendar) for another community.

¹⁷ D.B.Y.M. Blomesath, p. 1005.

¹⁸ Interview with Martinus Gino Ut, the first Catholic teacher in Arjowilangun village.

¹⁹ They were Jumari, Pikir, Sukari, Timan, Kasemin and Tarji from 'dusun' Sidodadi, and Katirin and Jarno from 'dusun' Kedungwaru (a 'dusun' which was part of another village). Source: Baptismal Book of Purworejo Parish.

²⁰ Alan Thomson, 1968, "The Church of Java in Aftermath of the Thirtieth of September Movement," in *South East Asia Journal of Theology* 9, p.7-20.

²¹ Greg Fealy and Katharine McGregor, 2010, "Nadlatul Ulama and the Killings of 1965-66: Religion, Politics and Remembrance," *Indonesia* no. 89 (2010), p. 50.

²² Singgih Nugroho, 2008, *Menyintas dan Menyeberang: Perpindahan Massal Keagamaan Pasca 1965 di Pedesaan Jawa*, Yogyakarta: Syarikat, p.8

Christians, sometimes without having prior contact with Christian proselytisers.²³ He shows that from the comparison of the statistics resulted from the census in 1970 with the data of 1930, there was a significant increase in the number of Christians in Indonesia (from 2.8% to 7.5%), Central Java (from 0.1% to 2.1%) and East Java (from 0.4% to 1.7%).²⁴ In his other book, M.C. Ricklefs also states that many victims of the mass violence of 1965 who had been held without trial as political prisoners embraced Christianity, either during captivity or after their release.²⁵

From the presentation of those scholars' study on the impact of the mass violence of 1965 to the conversion to Christianity, it can be concluded that this mass violence really influenced the development of Christianity in Indonesia, especially in Java (Central Java and East Java). People embraced Christianity due to the killings done by the Muslims; they preferred to become Christians and adopted a Christian identity because without this religious identity they would be regarded as members of Indonesian Communist Party and deserved to be killed. They did not want to embrace Islam because the killings were done by the Muslims. For those scholars, it seemed that this factor was the leading or even the only factor of the increasing number of Indonesian Christians during that period of time. This paper, while studying the development of Catholic people in Arjowilangun Village South Malang from 1965 to 1975 is not intended to reclaim the result of those studies or to contest it, rather it aims to see other factors that are related to the mass violence of 1965. The period of 1965-1975 was chosen since it was regarded as the period which attracted mixed judgments from observers both within and outside of the country.²⁶ This study focuses on the Catholic people and not Christian in general since in the area Protestantism only started in 1990s.

The method used in paper is historical. The primary data are collected from interviews with the people who experienced the history and from study of chronological report of the local Catholic Church, the diocese of Malang and Carmelite Order, and of statistics of Catholic Church. The secondary data are collected from books which talk about similar topics, mainly about the mass violence of 1965. After the data are verified, they are interpreted and presented in the form of historiography.

2. ANALYSIS

The Mass violence of 1965 in Arjowilangun Village South Malang and the Role of the Catholic Church

After Gestapu 1965, the condition of the people of Arjowilangun Village came to its lowest point. Many people were accused of being members of the Indonesian Communist Party and its organizations.²⁷ Some of them, indeed, were members of the organizations, especially, Barisan Tani Indonesia (BTI), the organization for the peasant farmers, but they really did not know what it meant to be members of such an organization.²⁸ The local people, especially the

²³ M.C. Ricklefs, 2001, *A History of Modern Indonesia since C. 1200*, Stanford California: Stanford University Press, p. 354.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

²⁶ M.C. Ricklefs, p. 342. Ricklefs refers this period as the period where the Rightists and the Leftists had their own claims on the Indonesian government. The Rightists admired the government's achievement whereas the Leftists condemned it as human right violation.

²⁷ All of them were Abangan Muslims because since the very beginning the Catholics refused to join such organizations.

²⁸ About this, see Reviewed work: Report from East Java, Indonesia, No. 41 (Apr., 1986), Cornell: Southeast Asia Program Publications at Cornell University, p. 148.

non Catholics, had a very low educational background. They simply followed what the leaders said to them. The Indonesian Communist Party members who came to the area were successful in persuading them to become members of the organization with a promise of better lives and ownership of land. The peasant farmers believed them and they were registered to be members of the organization. They received member cards although they did not know what was written on the cards due to their illiteracy. After the Indonesian Communist Party was accused as the one who was responsible for the Gestapu,²⁹ these people became very frightened especially when there was a rumor that all members of the party would be sent to prison. They tried to get rid of the member cards and decided to burn the member logbook of the local Barisan Tani Indonesia organization. Some people, those who had money, fled from the area but most of them stayed and waited desperately to see what would become of them.

The rumors became a reality. One night in October 1965³⁰ the military³¹ came with the Nadlatul Ulama³² people from the city of Malang. Amongst the Arjowilangun people, there were no members of Nadlatul Ulama; all of them belonged to Abangan Muslims and knew nothing about observing Islamic teachings. They marched from the East, passing first *dusun*, Panggang Lele and started catching suspected people and killing some of them in front of their families.³³ Riots occurred in Panggang Lele because the military also used guns. The news soon arrived in other *dusuns* and people fled into the nearby forest. When the military and the Nadlatul Ulama people finally came to the next *dusuns*, there was no men except women and children. Some of them were tortured and interrogated about their husbands' whereabouts, but they kept quiet. The military and the Nadlatul Ulama people then left the area and continued their actions to other areas. The people who fled to the forest finally went home although they did not feel secured.

The military and the Nadlatul Ulama people returned to area several times and took some people with them. Hundreds of people were missing. According to one of interviewees, some of them were killed on the hills of Rajegwesi. Their necks were bound to each other and were asked to walk in line. The one in front was then pushed to the steep valley of Rajegwesi (about 100 metres high) and pulled the others to fall with him into the valley. All of them died in the valley and the bodies were left to rot there.

After several attacks, the Arjowilangun people realized that the Catholics were let free and were not attacked. Moreover, there were rumors circulating that, after the liquidation of the PKI, the PNI was the next; villagers not professing either Islam or Christianity, other rumors indicated, were also liable for execution.³⁴ They started to ask help from the Catholics, running to the houses of the Catholics when the village was attacked or asked Catholic symbols (crosses or

²⁹ The army began publicly blaming PKI for the coup attempt on 5th October 1965 at the funeral of the murdered generals. See M.C. Rickclefs, p. 346. See also Greg Fealy and Katharine McGregor, p. 47.

³⁰ The killings of members of PKI all over Indonesia was started in October 1965 and the worst massacres were in Java and Bali. See. M.C. Rickclefs, p. 347.

³¹ The military was from Korem 083/Baladhika Jaya. They called the operation as Pancasila operation. See their website: <http://www.korem083.mil.id/sejarah/> (downloaded on 1 February 2013). See also M.C. Rickclefs, p. 334.

³² M.C. Rickclefs, pp. 335, 347. See also Greg Fealy and Katharine McGregor, pp. 47-50.

³³ They got information about who were members of the organization from those who they investigated. There were a lot of mistakes in catching the people because personal sentiments also played a role here. Some of them who were caught were not members of the organization.

³⁴ Robert W. Hefner, 1987, "Islamizing Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java", in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Aug., 1987), p. 540.

pictures of Jesus or Mary) to be put on their house. People also started to wear rosary (Catholic prayer beads) around their necks to show that they were Catholics.³⁵

Knowing the bad situation, the parish priest, Fr. Lohuis O. Carm., a Dutch Carmelite missionary, in Purworejo instructed the Catholics to provide help to their neighbors.³⁶ The Catholics started to mobilize people to found a public kitchen and connected people to Fr. Lohuis O. Carm. to be baptized. Many people were baptized without being taught Catholic teachings. They only knew to make the holy cross on their heads. This was important because it was used by the military to test whether someone was really Catholic or just pretending to be Catholics. The Church also distributed picture of Catholic of Jesus and Mary³⁷ to the people to be put on their houses so that the military and Nadlatul Ulama people who came to the area would think that they were Catholics. Rosaries were also distributed to anyone, Catholics or non-Catholics, to put it on the necks to show their Catholic identity. Some people who were identified as the active members of Barisan Tani were brought to the minister's house (*pasturan*) of the parish in Purworejo and stayed with the parish priest for several days. A lot of people were saved by these efforts.

The attacks finally stopped in mid-1966 but the fear stayed amongst the people for quite a long time. People did not trust each other since, during the attacks, some people tried to save their own lives by betraying others. Since many people, especially men, were killed there were too few people to work in the fields. Moreover, some people decided to move to new areas in efforts to forget the frightening moment they experienced in the area. Some people who lost their husbands or wives or children in the mass violence lost their spirit to live. Rice fields were left barren and sugar cane were not able to be harvested. The economy fell into its lowest point and hunger was threatening their lives.

Facing this reality the local Catholic Church mobilized its people to help the frustrated people. Food and clothes were distributed to the people by the Catholic lay people. Catholic organizations in Malang were contacted to support them with food products and charity. The bishop in Malang also directed all Catholic religious congregations to work hand in hand to moderate people's suffering. Catholic doctors from the Catholic hospital in Malang (run by Misericordia sisters) were also invited to provide free medical check-up and treatments. Children whose parents were killed in the mass violence were taken to Malang, Batu or Probolinggo and put into boarding houses run by the congregations.³⁸ The traumatized people were brought to Malang where the sisters of Alma run a nursery house for mentally ill people.

Finally in 1968, the situation got better. Some of the people who pretended to be Catholics stayed Catholics and were baptized while some returned to their old religion, *Abangan* Islam. And quite many others, although remained Catholics, did not practice Catholicism. This terrifying experience could not be erased from their memories. It became a part of their life and was shared from generation to generation. They also could not forget the significant role of the Catholic Church in helping them overcome the difficult time. They really respected the Church

³⁵ Even the Catholics needed this Catholic symbol to avoid them for being accused as Indonesian Communist Party participants.

³⁶ He instructed not only people of Arjowilangun but also of Purworejo since the attacks were also experienced by *Abangan* Muslims in Purworejo.

³⁷ Crosses were still rare and expensive at that time. Some pictures are still on the walls of the people's house until present time.

³⁸ The Catholic boarding houses had been started in 1929 in many different cities and run by different congregations, male and female congregations. See. Carmelrozen Jaargang XVII (1928-1929), pp. 123-124.

and its services among them. This good memory later functioned as the foundation for the next mass conversions when drought and hunger attacked this area.

The foundation of Catholic Church

The increase of the number of adherents was positively responded by the Catholic Church. The services were intensified. Prior to 1965, services were only provided once in thirty-five days before but then they became to be held once a week. It was held from one house to another house. The parish priest came to celebrate Eucharist with the people. He also visited the houses of the people, either those belonging to Catholics or non-Catholics. He greeted them and asked their condition. Sometimes he offered help to the people, either in the form of rice or cash. People saw him as the *RatuAdil* who paid attention to the problem of the people.

Between 1965 to 1975, there were three Churches built in the area. The first church was built in November 1965 in *dusun* Sidodadi. It was a simple bamboo house located next to the Catholic school which was started in 1960. It was then renovated and re-opened in 1968. This church was the Catholic Church's first attempt to facilitate the new converts following the mass violence of 1965. It became the place where Catholicism was taught to the people. It was also became the hiding place for the Abangan Muslims during the military and Nadlatul Ulama people's attacks.

In 1970, the Diocese of Malang decided to build two churches in the area. One was located in PanggangLele and functioned as a chapel; the other was in Lodalem and functioned as the parish church. It took one year to finish the buildings. On 28th June 1971 the church in PanggangLele was opened by the Mgr. A. Albers O.Carm., the bishop of Malang. Two days after that, on 30th June 1971, the church in Lodalem was opened. Fr. Lohuis O.Carm. was assigned to be the first parish priest.³⁹ Since that time services were better provided for the people.

The Contextualization of Catholic Teachings

Realizing that most of the Catholic adherents in the area were new converts from Abangan Islam who still practice Javanese tradition, the parish priest decided to invite professional Javanese catechists (Catholic religion teachers) from Yogyakarta to work in Arjowilangun. In 1966, two catechist, graduates of the school of Catechism Magelang, came to the area to start their duty in teaching Catholicism to the people. They adopted Javanese culture and traditions to the Catholicism so that people could easily accept the teachings.⁴⁰

Services were done in Javanese language and Javanese 'gamelan' was used in the ceremony. The Dutch priest who had spoken Javanese very well since the early time started using Javanese not only for communication with local people but also for the Eucharist celebration.⁴¹ Moreover, to show the Catholic Church's commitments to Javanese culture, the Dutch priest also invited Javanese Carmelite priests who worked in other parishes to visit the area to have Eucharist celebrations with the people. These Javanese priests attracted the people since they did not only share the same religion but also shared cultural and ethnic similarities.

³⁹At that time the parish area covered the area of Arjowilangun village plus three nearby 'dusun' (Tumpakrejo, Kedungwaru and SumberPucung). At present time the area is larger and includes two more 'dusun' (Kalitelo, and Kaliasri)

⁴⁰This was possible to do after the Catholic Church opened itself to the local cultures by promulgating the document of sacred liturgy which was one of the results of the Second Vatican Council 1965-1967.

⁴¹Carmelrozen Jaargang XVI (1927-1928), pp. 76-77. Though the priest spoke Javanese, masses were still celebrated in Latin. Only after Second Vatican Council, masses were celebrated in Javanese.

On some occasions, Javanese puppet shows were also employed to teach the people about Catholicism. They even developed 'Wayang Wahyu', a kind of Javanese puppet show, with different characters, which was used to present and explain biblical stories. This kind of puppet show became very popular among the people, not only among the Catholics. The Javanese art groups were facilitated by the Church. Puppet show performances were scheduled and organized well. The Church in cooperation with local government and Catholic people organized puppet show performance to educate the people. They went from one place to another place; sometimes they played in the government office park, at schools and at kampongs. The Church also provided 'gamelan' so that people could practice playing the musical instruments. On certain celebrations, these groups were asked to performed during Eucharist celebration. 'Slametan', the central ceremony in Javanese tradition was also employed by the Catholic Church there. There was a custom to have 'slametan' every Christmas and Easter. The custom of praying on 'Malam JumatLegi' (Friday Legi eve) was also used by the Catholic Church to invite people to participate in the prayer.

The use of Javanese language and the adoption of local culture in the Catholic Church attracted more people to join the Church. When there was an obligation for Indonesian to hold one of the official religions, the Abangan Muslims in Arjowilangun, preferred to join the Catholic Church over Islam since they did not have to sacrifice Javanese traditions and culture.

The Movement of Islamic Reformers

Soon after realizing that the Catholic Church benefited from the mass violence of 1965, Islamic leaders in Malang realized that there was an urgent need to press the adherents to practice their faith. They sent 'santri' to areas in South Malang where there had been a lot of conversion to Catholicism. The first big mosque in the Arjowilangun village was built in 1968. Before that year there had been small personal owned mosques, which were called 'langgar'. The new big mosque soon became the center of convincing Islamic adherents to perfect their faith.

The santri were very active in their missions. They visited people from house to house. They talked to them and convinced them that Islam was the best religion for them. They identified Javanese with Islam; for them being a Javanese means being a Muslim. They also organized Islamic activities such as *pengajian* (praying together) and *takbiran* (parading and praying on the *IdulFitri* or *IdulAdha* eve). They also did charity works, such as donating some money or food to help poor families, providing scholarships, and visiting the sick people. They adopted the ways in which the Catholic Church used in smaller scale.⁴²

Some *abangan* Muslims responded to this effort positively but most of them were still in trauma after the mass violence of 1965. This movement made them remember the bitter time of their life so that they did not find it interesting and even forced them to embrace the opposite, the Catholicism.⁴³ Some others turned to be *Kebatinan*⁴⁴ followers and Hinduism. In Arjowilangun village the first Hinduism community was established in 1966 and the center was in *dusun* Duren. It functions until present time.

⁴² The difference was that the local Catholic Church was supported by the diocese and the whole congregations which worked in the diocese. Moreover, the financial support from abroad played an important role here.

⁴³ See M.C. Rickclefs, p. 354.

⁴⁴ Kebatinan had sought recognition as a religion equals to other official religions since 1957 but finally it had to face the reality that the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) just recognized it as belief ('kepercayaan') and not religion ('agama'). M.C. Rickclefs, p. 361.

There had been a conflict between the Catholic people and this group in 1970.⁴⁵ This group mobilized some people to come to meet the parish priest and question the concept of Trinity. They claimed that Catholicism was not a monotheistic religion so that it should have been banned in the area. The parish priest was on his way to Malang. Since not many people participated in the action, the Catholics living surrounding the Church finally could manage them.⁴⁶ The Javanese catechist explained the concept of Trinity by using Javanese analogy. The people, were mostly Abangan Muslims and came from Sukowilangun village (a village near Arjowilangun), finally could understand and leave the Church without doing any violence.⁴⁷

The conflict between this group and the Catholic Church did not end at that time. This group prevented the local Catholics to be buried in the village cemetery. The head of the village could not say anything about this because he was afraid with this group and on the other hand he was closed to the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church finally got its own cemetery after a Hindu villager donated his land,⁴⁸ located next to the village cemetery, to be the Christian cemetery which still functions until present time.

The foundation of Catholic Educational Services

It has been discussed before that in Arjowilangun there was a Catholic elementary school (Sekolah Rakyat) which was located in 'dusun' Sidodadi. Some of graduates of the elementary schools continued their study in Malang but some, especially the poor, stopped studying after they finished their elementary school. This forced the Catholic Church to found a secondary school in the area.⁴⁹ On 1 January 1967, a secondary school was founded in 'dusun' PanggangLele. The name was Saint Antonius. It was expected that the graduates of the Catholic elementary school could continue their study in this new secondary school. Since this was the first secondary school in Arjowilangun village, graduates from the state elementary school also continued their study here.

On 1 April 1969, the government of Indonesia inaugurated the first Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita I: Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun) for 1969-1974. Beside government investment, the priority was also given to education.⁵⁰ Government supported and pushed the foundations of schools, especially elementary and secondary schools in villages. The Catholic Church saw this as an opportunity to found more Catholic schools. The Catholic Church saw the need to educate more teachers to fill the teaching positions in the schools planned to be founded. The parish priest in Arjowilangun and Purworejo contacted the Yayasan Karmel, the Diocese Educational Foundation, to start a teacher's school in Arjowilangun. After one year, in 1971 the foundation decided to open a secondary school which finally took place in 'dusun' Donomulyo, which located in the middle of Arjowilangun village and Purworejo village. Graduates of both secondary schools in Arjowilangun and Purworejo continued their study in this new school with the scholarship from the Diocese. After their graduation, they became

⁴⁵ The conflict might rise because some Muslims accused the Catholic Church of converting to Christian faith by distributing material aid. See Sussane Schroter, 2010, *Christianity in Indonesia*, Munster: Lit, p. 6.

⁴⁶ When the parish church was built, the land surrounding the church was given to the local Catholics for free so that they could build their houses there and became 'the fence' (the security guards) of the Church.

⁴⁷ Sejarah 40 Tahun Gereja Paroki Maria Annunciata Lodalem, 2011, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁹ One of the main tasks of Carmelites working in the mission area (Indonesia) was to provide good education. See A letter from Hubertus Driessen to the provincial of Dutch province of Carmelite Order dated 21 December 1922. Tim IKI, 1999, *Kumpulan Dokumen Ordo Karmel Indonesia serta Penulisan Misionaris Pertama Mulai Tahun 1923-1930*. Malang: Institut Karmel Indonesia, pp. 15-18.

⁵⁰ M.C. Rickclefs, p. 358.

teachers either in the Catholic elementary school or the Catholic secondary school in both villages. The villagers now got teachers from their own society. These teachers, of course, know the culture and the customs of the local people so that they were able to encourage parents to send their children to the schools.

The role of Catholic schools in the development of Catholics in Arjowilangun was very big. Until 2005, only Catholicism was taught as religious study in the schools. The students, regardless of their religious backgrounds, had to take the subject. On certain days, the schools held Eucharist celebration which should be attended by all students. Moreover, every year the students had to join a Catholic retreat to energize their spirituality. Furthermore, at that time, the Catholic schools were very selective in employing their teachers. They only employed good Catholics who were eager to evangelize their students. Many students were interested to become Catholics after they had good encounters and relations with the teachers. Those are some of the reasons why every year they had a lot of new baptized students. In 1970s and 1980s, every year there were at least ten students baptized in each school.

The foundation of Catholic Public Health Service

Following the foundation of the parish church in Lodalem in 1971, the Catholic Church also founded a public health service early in 1972. The location was just next to the parish church. The Sister of Misericordia, the congregation which ran the biggest hospital in the city of Malang, was invited to set up a small clinic in the area.⁵¹ It became the first and the only public health service in Arjowilangun until the 1990s when the government started a Puskesmas (public health service) in PanggangLele. The clinic provided general health and maternity services. Since it was the only public health service, it became the place where people came to maintain their health and seek medication.

Although the existence of the clinic did not contribute directly to the development of the Catholics in the area, its impact was very big. Through the medical services, the local people got contact with the Catholic Church, especially the sisters who directly provided the services. From the communication between the patients and the service provider, local people knew more about Catholicism. Some of them were interested to know more and join the catechism classes. Moreover, since it was the first and the only public health service and it had contributed a lot to the health condition of the people with a very low and sometimes free of charge, local people trusted this service very much. They even believed if they would only recover only if they visit the clinic. Until now this public health service survived. Local people prefer using their service than the one provided by *Puskesmas*.⁵²

The sisters working in this public health service were also involved in evangelization directly and indirectly. They visited houses of sick people, held free medication day where people would get free treatment, supported poor families with food, provided scholarships and participated in local traditions, such as *selamatan*, and *bersihdesa*. Some local girls were interested in becoming members of this congregation. Having finished the formation, they were sent back to the area to work in the public health service so that they might attract more people to become Catholics and more the local girls to become their members.

Drought and Hunger

⁵¹ The sisters also set up a clinic in the parish of Purworejo under the name of PantiPalimirma in 1969.

⁵² *Puskesmas* is a public service run by the government.

Arjowilangun village was not very fertile since there was no spring water. The rivers were dry during the dry season and so was the land. Farmers plant crops once a year. During the dry season the land was barren. They could only work on the sugar cane plantation which belonged to the Dutch during their colonialization and the government after independence.⁵³ When the dry season was long, people suffered because they had no rice or cassava to eat.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the government had not regulated the financial support received by the Church from abroad so that the Catholic Church could ask support from the Catholics in the European countries, especially from the Netherlands and Germany.⁵⁴ A lot of support, especially in the form of food and finance, came from those countries and the Catholic Church began its role as the distributor of the food. Porridge and milk came in tons and were distributed not only among the Catholics but also the non Catholics. This was really a great help for the hungry people. Today the older generation is still thankful to the Catholic Church for their help during this difficult time. Many of them who got the help were then interested to become Catholics. The money was used to send students, regardless of their religious backgrounds, to continue their study in Malang. Many of them were sent to Catholic teacher schools and lived in the Catholic boarding houses run by either Catholic sisters or brothers. The contact between these children and the Catholic sisters and brothers also played a major role in the development of Catholics in this area. Some of them were finally baptized. After they finished their study they came back and became teachers in their hometown.

The Building of Sutami (Karangkates) Dam

In January 1975 the building of Sutami or Karangates Dam began. The workers came from many places and some of them were Catholics. To serve the Catholics, the parish in Lodalem Arjowilangun started to optimize the use of the Catholic Senior High School chapel in SumberPucung. The service which used to have been given only once in a month was now given once a week. The Catholics in SumberPucung were financially better than the people Arjowilangun village, so they were invited to help their brothers and sisters in Arjowilangun.

The existence of the chapel of SumberPucung was really a great help for the parish church in Lodalem. They supported the parish financially so that it could continue its charity programs for those in need, especially when the government started to regulate donation from abroad.⁵⁵ Not only that, due to their connection with wider communities, they also connected the

⁵³ Nowadays, they convert some of the rice field into sugar cane plantation since the change of season cannot be predicted anymore. Another socio-economic problem rises since the price of rice is also increasing.

⁵⁴ On 1 August 1978, the Minister of Religious Affairs issued Ministerial Decree No. 70 which eliminated any possibility for the church to carry on its current missionary program. This decree, applying to all religious organizations to guarantee "the maintenance of national unity, security, and stability," forbids religious proselytizing when it: (1) Directs its efforts towards a person or persons who already belong to another religious faith. (2) Utilizes persuasion and/or material incentives (money, clothing, food/beverages, medicines) to attract persons of other religious faiths. (3) Distributes pamphlets, bulletins, magazines, books and other materials in regions [communities] and at the homes where people with other religious faiths live and (4) involves visiting people who already adhere to other religious faiths in their homes for whatever reasons. Then, on 15 August 1978, the Department of Religious Affairs issued Ministerial Decree No. 77 regulating "Foreign Aid to Religious Institutions in Indonesia" and including all forms of aid: "people, material, and financial support." It requires the Minister of Religious Affairs to approve and/or recommend the use of such aid and specifically restricts expatriate missionaries who conduct the religious training of Indonesian nationals.

⁵⁵ Although the regulation was formalized in 1978, since 1970s there had been efforts by Islam group to promote this regulation, they suspected that the Christians use charity works as a way of evangelization. This made it difficult for the Christian institutions, including the Catholic Church, to receive donations from abroad.

parish with donating institutions, Melania International Community and other social clubs which supported social charity programs held in Arjowilangun village, such as clean water program, free medication, scholarship programs, and others. This charity programs were not limited to the Catholics but also for people from different religious backgrounds. From such programs, people of Arjowilangun village, especially the Abangan Muslims, were attracted to Catholicism.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The mass violence of 1965 influenced development of the Catholics in Arjowilangun village. It was the major factor which made people of Arjowilangun village embrace the Catholic Church though it was not the only factor; there were several other factors which directly and indirectly supported the increase. These factors, of course, were related to the mass violence of 1965. It can be said that the mass violence of 1965 was the first causal factor and the other factors were the complementing factors which supported the increase of the number of Catholics in Arjowilangun village. The first causal factor has been responded well by the Catholic Church (in this case, the priest and the diocese) so that it resulted in the drastic increase of the number of Catholics in the area. Some of those factors were social and religious events that happened between 1965 and 1975. The events can be presented briefly in this following table:

Table 1: The List of social/religious events happened in Arjowilangun village
From 1965 to 1975

Time	Religious/Social Events
19 th April 1965	First Baptism
30 th September 1965	Gestapu
October 1965	First Attack (the Mass violence of 1965)
	The Distribution of crosses and Holy Pictures
	Hiding BTI activists in the parish church in Purworejo
October 1965 – Early 1966	Attacks and killings
	Mass Baptism
Mid of 1966	Catholic charity works
	Contextualization of Catholic Church
	The coming of two Javanese cathecists from Central Java
1968	Islamization Effort
	Mass Baptism
1970	Conflict between Catholic Church and an Islamic group from Sukowilangun
1970-1975	Drought and Hunger
	Catholic charity works
	Mass Baptism
January 1975	The building of Sutami Dam in SumberPucung
	The optimization of the service of Catholic Church in SumberPucung

The table shows that mass baptism happened three times, the three of them happened following big socio-religious issues. The first was after the attacks and killing by the military and the Islamic group, the second one was after the Islamization effort done by certain Islamic groups in which the people were forced to become observant Muslims. The third one happened after the drought and hunger.

Religious conversion is a complex process There are many scholars theorizes the reason behind someone's conversion. They see it from different angles: psychological, sociological,

anthropological, economical and theological perspectives.⁵⁶ Religious conversion is a product of a dialogue between two parties, the one who convert and the one who facilitate the conversion, in certain context. The analysis presented before has talked about the context, the events which support the conversion so that the Catholic Church might develop rapidly there. In this last part of the paper, I would like to talk more on the participants of the process of the conversion: the people and the Catholic Church, especially from the point of view of their motivation.

Pargament understands conversion within a religious coping process of actively searching for ways of solving various problems.⁵⁷ For him, religious conversion is an effort to re-create life; the individual experiences a dramatic change of the self, a change in which the self becomes identified with the sacred.⁵⁸ The mass violence of 1965 surely hurt the people of Arjowilangun either physically or spiritually. They were put in such a difficult situation that they did not know what to do and who to be trusted. What they really knew was that they needed to save their lives. They tried to seek help from anybody or any institutions; they needed spiritual and physical comfort. They finally found them in the Catholic Church.

The mass violence of 1965 put the Arjowilangun people in stressful condition. During this condition people usually try to find spiritual consolation. They start to realize that they needed the role of the divine or the sacred in their lives. Ullman and Allison claimed that religious conversion is a positive and integrative way of using religiosity to cope with the stress and crises of the person.⁵⁹ Here the conversion was seen by the people as the process of spiritual transformation. They embraced the Catholic Church not only to get the spiritual consolation but also to transform themselves into better people.

On the other hand, from social economic point of view, the conversion (mass baptism) of Arjowilangun people can be seen as their decision to save their lives either from massacre or from hunger. If the data are analyzed more deeply it can be seen that the second and the third happened after the Catholic Church did charity works, distributed money, food and other daily needs to the people. This could be another attraction for Arjowilangun people to become Catholics. What the Catholic Church and the people did was like barter, the Catholic Church provided the materials which the people needed and the people gave themselves to be baptized.⁶⁰ From this point of view their motivation to be Catholics was just worldly materials.⁶¹

Being in the middle of the mass violence of 1965 the Catholic Church did not stay quiet. It was moved by its spiritual conviction to help saving the people who were in danger. Inspired by the Christian teaching of love, the Church leaders and the people started to help the victims of the mass violence. They realized that as the minority they could not stop the killings done by the military and the Islamic group but they tried hard to help ease the sufferings of the victims by doing anything that they could do. Realizing that the Church and its people was not the target of

⁵⁶ Dong Young Kim, 2011, *Rambo's Interdisciplinary Approach to Religious Conversion: The case of St. Augustine*, A Dissertation, Boston: Boston University – School of Theology.

⁵⁷ Kenneth I. Pargament, 1997, *The Psychology of Religion and Coping: Theory, Research, Practice*, New York: The Guilford Press, p. 32.

⁵⁸ Kenneth I. Pargament, p. 248.

⁵⁹ Dong Young Kim, p.36.

⁶⁰ From Christian spirituality point of view, the Catholic Church saved the soul of the people and the people got the salvation, not only worldly salvation but also heavenly salvation.

⁶¹ This raises many problem at present situation since those people who converted to Christianity only for worldly materials see the Church as a social donating institution that should fulfill their needs. They tend to be dependent financially to the Church. The young Indonesia Catholic priests refer these people as the begging Catholics – Catholics who always beg financial help from the Church. Some of them easily reconvert to other religions which provide them more financial support.

the mass violences due to their religious identity, the Church and the Catholics of Arjowilangun village offered their religious identity to help the people avoiding the worldly attacks. This worldly motivation which was combined with their heavenly (spiritual) motivation to win people's souls for the sake of the Lord's Kingdom made the Church leaders and the Catholics of Arjowilangun active in doing their mission among the victims. Along with their physical help to the people (in the forms of food and protection), they also provided spiritual help.

The Catholic Church realized that they needed both religious and social facilities to support their mission. Between 1965 and 1975 the Catholic Church had founded some important social/religious facilities which supported its mission to evangelize the people. The facilities can be seen in this following table:

Table : The foundation of religious/social facilities by the Catholic Church
From 1965 to 1975

Time	Social / Religious Facilities	Location (<i>dusun</i>)
1960	Elementary School (<i>Sekolah Rakyat</i>)	Sidodadi
November 1965	Chapel (Small Church)	Sidodadi
1 st January 1970	Junior High School	PanggangLele
28 th June 1971	Chapel (Small Church)	PanggangLele
30 th June 1971	Parish Church	Lodalem
1971	Teachers' School (<i>Sekolah Pendidikan Guru</i>)	Donomulyo
Early 1972	Convent of Sisters of Misericordia	Lodalem
	Public Health Clinic	Lodalem
1975	Chapel (Optimizing the service for the workers of Sutami Dam project)	SumberPucung

Three chapels and one parish church were erected only in ten years; even in June 1971, the chapel in PanggangLele and the parish church in Lodalem were blessed one after another in two days. Moreover, the Catholic Church also founded education facilities: one Junior High School and Teachers' School in the same year. Furthermore, the Catholic Church completed its social facilities with a public health clinic in 1972. From the number of the facilities founded, it can be concluded that the Catholic Church must have spent a lot of money during that time. The money was, surely, not from the local people, since they lived in poverty, but from abroad (mostly from the Netherlands and Germany).

Looking at the last table (table 3), we can see how significant the influence of the mass violence of 1965 was on the development of Catholicism in Arjowilangun village. The percentage of the increase in the period of 1965-1966 (one year) is almost six times (581%). Most of them were baptized without any adequate preparation. That is the reason why after the riot ended in 1970s, some (quite big number) of them reconverted to Abangan Islam and most of them did not participate in the Church actively.⁶² The percentage increase of the number of Catholics between 1966 and 1972 was also quite high; it was 122% per eight years or 15.25% per year. In reality this number could be higher since there were a lot of Catholics who reconverted to Islam after the riot. The statistics after 1975 shows that annually the increase of the number of Catholics in Arjowilangun village was about 1%. Most of them were newly born baptisms.⁶³

⁶² According to Martinus Gino Ut, they only came to the Church on Christmas day and Easter day. They did not practice Catholicism in their daily lives but when they passed away they asked to be buried by using Catholic rituals.

⁶³ They newly born baptisms are the children of Catholic couples. They are baptized several days after being born.

Table 3: The development of the number of Catholics in Arjowilangun village
From before 1965 to 2010

Period	Number	Period of time	Percentage of increase	Average Percentage of increase per year	Note
Before 1965	30 ⁶⁴	-	-	-	All of them were migrants from Central Java
1965	38 ⁶⁵	1 year	23.3%	-	30 migrants and 8 local people
1966	245 ⁶⁶	1 year	581%	581%	There could be more new baptisms at that time but because of the bad situation, the registration was not done well.
1974	543 ⁶⁷	8 years	122%	15.25%	The total number of Catholics in the whole parish was 1,022 ⁶⁸
1988	615 ⁶⁹	12 years	13%	1.08%	The total number of Catholics in the whole parish was 2,128 ⁷⁰
2010	701 ⁷¹	12 years	14%	1.16%	The total number of Catholics in the whole parish was 2,077 ⁷² (the number decreased since those who worked abroad (as TKI/TKW) were not listed anymore as members of the parish.

In general it can be said that the Catholic Church has benefitted from the mass violence of 1965. It had used the mass violence as the stepping stone to do its mission in Arjowilangun village. Soon after the mass violence of 1965 it built the next stepping stones, the charity works, so that it could achieve more conversions.⁷³

The Catholic Church indeed got an advantage of this mass violence but unfortunately some of the people converted to Catholicism not because they believed in the teaching but only for their safety and security, either physical security (from the attacks and killings) and financial safety (by receiving donations from the Church). They converted to Christianity out of a need for survival, rather than from a genuine desire to embrace the Christian faith. Faced with the choice

⁶⁴ Source; Interview with Martinus Gino Ut, the first Catholic teacher in Arjowilangun village

⁶⁵ The data of the eight new baptism are on the Baptism Register of Purworejo Parish

⁶⁶ Source: Petunjuk Gereja Katolik Indonesia tahun 1967

⁶⁷ Source: Statistik Paroki Lodalem Keuskupan Malang tahun 1975

⁶⁸ Source: Petunjuk Gereja Katolik Indonesia tahun 1974

⁶⁹ Source: Statistik Paroki Lodalem Keuskupan Malang tahun 1981

⁷⁰ Source: Buku Petunjuk Keuskupan Malang tahun 1989

⁷¹ Source: Statistik Paroki Lodalem Keuskupan Malang 2011

⁷² Source: Buku Petunjuk Keuskupan Malang tahun 2011

⁷³ This kind of converting method has been left by the Catholic Church since it leaves more problem. Moreover due to the government regulation, the Catholic Church cannot receive anymore any financial support from abroad.

of dying and starving or converting, they chose to convert, or to at least appear to convert to receive charity or material advancements. They who were referred as the rice Christian⁷⁴ raised problems in the future progress of the Church.

Power is the ability to influence the behavior of people. Power used to be seen as evil since it's application is often coercive or repressive but Michel Foucault saw it as a necessary, productive and positive force in society.⁷⁵ Power as an instrument of coercion is everywhere, diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth.' It enables and constrains possibilities for action.⁷⁶ If we analyze the phenomenon of the development of Catholic Church in Arjowilangun from the point of view of 'power', the Catholic Church at that time used financial power instead of political power; while other religionization process happened in Indonesian history tended to have used sociopolitical power, i.e. Hinduism and Buddhism in Indonesia in 7th-8th centuries, Islamization in 16th century in Java and Sumatera, Christianization (Protestantism and Catholicism) in 17th century in the Mollucas and Flores. In 1965-1975 the Catholic Church did not have any sociopolitical power, but surely it had financial power. Power, whatever it is, seemed to be the main support to do religionization.⁷⁷

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⁷⁴Rice Christian is a term developed by Christian missionaries and by those opposed to Christian missions to refer to someone who has formally declared himself/herself a Christian for material benefits rather than for religious reasons. The term references historical missionary policies in Asia, in which some missionaries offered rice and other food items to people who then some agreed to convert to Christianity. See Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable. 1898. Accessed on 20 April 2013.

⁷⁵ Michel Foucault, 1991, Discipline and Punish: the Birth of a Prison, London: Penguin, p. 194.

⁷⁶ Clarissa Rile Hayward, 1998, De-Facing Power, *Polity* 31(1).

⁷⁷ By issuing Ministerial Decree No. 70 in 1978, the Minister of Religious Affairs contested the political power (of the Islamic group) and the financial power (of the Christian group).

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I note that in some countries that I discuss above women become more often as the object of arranged marriages rather than as its subject. In such cases, women's right to love or to be loved, and to choose the person with whom they will have a sexual relationship, is limited. In terms of the paradigm of thought upon which researchers base their analysis of arranged marriage, they mostly use the paradigm of functionalism rather than the paradigm of post-structuralism.

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