

Country Report

Indonesia

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This Country Report offers a detailed assessment of religious diversity and violent religious radicalisation in the above-named state. It is part of a series covering 23 countries (listed below) on four continents. More basic information about religious affiliation and state-religion relations in these states is available in our Country Profiles series. This report was produced by GREASE, an EU-funded research project investigating religious diversity, secularism, and religiously inspired radicalisation.

Countries covered in this series:

Albania, Australia, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Malaysia, Morocco, Russia, Slovakia, Spain, Tunisia, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

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The EU-Funded GREASE project looks to Asia for insights on governing religious diversity and preventing radicalisation.

Involving researchers from Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Oceania, GREASE is investigating how religious diversity is governed in over 20 countries. Our work focuses on comparing norms, laws, and practices that may (or may not) prove useful in preventing religious radicalisation. Our research also sheds light on how different societies cope with the challenge of integrating religious minorities and migrants. The aim is to deepen our understanding of how religious diversity can be governed successfully, with an emphasis on countering radicalisation trends.

While exploring religious governance models in other parts of the world, GREASE also attempts to unravel the European paradox of religious radicalisation despite growing secularisation. We consider the claim that migrant integration in Europe has failed because second generation youth have become marginalised and radicalised, with some turning to jihadist terrorism networks. The researchers aim to deliver innovative academic thinking on secularisation and radicalisation while offering insights for governance of religious diversity.

The project is being coordinated by Professor Anna Triandafyllidou from The European University Institute (EUI) in Italy. Other consortium members include Professor Tariq Modood from The University of Bristol (UK); Dr. H. A. Hellyer from the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) (UK); Dr. Mila Mancheva from The Centre for the Study of Democracy (Bulgaria); Dr. Egdunas Raciunas from Vytautas Magnus University (Lithuania); Mr. Terry Martin from the research communications agency SPIA (Germany); Professor Mehdi Lahlou from Mohammed V University of Rabat (Morocco); Professor Haldun Gulalp of The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Turkey); Professor Pradana Boy of Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang (Indonesia); Professor Zawawi Ibrahim of The Strategic Information and Research Development Centre (Malaysia); Professor Gurpreet Mahajan of Jawaharlal Nehru University (India); and Professor Michele Grossman of Deakin University (Melbourne, Australia). GREASE is scheduled for completion in 2022.

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GREASE - Radicalisation, Secularism and the Governance of Religion: Bringing Together European and Asian Perspectives

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Introduction

For a very long time Indonesia has been known as a home for moderate Islam (Madjid, 1994; Hefner, 2011; Menchik, 2016). Conceptually, moderate Islam is a contested term (Benkin, 2017; Zulian, 2007). However, an academic discussion on the nature of moderate Islam through a review of all scholarly debates on the subject is not the scope of this article. For its purpose, moderate Islam is understood as a middle path in understanding and practicing Islam (Kamali, 2015). By middle path, it indicates many meanings, but the most important is adopting and practicing non-extreme religious orientations or the principle of moderation. In one way, moderation can be implemented by combining two extremes. For example, by moderate Islam, this article refers to a balance between antiquity and modernity, between authenticity and change, or not completely rejecting progress and clinging steadfastly to the past. In other words, moderation requires open mindedness and tolerance.

In an Indonesian context, there are at least two manifestations of this moderateness. First, Muslims' social acceptance of people of other religions and faiths. Although Indonesia is a Muslim-majority country, other faiths are recognised by the State as official religions and have coexisted harmoniously for decades. The fact that different religious communities live peacefully in Indonesia shows that in terms of religious diversity, the Indonesian case is very interesting. Second, Indonesian Islam is linked to the acceptance of the Indonesian state philosophy *Pancasila*, which can be literally translated as 'five principles'. This acceptance is fundamental in explaining the nature of harmony and tolerance in Indonesian religious life. As a state philosophy, *Pancasila* has served as a common platform for the Indonesian people and has played the role of the 'social glue' for Indonesia's religiously and ethnically diverse society.

However, moderateness and harmony are not the sole characteristics of religious life in Indonesia. As all facts and realities have a binary-opposition element, this is also the case with the country's religious life. Recent developments, especially in the post-Suharto period, require special attention. During more than 30 years of Suharto's rule (1966-1998), Indonesia was under an authoritarian style of governance. In 1998, student demonstrations with widespread public support toppled Suharto's authoritarian regime. This paved the way for a more democratic and open Indonesia. More specifically, one consequence of this new political phase has been the lifting of political restrictions and greater political openness. Thus, as William Liddle (1996: 323) predicted, in a more open political climate, religious groups that were suppressed will emerge into the public sphere. Combined with other factors, this has led to the appearance of more radical religious groups.

The emergence of radical religious groups has challenged both the image of Indonesia as a home of tolerant Islam as well as the peaceful and harmonious relationship among

religions. Bomb attacks at various sites across Indonesia, including non-Muslim and Muslim places of worship, can be seen as indicators of the existence of Southeast Asian militant Islam networks in Indonesia. Although this radical orientation is only a marginal manifestation among Indonesian Muslims in general, it has inevitably changed the image and landscape of religious life in the country. These attacks can also be seen as a pivotal moment for the re-emergence of Islamic radicalism in Indonesia. An interesting point related to these radical actions is that almost all perpetrators are connected. The Indonesian government has responded to this challenge very actively. However, radicalism has not been fully eradicated and active cells remain that may still pose a threat to the religious moderateness and tolerance in Indonesia at any time.

Hand in hand with religious radicalism, recent developments suggest the rise of Islamic populism in Indonesia, a phenomenon seen around the world (Hadiz, 2018; Rahmat, 2018). One indicator is the deeper involvement of religion in politics and religion's use as an instrument for achieving political ends. Based on this brief description of recent developments in Indonesian religious life and political dynamics, Indonesia is currently facing some important challenges, namely: a) the growing trend towards Islamic conservatism; b) the latent threat of radicalism; and c) the penetration of Islamic populism into broader society. The latter is affecting almost all walks of life, especially the political domain, including the public debate over the relationship between Islam and the State as well as the re-examination of secularism in an Indonesian context. These challenges underline the importance and significance of understanding the dynamics of radicalisation and secularization in contemporary Indonesia.

Indonesia: A Unification of Complexities

Formally, Indonesia is known as *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia). As its name indicates, it is basically a unification of complexes: islands, regions, religions, cultures, and languages. Its total area is 1,916,862.20 square kilometres spanning from Sabang, Aceh, in the west to Merauke, Papua, in the east. Indonesia is called an "archipelago state" as it is really composed of around 16,065 islands (Indonesian Statistical Agency, 2018: 9-10) commonly grouped into five major islands – namely Java, Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua – and four main archipelagos – namely Riau, Bangka Belitung, Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku. Indonesia's 34 provinces are spread over those main islands and archipelagos: Java Island covers six provinces (DKI Jakarta, Banten, West Java, Yogyakarta, Central Java and East Java); Sumatera Island and Riau Archipelago includes ten provinces (Aceh, West Sumatra, North Sumatra, South Sumatra, Lampung, Bengkulu, Riau, Kepulauan Riau, and Bangka Belitung); Kalimantan, the largest main island, covers five provinces (West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan and North

Kalimantan) as well as the eastern part of Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam; the Island of Sulawesi hosts the provinces of South Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, West Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, and Gorontalo; the Nusa Tenggara Archipelago consists of three provinces (Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, and East Nusa Tenggara); Maluku covers two provinces, Maluku and North Maluku; and, Papua, includes two provinces, Papua and West Papua.

Politically, Indonesia is one of the largest democracies in the world today. Having experienced authoritarianism during Suharto's reign, Indonesia has transformed into a democratic country following the regime's collapse in 1998. With political restrictions lifted and legal reforms enacted, political parties mushroomed. The first democratic elections, held the following year, saw 48 parties participating, including some Islam-based. In the 1999 elections, voters cast ballots for members of the lower and upper houses who then voted for president. The system changed, however, and in 2004, Indonesia experimented with the first presidential election through direct popular vote. In addition to the president, governors, and other executives, local leaders are also elected by direct ballot. This has created another layer of complexities in Indonesian society as legislative members are also elected the same way.

The Governance of Religious Diversity

Religion is one important element that adds to Indonesia's social and cultural diversity. A recent report by PEW Research Center reveals that Islam is the second largest religion in the world, followed by some 24.1 per cent of the total world population. Muslim communities are spread across all continents: Africa, America, Asia, Australasia, and Europe.¹ Indonesia is home to an estimated 209 million Muslims, or 12.7 per cent of all Muslims worldwide. However, this does not make Indonesia an exclusively Islamic state. While Islam is the religion with the largest following, other faiths also exist in the country. Christianity (both Protestantism and Catholicism), Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism are all officially recognised by the State. According to Indonesian Statistical Agency data for 2018, Indonesia's population numbered 237 million with Muslims representing the largest religious group (87.18 per cent), followed by Protestants (6.9 per cent), Catholics (2.9 per cent), Hindus (1.69 per cent), Buddhists (0.72 per cent), and followers of Confucianism (0.05 per cent).

As a major religious group, Islam influences almost all aspects of Indonesians' way of life, from culture, tradition, and social interaction to politics. However, it should be noted that Islam in Indonesia is a non-monolithic entity. Two major denominations of Islam,

¹ <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/05/christians-remain-worlds-largest-religious-group-but-they-are-declining-in-europe/>. Accessed on April 20, 2019.

Sunni and Shi'a, are both present in Indonesia and within each denomination, there are also groups with different orientations. Sunni is the Islamic denomination followed by most Indonesian Muslims, but it is not a single entity as it encompasses many religious subgroups and orientations. The two most important Sunni groups in Indonesia are the modernists and traditionalists. The former is associated chiefly with an Islamic movement called Muhammadiyah founded in 1912, while the latter is represented by Nahdlatul Ulama', popularly known by its acronym NU and established in 1926. Both Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama' are major moderate Islamic groups that shape dominant orientations of Indonesian Islam in general. In terms of schools of Islamic law, Nahdlatul Ulama' follows Imam al-Shafii's or Shafi'ite teachings, while Muhammadiyah does not rigidly and exclusively declare its affiliation to a specific Islamic school (*mazhab*). Aside from these two major Islamic groups, smaller Muslim groups also exist such as *The Persatuan Islam* (Unity of Islam) known as Persis and based in Bandung; Nahdlatul Wathan (NW), which is based in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara, and Mathlaul Anwar; and Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah Indonesia. Shi'ism and Ahmadiyah, on the other hand, are tiny minority Muslim groups with a presence in some parts of Indonesia.

In addition to these Islamic organizations, it is also important to note *Majelis Ulama' Indonesia* (Indonesian Council of Ulama'). As briefly indicated above, Indonesian Muslim groups are divided into many groups and organizations. All these groups can be broadly categorized as civil society groups. It is interesting that these civil society groups are then united within a body founded and sponsored by the state called *Majelis Ulama' Indonesia* (MUI). Established in 1976 by the New Order administration, MUI was intended as a forum for all Islamic organizations in Indonesia.

Sunnism's two main trends – modernist and traditionalist – also merit further examination. The emergence of these movements in Indonesian Islam can obviously be seen as stemming from its dialectical nature. The founding of both Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama' did not occur in a vacuum from socio-political conditions at the time of colonization. Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, established the organization as a response to what was happening both globally and locally. At the global level, Ahmad Dahlan's attempt was part of a reform movement taking place across the Muslim world. Leading reformers such as Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, and Muhammad Abduh were very influential in shaping Dahlan's mindset for Islamic reform in Indonesia. In other words, Muhammadiyah was founded as an attempt to deal with the intellectual and cultural backwardness of the Muslim world at the dawn of modernity. Likewise, at the local level, Muslim backwardness was also experienced in Indonesia – which at the time was known as Netherlands East Indies – in the framework of colonialism, as Indonesia was heavily dependent on its Dutch colonial master for regulating and observing its social, political, and religious activities.

State-Religion Relations

Given the complexity in the sphere of religion, identifying the nature of the relationship between State and religion in Indonesia is fundamental. Since the beginning of the modern period of Indonesian history, the interplay between politics and religion has been pivotal in shaping the political dynamics and religious landscape. Theoretically, the relationship between politics and religion is not monolithic. Din Syamsuddin (1993: 6) argues that this relationship can be identified in three categories: integral, secular, and symbiotic. The first view believes that State and religion are inseparable. The second view argues that State and religion each have their own role and domain, and that both are independent and separate. The last view argues that State and religion basically operate in their own domains, but that the domains of State and religion are interconnected.

Using this categorisation, neither the integral nor the secular view is relevant to the Indonesian case. Constitutionally, Indonesia does not have a state religion, but it is not a secular state either and adopts a consensus between these two positions through a paradigm called *Negara Pancasila*. Thus, it is not governed solely on the basis of religious principles, however it is not a secular state where the term 'secular' has an anti-religious connotation rather than the meaning of separation between religion and State. Historically, in the pre-independence period, the discourse on the type of government that Indonesia would adopt took place among the republic's founding fathers. On the one hand, Muslim leaders such as Muhammad Natsir, Kahar Muzakkir, and Wahid Hasyim aspired for Indonesia to be an Islamic state or a state based on Islamic law. On the other, nationalist leaders such as Sukarno viewed the secular state as a suitable model for Indonesia. According to Mahfud MD, the tension between these two diametrically opposed positions was inevitable. However, it could only be resolved by taking a middle ground. Both sides agreed to a compromise: Indonesia would not be a religion-based state as Muslims were not the only ones struggling for independence and Indonesia has a religiously diverse population; but Indonesia would not be a secular state either (Republika, 2019). As an alternative, the *Pancasila* state was the most rational middle path adopted by these two opposite orientations.

The late Munawir Sjadzali (1993), the long-serving Minister of Religious Affairs during Suharto's administration (1983-1993), explained that *Pancasila* state is not religion-based state. He described a religion-based state as defined by several traits, namely: a) a state that has an official religion; b) the source of law is the scripture of the respective official religion; and, c) the power of the state is held by religious leaders. All three conditions cannot be found in Indonesia. Although Islam is the religion with biggest following in the country, it is not the state's official religion. In terms of law, Indonesia does not take any scripture as a source of its laws, although some may be inspired by the

scripture of the several religions recognised in Indonesia. And lastly, religious leaders in Indonesia are not the holders of state power. At the same time, it is not a secular state as in a secular state, politics or affairs of the state are totally separate from any religious affairs. Thus, while the government is present in the citizen's religious life, it is not too deeply involved in personal religious affairs, but only to the extent needed to govern and enhance the quality of citizens' religious life.

The Governance of Religious Diversity

From the above description of the complexities of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, it is obvious that Indonesia is indeed the result of multicultural consensus. For this reason, the government has set some regulations to govern religious diversity and almost all aspects of religious life in the country. Religion is that important an element.

This section describes some of the practices set by the Indonesian government to govern this dynamic. Diversity of religion is not unique to Indonesia; the country's status as a neither a religion-based nor a secular state, however, is unique. Despite this constitutional formulation, the government regulates religious diversity and life in the country as, in the Indonesian context, being a non-religion-based country refers to the fact that Indonesia is not governed according to certain religious principles exclusively. At the same time, it is mandatory for all Indonesian citizens to profess a religion of their preference. In this context, the term 'secular' also comes with its specific meaning: it does not signify separation of state and religion or autonomy of religion from politics and state; rather, it indicates a detached but definite presence of religion in the country's general affairs.

This last statement may raise a question: how do people know that somebody is atheist or religious? As religious preference or orientation is something very private, how does it come to the State's attention? The answer is that citizens' religious identity is publicly declared as it is recorded on the national identity card, or *Kartu Tanda Penduduk* (KTP). A citizen may be denied a national identity card if he or she does not explicitly state his or her religious affiliation.

Referring back to Indonesian identity as *Negara Pancasila*, it is clear that *Pancasila* is a crystallization of the religious identity of the Indonesian people. The first principle of this state philosophy is "*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*," which can generally be translated as the unity of Godhead. This serves, first and foremost, as the Indonesian national principle regarding religious diversity. The phrase "unity of Godhead" at the same time signifies the primacy of professing a religion – an obligation to embrace one of the

country's six official religions as well as a guarantee that the government will protect the citizen's religious preference given that it complies with the state's principle.

In addition to outlining the State philosophy in governing its affairs, the Constitution also stipulates how religion operates within Indonesian society. This is stated in Article 29, paragraph 2: "The state guarantees the freedom of its citizens to profess religion of their preference and to perform rituals based on their religions and beliefs." It is obvious from this article that the State of Indonesia grants freedom to embrace any religion and that the exercise of the respective religion's rituals will be protected by the State. As an implementation of this principle, houses of worship of all religions are built in Indonesia. However, as people of different faiths live side by side in the community, the building of houses of worship often creates strains among them. A 2006 decree, signed jointly by the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of Religious Affairs, sought to prevent such horizontal tension.

Another important element of governance of religious diversity in Indonesia was the establishment of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In many countries, it may seem peculiar that religious affairs are regulated by the government, as many people might also believe that religious activities are a private domain of human life. As the majority of Indonesian citizens are Muslim, this Ministry deals mostly with administering Muslims' religious life. However, proportional sections for all other religions were also created.

The governance of diversity of religion in Indonesia by government can also be seen from the designation of public holidays, which include religious observances. For Muslims, the days of the two feasts of Idul Fithri and Idul Adha are considered public holidays. The same is also the case for Christians, who enjoy a holiday for their sacred day of Good Friday and the celebration of Christmas Day. The Indonesian government also shows respect to Hindus, Buddhists, and the followers of Confucianism by recognising their holy days as a national holiday for all Indonesian citizens.

From a normative point of view, the governance of religious diversity in Indonesia has been well reflected in the Constitution and formal regulation issued by the State. The question of how these normative rules are implemented is outside this paper's scope.

Religious Intolerance and Radicalisation Challenges in Indonesia

Although Indonesia has been widely recognized as a Muslim-majority country that is relatively moderate, inclusive, and tolerant compared to other Muslim countries mainly in the Middle East (Madjid, 1994; Hefner, 2011; Menchik, 2016), in the post-Suharto era, different realities in the surge in violent religious radicalisation are often depicted. In terms of the cases of terrorism, however, the data suggest that the level of the increase

has been gradually declining in the period of the second decade of the post-Suharto era. Yet in terms of the cases of religious intolerance, the rate of the increase has remained steady in the same period.

Some argue that Indonesia, as the country with the largest Muslim population, has been able to perpetuate the notion and practice of the national principle of 'unity in diversity' (Steenbrink, 1998; Ramage, 2002; Intan, 2006). Its reality of multiculturalism has been taken into account by those recognising it as the Muslim country that tends to abandon any kind of devastated religious conflict and terror (Abdullah, 2003; Suparlan, 2003; Wahid, 2009; Mas'udi, 2010).

Radicalism

As stated earlier, the end of the authoritarian Suharto regime in 1998 paved the way for the re-emergence of religious groups that had been long suppressed by the regime. Among the inevitable consequences of this easing of the suppression is an increase in religious conflicts generated by political contestation, for instance some of the turmoil in Ambon, Sulawesi and Poso, Maluku (Schulze, 2002; Sukma, 2005; Van Klinken, 2007; Schulze, 2017). In 2002, as part of the global impact of the September 11, 2001, attack in the US, Indonesia experienced the Bali bombing (Ramakrishna and Tan, 2003; Singh, 2004; Magouirk *et al.*, 2008; West, 2008; Galamas, 2015; Zora, 2015) that left 202 dead; responsibility for the blast was claimed by Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), the al-Qaeda branch in Southeast Asia. This was followed by other major acts of terrorism: in 2003, a JI cell exploded a bomb at J. W. Marriot Hotel in Jakarta, with 11 dead and 152 severely injured (Oak, 2010); in 2004, five people were killed and hundreds seriously injured by a bomb in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta (Subhan, 2016); a year later, another bombing destroyed Kuta, Bali, killing 22 and injuring more than 100 (Subhan, 2016). The latter was the most traumatic terrorist attack and significantly disturbed the country's national security.

Terrorism experts believe that all these attacks were by JI networks. Indonesia was not struck by other attacks until 2009, when bombs went off at the J. W. Marriot Hotel and the Ritz Carlton Hotel in Jakarta (Sukma *et al.*, 2011; Subhan, 2016), leaving seven dead and injuring 50. The destruction and trauma caused by terrorism marked this as the darkest period for Indonesia, placing it under the threat of terror in the first decade after reformation.

In the second decade of the post-authoritarian era (2010-2017), the number of terrorist incidents motivated by extremist religious ideology decreased dramatically despite several smaller attacks attributed to the global activity of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). The Southeast Asian ISIS branches such as Jamaah Anshar al-Daulah (JAD)

and Jamaah Anshar al-Tauhid (JAT) have claimed responsibility for attack that have taken place during this period. On January 14, 2016, for example, an ISIS network launched an attack in Thamrin Street, Jakarta, that killed eight people (Fenton and Price, 2016; Suratman, 2017; Sundoko *et al.*, 2018). Other smaller attacks took place in Surabaya (June 8), Surakarta (July 5), Medan (August 28), and Samarinda (November 13) (Subhan, 2016). There were no fatalities from these incidents. In 2018, however, three churches in Surabaya were targeted by terrorist attacks on May 13, May 16, and June 3; 11 people were killed and 50 injured in the first (Irawan, 2018). This year, there has been one incident in Sukoharjo, on June 3 (The Jakarta Post, 2019). There were no victims in this latest attack.

However, there is another critical issue influenced by the phenomenon of ISIS. The Indonesian Police headquarters (Mabes POLRI) in Jakarta released an official document listing Indonesian terrorist leaders and other international actors (POLRI, 2017). At the same time, Mabes POLRI, through the head of its public relations division, General Setyo Wasisto, informs that there are 671 Indonesians who have participated in terror acts in Iraq and Syria (Movanita, 2017). The latest data from the head of the presidential office, Moeldoko, list 590 Indonesian fighters in Syria; this does not include 103 dead, 86 returned to Indonesia, and 539 being deported to Indonesia (Kumparan, 2018). In addition, 57 Indonesian radical Islamists have gone to the Philippines; 5 are known to be alive, 32 have been killed, and 7 were deported (Kumparan, 2018).

Religious intolerance

Religious intolerance refers to any intolerant acts conducted in the name of religion. It might be considered a kind of manifestation of violent religious radicalisation because it involves violence. Intolerance deals with the instances of

‘sweeping raids on places considered contrary to sharia law, attacking on houses of worship of other faiths, demonstrations against groups perceived as tarnishing the sanctity of Islam, and being active in groups that explicitly work to impose sharia law.’ (The Wahid Foundation, 2017: 10)

For a considerably long period, there had not been a serious problem with the existence of Shi’ism in Indonesia. However, in 2005, a *fatwa* was issued by Indonesian Council of Ulama’ denouncing Shi’ism as a deviant Muslim group. This *fatwa* is an important factor in fuelling hatred and social discrimination towards Shi’is in Indonesia. Other than Shi’is, other minority groups such as Ahmadiyah and *Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia* (LDII) also exist. These two groups are known for their ‘unique’ understanding and practice of Islam, which to a certain extent, marginalizes them. Globally, Ahmadiyah split into two

groups, the Lahore and Qadian. Both are present in Indonesia. The former is known in Indonesia as *Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia* (GAI), while the latter is popularly known as *Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia* (JAI). As with the Shi'is, Ahmadis also experience social discrimination and exclusion due to their beliefs. The *fatwa* on their deviance, also issued in 2005 by Indonesian Council of Ulama', has worsened the social position of these groups, which have also been marginalized.

Before 2008, the cases of religious intolerance in Indonesia had been relatively stable, at no more than 50 cases (The Wahid Institute, 2008). The number of cases had fluctuated from 55 to 93 (2008-2010) (The Wahid Institute, 2008; 2009; 2010). The actors of intolerance were the state apparatus, Islamist organisations, Muslim hardliners, and others. The victims of intolerance were primarily religious minority groups such as Ahmadiyya, Shia, Christian, and local-indigenous believers. In 2011, the number of cases had doubled to 185 (The Wahid Institute, 2011). In 2012, their number had fallen to 110 (The Wahid Institute, 2012), then doubled again to 245 in 2013 (The Wahid Institute, 2013). This number has since steadily risen, with 158, 190, 204, and 213 cases in 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017, respectively (The Wahid Institute, 2014; 2015; The Wahid Foundation, 2016; 2017).

In 2018, the Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (*Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat*), the State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, and Convey Indonesia conducted research on the issue of intolerance and its relationship to the discourse of jihad and terrorism. The study involved 1,859 students and university students and 322 teachers and lecturers in 34 provinces and 68 cities in Indonesia (PPIM and Convey, 2018). This research has shown that 86 per cent of students and university students and 87.89 per cent of teachers and lecturers agree that the government should ban minority religious groups accused of deviating from Islamic teaching (PPIM and Convey, 2018). For all respondents, 91.23 per cent agree that sharia law should be imposed at the State level; 37.71 per cent agree that jihad means '*qital*' or waging war against non-Muslims; 37.71 per cent agree that suicide bombings carry a meaning of the Islamic jihad; and, 61.92 per cent understand that the caliphate system is the recognised Islamic polity (PPIM and Convey, 2018).

Although the data show that the number of terrorist incidents has declined gradually in the period of the second decade after reformation in 1998, cases of religious intolerance have steadily risen. Accordingly, it can be understood that the level of violent religious radicalisation in Indonesia has remained high and may lead to negative impacts on the State and society.

In 2016, groups of Islamists from across Indonesian regions travelled to Jakarta to protest against the then-Jakarta Governor, Basuki Thajaja Purnama, who was allegedly accused of blasphemy. This accusation was related to one of Purnama's speeches in

which he urged the public not to believe those who use the Qur'anic verses for political purposes. While Purnama said that this was not meant to disrespect the scripture of Islam, this statement was, nonetheless, perceived differently by some Muslim groups.

Charges filed against Purnama resulted in his imprisonment for two years. Purnama was not only jailed for the accusations against him but also defeated by another candidate, Anies Baswedan, who was promoted by Islamist groups in the gubernatorial election. Although many believed that the politicization of Islam would end with Baswedan's victory, this case suggests the reverse. The victory is even used as a precedent by Islamists for introducing a deeper influence and role of Islamic doctrines into political practices. Obviously, this extended to the presidential election of April 2019. The fact that there were only two presidential candidates brought sharper polarization of religious and non-religious groups or the pious and non-pious Muslim groups as well as deepened the politicization of Islam in contemporary Indonesia. Moreover, the debate over Islam and secularism has, once again, resumed.

Concluding Remarks

Indonesia is a multi-religion, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural country composed of thousands of islands with different cultures, languages, ethnic groups, and religions. Islam is a religion with the most followers, and thus not only are Muslims the majority but Islam, too, as a value system and practice determines the way of life of almost all Muslims in Indonesia. Other religions are also officially recognised by Indonesia and for a considerably long period of time, Islam and those different religions lived side by side harmoniously. Based on this fact, among others, Indonesia is known as a home of moderate Islam.

However, moderate Islam is not the only face of Indonesian Islam. With the openness of the political sphere, many other religious orientations emerge. The multiplicity of Indonesian society is a potential. However, this can also present challenges, especially in maintaining harmony within a society with high diversity. Competing religious orientations are only one of these. Radicalism remains an important challenge for contemporary religious life in Indonesia. Another challenge faced by contemporary Indonesian society is the emergence of Islamic populism, which at the same time has reignited the debate on the relationship of State and religion in Indonesia. In short, Indonesia is currently facing some important challenges, namely: a) the rising trend of Islamic conservatism; b) the latent threat of radicalism; and, c) the penetration of Islamic populism. All these contexts bring important challenges for religious life in Indonesia in the future.

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