

3-2020

Interreligious Conflicts in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: Assumptions, Causes, and Implications

Maksimus Regus

UNIKA St. Paulus Ruteng, max.regus73@yahoo.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/politik>



Part of the [Political Theory Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Regus, Maksimus (2020) "Interreligious Conflicts in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: Assumptions, Causes, and Implications," *Jurnal Politik*: Vol. 5: Iss. 2, Article 2.

DOI: 10.7454/jp.v5i2.1013

Available at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/politik/vol5/iss2/2>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at UI Scholars Hub. It has been accepted for inclusion in Jurnal Politik by an authorized editor of UI Scholars Hub.

Interreligious Conflicts in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: Assumptions, Causes, and Implications

MAKSIMUS REGUS*

UNIKA St. Paulus Ruteng

Jln. Ahmad Yani 10, Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara 86511

Indonesia

Email: max.regus73@yahoo.com

ABSTRAK

Indonesia telah lama dikenal sebagai 'bumi bagi toleransi beragama'. Namun, konflik antaragama telah menjadi salah satu isu sentral dan tema utama di level akademik. Artikel ini mencoba untuk memikirkan kembali wacana ini dengan mengkritik dan mengklarifikasi asumsi yang telah lama diterima bahwa agama menjadi salah satu sumber utama konflik antar-agama di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan tinjauan kualitatif kritis sebagai metode yang dipilih dalam menjangkau data dan informasi dari studi dan laporan sebelumnya. Hasil penelitian ini mencakup beberapa elemen utama seperti penyebab konflik antar agama, asumsi atas konflik agama, implikasi konflik agama terhadap masa depan masyarakat multikultural di Indonesia, dan prediksi singkat konflik antaragama di Indonesia. Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa Indonesia menyediakan berbagai konteks dan aspek unik dalam memahami secara komprehensif masalah konflik antar agama.

Kata kunci: Indonesia, agama, konflik, konflik antaragama, politik

ABSTRACT

While Indonesia is known as a land of religious tolerance, interreligious conflicts have been a central issue in the academe. This study attempts to rethink the discourse on this issue by criticizing and elucidating the long-accepted assumption that religion is one of the main sources of interreligious tensions in Indonesia. This study chose a critical qualitative review to extract data and information from previous studies and reports regarding this issue. The results of this study cover such main elements as causes of interreligious conflicts, assumptions on religious conflicts, implications of religious conflicts on the future of Indonesian multicultural society, and a short-term outlook of interreligious conflicts in the country. This article concludes that Indonesia provides many unique contexts and aspects in comprehensively understanding interreligious tensions.

Keywords: Indonesia, religion, conflict, interreligious conflict, politics

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v5i2.267>

*The author is a lecturer at UNIKA St. Paulus Ruteng.

INTRODUCTION

Located in Southeast Asia, Indonesia has been known as a land of religious diversity (Fitriani, Hofman, and Kaiser 2005). Generally, religious life in Indonesia has two different sides. On the one hand, it positively implies a prospective direction for the Indonesian society in constructing such an inclusive sociopolitical landscape (Bouma, Ling, and Pratt 2001). On the other hand, Indonesia has experienced a severe social blight through a series of (ethno) religious conflicts around the country, specifically in the post-Suharto political era. Therefore, interreligious tension in Indonesia has been a central issue and theme among the country's academic proponents (Barron, Jaffrey, and Varshney 2016).

It has been widely understood that interreligious conflicts in Indonesia are caused by small problems, such as regional, economic, and political boundaries and the lack of awareness among religious groups in maintaining a peaceful coexistence (Wanandi 2002). Unfortunately, the main culprit is often religion, which is closely connected with the abovementioned issues. Insignificant problems can even involve religion, which could result in widespread violence and conflict in any social level, from urban to suburban areas.

Interreligious tensions in Indonesia are particularly prevalent in Christianity and Islam—some of which occur with other religions (Smith 2015). These conflicts often claim no shortage of victims and cause harm both materially and spiritually. This is ironic, considering Indonesia's strong philosophical foundation and its sociocultural slogan "Unity in diversity, diversity in unity," which means while people live in different backgrounds, such as ethnicity and religion, they still share a life as a family called Indonesia (Bazzi, Gaduh, Rothenberg, and Wong 2017). Conflicts, especially interreligious conflicts, challenge Indonesia to build and enhance an inclusive and equal society.

This article aimed to reorganize the discourse on interreligious tension in Indonesia based on some conceptual insights in an attempt to determine the exact role and position of religion in the religious or interreligious conflict in the country. This study also intends to contribute significant insights into interreligious tension at the academic

level. These would be based on efforts to integrate information from the Indonesian national level into a global overview of the issue through in-depth analysis (Massoudi 2010). This article also attempts to provide a critique of long-standing assumptions, points of view, and conclusions, stating that religion has explicitly become a main source of interreligious and many other conflicts in Indonesia and worldwide (Falola 2001).

This article is divided into several sections. The introduction provides a brief background of this study. The methods section briefly discusses the study's chosen approach. The Conceptual Review section explains three conceptual positions. The findings provide an in-depth analysis of existing assumptions on interreligious conflict in Indonesia, factors affecting such conflict, and the implications of interreligious tension on the future of multicultural management in a plural Indonesian society. The discussion section will deal with some important findings and specifically explain certain predictions related to interreligious conflict in Indonesia.

METHODS

This study mainly focuses on a critical review of religion and conflict in the Indonesian context. To analyze scientific work, the method chosen was a critical qualitative review. Specifically, a document review was selected as the main tool to achieve the main target of collecting critical information to complete this study. This study's primary technique in collecting and managing data consists of reanalyzing studies conducted by other reviewers and academics (Mayer and Neil 2016). The author considered this specific method for flexibility and openness, as their aim was to restudy the academic and scientific positions regarding interreligious tension in Indonesia.

By conducting a document review, this study attempts to trace the map of religion's position in the discourse on conflict (Uwazie, Albert, and Uzoigwe 1999). Information from a variety of studies, both from the fields of history and politics, will help the author produce a comprehensive study of how religion is situated in discussions about conflict

in Indonesia. This method was also considered for its ability to explain how intentions and past events are related as a result of their meaning and value. This qualitative analysis is said to combine deductive and inductive approaches by rereading studies on religion and conflict in Indonesia in light of a developing theoretical position related to this issue (Robinson 2016).

CONCEPTUAL REVIEW

The last decade has seen the involvement of many academics in the study of a critical issue related to religion (Malik 2011). One of the most complex and crucial themes that scholars have constantly explored, analyzed, and elaborated, especially in the context of their relation with local and international politics, is the role of religion in the escalation of global tensions. Behind this idea is the view that religion intersects strongly and significantly with ongoing conflicts worldwide (Rieger 2017). There is some consensus among the experts regarding the relation between religion and conflict.

Therefore, it is also notable that academic and scientific discourses have focused on the relation between religion and conflict to offer many theoretical and contextual perspectives and positions (Nederman 2008). These perspectives contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the association between religion and conflict. Thus, this study presents three conceptual positions involving religion and conflict.

In the first position, several social scientists of this issue have expressed academic and scientific positions supporting the view that religion is a source of conflict and violence (Oommen 2001). This stance mainly sees and accepts religion's "conflicting character" and considers religion to have a strong rationale for causing conflict and violence (Kong and Woods 2016). Religion is said to be a major cause of conflict and violence worldwide, ranging from everyday acts of hatred to large-scale tensions among certain groups (Armstrong 2014).

This first position consists of the assumption that these problems constitute a crystallization of what is called the "Western belief" that

religion causes conflict and violence. In fact, this assumption is so embedded in scientific and academic consciousness that certain institutions and policies of a political community reflect this belief (Cavanaugh 2007). Such claims are often based on the premise that religion provides an impetus to justify the violent acts of one religious group toward another. The proponents of this view base their arguments on a constructivist perspective for religion as a cause of violence (Hasenclever and Rittberger 2000).

Religion is also considered as the most powerful trigger for conflict and violence among groups (Atran and Ginges 2012). When it is included in the context of group life, certain groups will be prejudiced against those with incompatible values and therefore discriminate against them. This phenomenon generally occurs in intrareligious tensions triggered by differences in theological interpretation, where mainstream groups tend to oppress minority groups. Thus, we can say that the profile of religious violence is also determined by the extent to which theological interpretation differs within one particular religion and the magnitude of such difference among the members of each group (Silberman, Higgins, and Dweck 2005).

The second position specifically claims that religion is an intermediate variable (Neuberg et al. 2014) that refers to and strengthens its nature as a force that contains the potential for conflict and conflict behavior (such as violence). In this context, the position of religion with respect to violence emerges ambiguously. On the one hand, religious beliefs can be used to justify violence against certain religious groups; on the other hand, religion can actually reduce the possibility of violence if religious beliefs inherently delegitimize it. This second position states that the social, political, cultural, economic, and historical context will influence religion's strongest tendency in relation to conflict (Hunsberger and Jackson 2005).

Especially contrary to the first position, some researchers clearly reject the validity of conceptual and academic conclusions confirming that religion is a source of conflict and violence (Cavanaugh 2007). To defend their position, they also propose a scientific position. They be-

lieve that such conclusion can be considered an academic myth among scholars in religious studies and related fields (Grim and Finke 2010).

However, the third position is more lenient in understanding the relation between religion and violence. Here, religion is viewed as one of the greatest sources of conflict and social violence at all levels. One strong perspective in this third position comes from the idea of ambivalence about religion (Appleby 1999). This approach accommodates the so-called revolutionary moments of religion in providing a more comprehensive understanding of the violence used by its adherents (Appleby 1998).

In the comparison between those who consider the violent nature of some religions as only a matter of fact and those who defend the importance of religion in modern life, there is the hope of dissolving the relation between religion and violence; hence, a reexamination of the position of religion itself is paramount. In this position, we are asked to substantiate the claim that acts of violence committed in the name of religion must be motivated by other concerns.

There is a general understanding that acts of violence are not necessarily associated with the essence of religion. However, religion is still seen in the perspective of the relation between humans and the sacred. In this context, conflict and violence arise due to the lack of “religious” quality. Religion is not a source of conflict and violence; on the contrary, it is the most important foundation for the development of justice and conflict resolution (Omer, Appleby, and Little 2015).

Thus, a more dynamic understanding of religion in relation to conflict and violence is an urgent academic need, an argument on which ethnoreligious conflict is based. The rise of religious nationalism, which had triggered conflict in various spheres, also requires a more diverse foundation by not merely attributing the cause and source of conflict to religion (Fox 1999). This view also remains consistent with the concept of ambivalence about religion.

FINDINGS

Assumptions

There are two existing assumptions associated with the series of interreligious conflicts in Indonesia. One is that interreligious tensions emerged with the fall of President Suharto (Bertrand 2004). However, this assumption can be rejected, as interreligious conflicts also occurred before President Suharto was removed from office. Another assumption is that interreligious tension was a side effect of the Indonesian democratization process (Sukma 2012). There is even a further developing notion that religious conflict and communal violence are worse in a democracy of multiethnic societies than under strong authoritarian governments that keep this type of conflict under control (Ghoshal 2004).

Furthermore, one important theoretical question is the extent to which a conflict is categorized or defined as religious. Several studies, particularly in Indonesia, have tried to dissect and answer this question with all its incompleteness and dynamics (Cahill 2012). The most important view, almost in all studies, or on a fairly general measure, as mentioned in previous sections, is that interreligious tension has always been considered in connection with other crucial issues (Al Qurtuby 2016). Yet, experiences of religious differences mostly trigger conflicts in Indonesia in addition to several internal religious reasons (Stepan 2000).

Based on this fact, studies have found how religion also determines the dynamics and acceleration of ethnic conflicts at a certain level (Baidhawiy 2007). Overall, in Indonesia, religious conflicts tend to be more intense than nonreligious ones. It is interesting to note that ethnic tensions and revolutionary movements tend to gradually become religious tensions, both in major and minor areas (Duncan 2014). Thus, it is sufficient to state that while religion is more clearly involved in ethnic wars, religious revolutionary wars are more intense.

Three important arguments have been raised with regard to the abovementioned assumptions associated with interreligious conflict in Indonesia. The first pertains to economic arguments, focusing on pov-

erty, inequality, ownership rights, economic development processes, and structural change. As stated before, this assumption is deluded. The second refers to social arguments focusing on the role of energy and religion. The third concerns certain arguments emphasizing community organizations, including the state versus community security and such policy arrangements (Tadjoeddin and Chowdhury 2009).

To critically fill the gap in the discussion on assumptions relating to religious tension, a comprehensive understanding of religious conflict in Indonesia has been proposed as a required strategy. The concept of “culture of conflict” has been applied as a central perspective in dissecting interreligious conflict in Indonesia and is defined as “those domestic, inter-state or transnational political conflicts in which the actors involved focus on issues related to religion, language and/or history” (Croissant and Trinn 2009). Through this concept, interreligious tension in Indonesia can be understood as a reality with more than one face. Therefore, religious conflict cannot be understood only as a single fact that only exists in itself, disconnected from other fundamental issues and aspects, such as politics, economics, social justice, culture, and local politics (Schor 2011).

Causes

Some studies have stated that conflict in Indonesia, specifically religious conflict, traces its roots to colonial times in Indonesia. Interreligious tension is described as a legacy of colonial history in the country (Lafan 2003) and is portrayed in the light of Indonesia’s specific formation during Dutch colonial rule around the Indonesian archipelago (Sidel 2006). Colonial legacies influence religious continuities and shifts in the public sphere as well as its relation to the wider context in political, social, and cultural circumstances. Some policies of Dutch colonial rulers, for example, set the stage for many of these conflicts (Berger 2004).

Moreover, Indonesia’s government immigration policy has also influenced tensions and clashes among (social) religious groups in Indonesia. It changed the balance of the population among different ethnic and religious groups in many regions and islands (Deters and Nimeh 2014).

Past transmigration policies also brought about social hatred among ethnicities and religions. An example of local conflict in Indonesia is the ethnoreligious violence in Kalimantan and Ambon, which occurred between locals and immigrants (Smith 2010).

The development of disparities has also been identified as one of the main causes of religious conflict in Indonesia. The high number of such incidents in East Timor, Central Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, Papua, Maluku, and Aceh in the post-Suharto era reflects this fact. Some studies concluded that horizontal inequality has led to ethnoreligious violence and conflict. Inequality has destroyed a social landscape through increased religious conflict. It can be said that economic inequality influences the distribution of conflict in Indonesia's social and religious life (Stewart 2016).

Another important factor affecting interreligious tension in Indonesia is the problem of locality (Kimura 2010). Locality is mainly linked with local politics through the practice of decentralization and is accompanied by social and political fragmentation in Indonesia. Many analyses and studies have considered the substantive view of the correlation between local problems and conflict. A potential intersection exists between conflict and crucial issues, such as economic inequality, natural disasters, and ethnic and religious diversity at a local scale (Lovell 1998).

Many studies argue that interreligious conflict in Indonesia has also been shaped by the involvement of diverse actors and their political and economic motivations. Provocateurs also encourage clashes and conflicts among religions and religious groups in Indonesia in a more detailed fashion (Wilson 2011). The tragic event in North Maluku is proof of this, as certain actors provoked violators and rioters into attacks and violence, mobilizing them toward religious conflict (Adam 2010).

In present-day Indonesia, the latest phenomenon that threatens the interreligious space and attracts hateful speech is the massive development of digital technology and information domains, such as Facebook and Twitter (Sublet, Spring, and Howard 2011). Hundreds of sites have been involved in religious tension in contemporary Indonesia. The esca-

lation of clash and conflict within society and political competition has been determined by the strong influence of digital technology since the beginning of Industry 4.0. Because Indonesia is one of the largest users of digital technology, the dangerous spread of religious conflict is linked with increased digital usage in Indonesia's public life (Keusgen 2016).

Implications

This article also aimed to discuss the implications of interreligious tension in Indonesia's social, political, and policy areas. It is especially important to look at the future of the management of multiculturalism based on interreligious conflict. This can be considered as an opportunity to reorganize the public policy platform at all levels within the framework of preventing the recurrence of religious conflict on the one hand and strengthening solidarity between different religious groups on the other (Lan 2011). This situation presents both opportunities and challenges for Indonesia in reevaluating and developing a grand plan for developing a multicultural society. Departing from the experience of pain and bloodshed from religious tensions, the country is urged to build what is called a "transcultural" and "transreligious pluralist" social platform (Woodward 2010).

The substance of multiculturalism is closely related to Indonesian nationalism. This idea embraces Indonesia as a plural society. In the journey of Indonesian nationalism, a crucial stage undergone by the Indonesian people was marked by a growing sense of nationality and equality in line with their strong resistance against colonizers, both before and after the proclamation of Indonesia's independence. Religious nationalism and secular nationalism have emerged along with the idea of an independent Indonesia.

Efforts by Islamic nationalist groups to establish an Islamic state and by secular nationalists who want to maintain a secular state based on the Pancasila are used as benchmarks for analyzing national consciousness or feelings of nationalism. The principle of diversity embedded in the philosophy of the Pancasila state provides a dynamic space for the emergence and development of a multicultural Indonesian society,

where the diversity of cultures and views of Indonesian people can be creative, dynamic, and reversible alongside cultural values and global ideas, such as humanity, equality, justice, and so on.

Tragically, at present, interreligious conflict in Indonesia is closely related to the rise of religious radicalism at the national level. This issue is specifically associated with the position of Islam in Indonesia. Radicalism has been regarded as the theological axis or the root of terrorism and various acts of violence and conflict in Indonesia's public sphere (Hasan 2002). These radical actions have significantly led to an increase in various forms of religious tension in Indonesia. Certain studies on this issue have gone deeper into the intersection between interfaith clash and conflict through the spread of religious belief among religious groups (Schmid 2013). Some researchers have also concluded that radical movements with Islamic roots have been understood as a response to such events as the expansion of Christian missionary projects.

Indonesia has dealt not only with domestic radical movements but also with the threat of transnational religious political organizations. This trend has been strong in the past decade. The growing radical movement in Indonesia is also inseparable from the advancement of transnational movements that are even specifically associated with the emergence of the discussion on "the clash of civilizations", which has been used as a kind of framework for interreligious conflicts. At this point, religious tensions, both at the national and global levels, have also long been understood as the most direct implications of what is widely accepted as the clash of civilizations. Indonesian Muslims have also responded to globalization through various types of Islamic movements (van Bruinessen 2015).

Interreligious conflicts, as part of Indonesian history, confront significant questions about the future of this nation, which is already known as a multicultural society. Behind the beauty of a diverse, heterogeneous society, we must realize the occasional emergence of a great danger. It is common knowledge that differences can trigger conflict. Something that looks trivial can be significant if both parties hold grudges and real-

ize that they are different. Conflicts among communities are not only a mere potentiality in Indonesia; they have also become quite troubling.

In rethinking the management of multiculturalism in Indonesia, the current and most critical problem is related to the fact that people involved in conflicts immediately point to religion as their main identity marker. While religion itself is not the only cause of tension, the manifestation of identity politics is mostly linked with people's religious affiliation, as religion functions as the main source of political and social identities. Therefore, it seems to be the ideal vehicle through which effective and widespread identity projects are conducted both locally and nationally. Using a concept of identity that is flexible and negotiable, people can adapt their identity markers according to the situation, and religion can easily become vital to people's involvement in conflict (Bräuchler 2003).

The problem of multiculturalism in contemporary Indonesia is associated with conflicts within and between religious communities, specifically Muslim and Christian minorities. One example is the formulation of places of worship. Moreover, religious conflicts take various forms, ranging from interpersonal tensions, street protests, social movements, to electoral politics (Hamayotsu 2014).

This article argues that Indonesia should take a decisive step not only on a political level but also mainly at policy innovation to develop and strengthen society's multicultural awareness and attitudes. Because multiculturalism is not only a theory that predicts certain results, it cannot be falsified or tested. However, it produces critical hypotheses in the study of material wealth in Indonesian politics, which can be falsified through daily social experiences. Religious tensions challenge Indonesia to strengthen and maintain its fundamental character as a multicultural *nation-state* (Pepinsky, Liddle, and Mujani 2011).

DISCUSSION

In the Future?

The intersection of religion and politics is clearly one of the main sources of interreligious conflict in Indonesia. This can be one of the biggest challenges to paving the country's path toward a peaceful multicultural space. In fact, it is a scientific fact that religion cannot be considered as the only cause of tension in Indonesia. It should be stated that a comprehensive understanding of religious conflict would help Indonesia manage the future of its democratic, inclusive, equal, and multicultural landscapes.

Indonesia can manage the experience of religious conflict in its history by promoting an awareness of its pluralistic existence by default and strengthening its democratic attitude. Interreligious conflict, through the existence of radicalism, can still endanger Indonesia's journey as a multicultural society. At this point, the development of a secular worldview can be identified as a way to reduce or prevent the emergence of conflicts in the name of religion.

The historic political events at the end of President Suharto's totalitarian regime have strongly influenced the pattern of social and political relations in Indonesia. On the one hand, the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian rule has enabled political participation in the public sphere; on the other hand, it has also caused social unrest as a result of the absence of singular control in Suharto's era, leading to some crucial events (Eklof 2004).

These political changes have triggered many conflicts. In short, Suharto's political regime, which collapsed in 1998, has brought Indonesia to an era of interreligious tension. The legacy of Suharto's power still exists and determines Indonesia's sociopolitical profile. A clear example of this is the country's elections in 2019, which strongly propelled Indonesia toward a dangerous polarization among social, political, and religious factions and groups (Wilson, 2015). This situation could influence the persistence of religious conflict in Indonesia, as it has led to riots (Barron, Jaffrey, and Varshney 2016).

In addition, interreligious tensions intersect with two types of conflicts that are still prevalent. First, conflict is related to rapid changes in local politics and appears in line with wide-ranging local electoral issues. Religious conflicts at a local context are also related to electoral battles among many political factions. Second, religious conflict may also coincide with local tensions relating to the rights movement of local communities over local resources. These conflicts sporadically or partially intersect with religious tensions.

Besides the political aspect, the emergence of the application of Shari'a law (Islamic law) is seen as one of the many potential axes of religious conflict in Indonesia (Ichwan 2007). This not only creates clashes and conflicts with non-Islamic religious groups but also causes tensions within Islam itself, such as between mainstream Islam and their minority Islamic groups, including the Ahmadiyya and the Shiites. Political condescension in Indonesia occurs, both at the national and local levels, following the application of religious laws and regulations, making religion a trigger for conflict (Bowen 2001).

CONCLUSION

Although the discourse on interreligious conflict in Indonesia can be understood based on the three conceptual positions, Indonesia's experience regarding this issue continues to provide scientific uniqueness through its dynamics and contestation with a wide range of critical elements, such as social and political dimensions. Within these conceptual positions, Indonesia's experiences demonstrate a potential contribution to a deeper look into the problem of interreligious conflict from researchers, academics, and scientists.

As previously explained, interreligious tensions in Indonesia have intersected a variety of motivations, levels, and factors. Religion often appears not as a single factor and motivation for conflict. Furthermore, this article presents many factors that influence interreligious conflict in Indonesia—social, political, economic, and cultural. Currently, religion is affected by external factors regarding conflict in Indonesia in a contemporary way.

Future studies on this issue may consider various problems related to the locality in Indonesia. This refers to local complaints about economic competition, corruption, marginalization of politics of certain ethnoreligious groups, and, to a certain extent, supralocal interests. These can help form a background of religious conflict. Regardless of political and economic roots and competition among ethnic groups, people are easily organized and mobilized around their religious affiliations, which then cause massive conflict and violence.

Multiculturalism in Indonesia is under pressure from current religious tensions, and the future of the country as a multicultural society is now at a crossroad. Multiculturalism is considered not only as a theory or a description of Indonesian society but also as people's everyday experiences and social relationships. There remains a big question on the fate of Indonesia's multicultural society under the possibility of religious conflict following contentious political competition through recent elections.

REFERENCES

- Adam, Jeroen. 2010. "Forced Migration, Adat, and a Purified Present in Ambon, Indonesia." *Ethnology: an International Journal of Cultural and Social Anthropology* 47 (4): 209–225.
- Al Qurtuby, Sumanto. 2016. *Religious Violence and Conciliation in Indonesia: Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Appleby, Scott. R. 1998. "Religion and Global Affairs: Religious 'Militants for Peace'." *SAIS Review* 18 (2): 38–44.
- _____. 1999. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.
- Armstrong, Karen. 2014. "The Myth of Religious Violence". *The Guardian*. September 24. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/25/sp-karen-armstrong-religious-violence-myth-secular>
- Atran, Scott, and Jeremy Ginges. 2012. "Religious and Sacred Imperatives in Human Conflict" *Science* 336 (6083): 855–857.

- Baidhaw, Zakiyuddin. 2007. "Building Harmony and Peace through Multiculturalist Theology-Based Religious Education: An Alternative for Contemporary Indonesia." *British Journal of Religious Education* 29 (1): 15–30.
- Barron, Patrick, Sana Jaffrey, and Ashutosh Varshney. 2016. "When Large Conflicts Subside: The Ebbs and Flows of Violence in Post-Suharto Indonesia." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 16 (2): 191–217.
- Bazzi, Samuel, Arya Gaduh, Alexander D. Rothenberg, and Maisy Wong. 2017. *Unity in Diversity: Ethnicity, Migration, and Nation Building in Indonesia*. Centre for Economic Policy Research Discussion Papers 12377.
- Berger, Mark T. 2004. "Post-Cold War Indonesia and the Revenge of History: The Colonial Legacy, Nationalist Visions and Global Capitalism." in *The Rise of East Asia: Critical Visions of the Pacific Century*, edited by Mark T. Berger and Douglas A. Borer, London: Routledge, 181–204.
- Bertrand, Jacques. 2004. "Democratization and Religious and Nationalist Conflict in Post-Suharto Indonesia." in *Democratization and Identity: Regimes and Ethnicity in East and Southeast Asia*, edited by Susan J. Henders, Lanham: Lexington Books, 177–200.
- Bouma, Gary D., Rodney Ling, and Douglas Pratt. 2001. *Religious Diversity in Southeast Asia and the Pacific: National Case Studies*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Bowen, John Richard. 2001. "Shari'a, State and Social Norms in France and Indonesia." *ISIM Papers No. 3*. Leiden: Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World. <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/10067>
- Bräuchler, Birgit. 2003. "Cyberidentities at War: Religion, Identity, and the Internet in the Moluccan Conflict." *Indonesia* 75: 123–151.
- Cahill, Lisa Sowle. 2012. "Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict – By William T. Cavanaugh." *Modern Theology* 28 (3): 561–563.
- Cavanaugh, William T. 2007. "Colonialism and the Myth of Religious Violence." in *Religion and the Secular: Historical and Colonial For-*

- mations, edited by Timothy Fitzgerald. London: Equinox Publishing, 155–157.
- _____. 2009. *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Croissant, Aurel and Christoph Trinn. 2009. “Culture, Identity and Conflict in Asia and Southeast Asia.” *Asien* 110: 13–43.
- Deters, Kleine B. and Zina Nimeh. 2014. *Diverse We Stand: Horizontal Inequality and Ethno-Communal Conflict in Indonesia*. MERIT Working Papers 091, United Nations University - Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (MERIT). <https://ideas.repec.org/p/unm/unumer/2014091.html>.
- Duncan, Christopher R. 2014. *Violence and Vengeance: Religious Conflict and Its Aftermath in Eastern Indonesia*. Singapore: NUS.
- Eklof, Stefan. 2004. *Power and Political Culture in Suharto’s Indonesia: The Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) and the Decline of the New Order (1986-98)*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203507339>
- Falola, Toyin. 2001. “Seeking Political Solutions for Nigeria Inter-Ethnic and Religious Conflict Resolution in Nigeria.” *The Journal of African History* 42: 307–350. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853701437893>
- Fitriani, Fitria, Bert Hofman, and Kal Kaiser. 2005. “Unity in Diversity? The Creation of New Local Governments in a Decentralising Indonesia.” *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 41 (1): 57–79.
- Fox, Jonathan. 1999. “Towards a Dynamic Theory of Ethno-Religious Conflict.” *Nations and Nationalism* 5 (4): 431–463.
- Ghoshal, Baladas. 2004. “Democratic Transition and Political Development in Post-Soeharto Indonesia.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 26 (3): 506–529.
- Grim, Brian J. and Roger Finke. 2010. *The Price of Freedom Denied: Religious Persecution and Conflict in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511762345>
- Hamayotsu, Kikue. 2014. “Conservative Turn? Religion, State and Conflict in Indonesia” *Pacific Affairs* 87 (4): 815–825.

- Hasan, Noorhaidi. 2002. "Faith and Politics: The Rise of the Laskar Jihad in the Era of Transition in Indonesia." *Indonesia* 73: 145–169.
- Hasenclever, Andreas and Volker Rittberger. 2000. "Does Religion Make a Difference? Theoretical Approaches to the Impact of Faith on Political Conflict." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29 (3): 641–674.
- Hunsberger, Bruce and Lynne M. Jackson. 2005. "Religion, Meaning, and Prejudice." *Journal of Social Issues* 61 (4): 807–826.
- Ichwan, Moch Nur. 2007. "The Politics of Shari'atization: Central Governmental and Regional Discourses of Shari'a Implementation in Aceh." in *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia*, edited by R. Michael Feener and Mack E. Cammack. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 193–215.
- Keusgen, Tony. 2016. "Indonesia, SE Asia's Digital Powerhouse country Head". *The Jakarta Post*. August 9. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2016/08/09/indonesia-se-asias-digital-powerhouse.html/>.
- Kimura, Ehito. 2010. "Proliferating Provinces: Territorial Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia." *South East Asia Research* 18 (3): 415–449.
- Kong, Lily and Orlando Woods. 2016. *Religion and Space: Competition, Conflict and Violence in the Contemporary World*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Laffan, Michael Francis. 2003. *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds*. New York: Routledge.
- Lan, Thung Ju. 2011. "Heterogeneity, Politics of Ethnicity, and Multiculturalism What Is a Viable Framework for Indonesia?" *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 13 (2): 279–292.
- Lovell, Nadia, ed. 1998. *Locality and Belonging*. London: Routledge.
- Malik, Maleiha. 2011. "Religious Freedom, Free Speech and Equality: Conflict or Cohesion?" *Res Publica* 17 (1): 21–40.
- Massoudi, Mehrdad. 2010. "Us and Them: Religious Education and the Role of Proper Communication in Conflict Prevention" *Interchange* 41 (3): 285–304.
- Mayer, Wendy and Bronwen Neil, eds. 2016. *Religious Conflict from Early Christianity to the Rise of Islam*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

- Nederman, Cary J. 2008. "Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe" *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (3): 942–944.
- Neuberg, Steven L., Carolyn M. Warner, Stephen A. Mistler, Anna Berlin, Eric D. Hill, Jordan D. Johnson, and Gabrielle Filip-Crawford. 2014. "Religion and Intergroup Conflict: Findings from the Global Group Relations Project" *Psychology Science* 25 (1): 198–206.
- Omer, Atalia, R. Scott Appleby, and David Little, eds. 2015. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion, Conflict, and Peacebuilding*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Oommen, Tharaileth Koshy. 2001. "Religion as Source of Violence". *The Ecumenical Review* 53 (2): 168–179.
- Pepinsky, Thomas B., William R. Liddle, and Saiful Mujani. 2011. "Indonesian Democracy and the Transformation of Political Islam". *Paper presented at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Association of Asian Studies*, March, Philadelphia.
- Rieger, John, ed. 2017. *The State of Conflict and Violence in Asia*. San Francisco: The Asia Foundation. https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/The_State_of_Conflict_and_Violence_in_Asia-1.pdf
- Robinson, Kathryn. 2016. "Communal Peace and Conflict in Indonesia: Navigating Inter-Religious Boundaries." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 17 (5): 475–479.
- Schmid, Alex P. 2013. "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review." *ICCT Research Papers* 97: 22. <https://www.icct.nl/download/file/ICCT-Schmid-Radicalisation-De-Radicalisation-Counter-Radicalisation-March-2013.pdf>
- Schor, Adam M. 2011. *Theodoret's People: Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman, Syria*, 48. California: University of California Press.
- Sidel, John Thayer. 2006. *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia*. New York: Cornell University Press.

- Silberman, Israella E., E. Tory Higgins, and Carol S. Dweck. 2005. "Religion and World Change: Violence and Terrorism versus Peace." *Journal of Social Issues* 61 (4): 761–784.
- Smith, Anthony L. 2010. "Indonesia." in *Fixing Fractured Nations: The Challenge of Ethnic Separatism in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by Robert G. Wirsing and Ehsan Ahrari. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 15–35.
- Smith, Jane. 2015. "Muslim-Christian Relations: Historical and Contemporary Realities." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*. April 2. <https://oxfordre.com/religion/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-11>.
- Stepan, Alfred C. 2000. "Religion, Democracy, and The Twin Tolerations." *Journal of Democracy* 11 4: 37–57.
- Stewart, Frances, ed. 2016. *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sublet, Virginia, Christina Spring, and John Howard. 2011. "Does Social Media Improve Communication? Evaluating the NIOSH Science Blog." *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* 54 (5): 384–394.
- Sukma, Rizal. 2012. "Conflict Management in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: Federalism, Autonomy and the Dilemma of Democratisation" in *Autonomy & Disintegration Indonesia*, edited by Harry Aveling and Damien Kingsbury. London: Routledge, 78–88.
- Tadjoeddin, Zulfan M. and Anis Chowdhury. 2009. "Socioeconomic Perspectives on Violent Conflict in Indonesia" *The Economics of Peace and Security Journal* 4 (1): 39–47. DOI: 10.15355/epsj.4.1.39
- Uwazie, Ernest E., Isaac O. Albert, and Godfrey N. Uzoigwe, eds. 1999. *Inter-Ethnic and Religious Conflict Resolution in Nigeria*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- van Bruinessen, Martin. 2015. "Ghazwul Fikri or Arabization? Indonesian Muslim Responses to Globalization." in *Southeast Asian Muslims in the Era of Globalization*, edited by Ken Miichi and Omar Farouk. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 61–85.
- Wanandi, Jusuf. 2002. "Indonesia: A Failed State?" *The Washington Quarterly* 25 (3): 135–146.

- Wilson, Chris. 2011. "Provocation or Excuse?: Process-Tracing the Impact of Elite Propaganda in a Violent Conflict in Indonesia." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 17 (4): 339–360.
- _____. 2015. "Illiberal Democracy and Violent Conflict in Contemporary Indonesia." *Democratization* 22 (7): 1317–1337.
- Woodward, Mark. 2010. "State–Religion Relations in Indonesia: A Comparative Perspective." in *Dealing with Diversity: Religion, Globalization, Violence, Gender and Disaster in Indonesia*, edited by Bernard Adeney-Risakotta. Geneva: Globalethnics.net, 63–82.

