

Resilience and Negotiation: Ancestral Belief Adherents Facing Discrimination in Indonesia

Benjamin Haryono¹, Susana Tjipto^{1*}

¹Faculty of Psychology, Sanata Dharma University, Indonesia

Submission 2 April 2024 Accepted 4 November 2024 Published 30 December 2024

Abstract. Adherents of ancestral beliefs have long been a part of Indonesia's diverse cultural landscape and have historically faced significant discrimination, making it crucial to understand how resilience in these individuals affects their empowerment and well-being. This study aims to understand the resilience of followers adherents of indigenous belief systems in dealing with the phenomenon of fluctuating recognition of their religious traditions in Indonesia. Informants in this study were chosen based on the criteria of the research objective: adherents of indigenous beliefs aged over 45 years who had experienced the phenomenon of fluctuating recognition of indigenous beliefs. Three informants were involved (two males and one female, aged 49 to 68 years old). Data were collected through semi-structured, in-depth individual interviews, and a descriptive phenomenological approach was used for data analysis. The study identified one main theme: negotiation used to confront power asymmetries. Two forms of negotiation were found: self-negotiation and negotiation with others. Self-negotiation strategies include emotional regulation and adaptive actions towards life events. Negotiation with others involves effective communication and efforts to obtain rights and recognition both legally and socially. Through negotiation, adherents of indigenous beliefs can be resilient, even when this method does not change the existing power asymmetries. The implications of this study highlight the necessity for a collective movement to advocate for the recognition of both legal and social rights for all faiths.

Keywords: adherents of ancestral beliefs; discrimination; power asymmetries; resilience

Adherents of ancestral beliefs in Indonesia have long faced systemic discrimination due to the state's limited recognition of religion. The government officially acknowledges only six religions that is Islam, Catholicism, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism leaving indigenous faiths without formal recognition (Matanasi, 2016). Adherents of indigenous beliefs have faced challenges throughout Indonesia's history, across the Old Order, New Order, and Reform eras. During the Old Order period, they were excluded from civil services. In 1953, the state also created *Pengawas Aliran Kepercayaan* (Pakem) to oversee their activities (Sihombing, 2008). In the New Order period, suspicions of communism further marginalized them, although they fought for legal efforts to address this exclusion (Saputra, 2017).

*Address for correspondence: datus3@yahoo.com



The Post-Reform period has seen some legal improvements, such as the 2017 court decision allowing adherents of indigenous beliefs to leave the religion column blank on their ID cards, rather than being required to list one of the state-recognized religions. This decision overturned a 2006 law (Suchahyo, 2018). However, social discrimination persists, with these communities still stigmatized and marginalized (Maarif, 2017). This enduring exclusion may constitute a form of identity politics, as specific identity groups seek recognition and rights (Teo, 2014).

At the heart of this issue are power asymmetries, as the state's control over institutions like religion and media shapes public norms and perpetuates discrimination (Foucault, 1990; Prilleltensky, 2008). This systematic marginalization deepens social inequality and harms affected communities both psychologically and physically (Baron & Branscombe, 2012). Despite the challenges, adherents of indigenous beliefs learn to adapt and survive within this hostile environment. This strategy of survival could be seen as resilience (Ledesma, 2014).

Research on resilience among adherents of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia is critical. Existing studies predominantly address political and legal dimensions, while neglecting the psychological aspects of discrimination. Some studies (Hakiki, 2011; Hasse, 2010) overlook the psychological toll on individuals entirely and do not address the mental resilience of those involved. Thus, previous research leaves a gap in our understanding of the psychological mechanisms that enable adherents of indigenous beliefs to cope with adversity. Other research has shown that structural discrimination, often through discriminatory laws, policies, and societal attitudes, has a detrimental effect on the health and well-being of marginalized groups, such as transgender individuals and racial minorities (Bränström & Pachankis, 2021; Small & Pager, 2020; Szanton et al., 2022). These findings highlight the role of institutional stigma in perpetuating inequality and shaping life satisfaction across social contexts. However, research on structural discrimination among adherents of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia is limited, making it crucial to investigate their resilience to understand how they navigate systemic marginalization and develop strategies to enhance their well-being and social inclusion. Prior research has also highlighted the impact of religiosity and mindfulness on well-being in local religions, yet failed to explore the resilience processes and lived experiences at play (Prabowo & Rahmasari, 2022; Simarmata et al., 2023). Therefore, a qualitative approach may enrich our knowledge of how adherents of Indonesian indigenous beliefs withstand social and psychological pressures.

Past studies indicate that strong cultural identity and support networks can enhance resilience. These support networks are crucial given the stigmatization faced by the groups in question (Brown & Tylka, 2011; Hidayat & Husna, 2021; Lee, 2005). The parallels in social marginalization and psychological strain emphasize the importance of community support for these groups. Similar research on marginalized people, like Febriani and Irwanto (2021) study on transgender sex workers, underscores the role of personal strengths and community support in building resilience. Although these studies give some insights into the present case, it is still crucial to investigate how adherents of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia navigate systemic discrimination. The present study used a qualitative design with a descriptive phenomenological approach. This method provides an opportunity for in-depth inquiry that is essential for exploring the personal experiences of resilience among adherents

of indigenous beliefs facing discrimination.

Methods

Study approach and design. This study employs a qualitative design with phenomenological approach. Phenomenology aims to describe the essence of a phenomenon by examining it through the lived experiences of individuals. It seeks to uncover not only what was experienced but also how it was experienced (Moustakas, 1994; Neubauer et al., 2019). This involves gathering firsthand accounts from multiple individuals through interviews to discern the significance of the phenomenon for each person (Hasbiansyah, 2008). By doing so, phenomenology provides a deeper insight into the meaning behind human experiences.

In this study, the framework of descriptive phenomenology is utilized, foregrounding the necessity of achieving transcendental subjectivity (Neubauer et al., 2019). This entails setting aside personal biases, assumptions, and prior knowledge to genuinely engage with the experiences of informants. Through the process of epoche, researchers suspend their preconceived ideas, enabling access to the lived realities of the participants. The methodology follows a systematic reduction model, beginning with an analysis of individual experiences to extract their meanings and then employing imaginative variation to create a holistic understanding of the phenomenon. The goal is to derive universal essences from the informants accounts while minimizing researcher bias, thus ensuring a clear and detailed portrayal of the phenomenon under investigation (Moustakas, 1994; Neubauer et al., 2019). This careful and reflective approach enhances the comprehension of these individuals' lived experiences with a clear and detailed description of resilience.

Informant recruitment. Informant selection in this study was based on specific criteria acquired through purposive sampling methods, specifically criterion sampling, or the technique of selecting informants based on criteria essential for obtaining rich information (Patton, 2002). This was done in consideration of the need for exhaustive information from individuals who have experienced or deeply understand the phenomenon under study. The criteria used to select informants in this study are as follows: (1) Informants are individuals who are adherents of indigenous beliefs, and (2) These adherents are at least 45 years old. The latter criterion is chosen due to the historically fluctuating recognition of indigenous beliefs dating back to the 1950s.

The Use of AI-Generated Tools in the Writing Process

In composing this manuscript, the authors utilized ChatGPT-4, for translating some vocabulary from Bahasa Indonesia into English. For example, when given a follow-up prompt of "What is a more accurate translation of *penghayat kepercayaan* in English given the context of Indonesia?" the ChatGPT-generated text indicated that "The term *penghayat kepercayaan*" is often translated as "adherents of indigenous beliefs" or "practitioners of traditional beliefs" in English. However, these translations may not fully capture the nuances of the term in the Indonesian socio-cultural and legal context. A more accurate translation would depend on the specific context you're working with."

(OpenAI, 2024).

Informants. Three informants were involved in this study, consisting of two males and one female, each aged 49 to 68 years old, whose educational backgrounds were high school and bachelor level. The demographic data of the informants can be seen in Table 1, followed by a brief description of each informant's background and context as an adherent of indigenous beliefs.

Table 1

Participants' Demographic Data

No	Description	Informant 1	Informant 2	Informant 3
1	Initials	BP	ES	S
2	Age	68	55	49
3	Gender	Male	Female	Male
4	Occupation	Lecturer	Y Organization Leader	Z Organization Leader
5	Educational background	Bachelor	Bachelor	High school

Informant 1 (I1) is a 68-year-old man, residing in Yogyakarta, who serves as the chairperson of one of the most significant councils that regulates several indigenous belief organizations there. He also holds a senior position in one of Yogyakarta's indigenous belief organizations. I1 has been a devoted adherent of indigenous beliefs for 50 years and currently works as an Accounting Education Lecturer at a private university.

I1's decision to become an adherent of indigenous beliefs was influenced by his father, who was also a believer. I1 was additionally driven by the motivation of empathy for others, as he seeks healing knowledge. This motivation comes from seeing his father help numerous people. Formerly a *Muslim*, I1 did not find peace in those worship practices, which led him to convert. Only then did he begin to find comfort in his beliefs.

Informant 2 (I2) is a 55-year-old woman residing in Yogyakarta, who currently holds the position of chairperson of an indigenous belief organization. Her daily life revolves around managing the administration of the community association. She does not pursue conventional employment, choosing instead to devote her life to matters of faith.

I2's involvement as an adherent of indigenous beliefs began at a young age due to both her parents being practitioners. I2's strong motivation to continue in this faith stems from her comfort with her chosen lifestyle. She also has other reasons to adhere to it, as it provides her with solutions to emerging concerns that arise from everyday problems.

Informant 3 (I3) is a 49-year-old man who works as a farmer and a caretaker for an indigenous belief organization. I3 spends his days managing a gathering place for young people to learn the arts and for community members to engage in religious activities. I3 also teaches various arts, such as *karawitan* (Javanese music) and dance.

I3 became an adherent of indigenous beliefs after graduating from high school. He chose to do so after seeing his parents oppressed by the government and society for belonging to this group. I3's motivation stems from empathy towards the discrimination his parents faced, which later developed into a greater sense of comfort in his beliefs and curiosity to deepen his understanding of them.

Instruments. Qualitative interview methods were used to gather data. This study utilized a semi-structured interview approach, which allowed the researcher to delve deeper into informants' responses while still providing guiding questions to facilitate dialogue between the two parties.

The researcher first prepared a list of questions, serving as a guide to maintain the flow of the interview. The list of questions is as follows: (1) What has been your experience as an adherent of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia? (2) Have you encountered difficulties, unfair treatment, or even discrimination as an adherent of indigenous beliefs? (3) Do you feel that you have been able to endure these difficulties? (4) Can you explain/describe what you mean by enduring (resilience)? (5) What strategies have you employed to endure (be resilient)?

A smartphone recorder was used to record all informant responses during the interview process. Recording the interview served to aid the researcher in accurately transcribing the informant's responses for further analysis. These verbatim data were later analyzed by the researcher. The interview date, location, and duration can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2

Interview Schedule

No	Informant	Date	Location	Duration
1	I1	5 September 2020	Terrace of the Informant's House	120 min
2	I2	10 November 2020	Base of Y Organization	90 min
3	I3	13 November 2020	Base of Z Organization	120 min

This research has the capacity to encounter several ethical issues, as outlined in the *Himpunan Psikologi Indonesia* (Indonesian Psychological Association), abbreviated the HIMPSI Code of Ethics specifically Article 15, regarding the avoidance of adverse effects. Therefore, the researcher implemented several procedures to ensure the well-being of the informants and to uphold research ethics, as follows:

First, the researcher provided informed consent so that the research informants could understand the purpose and goals of the study, the themes being addressed, the activities that would take place during data collection, and any potential effects that could arise during the process. Informed consent also served as a reminder that the informants were participating voluntarily, with a clear understanding of their involvement in the research.

Second, the researcher conducted qualitative interviews according to a mutually agreed schedule and after establishing initial rapport with the informants. The researcher then held two to three meetings depending on the needs and outcomes of the data collection process.

Third, in accordance with descriptive phenomenology, researchers strived to optimally manage their biases and assumptions during data collection as well as analysis. This is called bracketing, a reflexive process that involves: (1) self-reflection, as researchers critically examine their own assumptions and biases before collecting data; (2) researchers explicitly documenting their identified biases and assumptions; (3) suspension of judgment, as researchers commit to suspending personal

opinions during data collection and analysis; and (4) continuous reflexivity, as researchers regularly revisit their reflections throughout the research process. This approach was carefully maintained throughout this study to ensure a clear and detailed description of resilience.

Data analysis. Phenomenological analysis is utilized as one of the analytical approaches in this study. Descriptive phenomenology emphasizes achieving transcendental subjectivity (Moustakas, 1994; Neubauer et al., 2019), which requires researchers to bracket their biases, assumptions, and previous knowledge to access the participants' experiences in a pure, unmediated way. Through a process known as *epoche*, researchers set aside their natural attitudes and preconceptions, allowing them to engage with informants' lived experiences as they are presented. This involves a careful process of reduction: an initial focus on individual informant experiences to distill their meanings, followed by imaginative variation to synthesize a unified understanding of the phenomenon under study. The process of analysis included the following steps (Giorgi & Broome, 2019): 1) Bracketing: The researchers began by familiarizing themselves with the data through repeated readings and active engagement with the texts, allowing them to set aside personal biases and assumptions. This step is crucial for gaining an authentic understanding of the informants' lived experiences. 2) Intuiting: In this phase, the researchers identified significant excerpts, or 'units of meaning,' that represented the essence of the informants' experiences related to the phenomenon under study. The analysis involved careful selection to ensure that only the most relevant passages were included. 3) Describing: The researchers re-examined the data with a focus on the themes that emerged from the nodes identified in the previous step. To ensure the rigor of their analysis, they independently reviewed the data and discussed their findings to reach a consensus on the thematic classifications. 4) Synthesizing: The researchers synthesized these themes to provide a comprehensive understanding of the essential structure of the phenomenon being investigated.

Results

The result of this study will be presented in terms of the adversities, negotiation as form of resiliency, and the contribution of social support to resilience.

The Adversities

Through the interview results with the three informants, several challenges in their lives as adherents of indigenous beliefs were identified. These stem from a discriminatory definition of religion that affects the recognition of indigenous beliefs and their followers in Indonesia. This discrimination based on political identity has been the root of many adversities faced by adherents of indigenous beliefs. In this section, the discrimination that has been experienced by the three informants will be divided into three categories: lack of recognition, legal discrimination, and social discrimination.

According to I1, Indonesia's dominant narrative of what constitutes religion has put adherents of indigenous beliefs in a disadvantageous position as far back as the Suharto era. The government only acknowledges six belief systems as being considered 'religion.' This detrimental dominant narrative

has resulted in discriminatory policies that persist even today. It influences state recognition of its people, which in turn determines access to essential civil facilities: without this recognition, adherents of indigenous beliefs are denied fundamental rights, such as educational access and the right to marry. The dominant narrative of religion also shapes society's view on these adherents, which often results in their stigmatization as irreligious. I1 emphasized that as a result, the continued existence of adherents of indigenous beliefs has been problematic. He expressed confusion as to what he can do against this detrimental dominant narrative that is so clearly affecting his life.

"Religion is not yet clearly defined now; the definition is now made by the government, the ruler. Well, the ruler makes it according to what he believes" (Informant 1 P:308-312)

"So the definition of religion is still one-sided. Since the time of Pak Harto, [indigenous beliefs have not been] and will never be a religion.' If so, what should I do? So...the adherents of indigenous beliefs have to face a lot of problems in their effort to exist just because of the rulers." (Informant 1 P:361-364)

Adherents of indigenous beliefs suffer from the dominant narrative of religion in both society and the legal system. This form of political identity discrimination has been consistently experienced throughout their lives. Several government regulations and policies are perceived as ambiguous and harmful to this community, which in turn affects their daily experiences. For example, based on the *Hukum Administrasi Kependudukan* (Population Administration Law), I3's parents were forced to choose one of the then five recognized religions to be listed on their identity card (KTP). This was the original motive for I3 to rebel and live as an adherent of indigenous beliefs.

"Thus, my youthful spirit was stirred when I saw the dynamics of life as a follower of traditional beliefs, especially my father and his friends. It felt like they were being very, very much oppressed by the government back then during the New Order era, being forced to choose one of the five religions recognized by the state [in that era]. So, my interest was not in the teachings themselves at first, but in the fact that I could not bear to see the elderly, those who were already old, being summoned [by the police] almost every day." (Informant 3 P: 21-33)

Although adherents of indigenous beliefs are now officially allowed to list this on their identity cards, many still face challenges due to discrimination from intolerant groups. Another problem that arises from the weak legal standing of this group is the difficulty in managing marriages and funerals within their community. I3 experienced a complex situation when arranging a marriage for adherents of indigenous beliefs, and even faced a boycott from intolerant individuals. The prevailing regulation is that individuals can only marry within the same religion. This became a major problem for I3 because the adherents he was helping do not legally have a religion to marry within. Similar challenges have been faced by all three informants when managing weddings or arranging funerals for adherents of indigenous beliefs. I1 noted that issues like those surrounding marriage are a form of identity politics.

"Yes, that's the issue with marriage. It used to be that marriage had to be between people of the same religion. But marriage is a vow between a husband and wife before God. For me, a vow is a vow; it

doesn't need to be managed by others. It's definitely political, identity politics, because of the majority." (Informant 1 - P:344-351)

At the institutional level, some adherents of indigenous beliefs have faced discrimination due to their identity. Adherents of indigenous beliefs also do not receive the appropriate religious education. For context, in Indonesia, the curriculum provided by the state requires schools to teach religion. I2 shared the difficulties she encountered during her early schooling because there was no religious subject for adherents of indigenous beliefs in the school she attended. Similarly, I3 expressed his frustration and anger when his child also struggled to receive indigenous belief education in existing schools. To I3, this failure to provide religious education options for them is another form of government negligence.

"Yes, the difficulty is not in socialization, but in the class. In my time, there was no indigenous belief education, so in elementary and middle school, I followed Islamic education. Then in high school and university, I followed Christian education because the school didn't have other options." (Informant 2 - P:214-221)

"Every year, children of adherents of indigenous beliefs have to sign a form, which means they will learn a religion. Has the government given them the opportunity to learn about indigenous beliefs?" (Informant 3 - P:542-547)

Beyond administrative issues, adherents of indigenous beliefs often face social discrimination. Both I2 and I3 shared direct or indirect experiences of discrimination in their communities. They underscored how adherents of indigenous beliefs are frequently stigmatized as being associated with communism (PKI), labeled as practicing mere mysticism, or even branded as infidels. In addition to witnessing his parents face legal pressure, I3 also saw how they endured mockery and stigma.

"I didn't start because I was interested in the teachings, but because my heart rebelled against how my parents' beliefs were treated and labeled. They were called all sorts of things back then, labeled as communists because they weren't religious. Even now, if you're not Muslim, you're still labeled as an infidel, branded with this or that." (Informant 3 - P:61-69)

The discriminatory environment often makes it difficult for adherents of indigenous beliefs to assert their identity. I2 mentioned several instances where members of her community lived in fear due to the stigma attached to being adherents of indigenous beliefs. In certain areas, these adherents are even ostracized. This has made it difficult to accurately document the number of adherents of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia, as many are reluctant to openly identify themselves and choose instead to declare themselves under a recognized religion when they feel their environment is an intolerant one.

"So, they still hide. Even though in the past the situation was much more open, nowadays they are forced to hide, not reveal their true beliefs, because in those areas, in the villages, it's very sensitive. In the cities, it's more open, but in the villages, that's how it is." (Informant 2 - P:421-427)

"Yes, there are actually many of us, but it's difficult for them to reveal themselves and admit they are adherents of indigenous beliefs. There are many considerations, which is what saddens me the most."
(Informant 2 - P:733-739)

The most terrifying form of discriminatory behavior faced by adherents of indigenous beliefs comes in the form of physical violence. I3 shared a testimony about a fellow community member who was physically assaulted in certain locales. According to I3, in some regions, the discrimination is more intense. In addition to physical violence, places of worship or meeting halls have also been targeted.

"But our friends who live in Central Java face more severe discrimination. One of our meditation halls, called X, was burned down by a mob." (Informant 3 - P:221-225)

"In Windusari, Magelang, they burned down the meeting hall, and physical assaults took place, but thankfully, one of my friends was unharmed despite being attacked with a sword." (Informant 3 - P:229-233)

Negotiation as a Form of Resiliency

When addressing the discriminations they face, the three informants attempt to resolve difficulties by doing several things they believe to be effective in maintaining their existence as adherents of indigenous beliefs. Specifically, they rely on two forms of negotiation: self-negotiation and negotiation with others.

The first method, self-negotiation, concerns how they navigate themselves in a situation that is unfavorable for them. This consists of emotional regulation and adaptive actions in response to problematic situations. Meanwhile, negotiation with others occurs when the situation is favorable enough for them to openly express their identities as adherents of indigenous beliefs. It consists of good communication and the effort to obtain rights and recognition both legally and socially. Both of these forms of negotiation have helped the three informants continue to survive as adherents of indigenous beliefs over the years.

Regarding self-negotiation, adherents who regulate their emotions rather than acting out of anger or frustration in response to discrimination are more effective in handling unfavorable situations. I1 emphasizes the act of *legowo* (accepting), as he tries not to focus too much on legal recognition of adherents of indigenous beliefs. He prefers to strengthen himself spiritually instead, as he feels it provides him with greater peace of mind.

"So, X believes whether you call it a religion or not doesn't matter. What's important is that I'm recognized by God. When I connect with God, I can enjoy everything, and I'm granted peace." (Informant 1 - P:313-317)

Similarly, I3 states that learning the teachings of his belief system provides him with a sense of calm. Both I1 and I3 used to be reactive people, prone to anger. After they gained deeper retrospective understanding of their own faith, they feel they are much more in control of their emotions. Thus, they can now navigate facing discrimination more effectively.

Another form of self-negotiation is acting adaptively in different situations. I2 feels that it would take a lot of effort to fight for her right to legal recognition, yet her efforts have often failed to provide any result. She believes that it is better to simply follow government regulations and not oppose them outright. She has often been forced to give in and not fight back in order to maintain a conducive environment within society. By doing so, she can minimize the discrimination that she might face.

[Regarding being required to write down a religion on her ID card]

"We are not allowed to oppose government regulations, state regulations. Yes, we can only try to follow the path, but my mother once told me that the administration is your business, you are the one who needs to write [a religion on the ID], but I can't lie to myself that I don't practice what I write, that's all." (Informant 2 - P:262-269)

"In the end, in order to maintain a good situation, a conducive one, I was forced to give in. That's sometimes the problem." (Informant 2 - P:353-356)

Negotiation with others, meanwhile, can take the form of good communication. One common thread among the informants is that communication has played an essential role in overcoming the discriminations they have faced in their lives. Communication serves as a bridge for overcoming legal issues and tackling social prejudice.

From I1's point of view, the ability to build good communications by being friendly to anyone can prevent potential discrimination. He believes that discrimination happens because of a lack of communication skills. He was once asked to write Islam as his religion on his ID card, yet he was able to bargain the officer into leaving the religion column blank with his friendly attitude and good communication skills. Thus, I1 does not have to falsely present himself as someone who follows the *Muslim* religion. He asserts that as an adherent of indigenous beliefs, it is better to be known as unrecognized rather than being acknowledged as part of something he does not truly believe in.

"Actually, here's the thing, why are we discriminated against? If we always maintain good relationships with everyone, there will always be a way forward." (Informant 1 - P:277-279)

"When asking for an ID card, the officer said, 'Please just write Islam.' [I said,] 'Oh, I don't want it if it's written [as] Islam, I do not pray (in the Islamic way)'. The lady replied, 'Oh no, no, I'll check it out.' So what's the way to do it?...we just act normally, talk normally, be innocent, so it turns out everyone is willing to accept it." (Informant 1 - P:283-287)

For I2, the key to overcoming problems is the ability to engage diplomatically with society. She believes discrimination occurs because adherents of indigenous beliefs may lack this ability and be unable explain their belief practice. This lack of information is what has caused their society to reject them, simply because there is a misunderstanding.

"There's diplomacy involved too. And not all adherents of indigenous beliefs can do diplomacy, right? That's what reduces courage in their environment. If they can engage in diplomacy and communicate

well with the surrounding community, everything will go smoothly. But if they just declare, 'I'm an adherent of indigenous beliefs,'but can't speak up and explain well, then that's a problem. In the end, they're misunderstood and ostracized." (Informant 2 - P:879-889)

To I3, prioritizing dialogue and attempting to understand one another's perspectives is crucial. Like I2, I3 believes that discriminatory behavior stems from a lack of understanding of the public's perspective regarding adherents of indigenous beliefs. Through dialogue, I3 believes people can understand each other better, hence minimizing discrimination.

"For me, I prioritize dialogue. I take the initiative to approach them and ask, Are you here to criticize or to learn? If they genuinely want to understand what I believe in as a kejawen, I'll gladly explain, but if they just want to criticize, then so be it." (Informant 3 - P:241-246)

"In my opinion, it is more like sitting together, chatting together, each of you finding out about the other. Those who feel rejected must ask why they were rejected, and those who reject must have a basis for why they rejected." (Informant 3 - P:3265-269)

Another form of negotiation with others is the effort to obtain rights and recognition both legally and socially. I3 stresses the importance of adherents of indigenous beliefs continuing to fight for their rights as long as the legal system provides space for them to do so. He believes their struggle is legitimate and valid in the eyes of the law, as long as what he does has not broken any regulations. He also firmly believes that there is always a legal process that can mediate the situation, regardless of opponents'intimidation tactics.

"No matter how intense the intimidation, we've never reported our burnt-down place of worship to the police. Instead, the police came to us, mediated, and once mediation happens, it's smooth sailing. What wrong have we done? Our teachings aren't secretivethey're open. If we're in the wrong, then let the legal process take place. In the end, it's not us who have to make statements, it 's them." (Informant 3 - P:314-324)

The Contribution of Social Support to Resilience

Aside from their personal efforts, the three informants also emphasize the importance of social support within their community. The mutual assistance provided by the community in overcoming difficulties, and the social support they have received in maintaining their status as adherents of indigenous beliefs, are considered vital by all informants. They stress the importance of supporting one another, sharing experiences, practicing *asah asih asuh* (a philosophy of mutual care and support), and maintaining close communication with fellow adherents of indigenous beliefs.

"The struggle involves helping each other. In fact, accompaniment is indeed crucial." (Informant 1 - P:388-392)

"Yes, among us community members, we exchange experiences [and] practice asah asih asuh." (Informant 2 - P:432-435)

Discussion

The various forms of discrimination that are shown in the research results stem from fluctuating recognition of adherents of indigenous beliefs due to Indonesia's restrictive definition of religion. This definition tends to favor the majority and can be seen as an example of the asymmetric power dynamics present in Indonesia. Historically, the institutionalization of religion, especially with the establishment of the *Kementerian Agama* (Ministry of Religious Affairs), has reinforced this inequality. In 1952, the *Kementerian Agama* proposed that a religion must, by their definition, consist of three elements: a prophet, a holy book, and international recognition (Maarif, 2017).

For I1, this rigid definition is a form of political identity perpetuated by the government. This can be viewed as a kind of discrimination in which the government enforces precise definitions of religion that marginalize communities outside those definitions. Since the Suharto era, such actions have placed adherents of indigenous beliefs at a disadvantage, creating discriminatory policies, shaping societal views and perpetuating exclusion.

This dynamic highlights the power relations between minority and majority groups, with religious identity serving as a basis for challenging oppression, much like race, gender, or class (Teo, 2014). Political identity in this context is not about simply gaining recognition, but also affirming dignity and self-respect in the face of underrepresentation and misrepresentation (Maclure, 2003; Pande & Jha, 2016).

Discrimination via political identity can also be seen as an instance of power asymmetry toward adherents of indigenous beliefs. Power fundamentally involves the capacity to either fulfill or block individual, relational, or collective needs (Prilleltensky, 2008). Asymmetries in power then emerge from the unequal distribution of resources within human relationships, where one side is able to impose its interests over the other (Teo, 2014). Factors such as access to education, wealth, social networks, and media platforms influence who wields more power in social interactions. This can be seen in the discrimination that the three informants faced regarding access to education, difficulties in carrying out marriages and burials according to indigenous belief systems, and finding work.

In the case of adherents of indigenous beliefs, the government plays a key role in shaping power dynamics. Those in positions of authority often dominate public discourse, utilizing their influence over institutions such as religion, education, and media to define societal norms regarding rights and acceptable behaviors (Fine & Roberts, 1999; Foucault, 1990, 1995). These power dynamics result in asymmetries that can perpetuate discrimination, as those with greater power establish terms that marginalize minority groups such as Indonesia's adherents of indigenous belief, as seen in the ongoing injustices against them.

In response to such discrimination, the informants often resort to negotiation strategies to address their situations. These strategies manifest in two primary forms—self-negotiation and negotiation with others—which vary depending on whether the context is favorable or unfavorable.

When faced with unfavorable, adverse conditions, self-negotiation can be a way of navigating oneself in an attempt to deal with powerlessness. This sense of powerlessness is characterized by a

disconnect from important life outcomes and an inability to achieve personal goals (Ross & Mirowsky, 2015). The recognition of the gap between aspirations and available means heightens the experience of powerlessness, especially in contexts where there is a stark contrast between those in positions of authority and those who are not (Hammell, 2006). Thus, by negotiating with internal processes within themselves, adherents of indigenous beliefs may find comfort, even while they are indeed in a powerless condition against the detrimental social and legal discrimination they face.

One of the primary self-negotiation strategies observed among informants is the practice of emotional regulation, particularly in response to discrimination and lack of recognition. Adherents of indigenous beliefs often navigate their identities and sense of self by cultivating *legowo*, a Javanese cultural value emphasizing acceptance and letting go. This approach enables them to manage emotional responses to social and legal marginalization, fostering resilience and inner peace even in a state of adversity.

For example, one adherent (I1) perceives the lack of recognition as a political issue sustained by authorities upholding discriminatory norms. In response, he practices emotional regulation and acceptance, focusing on inner calm rather than seeking external validation. This approach not only helps him manage emotions but also tempers a previously harsher disposition, allowing him to mitigate the personal impact of discrimination and cultivate resilience.

Another adherent (I3) also embodies *legowo* but arrived at this perspective via a different path. I3 initially adopted indigenous beliefs in defiance, after witnessing his parents being pressured to conform to state-recognized religions and accused of being communists or infidels. However, as he continued on this path, he found that practicing *legowo* brought him emotional stability and calmness, empowering him to navigate legal battles and maintain composure when faced with intolerance.

For both I1 and I3, *legowo* serves not only as a cultural value but also as a personal strategy for managing the psychological toll of discrimination. While I1 uses it primarily for personal acceptance, I3 integrates it into his advocacy for recognition, illustrating the diverse ways this concept supports resilience among adherents of indigenous beliefs.

In this context, *legowo* becomes a response to situations perceived as beyond personal control, echoing the idea that people tend to believe they have more control over positive outcomes than negative ones (Ross & Mirowsky, 2015). Adherents of indigenous beliefs, feeling powerless under oppressive social conditions, may experience this as a form of learned helplessness, wherein repeated exposure to discrimination can lead individuals to feel that no effort will alter their situation (Miller & Seligman, 1976). However, *legowo* is often mistakenly seen as a passive resignation to hardship (Rakhmawati, 2022). In truth, *legowo* is an active process of finding inner strength, maintaining calm, and fostering optimism, even amidst adversity (Kuswaya, 2020). The concept centers on inner peace, self-discipline, and gratitude, transforming one's response to challenges rather than resigning oneself to them (Iswadi, 2017).

For adherents of indigenous beliefs, adopting *legowo* can be a practical solution in the face of prejudice. Unable to alter their circumstances due to power imbalances, they instead focus on managing their emotional responses to the discrimination. In this way, *legowo* becomes a means

of active self-processing, where practitioners seek calm and peace within themselves even while remaining in a powerless position. This approach allows them to interpret their situation with resilience, demonstrating that *legowo* is not passive acceptance but an empowered response to hardship.

Another facet of self is the ability to act adaptively in different situations. For instance, one impact of Indonesia's detrimental definition of religion is how it affects the *Hukum Administrasi Kependudukan* (Population Administration Law). At one time, this law forced adherents of indigenous beliefs to choose one of the states then five recognized religions. In response to this, several actions could be taken by them. Among the three informants alone, there were various responses to dealing with legal issues. I1 chose to remain *legowo*. Meanwhile, I2 believed that contextually, state regulations had to be followed and preferred to go along with them. For the sake of a conducive environment, she reluctantly chose to give in.

Adherents of indigenous beliefs often navigate a complex negotiation with their sense of self to maintain social harmony within a broader, sometimes intolerant, societal context. To avoid potential repercussions, they may feel compelled to comply with regulations, even if these do not fully recognize or respect their beliefs. For instance, openly declaring their indigenous beliefs might expose them to the risk of ostracism or social isolation. In some cases, adherents may reluctantly list an officially sanctioned religion on identification documents, such as stating "*Muslim*" on an ID card. Though this does not reflect their true beliefs, many find ways to reconcile with this choice, viewing it as a formal label rather than a reflection of their personal faith. This negotiation allows them to maintain both social acceptance and personal peace amidst restrictive systems.

This kind of action can also be seen as learned helplessness resulting from powerlessness (Miller & Seligman, 1976; Ross & Mirowsky, 2015). Again, it is worthwhile to note that, while I2's choice may provide temporary comfort by minimizing the risk of social discrimination she may encounter if she boldly declares herself as an adherent of indigenous beliefs, in the end, she is still in a powerless position. This ultimately underscores a state of powerlessness that resonates with the experiences of other marginalized groups. As noted in political theory, structural forms of epistemic injustice contribute to the political powerlessness experienced by oppressed citizens, hindering their ability to develop personal identities within unjust social contexts (Liveriero, 2020). The struggles for representation and inclusion among LGBT individuals reflect a similar dynamic, where power asymmetries within and between groups complicate their visibility and access to political and social institutions (Proctor, 2020). The experiences of Indonesia's adherents of indigenous beliefs mirror these findings, highlighting a broader pattern of powerlessness that affects various marginalized communities.

However, not all situations that the three informants face are unfavorable. There are times where they can find opportunities to bargain against the power asymmetries. When this happens, the three informants use the tactic of negotiation with others, which may be effective in these more favorable instances. The strategies of negotiation with others that have been found in this research can be placed into two categories: good communication and the effort to obtain rights and recognition both legally

and socially.

Adherents of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia often face negative stigma and discriminatory behaviors from society due to a definition of religion that tends to harm them. They have often been associated with irreligious individuals, especially during the 30S PKI tragedy, when those who did not adhere to a recognized religion were labeled as communists. Thus, followers of indigenous beliefs also bore the stigma of being linked to the PKI.

To address this problem, all three informants agreed that good communication is crucial. The ability to diplomatically communicate with the surrounding community about their beliefs helps bridge misunderstandings. When such a bridge is established, the three informants felt that discriminatory behaviors could be avoided or reduced.

According to I3, prioritizing dialogue and making efforts to understand each other's perspectives is crucial. Both I2 and I3 believe that the primary cause of discriminatory behavior stems from the general public's lack of understanding about indigenous beliefs and their adherents. Thus, both of them are convinced that mutual understanding can be fostered through dialogue, and through this understanding, discrimination can be reduced.

This aligns with the theory that notes how humans tend to share information that aligns with stereotypes more frequently than information that contradicts them, indicating how perceptions of other groups are formed and entrenched (Kite et al., 2022). The "us versus them" mentality is a basic cognitive mechanism that can drive separation between groups, even for minimal reasons. This leads to a situation where the ingroup is viewed as more diverse and valuable, while the outgroup is seen as homogenous and less worthy (the outgroup homogeneity effect).

Effective communication plays a crucial role in minimizing discrimination stemming from this mindset, as all three informants agreed. Information sharing and deep dialogue can serve as ways to decrease prejudice and negative reactions while facilitating better understanding between different groups (Barclay & Scott, 2006). Through transparent communication, stereotypes can be confronted and discussed, thus reducing the potential for discrimination.

Besides good communication, all three informants also worked to build good social relationships within their respective communities. They realized that not all adherents of indigenous beliefs could negotiate, and that social support is crucial. Therefore, collective efforts became one of the solutions.

Another form of negotiation with others in the findings is the effort to obtain rights and recognition both legally and socially. Although I3 does share I1's approach of acting *legowo*, interestingly, I3 has continued to fight for his rights within the legal framework. This comes from his belief that what he is doing is still within legal boundaries.

In addition, I2 mentioned that the root of the problem concerning the lack of recognition for adherents of indigenous beliefs could be resolved if the government created clear, equal, and just policies for all layers of society. If this happens, it would certainly influence the behaviors of even the lower social levels.

The discussion of this research underscores how the discrimination experienced by adherents of indigenous beliefs represents a manifestation of structural power asymmetries within Indonesian

society. The restrictive definition of religion, historically enforced by the *Kementarian Agama* (Ministry of Religious Affairs), favors the majority and marginalizes minority belief systems, exemplifying how institutional frameworks can perpetuate inequality (Maarif, 2017). This rigid classification not only positions adherents of indigenous beliefs in a powerless state but also reinforces societal perceptions that contribute to their exclusion. As power dynamics unfold, those in authority shape public discourse, dictating norms and behaviors that further entrench discrimination against these communities (Fine & Roberts, 1999; Foucault, 1990, 1995). In response to such systemic injustices, adherents of indigenous beliefs often employ various negotiation strategies to navigate their circumstances, such as emotional regulation through the Javanese cultural value of *legowo*, which fosters resilience even amid adversity (Kuswaya, 2020). However, while this strategy can be empowering, it can also reflect a learned helplessness as individuals confront overwhelming social conditions (Miller & Seligman, 1976; Ross & Mirowsky, 2015). Additionally, the informants emphasize the importance of effective communication and building social relationships to mitigate stigma and foster understanding, supporting the idea that collective action can serve as a means of addressing power imbalances (Barclay & Scott, 2006). Ultimately, the experiences of these adherents of indigenous beliefs illustrate a broader pattern of powerlessness that resonates across marginalized groups, highlighting the need for equitable recognition and policies to dismantle these structural discriminations (Liveriero, 2020; Proctor, 2020).

Combating discrimination against adherents of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia requires the implementation of anti-discrimination laws grounded in the anti-stigma principle, which focus on driving public action to change the societal environment that perpetuates stigma, rather than merely punishing individuals (Solanke, 2017). By confronting the social narratives that contribute to discrimination, these laws aim to eliminate prejudice as a basis for both structural and interpersonal inequality, ultimately reshaping society to encourage collective responsibility in addressing and reducing stigma and fostering a more inclusive environment. To this end, it is essential to establish comprehensive anti-discrimination policies that respect diverse belief systems at universities, schools, and within the broader community (Liveriero, 2020). Educational institutions should prioritize awareness programs and dialogue initiatives that promote understanding and acceptance, thus reducing stigma and fostering mutual respect among different groups (Barclay & Scott, 2006). Additionally, community engagement strategies that encourage collaboration between diverse adherents of indigenous beliefs can help create a supportive social fabric, ultimately challenging the power asymmetries that perpetuate discrimination (Teo, 2014).

Implications

The research highlights that negotiation strategies have been effective in maintaining resilience among adherents of indigenous belief systems facing discrimination in Indonesia. This resilience, however, stems from navigating stark power imbalances, particularly between marginalized groups and dominant societal forces. While these strategies are helpful, they do not alter the underlying power dynamics, leaving the adherents in a persistently vulnerable position.

Conclusion

In general, this study found that the main theme of resilience among the three informants is "negotiation." When facing events in each of their life contexts, this became their choice to overcome social and legal discrimination. "Negotiation," in this case, can be seen in two forms: self-negotiation, which consists of emotional regulation and acting adaptively toward life events; and negotiation with others, which consists of good communication and the effort to obtain legal and social rights and recognition. However, it should be noted that while adherents of indigenous beliefs may maintain resilience through negotiation, it does not change the fact that there is still asymmetrical power at play.

Therefore, this study emphasizes the need for collective action to endorse anti-discriminatory laws and policies, which are essential for transforming the societal structures that sustain stigma. Institutions such as universities, NGOs, and other public forums must play a key role in raising awareness about the necessity of equal status at all levels of society. By consistently promoting anti-discriminatory laws and fostering collective responsibility, the ultimate goal is to create an inclusive environment where equality is upheld.

Recommendation

Therefore, this study not only provides valuable insights into the strategies and factors influencing the resilience of adherents of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia, but also highlights the nuanced interplay of power asymmetries. These findings have both theoretical and practical implications in understanding and supporting resilience in diverse cultural and social contexts.

Declarations

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express their sincerest gratitude to everyone involved in this research, especially to the participants who have taken the time to share their personal experiences with the authors.

Funding

This research uses private funding, without any additional funding from institutions.

Author's Contributions


ST and BH designed the research and compiled the manuscript. BH performed data analysis. ST and BH read and approved the final draft.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest in the research, writing, and/or publication of this article.

Orcid ID

Susana Tjipto  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0179-1567>

Benjamin Haryono  <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-0147-7528>

References

- Barclay, J., & Scott, L. (2006). Transsexuals and workplace diversity: A case of "change" management. *Personnel Review*, 35(4), 487–502. <https://doi.org/10.1108/00483480610670625>
- Baron, R. A., & Branscombe, N. R. (2012). *Social psychology* (13th). Pearson.
- Bränström, R., & Pachankis, J. E. (2021). Country-level structural stigma, identity concealment, and day-to-day discrimination as determinants of transgender peoples life satisfaction. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 56(9), 1537–1545. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-021-02036-6>
- Brown, D. L., & Tylka, T. L. (2011). Racial discrimination and resilience in African American young adults: Examining socialization as a moderator. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 37(3), 259–285. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798410390689>
- Febriani, N. I., & Irwanto, I. (2021). Gambaran resiliensi transpuan yang bekerja sebagai pekerja seks di Jakarta [An overview of the resilience of transwomen who work as sex workers in Jakarta]. *Psikodimensia*, 20(1), 35. <https://doi.org/10.24167/psidim.v20i1.2740>
- Fine, M., & Roberts, R. A. (1999). Erika Apfelbaum 1979 revisited. *Feminism & Psychology*, 9(3), 261–265. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353599009003002>
- Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality: Vol 1. An introduction* (Vol. 1). Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (2nd). Vintage Books.
- Giorgi, A., & Broome, R. (2019). *Psychology as a human science: A phenomenologically-based approach* (2nd).
- Hakiki, K. M. (2011). Politik identitas agama lokal (Studi kasus aliran kebatinan) [The politics of local religious identity (A case study of a kebatinan sect)]. *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 11(1), 159–174. <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v11i1.617>
- Hammell, K. W. (2006). Disability, rehabilitation and liminality. In *Perspectives on Disability & Rehabilitation* (pp. 109–124). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-044310059-8.50009-8>
- Hasbiansyah, O. (2008). Pendekatan fenomenologi: Pengantar praktik penelitian dalam ilmu sosial dan komunikasi [A phenomenological approach: An introduction to research practice in social science and communication]. *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 9, 163–180. <https://doi.org/10.29313/mediator.v9i1.1146>
- Hasse, J. (2010). Kebijakan Negara terhadap agama lokal "Towani Tolotang" di Kabupaten Sidrap, Sulawesi Selatan [State Policy towards "Towani Tolotang" local religion in Sidrap Regency, South Sulawesi]. *Journal of Government and Politics*, 1(1), 145–164. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jgp.2010.0009>

- Hidayat, M., & Husna, S. (2021). Resiliensi keluarga "Teroris" dalam menghadapi stigma negatif masyarakat & diskriminasi [Resilience of Terrorist families in the face of negative community stigma & discrimination]. *Sosio Konsepsia*, 10(2). <https://doi.org/10.33007/ska.v10i2.2389>
- Iswadi, A. (2017). *Tinjauan kesehatan mental psikoanalisis terhadap sikap nrimo dalam novel nenek hebat dari Saga karya Yoshichi Shimada [A psychoanalytic mental health review of the attitude of nrimo in the novel Great Grandmother of Saga by Yoshichi Shimada]* [Thesis]. IAIN Surakarta.
- Kite, M. E., Whitley, B. E., & Wagner, L. S. (2022). *Psychology of prejudice and discrimination*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367809218>
- Kuswaya, A. (2020). Misinterpretation of patience: An analytical study of nerimo concept within the Indonesian muslim society. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 10, 153–176. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v10i1.153-176>
- Ledesma, J. (2014). Conceptual frameworks and research models on resilience in leadership. *SAGE Open*, 4(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244014545464>
- Lee, R. M. (2005). Resilience against discrimination: Ethnic identity and other-group orientation as protective factors for Korean Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(1), 36–44. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.1.36>
- Liveriero, F. (2020). Epistemic injustice in the political domain: Powerless citizens and institutional reform. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 23(5), 797–813. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10677-020-10097-w>
- Maarif, S. (2017). *Pasang surut rekognisi agama leluhur dalam politik agama di Indonesia [The ebb and flow of ancestral religion recognition in Indonesian religious politics]* (1st). Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS).
- Maclure, J. (2003). The politics of recognition at an impasse? Identity politics and democratic citizenship. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 36(1), 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0008423903778500>
- Matanasi, P. (2016). *[Agama-agama yang dipinggirkan [Marginalised religions]*. <https://tirto.id/agama-agama-yang-dipinggirkan-bnP3>
- Miller, W. R., & Seligman, M. E. (1976). Learned helplessness, depression and the perception of reinforcement. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 14(1), 7–17. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0005-7967\(76\)90039-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0005-7967(76)90039-5)
- Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods*. SAGE Publications, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412995658>
- Neubauer, B. E., Witkop, C. T., & Varpio, L. (2019). How phenomenology can help us learn from the experiences of others. *Perspectives on Medical Education*, 8(2), 90–97. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40037-019-0509-2>
- OpenAI. (2024). ChatGPT (December 2024 version, GPT-4-turbo). <https://chat.openai.com>
- Pande, D., & Jha, M. (2016). Cultural identity and human rights: Minority claims, ethnic identity and group rights. *Open Journal of Political Science*, 06(04), 351–362. <https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2016.64032>

- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Sage Publications.
- Prabowo, H. D., & Rahmasari, D. (2022). Mindfulness pada penganut kepercayaan Sapta Darma di kota Surabaya [Mindfulness in Sapta Darma believers in Surabaya city]. *Character: Jurnal Penelitian Psikologi*, 9(1), 66–75. <https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/character/article/view/44713>
- Prilleltensky, I. (2008). The role of power in wellness, oppression, and liberation: The promise of psychopolitical validity. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 36(2), 116–136. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20225>
- Proctor, A. (2020). LGBT People as a relatively politically powerless group. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1185>
- Rakhmawati, S. M. (2022). Nrimo ing pandum dan etos kerja orang jawa: Tinjauan sila Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa [Nrimo ing pandum and the Javanese work ethic: A review of the precepts of divinity]. *Pancasila*, 3(1), 7–19.
- Ross, C. E., & Mirowsky, J. (2015). Alienation: Psychosociological tradition. In *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences* (pp. 544–550). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-08-097086-8.32005-0>
- Saputra, A. (2017). *Rekam jejak penghayat kepercayaan, dari orde lama hingga reformasi [The track record of penghayat kepercayaan, from the old order to reformation]*. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3492198/rekam-jejak-penghayat-kepercayaan-dari-orde-lama-hingga-reformasi>
- Sihombing, U. P. (2008). *Menggugat Bakor Pakem: Kajian hukum terhadap pengawasan agama dan kepercayaan di Indonesia [Suing Bakor Pakem: A legal review of the monitoring of religion and belief in Indonesia]*. Indonesian Legal Resource Center (ILRC).
- Simarmata, N. I. P., Simarmata, N. I. P., Pasaribu, R. P., Tambunan, J. S. P., & Aritonang, C. M. (2023). Religiousity and psychological well-being of the Parmalim community. *Psikostudia : Jurnal Psikologi*, 12(3), 432. <https://doi.org/10.30872/psikostudia.v12i3.11843>
- Small, M. L., & Pager, D. (2020). Sociological perspectives on racial discrimination. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 34(2), 49–67. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.34.2.49>
- Solanke, I. (2017). *Discrimination as stigma: A theory of anti-discrimination law*. Bloomsbury.
- Sucahyo, N. (2018). *Penghayat kepercayaan: Setelah putusan MK dan kolom KTP [Believers: After the Constitutional Court ruling and the ID card column]*. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/penghayat-kepercayaan-setelah-putusan-mk-dan-kolom-ktp/4340417.html>
- Szanton, S. L., LaFave, S. E., & Jr., R. J. T. (2022). Structural racial discrimination and structural resilience: Measurement precedes change. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series A*, 77(2), 402–404. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gerona/77.2.402>
- Teo, T. (2014). *Encyclopedia of critical psychology*. Springer.