

# **Chinese Leader, Islam Majority and the Clash of Civilization Study of Muslim Acceptability in Jakarta Toward Governor Ahok**

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## **Abstract**

This study aims to find out whether Muslims in Jakarta acknowledge the success of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok as the Governor of DKI Jakarta for the period 2014-2017? Ahok is a Christian of Chinese descent. Research pays attention to Muslims who recognize Ahok's success. In the case of success being recognized but refusing to vote again is an indication of non-tolerant attitudes and clash of civilization as Samuel Huntington's (2009) thesis. But if they choose then it shows a tolerant attitude. The research method used is a survey with a questionnaire accompanied by structured interviews. A sample of 503 respondents who reside in Jakarta was chosen purposively with the criteria of educated religious Muslim women. The results showed that 48.7 percent of respondents said they would not vote for Ahok as Governor in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election in 2017, and thus the number of religious Muslim women who experienced a clash of civilizations was 48.7% which meant showing a moderate clash level.

**Keywords: Ahok, Islam, Clash of Civilization, Chinese, Politics**

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is constitutionally a democratic country that is not based on a particular religion. The number of followers of Islam in Indonesia is the largest in the world but even though Islam is the majority religion (as many as 87% of the population adheres to Islam) but Indonesia is not an Islamic state. The government officially recognizes the existence of six religions in Indonesia. The existence of these six religions provides a reputation for Indonesia as a country that has a diverse (pluralistic) nature. Although Islam is the dominant religion, the Indonesian constitution guarantees the freedom of all citizens to worship according to their respective religions and beliefs. Jakarta as the state capital is not only the center of government but also a business center. The city has a population of around 10 million people with a density of 12,500 people per kilometer per square. Residents of Jakarta have diverse religious, ethnic and ethnic backgrounds. Like citizens of cosmopolitan cities in other countries, adherents of religion in Jakarta today enjoy freedom in carrying out their religion. Although there were recorded several cases that tarnished religious freedom, in general religious

harmony in the capital was relatively good.

Jakarta residents not only vary in terms of religion but also descent or race. Malays are the dominant race in Indonesia. But besides Malay there are also people who are descendants of Chinese, Arab and Indian race who are a minority group. For example, the number of people of Chinese descent, or popularly called Chinese, in Indonesia amounted to 3.7 percent of the total population. During the era of authoritarian rule, minority Chinese descendants had to endure suffering due to discrimination they experienced, especially during the New Order era. The New Order government imposed discriminatory policies on Chinese citizens. For example, they are not allowed to become members of political institutions or government institutions. In the reform era, the government implemented policies that provide better treatment for the Chinese community. Today, the state no longer imposes legal barriers and institutional barriers for citizens of Chinese descent to participate fully in public life. And one of the people of Chinese descent who took part in state life in Indonesia was Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or popularly called Ahok, the name of the greeting for Hakka Chinese descendants.

Ahok was born on June 29, 1966 in Manggar, East Belitung where the people of Chinese descent were the majority in the region. He was the first son of a Chinese couple named Buniarti Ningsih (Boen Nen Tjauw) and Indra Tjahaja Purnama (Tjoeng Kiem Nam) who had four children.

Basuki began his political career from his own village by running for and participating in the Belitung regent election in 2005 and was elected as regent with 37.12% of the votes. In 2006, Ahok resigned as regent to participate in the election of the Governor of Bangka-Belitung Province, but he lost. In 2009, Ahok was elected as a member of the House of Representatives (DPR) from the Golkar party. In 2012, Ahok accompanied Joko Widodo in the election of the Governor of DKI Jakarta. During the campaign, political opponents raised the issue of SARA as the theme of the campaign and made Ahok its target. They call Ahok a potential infidel leader. However, Jokowi and Ahok managed to win the election defeating the incumbent governor at that time, Fauzi Bowo.

Since June 1, 2014, Basuki has been a Governor's official for several months when Joko Widodo had to take temporary leave from his position as governor of Jakarta to take part in the presidential election. Following Jokowi's victory in the presidential election,

Ahok then replaced Jokowi and was officially sworn in as Jakarta governor on November 18, 2014. However, his appointment as governor received refusal from hardline Islamic groups because of his status as a dual minority (Chinese Christian). Once again, Ahok became the target of a racial campaign spearheaded by parties who were not happy with their background. Hardline Islamic groups staged anti-Ahok rallies and tried to cancel the ceremony for his inauguration as the Governor of DKI Jakarta, and the demonstrators still shouted 'infidel', but Ahok remained unshaken from his new position.

Ahok was the first DKI Jakarta Governor from Chinese descent, and the second Christian governor after 50 years. The election of minority citizens as the governor of DKI Jakarta is a significant progress for the development of democracy in Indonesia. However, he remains a target of racist tone, especially on social media. Jakarta is a business and financial center as well as the capital city of Indonesia. With a large population, Jakarta is not an easy city to manage. Jakartans have long been frustrated by the slow development of a city famous for traffic jams, routine flooding and chaotic city planning. But on the other hand Ahok's ability to lead Jakarta has created a positive impression and even support from Jakarta citizens towards him. This is because,

Ahok is able to show significant progress in improving the condition of the capital.

As governor, Ahok managed to build a clean government reputation. He can build trust by demonstrating the concept of a comprehensive city development in an effort to turn Jakarta into a better city. Ahok also showed his performance in improving the bureaucracy and supporting the cultural life of citizens. The city government is praised for being transparent; Ahok recorded every meeting and broadcast it on YouTube social media. He also implemented an e-budgeting system to track budget placements and oversee budgets from inappropriate changes. Ahok was also praised for building various public facilities throughout the capital, from hospitals to landfills. Several large-scale infrastructure projects were also built. One of them is the Mass Rapid Transportation (MRT) system which is an underground railway project that connects Lebak Buluk to Bundara Hotel Indonesia.

Under its leadership, the Jakarta government won various awards including the best planning, most innovative planning, most progressive planning and the best city in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) from the United Nations. His ability to overcome the problem of education and the threat of hunger through the Jakarta Smart Card program is another achievement

made by Ahok. In short, Ahok managed to show real progress in building the city and improving the standard of living of its citizens. Ahok emerged as a new phenomenon in Indonesian politics because of its stern and courageous leadership style, seemed not to be afraid of anyone, as well as its open and forthright communication.

This kind of leadership style leads to pros and cons. His scathing comments often provoke anger from those who criticize him, including his political opponents, the members of the Jakarta DPRD. This leadership style and various achievements have made Ahok a national figure with a skyrocketing popularity.

Globe Asia Magazine named him man of the year. Ahok's popularity is evidenced by various survey results ahead of DKI Jakarta regional elections (Pilkada) which show Ahok as the most popular and unrivaled candidate. The hardline Islamic group that has opposed Ahok from the start seems to find momentum after Ahok mentioned the use of the Al Maidah letter in a speech to residents on Thousand Island on September 27, 2016 when he made a working visit to Pramuka Island, Thousand Islands, which was considered religiously insulting.

### **Clash of Civilizations**

The radicalism and terrorism

movements at national and international levels that often occur lately raise questions about the readiness of the Muslim world in facing global developments today. The negative stigma for Muslims began to emerge especially since the terrorist attacks by radical Islamic groups in New York City and Washington, D.C., United States on September 11, 2001 or known as 9/11. The events of September 11 and various radical anti-western movements that emerged after that seemed to strengthen the predictions of Samuel P Huntington, a professor from Harvard University, eight years earlier, about the clash of civilization, especially between Islamic civilization and the west, after the end of the cold war following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

According to Huntington, the end of the cold war will pose a new threat to the world, and the threat does not come from conflicts between ideologies or between social classes, or between rich and poor groups but derived from cultural differences. As Huntington stated below: It is my hypothesis that it will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominant source of conflict will be culture. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in the world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will

occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will be the battle lines of the future (Huntington, 1993: 1) Based on this statement, Huntington has the argument that the era after the cold war will be marked by conflicts between civilizations. According to him the world community will be divided into human groups based on their cultural boundaries and each culture has different values. Thus there will be no universal civilization. He stressed that the axis of the main conflict in the future is cultural and religious differences.

Western Democratic Value The idea of democracy first emerged 2000 years ago in ancient Greek society. Efforts towards democracy have been attempted in other places such as India<sup>1</sup>, but only in ancient Greece did the idea of democracy be born, developed and realized seriously even though on a limited scale. But in the end this effort must collapse and be replaced with a more authoritarian form of government. Since the ancient Greek era there has been no more democratic governance. Democracy takes a very long time to appear again. Democracy emerged gradually and was driven by major events from the signing of the Magna Carta in 1215, to the emergence of the French and American Revolutions in the 18th century. It was only in the 20th century,

the idea of democracy was truly applicable, and became a form of 'normal' governance in various countries in the world.

In a democratic society, every citizen has basic rights that the state cannot take. These basic rights have been recognized and guaranteed internationally. Everyone has the right to: adhere to their beliefs or beliefs, express opinions, get information, gather and associate and rally. However, every citizen has an obligation to obey the law and respect the rights of others. Amartya Sen, the winner of the Nobel prize in economics from India, expressed her views on the rights and obligations of citizens in a democratic country: "We must not identify democracy with majority rule. Democracy has complex demands, which certainly includes voting and respect for election results, but respect for liberties and freedoms, respect for legal entitlements and the guarantee of free and uncensored distribution of news and fair comment.

Election events can be deeply defective if they occur in different ways. Getting adequate opportunity to present their respective cases, or without enjoying the freedom to obtain news and to consider the views of competing protagonists. "(Sen, 1999, pp.

9-10) In a democratic society, the principle of accountability binds public officials - both

those who are elected, or appointed by those who are elected - to be responsible to the community who chooses them for their decisions and actions. In addition, the principle of transparency demands openness for every decision and action of government officials, especially if questions arise about the government's policy. In this case, the community has the right to have access to information about the government's decisions and actions.

**Islamic Political Value** The Islamic legal system called Sharia is a source that determines the behavior or behavior of most Muslims everywhere, especially in Islamic countries. In this case there are two sources of Sharia: the Quran, we are the holy of Islam and the Hadith (the words and habits of the Prophet Muhammad). Muslims accept the Quran as the word of God, and Sharia as the regulator of society and daily life. Sharia regulates many aspects of Muslim life, both spiritual life, namely the relationship between the individual and his God and secular life including criminal, political, economic and personal problems, for example, how women should dress.

In relation to politics, especially in choosing leaders, the Quran says: "Do not the believers take the unbelievers to be guardians by leaving the believers. Whosoever does this, he will surely escape

from Allah's help except because (stratagems) maintain themselves from something that is feared and they. And Allah warns you against His self. And only to Allah return (you). "(Qur'an 3:28). This verse is often interpreted by certain parties to show that Islam does not encourage Muslims (Muslims) to be friends with non-Muslims. Only in terms of the number of Muslims is much less, Muslims can pretend to be friends with non-Muslims. In another part, the Quran says: "Jews and Christians will not be happy with you (Muhammad) until you follow their religion (Al Baqarah: 120). In another part, the Quran also says: "O you who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as friends and allies where they themselves are friends and allies to each other. And whoever (Muslim) comes to them (as friends and allies) has become a part of them, know that Allah does not guide those who do wrong "(Al-Maidah: 51). The Quran says: "O ye who believe, do not take to be your friend of trust those who are outside of your circle (because) they will not stop (cause) kemudharatan for you. They like what troubles you. There has been real hatred from their mouths, and what their hearts hide is even greater. Indeed, we have explained to you the verses (We), if you understand them (Ali Imran: 118).

## **METHODS**

This study aims to determine the attitude of Muslims towards non-Muslim leaders. The leader chosen in this study is DKI Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or popularly called Ahok who will fight to win the hearts of the people of Jakarta so that he can again serve as governor in the 2017 Jakarta elections. Ahok is an incumbent from minority groups, Christians and descendants Chinese (Chinese). The chosen research subjects were religious Muslim women in Jakarta. The reason for choosing Muslim respondents in this study is because Islam is the majority religion in Jakarta. In addition, some hardline Islamic groups often voiced SARA-style campaigns to reject Ahok as the governor of DKI Jakarta. This rejection was conveyed in various mass media, especially social media.

The reason for choosing women in this study as respondents is because they are easier to identify in terms of their religiosity symbol than men. Religious Islamic women are easier to identify based on the clothes they wear, namely wearing a hijab or headscarf. This study also aims to find out whether religious Muslim women in Jakarta rate Ahok as a successful governor or unsuccessful in his first term? As candidates for incumbents, Ahok's leadership during the first term of office must be evaluated. The evaluation results will certainly be a factor that

determines whether he is eligible to be re-elected as governor for a second term. In this case, religious Muslim women in Jakarta were asked to provide an assessment of Ahok's performance during his tenure as governor.

The method used in this study is a survey with a questionnaire accompanied by structured interviews. Samples are selected purposively with the following criteria: (1) Muslim women at least 17 years of age; (2) Wearing a hijab; (3) Having a Jakarta ID card; (4) Based in Jakarta. The reason for using purposive sampling technique in this study is because there is no list of names for all members of the desired population, namely hijab Muslim women who live in Jakarta. In this study, hijab is an indicator of a Muslim woman entering the religious category. In general, the sampling technique is divided into two major parts, namely: probability sampling technique and non-probability sampling technique.

The probability sampling technique is carried out using a mathematical guide based on probability theory where the chance of each unit being selected as a sample can be known. The probability sampling technique is done by selecting or withdrawing samples randomly from a list containing all the names of the population members who are being sampled. Non-probability sampling

techniques or non-probability sampling are sampling techniques that do not follow mathematical probability guidelines. However, the most important characteristic that distinguishes both types of samples is that probability sampling allows researchers to calculate the number of sampling errors in a study, while non-probability sampling is not. As stated earlier, the number (percentage) of religious Muslim women in Jakarta who view Ahok as succeeding in leading Jakarta but not worthy of being reelected will be an indicator of the level of clash of civilizations (religion) that occur. The more respondents who have this kind of assessment, the higher the level of clash of civilizations that occurs with the following scale: 1) The level of conflict is considered to be very high if 80% - 100% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok 2) The level of conflict is considered high if 60% -80% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok 3) The level of impact is considered to be moderate if 40% - 60% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok 4) The level of conflict is considered as low if 20% - 40% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok 5) The level of impact is considered very low if 0% - 20% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok.

## **FINDINGS & DISCUSSIONS**

This study aims to determine the acceptance of Muslims towards non-Muslim

leaders. The leader chosen in this study was DKI Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or popularly called Ahok who were incumbents from minority groups, Christian and Chinese (Chinese). The chosen research subjects were religious Muslim women in Jakarta. This study also aims to find out whether religious Muslim women in Jakarta rate Ahok as a successful governor or unsuccessful in his first term? For religious Muslim women in Jakarta who judge Ahok as a successful governor, they will be asked about their political choices in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election in 2017. Will they vote for Ahok or not? If religious Muslim women in Jakarta consider Ahok to be successful in leading Jakarta but they refuse to support Ahok, it is necessary to know why. Whether or not the rejection was due to Ahok was a candidate with a minority background and how many of them held this view. By knowing the number of those who reject it can be measured the level of clash of civilizations that occur.

This study asked two questions to respondents, followed by interviews. The questions asked are: 1) Do you think that Ahok has succeeded in carrying out his duties as Governor of DKI Jakarta Province; 2) Will you choose Ahok as Governor in the DKI Jakarta Election in 2017? Based on the first question posed to the respondent: "In

your opinion, did Ahok succeed in carrying out his duties as Governor of DKI Jakarta Province" obtained an answer of 440 respondents giving answers to these questions and based on the data provided found that the majority or 68.4 percent of respondents said Ahok was successful or very successful in carrying out his duties as Governor of DKI Jakarta Province. As many as 11.6 percent said they were unsuccessful or were very unsuccessful, and as many as 20% said they did not know / doubt.

The second question that was asked to the respondent: "Will you choose Ahok as Governor in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election in 2017?" Obtained answers as many as 503 respondents gave answers to the question: "Will you choose Ahok as Governor in the DKI Jakarta Election in 2017?" based on the data in Table 4.2 it was found that 48.7 percent of respondents said they would not vote for Ahok as Governor in the DKI Jakarta Election in 2017. As many as 36.8 percent said they would vote for Ahok, and as many as 14.5 percent said they did not know / doubt.

In addition to asking closed questions and producing research data as presented above, the researcher also interviewed respondents, namely religious Muslim women about their views on Ahok. In this case respondents were

asked to explain their reasons for why they thought that Ahok was successful or unsuccessful in fixing Jakarta and why they decided to vote or not vote for Ahok in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election on February 15, 2017.

According to Ismiyati or Ismi, Jakarta residents who live in Kelapa Gang ivory No.51. Fatmawati-South Jakarta, Ahok managed to fix Jakarta. "Because he has produced KJP, he continues to green Jakarta.

So far there has never been a place where ever, there are no parks everywhere, now if I go to Jakarta, walk around the term every few meters there is a place to rest, then beside it there are trash cans arranged neatly even though not all of them perfect, that's what I know all along. " But Ismi refused to vote for Ahok: "I was always supporting Ahok from the very beginning, but I apologize for the incident yesterday even though I am also a layman but I am a Muslim, I am also a term I am very disappointed, even though I don't know one hundred percent Well, I only use the term, my religion is not stained or insulted, only I am disappointed, because the incident yesterday said that there were problems. According to Muliana (41) who lives in Meruya, West Jakarta, Ahok managed to lead Jakarta. "The road to clean, and there are no illegal levies," he said. But he plans not to choose Ahok: "Because in my

religion, it is not permissible to choose leaders outside of my religion."

According to Ayesya Sorayya who lives in Jalan Daud, South Sukabumi, Kebon Jeruk, Ahok managed to carry out his duties because he saw street vendors have started regularly, there were many modern markets, health facilities. Also now the use of BPJS has also been quite good as it was met at Puskesmas. Besides that, cleanliness has also started to be good because there are many orange troops so there is not a lot of rubbish piling up. But when asked if he would choose Ahok in the 2017 elections later? He replied: "Hmmm still doubt that I really want to choose Ahok or not. Maybe if at work, he is good at running everything. But, I actually (judge) less with Ahok's arrogant attitude, in my opinion yes. But, if for example during his work and his job is quite good, yes I agree, I just don't like the nature, maybe that is too arrogant.

According to Ananda Agustina, a student who lives on Jl. Cendrawasih IX stated that she felt uncertain to say whether Ahok was successful or not in carrying out his work as governor. "I doubt because there are already things that he has accomplished and there are still things that he hasn't done. So to choose I am still hesitant. "The example is stuck. Ahok wants to eradicate traffic jams in Jakarta but there are still

many traffic jams everywhere. In Central Jakarta, congestion is no longer found due to the implementation of even-odd systems, but in other areas in Jakarta such as West, South Jakarta and so on there are still many congestion everywhere. But when asked him whether he would choose Ahok as Governor in the DKI Jakarta Election in 2017 he said he would vote. According to him there is real evidence that Ahok's work does exist, and also because he has not succeeded and has not finished his duties as Governor. "So I chose him again because he hoped that the process that had not yet been completed would be completed in the second period when he served again as Governor of DKI Jakarta.

Meanwhile, Friska Amalia Naomikha said she would not choose Ahok because the development in Jakarta had not been fully realized because in fact there were still many congestion, unemployment and there were still many promises of Ahok that had not yet materialized. "I don't choose Ahok, because everyone's right to be free to choose anyone, there are still leaders who are better than Ahok," he said.

As stated earlier in Chapter 3 that the number (percentage) of religious Muslim women in Jakarta who view Ahok as succeeding in leading Jakarta but not worthy of being reelected will be an indicator of the level

of clash of civilizations (religion) that occur. The more respondents who have this kind of assessment, the higher the level of clash of civilizations that occurs with the following scale:

1. The level of conflict is considered to be very high if 80% - 100% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok
2. The level of conflict is considered high if 60% - 80% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok
3. The level of impact is considered to be moderate if 40% - 60% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok
4. The level of conflict is considered as low if 20% - 40% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok
5. The level of impact is considered very low if 0% - 20% of religious Muslim women in Jakarta reject Ahok. As many as 48.7 percent of respondents said they would not vote for Ahok as Governor in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election in 2017.

Thus the number of religious Muslim women who experienced a clash of civilizations in Jakarta ahead of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election was 48.7%. As the scale of the clash of civilizations has been made, this number of 48.7 percent is on a

scale of 40 - 60% which means showing a moderate level of impact.

## CONCLUSION

Samuel Huntington holds that the world community will be divided into groups based on their cultural boundaries and that each culture has different values. He stressed that the axis of the main conflict in the future is cultural and religious differences. In this study regarding the acceptance of DKI Jakarta's Muslims towards Ahok's governor, it was obtained data that nearly 70 percent of religious Muslim women in Jakarta acknowledged Ahok's success as governor but, using the same respondents, obtained data that 48.7 percent of respondents said they would not choose Ahok as Governor in the DKI Jakarta Election in 2017. As stated earlier in Chapter 3 that the number (percentage) of religious Muslim women in Jakarta who view Ahok as being successful in leading Jakarta but not worthy of being re-elected will be an indicator of the level of clash of civilizations (religion) that occur. Based on the data obtained previously it can be concluded as follows: (1) As many as 48.7 percent of respondents said they would not vote for Ahok as Governor in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election in 2017; (2) Thus the number of religious Muslim women who experienced a clash of civilizations in Jakarta ahead of the 2017

DKI Jakarta Regional Election is 48.7%; (3) As the scale of the clash of civilizations has been made, this number of 48.7 percent is on a scale of 40 - 60% which means showing a moderate level of impact.

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