

Fighting Discrimination: History, Strategies, and Social Movements of Sunda Wiwitan

Khoirul basyar

Universitas Islam Negeri K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, Pekalongan
khoirulbasyar@uingusdur.ac.id

Abdul Hamid

Universitas Islam Negeri K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, Pekalongan
abdulhamid@uingusdur.ac.id

Abstract:

This paper aims to capture the resistance of the marginalized Sunda Wiwitan community against the hegemony of the majority religion, in order to survive. In collecting data, this study uses literature from previous research, as well as direct observations and interviews with key figures from the Sunda Wiwitan community. The analysis is based on the theory of New Social Movements, which has been widely discussed by scholars. The study concludes that throughout the three leadership periods of Sunda Wiwitan, all have faced discrimination. This discrimination comes from the state bureaucracy, such as the existence of laws against religious blasphemy, regulations for accepting a religion, unregistered marriages, and more. Discrimination also comes from society, particularly from the orthodox Islamic community, especially from the Darul Islam/Islamic State (DI)/Indonesian Islamic Army (TII) groups (hereafter abbreviated as DI/TII), bullying, and negative stigma with labels such as infidels, heretics, uncircumcised, etc. The difficulties faced by Sunda Wiwitan in finding employment and their limited opportunities for societal development have led them to engage in social movements for survival. These social movements involve reorganizing, reviving the Seren Taun harvest festival, and reconstructing their identity. Based on Erikson's classification, the strategy employed by Sunda Wiwitan is a combination of voice and loyalty. Although their existence is not officially recognized by the state (especially before the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the identity column in ID cards), Sunda Wiwitan does not engage in a frontal movement to separate from the state, but instead creates a strategy of loyalty to the state, while still striving to voice their aspirations.

Keywords: *Discrimination, New Social Movements, Sunda Wiwitan, Reorganization, Identity Reconstruction. Local Religious*

INTRODUCTION

Discrimination against local religious communities has been ongoing for a long time in Indonesia (Hasse et al., 2011; Steenbrink, 2014), including against the Sunda Wiwitan community (D. Kanti, personal communication, July 14, 2020). The existence of Sunda Wiwitan within the Muslim-majority community is often marked by conflict and persecution. These conflicts frequently arise when faced with radical Islam and followers of DI-TII Kartosuwiryo (Tendi, 2016, p. 50). Not only from the mainstream masses, discrimination is also often displayed by authorities through discriminatory legislation, and even the prohibition of teachings by local governments. According to Makin, governmental discrimination is often politically motivated, aiming to gain the sympathy of the majority mass. This is reflected in the administrations of both the New Order and Old Order regimes (Makin, 2017, p. 12).

In line with Makin, Steenbrink also suggests that discrimination against local beliefs occurs both from the mainstream community and the authorities. Moreover, Steenbrink argues that the worldview of Modernism, Monotheism, and Militarism has damaged the rich heritage of Nusantara related to the spiritual beliefs of local communities, while simultaneously denying future generations the opportunity to witness the wonders that arise from these spiritual riches (Steenbrink, 2014, p. 355). Steenbrink continues that Monotheism has reduced the spiritual wealth of local communities, limiting it to only six recognized religions: Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Catholicism, and Protestantism. Therefore, inspired by Ayu Utami, Steenbrink calls upon religious experts such as Ulama, Priests, etc. (who monopolize religious interpretations) to return to their barracks, just as the military must return to their barracks, and cease intervening in the natural religious life of society (Steenbrink, 2014, p. 356).

In detail, Andi Saputra outlines forms of discrimination against local religions, such as: the exclusive definition of religion during the Old Order era, which led to the belief systems or local religious communities not being considered religions; the establishment of the Watchdog for Belief in Indonesian Traditions (Pakem) which limited the movement of local religions; the emergence of Law No. PNPS 1/1965 on blasphemy, which has often ensnared local religious communities under accusations of blasphemy against official religions; the issuance of MPR Decree No. 4/1978 which stated that belief is not a religion but rather a culture, while simultaneously forcing all citizens to fill in the religious column with one of the five official religions (Saputra, 2019).

According to Kanti, the most pronounced form of discrimination is the non-recognition of marriages within the belief communities (D. Kanti, personal communication, July 14, 2020). This has resulted in the loss of administrative rights, particularly for children, such as the absence of a father's name on birth certificates, loss of inheritance rights, difficulty in registering for school, bullying, and various other sociological and psychological impacts (Muttaqin, 2017, p. 95).

The conflicts between mainstream religions and marginalized/local beliefs align with Gramsci's predictions. According to Gramsci, in cultural interactions, there is always a hegemonic tendency from the ruling or majority group (superordinate) toward the marginalized or minority group (subordinate). This form of hegemony is not only based on specific class classifications, but also affects civil society, which is far more complex, including beliefs and ethnicity (Kholiq, 2013, p. 117).

The reform era, which offers openness and freedom, has brought about its own dynamics for the existence of local religions. Simply put, the reform era has provided a "gift" in the form of a ruling from the Constitutional Court (MK) which granted the petition of the alliance of belief communities. Through Decision No. 97/2016, the

existence of belief communities was recognized and included in the religion column on ID cards (Hasse et al., 2011; Steenbrink, 2014, pp. 355–356). Unfortunately, as Renaldi acknowledged, discrimination against adherents of local beliefs still continues, particularly in accessing services such as healthcare, education, and civil registration (Renaldi, 2017).

Despite ongoing discrimination, it is notable that the Sunda Wiwitan belief system has managed to persist to this day. According to Takwin, shared perspectives and values, which can be referred to as an ideology, are what enable a marginalized community to endure. Furthermore, this shared ideology leads to a conviction to engage in social actions, such as social movements, aimed at liberating them from discrimination and oppression (Miesel, 2004; Takwin, 2009, p. 5).

According to Stark, the survival of religious movements among marginalized communities is strongly influenced by their ability to maintain the social tension of the middle society. In this context, it is crucial for the community to adopt strategies to preserve their existence through compromises. For example, while their existence may be considered “deviant,” it is important not to be seen as “too deviant” (Gerlach & Hine, 1970). The doctrines of a religion or ideology do not automatically lead to social adaptation. Therefore, the continued existence of marginalized religious communities depends largely on the movement strategies they employ (Harper & Bryan F., 1993).

This study aims to uncover the strategies and movement patterns employed by the marginalized religious community of Sunda Wiwitan. To explore the strategies and movements of a community, a qualitative approach is necessary. The religious perspectives and organizational systems employed by the community need to be thoroughly explored through various phenomena. Using a qualitative approach, data collection and analysis can be conducted simultaneously, employing a comparative method and inductive reasoning, which are characteristic of qualitative studies (Patton, 2015).

Data collection techniques include interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis. Interviews were conducted with leaders of the Sunda Wiwitan community, as well as with members of the adat (customary) community. Observation was carried out by directly visiting the research locations, and even participating in their activities, such as the *Seren Taun* (an annual ritual of thanksgiving and harvest celebration).

The data analysis employed is thematic analysis. According to Braun and Clarke, thematic analysis focuses on identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data. The concrete steps undertaken in this analysis are: gaining a deep understanding of the data, creating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and writing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To conduct the analysis, we reviewed various literatures related to social movement theory. This theory served as a guide in both data collection and analysis. Triangulation analysis was carried out to ensure the validity of the data. This involved linking one set of data with another to produce meaningful insights related to the main issues under study. This process also ensured the coherence and accuracy of the findings.

DISCUSSION

The Origin of the Sunda Wiwitan Local Religion

It is said that in 1848, a belief system known as Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) emerged in the village of Cigugur. The founder of this belief system was Madrais, who, according to historical accounts, was a descendant of the sultans of Cirebon. Madrais married a woman from Cigugur and settled there, where he began to develop and

propagate his teachings (Kartapraja, 1990). Madrais attempted to merge the teachings of *Ngelmu Sejati* (the true knowledge) of Cirebon with elements of Islamic Sufism and the indigenous Sunda Wiwitan tradition, creating a new religious framework referred to as ADS (Agama Djawa Sunda).

The term *Agama Djawa Sunda* (Javanese Sundanese Religion) was used because the belief system sought to integrate the *Ngelmu Sejati* of Cirebon—an esoteric Javanese tradition—with Islamic mysticism (*tasawuf*) and the pre-Islamic Sundanese spirituality. This synthesis is understandable considering that ADS emerged and developed in Cigugur, Kuningan, a region located at the geographic boundary between West Java and Central Java. Due to this geographic positioning, the local culture experienced a significant assimilation of Javanese and Sundanese traditions.

Another version of the origin story holds that Madrais was also known as Pangeran Madrais Alibasa Widjaja Ningrat, believed to be a descendant of Sultan Gebang Pangeran Alibasa I. According to his living grandson, Pangeran Djatikusuma, the name "Madrais" was derived from "Muhammad Rais," a name given to him by his grandfather. This highlights the importance of family lineage and the role of ancestral naming traditions in shaping the identity of religious founders.

Strategies for the Survival of Sunda Wiwitan

Local religions in Indonesia have long faced unjust treatment or discrimination from various social groups, yet these communities have managed to stand firm and continue to uphold the beliefs they have followed for generations. One such community is Sunda Wiwitan (ADS).

Like other local religions, Sunda Wiwitan frequently faces discrimination, both in terms of legal regulations and societal attitudes. Despite this, Sunda Wiwitan has demonstrated remarkable resilience, managing to survive and persist to this day. This religion, which Geertz refers to as a *cultural system*, is deeply understood by the leaders of ADS, enabling them to adapt to the surrounding culture in order to endure (Qodim, 2017, p. 45).

According to Eriksen, there are three ways minority groups can respond to state dominance: exit, voice, and loyalty. *Exit* means leaving or separating from the state. *Voice* means speaking out, or in other words, fully accepting their subordinate position in the state but seeking peace with it. This community strives to negotiate for limited autonomy. *Loyalty* means full allegiance to the state, even if it requires assimilation and altering the original identity of the marginalized community (Eriksen, 1995, p. 14).

Among these alternatives for survival, Sunda Wiwitan seems to have chosen a combination of *voice* and *loyalty*. To clarify, the following are the strategies used by the Sunda Wiwitan community to survive amidst discrimination perpetuated by the state, supported by the majority society.

A. Reorganization: From ADS, PACKU, to AKUR

1) Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS)

In the early phase (the Madrais period), the belief system in Cigugur was led by

Kyai Madrais and Pangeran Tedjabuana. This belief system was known as *Agama Djawa Sunda* (ADS), because its core teachings were drawn from both Javanese (Cirebon) and Sundanese (Sunda Wiwitan) cultural elements. Madrais was initially raised within the Islamic tradition, attending a pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Cirebon.

Besides studying at the pesantren, Madrais also delved into Sufism (Islamic mysticism), the inward dimension of Islam. Furthermore, during his youth, he worked for a Cirebon prince who became very fond of him. From this prince, Madrais received teachings on Cirebon mysticism, known as *ngelmu Cirebon*, *ngelmu Sejati* (true knowledge), or *ngelmu hakikat*, which focuses on the mystical union between the servant and God (*manunggaling kawula lan Gusti*).

Through his quest for knowledge, from his time in the pesantren, Islamic mysticism, *ngelmu Cirebon*, and the teachings of Sunda Wiwitan (Sundanese ancestral wisdom) that he encountered in various regions of West Java, Kyai Madrais founded *Agama Djawa Sunda* (ADS).

The second phase of ADS occurred between 1939 and 1976, during the leadership of Tedjabuana, following Madrais' death in 1939. Tedjabuana took over the leadership and continued the tradition of ADS until 1976. During his leadership, ADS was banned multiple times by the state, but it always resurfaced. In 1944, the Japanese occupation banned ADS, but once they left, the faith was re-declared in 1951. In 1955, Tedjabuana and other religious figures, including Mei Kartawinata, Wongsonegoro, O. Romodjati, R. Rumuwisit, and R. Sukamto, organized various belief systems into the Indonesian *Badan Koordinasi Kebatinan Indonesia* (BKKI), a federation of spiritual organizations in Indonesia (N. M. Nuh, 2021, p. 43).

In 1964, Sunda Wiwitan (ADS) was again banned by the Indonesian government. As a result, Tedjabuana and most of his followers converted to Catholicism. This conversion was not driven by a belief in Catholic teachings but rather as a means of self-preservation in response to discriminatory actions and accusations of heresy, apostasy, and other forms of marginalization.

2) Formation of PACKU (Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang)

The dissolution of ADS marked the beginning of the third phase for Agama Djawa Sunda, often referred to as the *Djatikusumah period*. After the dissolution, the building that had served as the center of ADS activities, under Pangeran Tedjabuana's leadership, was handed over to the people of Cigugur and repurposed for church services. In 1976, the management of the building and the responsibility for preserving ancestral teachings were entrusted to Tedjabuana's son, Pangeran Djatikusumah. Meanwhile, Pangeran Tedjabuana returned to his family and lived in Cirebon until his death in 1978 (Wiardi, 2007, p. 173).

Under Djatikusumah's leadership, the majority of ADS followers had converted to Catholicism. However, the emotional bond between the followers and their leader remained strong, motivating Djatikusumah to reunite the followers under one leadership. After 17 years of participating in Catholicism—due to the failure to adhere to agreements (such as the use of traditional Sundanese clothing in religious services) and his marginalization within the Catholic community—Pangeran Djatikusumah left Catholicism (Saidi, 2004, p. 313). On July 11, 1981, Pangeran Djatikusumah, along with his followers, established the organization *PACKU* (Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang) (Wiardi, 2007, p. 174).

The establishment of PACKU was implicitly an effort to revive ADS, which had been banned for deviating from accepted norms. By using the term *Paguyuban*, Djatikusumah sought to convince the government that the effort was merely aimed at

reviving Sundanese customs. Under his leadership, the *Pikukuh Tilu* concept began to develop into a practice of emotional and spiritual cultivation. The theological teachings of the faith were expanded into the concept of *waruga jagad*, discussing the relationship between the macrocosm and the microcosm. The waruga doctrine was intended to guide humans in controlling their desires to achieve *sampurnaning hurip* (perfect life) and *sejatining mati* (true death).

However, Djatikusumah's actions led to unrest among Catholics, as he was accused of influencing Catholics to return to ADS. As a result, when he attempted to hold a *Seren Taun* ceremony in 1982, local authorities in Kuningan prohibited it. Even more firmly, the West Java High Prosecutor's Office issued Decree No. 44, dated August 25, 1982, banning the PACKU organization and its activities. Although PACKU was officially registered with the Directorate General of Bina Hayat under No. 192/R.3/N.1/1982, it was ultimately disbanded by the West Java High Prosecutor's Office (Wiardi, 2007, p. 175).

3) Formation of Adat Karuhun Urang (AKUR)

After Pangeran Djatikusumah's formation of PACKU and his public departure from Catholicism to embrace his ancestral beliefs (ADS), many people from Cigugur followed him and left the official religions they had adopted as a refuge. However, some still maintained their affiliation with official religions due to administrative requirements (such as filling in the religion column on their ID cards), while continuing to practice their ancestral teachings as they had when PACKU was still operational.

Following the banning of PACKU in 1982, Pangeran Djatikusumah and his followers began to identify themselves as *Adat Karuhun Urang* (AKUR), as a traditional community that some people now refer to as *Sunda Wiwitan* (Wiardi, 2007, p. 176). This self-identification allowed them to be accepted by society as an indigenous community. Today, the people of Cigugur officially refer to their belief system as *Adat Karuhun Urang* (the customs of our ancestors), abbreviated as AKUR. However, regardless of the label they use, outsiders still typically refer to their beliefs and practices as those of the followers of Madrais, as they are continuing the teachings that Kyai Madrais initiated.

B. Reviving the Seren Taun Ceremony

In addition to reorganization, the efforts of Sunda Wiwitan to maintain the continuity of their community are carried out by holding the Seren Taun Ceremony, which has been performed continuously from previous years. According to Pangeran Djatikusumah, the Seren Taun Ceremony has been held regularly since humans recognized the Creator. In the past, the Seren Taun Ceremony could last for 40 days and 40 nights and was attended by the people of Cigugur and other Sundanese communities such as those from Tasik, Bandung, Sumedang, Garut, Banten, and others (N. Nuh M., 2011, p. 43). The Seren Taun celebration is intended to express gratitude to God Almighty for the blessings of the harvest in the previous year, as a prayer asking for blessings for the coming year. The Seren Taun Ceremony is framed as a cultural event rather than a religious (belief) ceremony. This strategy appears to have been quite successful, allowing them to freely practice their teachings.

The people of Cigugur, Kuningan regard Seren Taun as a cultural event originating from their ancestors, categorized as a Sundanese tradition. It is therefore natural that this event is followed by many participants. Regarding the costs and needs of the Seren Taun Ceremony, the funding is sourced from: a) Community self-help, where the people of Cigugur prepare everything needed with their own awareness; b) Donors, who are concerned and want to contribute financially; c) Government assistance, where every Seren

Taun Ceremony receives financial aid through the Ministry of Tourism (Saeful, 2005, p. 27).

Currently, this ceremony has become part of the cultural agenda of the people of Kuningan. The opening ceremony is usually attended by officials and government personnel from the regency, and is opened by the Regent of Kuningan Regency. The organizing committee involves all elements of the community from various ethnic groups and religions. Thus, the Seren Taun event is no longer the property of the members of ADS/AKUR, but has become the property of the people of Cigugur and the surrounding community. The AKUR leadership's strategy of turning this ritual ceremony into a cultural event was a good one. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism has shown attention. The Paseban building they own as a Cultural Heritage site has received a substantial amount of funding for restoration. Assistance has also come from the Ministry of Public Works. The Seren Taun event is used as a promotional platform by the AKUR leadership to gain support from both the community and the government. According to reports, through the Seren Taun event, tons of rice can be collected, as every attendee brings offerings of rice and other plants, which are then gathered (N. Nuh M., 2011, p. 48).

C. Reconstruction of Identity

In addition to organizational reorientation and revitalizing the Seren Taun Ceremony, the efforts made by Sunda Wiwitan to survive include the reconstruction of identity. For three generations, ADS has repeatedly faced threats of prohibition and state dominance, and has repeatedly undergone conversion to official religions, only to later revive and reassert itself. In response to state prohibition and dominance, ADS was confronted with three solution options: exit, voice, and loyalty. The solution chosen by ADS was voice, fully accepting the state's construction and undergoing conversion to the subordinated Catholic faith. However, they continued to "speak up" by negotiating, and even in what was considered a 'safe' situation, they revived ADS. Although converting to Catholicism, the ADS community remained vocal by negotiating with the Catholic side to accommodate some of the distinct practices of ADS rituals in order to preserve the teachings passed down by their Sundanese ancestors.

ADS has reorganized itself several times, which is also part of the strategy to maintain the existence of ADS teachings, even by reconstructing its religious identity into a representation of ancestral customs. This was done by the ADS community to build a new identity and continually adapt to the historical context they were facing, in order to make peace and be accepted by the majority group. It is a shift from a religious identity representation to one of customary identity representation.

The initiative by ADS/Followers of the Madrais teachings to reorganize themselves into a Sundanese customary association and to try to shift their group's identity representation to that of a customary community was a solution chosen to avoid state prohibition and actions by the majority group that sought to marginalize them, because customary practices cannot be banned, unlike in other regions where indigenous communities are also growing. This included revitalizing the Seren Taun ceremony, a customary event that is part of the general celebration of Sundanese indigenous communities. It is an expression of gratitude for the harvest and a hope for better future harvests. The Seren Taun celebration is still observed by indigenous communities in Sukabumi, Ciamis, Garut, and surrounding areas (Selu Margaretha, 2012, p. 369).

Now, the ADS/Followers of Madrais teachings community is more comfortable

being referred to as the indigenous community/Followers of Adat Karuhun Urang (AKUR) in the representation of customary identity, rather than being called the Djawa Sunda Religion (ADS)/Followers of Madrais teachings in the representation of religious identity. In the past, there was a demand from Madrais followers to be recognized as a local religion, but this demand has not emerged recently. Apparently, the demand was deemed less advantageous for them. Moreover, the government has already provided the services they previously demanded, such as the removal of the obligation to list religion in the "religion" column of the ID card (KTP) and Family Card (KK), and the issuance of birth and marriage certificates for followers of belief systems according to the conditions set by the authorities.

According to Dewi Kanti, since the reform era, government policies regarding AKUR have developed significantly. The Seren Taun celebration is even attended by officials from both the central and regional governments. The Regent is always present at the event. Similarly, visitors come from various parts of the archipelago, both from customary representatives and ordinary people. These visitors are accommodated in the homes of local residents, even if they are not followers of Madrais. Some of the visitors give money to the hosts as a token of thanks, while others do not, as there is no obligation to do so.

Currently, ADS, or what is known as AKUR (Adat Karuhun Urang) in Cigugur, is no longer a problem for religious leaders and the general population of Cigugur. Although they know that AKUR refers to the same community as ADS/Followers of Madrais teachings, it has not become an issue. This shift shows the successful adaptation and acceptance of the community's identity as part of the broader Sundanese indigenous culture.

Social Movement and Resistance of Sunda Wiwitan

Feelings of discrimination and marginalization have led to the formation of a collective consciousness within a community to resist and eliminate these discriminations. A theory that explains the resistance movements of marginalized communities, which has garnered the attention of many scholars, is the theory of New Social Movements (NSM). NSM is an advanced theory that builds upon earlier theories of social movements.

While social movement theory is seen as a response to crisis situations, where society seeks new foundations for social bonds (Prasisko, 2016, p. 10), New Social Movements refer to collective efforts for mutual interests or the achievement of common goals through collective action outside established institutions (Giddens, 1993, p. 642). New Social Movements focus more on non-material issues, in contrast to Old Social Movements, which emphasize economic and material movements. The social changes brought about by NSMs usually involve lifestyle and cultural shifts, such as environmental movements, anti-war campaigns, peace, feminism, and similar non-material movements (Nash, 2005).

According to Tarrow, not all forms of political resistance worldwide can be called social movements. The concept of a social movement must have four basic properties: (1) Collective Challenge, characterized by actions that disrupt, obstruct, or create uncertainty regarding the activities of others; (2) Common Purpose, to create a collective claim against an opponent, authority, or elites; (3) Solidarity and Collective Identity; and (4) Maintaining a political resistance (Tarrow, 1998). NSMs are understood in two ways: as a type of social

movement with a new or even unique character, and as a paradigm for understanding social reality (Singh, 2001).

In Indonesia, new social movements emerged from the democratic system, where direct political participation could influence public policies, especially in addressing demands for equality and protection of minority rights (Prasisko, 2016, p. 9). For example, the followers of ancestral religions or local faiths. A key characteristic of new social movements is peaceful public protest or non-violence, distinguishing it from political movements through conventional public participation channels, such as lobbying or voting in political representation (Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 20-23). This is exemplified by the new social movement of local religions, which demands equality and protection for their followers. They hold various congresses and gatherings with other local religious groups to advocate for their rights.

The New Social Movement has been practiced by the Sunda Wiwitan community and other local religions in Indonesia as marginalized communities for a long time. One form of NSM carried out by Sunda Wiwitan was the establishment of a community organization called Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS), which later reorganized and changed its name to Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang (PACKU), and then again to Adat Cara Karuhun Urang (AKUR). In addition to forming organizations within their own community, Sunda Wiwitan also engaged in NSM by communicating with other local religions in Indonesia. Due to increasing feelings of discrimination, these indigenous faith groups across Indonesia held the First National Congress in Semarang on December 19-21, 1955. This congress, attended by 680 representatives from 67-70 organizations, successfully formed the Indonesian Spiritual Congress (BKKI), electing Mr. Wongsonegoro as its chairman (Ma'arif, 2017). This organization helped prevent the fading of the existence of local religions. Whenever there was a threat or pressure, they scheduled congresses to find solutions to these challenges (Ma'arif, 2017).

In the National Congress of BKKI in Ponorogo, East Java, several statements were issued, including: (1) The principle of spirituality is "sepi ing pamrih, rame ing gawe" (selflessness in purpose, busy in work); "Memayu-hayuning bawana" (to promote the welfare of the world); (2) Moral education for character building should be taught at all levels of education, from elementary to higher education; and (3) Thoughts and everyday practices should be based on divinity (Patty, 1986). The second point was clearly a response to the threats faced by the descendants of the spiritual groups, as their children were not receiving spiritual education, but rather education in mainstream religions (not spirituality).

Concerning this spiritual aspect, Dewi Kanti, daughter of Pangeran Djatikusumah (leader of the community), stated that the greatest concern of the Sunda Wiwitan elders was the fading of the values of the community, or using the community's own term, the fading of the "cara-ciri Bangsa" (characteristics of the nation). These indigenous values are considered the most important heritage for life, as well as the identity and characteristics of the nation (D. Kanti, personal communication, July 14, 2020). To ensure the preservation of these noble values, the indigenous community initiated the establishment of a formal educational institution through the Tri Mulya Foundation. This educational institution provides formal education at the junior high school level. Over time, students from this institution were not only from the Sunda Wiwitan community, but also from mainstream religions around Cigugur.

Sunda Wiwitan, together with other local religions in Indonesia, also held another congress in Jakarta on November 14-15, 1959, to discuss national education and recommended that spirituality be recognized as a national principle (Patty, 1986, p. 71). They also rejected the definition of religion proposed by the Ministry of Religion

(Dwiyanto, 2010). Previously, the Ministry of Religion (then called the Department of Religion) proposed that state recognition of a religion must meet certain minimum requirements, such as having a prophet, a holy book, and international recognition (Sukanto, 2013, p. 31). The problem was that not all religions or belief systems could meet these minimum requirements. As a result, these requirements were burdensome for local religions, including Sunda Wiwitan.

Through the BKKI, Sunda Wiwitan and other local religions sent a letter to President Soekarno, requesting that the status of spirituality be recognized as equivalent to that of a religion, and they proposed five representatives from their groups to be members of the National Council (Patty, 1986, p. 70). However, the efforts of these spiritual communities were ignored by the government, which leaned towards the demands of mainstream religious communities.

Various forms of discrimination against followers of local religions have motivated them to resist through social movements. One outcome of these social movements was the issuance of Constitutional Court Decision No. 97 of 2016 regarding the "Penghayat" column in ID cards. This decision marked the official recognition of local religions by including the term "Penghayat" in the religion column of ID cards. However, this does not mean that the social movement carried out by the followers of local religions has stopped. Aside from the inclusion of the word "Penghayat," which remains general and does not specify individual local religions, discrimination still persists, even after the Constitutional Court's ruling (Erdianto, 2017).

The New Social Movement practiced by Sunda Wiwitan also utilizes advances in information technology. According to Dewi Kanti, the Sunda Wiwitan community has created an Instagram account and a website for the community to boost their confidence and introduce their existence to the outside world. Through the use of information technology, the Sunda Wiwitan community also publishes various cultural activities and the values embedded within them, such as traditional songs (pupuh), dances, and others.

Based on the characteristics of New Social Movements outlined by Nash, which emphasize non-material movements, the efforts made by the Sunda Wiwitan community to preserve customary law can be categorized as a form of New Social Movement. Sunda Wiwitan believes that if the Indonesian nation adheres firmly to the noble values that form the characteristics of the nation, Indonesia will have a strong identity and character, and will be able to survive amidst the pressures of modernization and globalization.

CONCLUSION

Although local religions are the indigenous religions of the archipelago, with values that have existed since the inception of the Nusantara, the local Sundanese Wiwitan religion was only established in 1848 by its founder, Prince Madrais Alibasa Widjaja Ningrat, who lived in that era. Despite being established in 1848, the teachings of Sundanese Wiwitan are believed to continue the noble values of the ancestors. The local Sundanese Wiwitan religion is divided into three leadership eras: the Madrais era, the Tedjabuana era, and the Djati Kusuma era. Throughout all these eras, the local Sundanese Wiwitan religion has always faced discrimination, both from the state bureaucracy and society.

The form of discrimination faced by Sundanese Wiwitan from the state is in the form of detrimental regulations. For example, the regulation regarding the requirements for the recognition of a religion by the state has made Sundanese Wiwitan unable to be recognized as a religion, thus making it difficult for them in bureaucratic matters as well as religious rituals. The most severe impact on the community is the lack of registration for

marriages that use Sundanese Wiwitan rituals. This has led to the absence of the father's name on the child's birth certificate, making it difficult to register for school, work, etc. The existence of laws on religious defamation also harms Sundanese Wiwitan, as under this law, many members of the Sundanese Wiwitan indigenous community have been detained under charges of defaming the religion of the majority. In addition, discrimination from society is also felt by Sundanese Wiwitan in the form of persecution by orthodox Islam. The Sundanese Wiwitan headquarters was once burned, and followers, along with their leaders, were expelled during the leadership of Tedjabuana. Moreover, negative stigma and bullying with terms like "deviant," "infidel," "uncircumcised," etc., are often experienced by the Sundanese Wiwitan community, especially children in school. The Sundanese Wiwitan community also faces difficulties in obtaining religious education and finding employment.

The strategies and movement patterns carried out by Sundanese Wiwitan to survive are diverse. These include reorganization, reviving the Seren Taun harvest festival, and reconstructing their identity. Based on Erikson's classification of the three ways for minority groups to respond to state dominance—exit, voice, loyalty—the strategies employed by Sundanese Wiwitan represent a combination of voice and loyalty. Although their existence is not recognized by the state (especially before the Constitutional Court's ruling on the KTP column), the Sundanese Wiwitan did not engage in frontal movements to separate from the state but rather created a strategy of loyalty to the state while still striving to voice their aspirations.

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