HITTING OUR HEADS ON THE GLASS CEILING:
WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION
IN INDONESIA

Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin & Jan Edwards

THE PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICT
IN INDONESIA (1990-2008)

Samsu Rizal Panggabean, Rudi Harisyah Alam, Ihsan Ali-Fauzi

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Abstrak: *Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk mengungkap pola-pola konflik keagamaan di Indonesia pada periode antara Januari 1990 dan Agustus 2008. Rentang waktu ini memungkinkan untuk menganalisis secara mendalam berbagai konflik keagamaan yang terjadi di bawah rezim otoritarian Orde Baru (1990-1998), rezim transisi menuju demokrasi awal (1998-2004), dan rezim demokrasi baru (2004-2008). Penelitian ini menggunakan laporan harian* Kompas *dan kantor berita* Antara, *dua media nasional yang paling dapat diandalkan untuk membaca Indonesia, sebagai sumber data.*

Dalam penelitian ini, konflik keagamaan terutama dilihat dari apakah konflik itu disalurkan dengan cara-cara damai atau kekerasan. Konflik keagamaan juga diteliti dari segi isu yang memunculkan konflik itu (komunal, sektarian, teroris, moral, dan lainnya), persebarannya secara geografis, pelaku dan korbannya, dan bagaimana respons institusi keamanan terhadapnya.

Dari segi tingkat insiden, dua pertiga dari konflik keagamaan di Indonesia mengambil bentuk aksi damai, dan hanya sepertiganya yang berbentuk aksi kekerasan. Sementara dilihat dari timing-*nya, jika tiga rezim dibandingkan, insiden kekerasan paling sering terjadi di bawah rezim transisi dibanding di dua rezim lainnya. Ini menunjukkan bahwa dibukanya saluran partisipasi warga negara di era demokrasi, sesudah disumbat di bawah rezim otoritarian Orde Baru, tidak diimbangi oleh berfungsinya dengan baik aparat-aparat keamanan. Hal ini diperkuat oleh kenyataan bahwa aksi-aksi damai menyusul konflik keagamaan terlihat dominan pada rezim demokrasi baru.*

Sebagian besar konflik keagamaan, damai maupun kekerasan, terkait dengan isu-isu komunal, seperti konflik antara komunitas Muslim-Kristen dan penodaan agama. Namun, terdapat variasi geografis menyangkut isu-isu yang mendorong terjadinya konflik. Isu-isu komunal terlihat dominan di wilayah-wilayah yang memang sudah

dikenal sebagai daerah konflik komunal selama ini, seperti Maluku, Maluku Utara, dan Sulawesi Tengah. Sementara di wilayah-wilayah seperti Jawa Barat dan Banten, konflik keagamaan yang terjadi lebih banyak melibatkan isu-isu moral dan sektarian. Sementara itu, di DKI Jakarta kekerasan bernuansa agama lebih melibatkan isu-isu terorisme dan moral.

Dari segi pelaku, kelompok warga adalah kelompok terbanyak yang menjadi pelaku kekerasan. Sementara itu, kelompok keagamaan, yang sering dipandang sebagai pelaku dominan, hanya menempati posisi ketiga, sesudah para pelaku terorisme. Persepsi mengenai dominannya keterlibatan kelompok keagamaan hanya dibenarkan penelitian ini dalam aksi-aksi damai. Kekerasan terkait isu komunal merupakan yang paling banyak berdampak pada korban manusia maupun kerugian harta-benda. Sementara dari segi kerugian harta-benda, kekerasan terkait isu moral menempati posisi kedua insiden dengan dampak kerugian terbesar setelah kekerasan terkait isu komunal.

Berdasarkan temuan-temuan pokok di atas, studi ini menunjukkan bahwa isu-isu utama yang mendorong terjadinya konflik keagamaan bervariasi di masing-masing daerah. Karena itu, langkah-langkah penanganan kekerasan bernuansa agama perlu didesain sesuai dengan variasi isu-isu konflik keagamaan yang mendominasi masing-masing wilayah. Misalnya, program kerukunan antarumat beragama perlu menjadi prioritas di wilayah timur Indonesia, seperti di Sulawesi Tengah dan Maluku, sementara program kerukunan intraumat beragama lebih dibutuhkan untuk wilayah barat Indonesia, seperti di Banten dan Jawa Barat.

Hasil studi ini menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat Indonesia memiliki kapasitas untuk merespons isu-isu konflik keagamaan dalam bentuk aksi damai. Di masa depan, tantangannya adalah mendorong agar masyarakat menjadikan aksi damai sebagai pilihan utama respons mereka terhadap isu-isu keagamaan yang memicu konflik. Karena itu, perlu dirancang berbagai program yang ditujukan untuk meningkatkan pemahaman dan kemampuan masyarakat terkait strategi-strategi aksi damai sebagai sarana untuk menyalurkan aspirasi mereka. Mengingat pelaku dominan berbagai aksi kekerasan terkait konflik keagamaan adalah kelompok warga secara umum, maka program semacam itu perlu dirancang untuk menjangkau lapisan masyarakat lebih luas.

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خلاصة: هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى الكشف عن أنماط الصراعات الدينية في إندونيسيا في
الفترة ما بين يناير ١٩٩٠ وأغسطس ٢٠٠٨. هذه الفترة الزمنية يسمح لتحليل متعمق
لمختلف الصراعات الدينية التي حدثت في ظل النظام الاستبدادي النظام الجديد (١٩٩٠–
١٩٩٨)، والانتقال إلى نظام بداية الديمقراطية (١٩٩٨-٢٠٠٤) والنظام الديمقراطي الجديد
(٢٠٠٤–٢٠٠٨). هذه الدراسة الاستخدامات اليومية التقارير كومباس وكالة انباء انتارا،
واثنين من وسائل الإعلام الوطنية من الأكثر موثوقية لقراءة إندونيسيا، كمصدر بيانات.

في هذه الدراسة، والصراعات الدينية، وخصوصا من وجهات النظر ما إذا كان الصراع
هو توجيه بالوسائل السلمية أو العنيفة. وقد درست أيضا الصراع الديني من حيث القضايا
التي أدت إلى الصراعات (والطائفية الطائفية الإرهابية والمعنوية وغيرها)، ونشر جغرافيا،
الجناة والضحايا، وكيف المؤسسات الأمنية الرد عليه.

من حيث معدلات الإصابة، استغرق ثلثي الصراعات الدينية في إندونيسيا شكل العمل
السلمي، والثلث فقط في شكل أعمال العنف. هذا يدل على أن الشعب الإندونيسي لديها
القدرة على تحقيق استجابتها للصراعات الدينية في شكل من أشكال العمل السلمي.

وحين أن آراء توقيته، إذا ما قورنت بين الأنظمة الثلاثة، فإن حالات العنف في معظم
الأحيان وقعت في ظل النظام الانتقالية مما كانت عليه في النظامين الآخرين. هذا يدل على
أن افتتاح قناة مشاركة المواطنين في عصر الديمقراطية بعد لم تكن مصحوبة مفلن في ظل
النظام الاستبدادي النظام الجديد، الذي يعمل بشكل جيد من قبل الأجهزة الأمنية. ويتعزز
ذلك من حقيقة أن الإجراءات السلمية في أعقاب الصراعات الدينية المهيمنة ينظر في النظام
الديمقراطي الجديد.

سواء كان ذلك في شكل من أشكال الاحتجاج السلمي والعنف، ومعظم الصراعات الدينية المرتبطة القضايا المجتمعية، مثل التراع بين المجتمعات بين المسلمين والمسيحيين وتدنيس الدينية. ومع ذلك، هناك اختلافات جغرافية تتعلق بالمسائل التي تحرك الصراع. القضايا المجتمعية ينظر في الغالب في المناطق التي تعرف بالفعل بوصفها مجالا من الصراع الطائفي وحتى الآن، مثل مالوكو، مالوكو الشمالية وسولاويزي الوسطى. بينما في مجالات مثل جاوة الغربية وبانتين، والصراعات الدينية التي وقعت في كثير من الأحيان أكثر ينطوي على القضايا الأخلاقية والطائفية. وفي الوقت نفسه ، في جاكرتا ، مزيد من العنف الديني التي تشمل قضايا الإرهاب والآداب العامة.

من حيث العناصر الفاعلة، ومجموعات من المواطنين يشكلون المجموعة الأكثر الذين يصبحون مرتكبي أعمال العنف. وفي الوقت نفسه، والجماعات الدينية، التي غالبا ما ينظر إليها باعتبارها المهيمن إلا في الواقع في المرتبة الثالثة، بعد مرتكبي الإرهاب. له ما يبرره التصورات حول ضلوع جماعة الدينية المهيمنة في هذا البحث فقط من حيث مشاركتها في إجراءات السلمية. القضايا المتصلة العنف الطائفي هو أعنف حوادث يكون لها تأثير على الخسائر البشرية والخسائر في الممتلكات. وفي الوقت نفسه، من حيث الخسائر في الممتلكات، والعنف المتصل القضايا الأخلاقية في المرتبة الثانية مع الحادث أكبر الأثر من الخسائر بعد العنف الطائفي القضايا ذات الصلة.

وهكذا، استنادا إلى النتائج الرئيسية المذكورة أعلاه، فإن هذه الدراسة تبين أن القضايا الرئيسية التي أدت إلى صراعات دينية تختلف في كل منطقة. ولذلك، يجب أن تصمم الخطوات المتخذة تجاه الحاجة العنف الديني وفقا لاختلاف لقضايا الصراع الديني الذي هيمن على مناطقها. على سبيل المثال، ينبغي للبرنامج الانسجام بين المؤمنين الدينية أن يكون أولوية في شرق إندونيسيا، كما هو الحال في وسط سولاويزي ومالوكو، في حين أن هناك حاجة الانسجام intraumat برنامج ديني للمنطقة الغربية من إندونيسيا، كما في بانتين وجاوى الغربية.

وبالمثل، فإن نتائج هذه الدراسة تشير إلى أن الشعب الإندونيسي لديها القدرة على الاستجابة لقضايا الصراع الديني في شكل العمل السلمي. في المستقبل، ويتمثل التحدي في كيفية تشجيع الجمهور على جعل الاحتجاج السلمي كخيار الأعلى ردهم على القضايا

الدينية التي تتعارض الزناد.

ولذلك، ينبغي أن تنظر في الحاجة إلى تصميم مجموعة متنوعة من البرامج التي تهدف إلى تحسين الفهم والمهارات ذات الصلة لاستراتيجيات العمل المجتمعي السلام كوسيلة لقناة تطلعاتهم فيما يتعلق بالقضايا التي تثير أو سائق الصراع الديني.ونظرا لاعبين المهيمنة من مختلف أعمال العنف المتصلة بالتراعات الدينية هي مجموعة من المواطنين بصفة عامة، لا تقتصر على جماعات دينية معينة، ينبغي أن تصمم هذه البرامج للوصول إلى المجتمع الأوسع.

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For over a decade, conflicts and violence carrying religious nuances rocked Indonesia. They ranged from conflicts, including burning of churches, in provincial cities between 1995 and 1997, purging of black magic practitioners (*dukun santet*) in Java, conflicts between religious groups in Central Sulawesi and Maluku from 1998 to 2001, mobilization of religious paramilitary units (*laskar*), and jihad bombing attacks by terrorist groups from 2000 to 2005. Conflicts triggered by sectarian issues against the Jamaah Ahmadiyah Indonesia and other religious groups have also been added to the list of incidences of religious conflicts.

Attempts have been made to solve these religious conflicts and violences. One such attempt is the program now being run by Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina (YWP) in partnership with the Postgraduate Program for Peace and Conflict Resolution-Gadjah Mada University (Magister Perdamaian dan Resolusi Konflik, Universitas Gadjah Mada /MPRK-UGM), and The Asia Foundation (TAF). The program seeks to strengthen the role of the police in dealing with religious conflict and violence by involving members of civil society, that remains the major institution in charge of upholding security in Indonesia.

One key problem has so far remained unsolved: the unavailability of reliable data on the patterns of religious conflicts and violences in Indonesia. This is very unfortunate, because in order to develop program and strategy to solve the problem, we need to understand the patterns of conflict and violence.

In line with this issue, YWP, MPRK-UGM, and TAF have carried out a project to outline these data. We started by systematically researching and analyzing incidences of religious conflicts that have occured in Indonesia

between January 1990 and September 2008 as reported by *Kompas* daily and *Antara* News Agency.

The objectives of this study were to identify the patterns of religious conflicts in Indonesia and to identify policies taken by the security forces, in particular the police. In looking at patterns of religious conflicts, we sought to understand the type, level, development, spread, actors, and the background issues behind the conflicts. In addition, we look at the presence of security forces at the time of incidents, elements of security forces involved in the operations, and what security measures were taken.

We expect that the information gathered from the study will be valuable. It provides the information on patterns of religious conflicts in Indonesia to determine the priorities in preventing religious conflicts and violences to occur. It also offers information to evaluate the security measures taken by the police to improve the security measures to be taken by the police in dealing with religious conflicts and violences in Indonesia.

Methodology: Mass Media as a Data Sources for Studying Protest and Violence

Researchers have used different approaches available within the humanities and social sciences such as history, anthropology, sociology, and psychology in their attempts to explain conflict and violence. They have also paid more attention to the use of the mass media in their studies of conflict.

In general, there are two main models in using mass media in conflict studies. The first one uses the mass media as its main source of data on protest and violence (e.g. Merrill & Lowenstein 1971; Danzger 1975; Franzosi 1987; Olzak 1989a, 1992; Tadjoeddin 2002; Varshney, Panggabean & Tadjoeddin 2004; Barron, Kaiser & Pradhan 2004; and Barron & Sharpe 2005). The second is where the mass media itself has become objects of the study and understood as 'media effects research' (i.e. Blank 1977; Cho & Lacy 2000; Clarke & Blankenburg 1972; and Gerbner 1969).

This study follows the first model and uses mass media reports as the sources to gather data on religious conflicts in Indonesia. The use of mass media reports, particularly newspapers, has become a trend over the past decades, especially in the study of collective action and social movements.

The development in this area is possible because newspaper-based data or occurrences provide numerous theoretical and methodological opportunities for researchers (Earl et al. 2004). Newspaper-based data

provide researchers the opportunity to study various types of collective action, ranging from religious conflicts and violences in Indonesia (Tadjoeddin 2002; Varshney, Panggabean & Tadjoeddin 2004; Barron, Kaiser & Pradhan 2004; and Barron & Sharpe 2005), to racial violence (Olzak 1989b, 1992; Bergesen & Herman 1998), ethnic conflicts (Varshney 2003; Wilkinson, 2004), farmers' protest and revolt (Paige 1975), and other social protests, both conventional and nonconventional (Earl et al. 2004, Kriesi et al. 1995).

The use of newspapers as data sources on conflicts, protests, and violences is increasingly become more important, especially in situation where alternative sources such as government or police statistics are not available and unreliable. This is mainly due to a lack of standardization among the different agencies, which has resulted in a low level of comparability of interagency data sets.

However, the use of the mass media as a source of data is not without shortcomings. The reliability of the media depends on the situation and the characteristics of the regime in power. During the authoritarian New Order administration, for example, discussions any issues of SARA (the Indonesian acronym for 'ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup') were banned, national newspapers were not a reliable data source for researching violent incidences, particularly incidents related to ethno-communal violence. This explains why researchers turned to look at regional newspapers (in the provinces in the case of Varshney, Panggabean & Tadjoeddin 2004, and in cities/regencies in the case of Barron & Sharpe 2005) when they tried to develop a database on collective violence in Indonesia. The use of regional newspapers was also based on the consideration that violence was generally took on local context. Thus, they are covered by the local newspapers rather than by national ones.[1]

Although the local media offers wider coverage and have more useful information, the choice to use either the national or the local, depend on the need and design of the research at hand. It also depends on the research period. In the case of Indonesia, for example, the post-New Order period witnessed a proliferation of local media. This creates problems when a comparative study is designed to include the New Order period while the number of local media were only a few. In addition, the local media have less quality in terms of their archives compared to that of the national media.

Two other methodological issues worth noting in the use of newspapers as a source of data are the selection and description bias (Earl et al. 2004; Perez 2000). Selection bias is the possibility of a newspaper's failure to report on an actual occurrence or event. This is because newspapers use different standards to decide which occurrences or events is "worth" covering. Another issue is the technical constraints that prevent the media to provide comprehensive coverage of an event. In the case of protests and violence, for example, the media's decision to cover an event is based on several considerations such as the number of victims or the amount of losses inflicted, the number of actors (players) involved, and the level of public attention for or interest in the event.

Description bias is the newspaper's bias in the way it describes an event. In other words, media description of an event may not be accurate. In a study on print and electronic media coverage of the 1982 and 1991 protest events in Washington, D.C., for example, McCarthy et al. (1999) identified three dimensions of description bias, namely: (a) omission of information; (b) misrepresentation of information; and (c) framing of the event by the media. Description bias is the result of technical factors such as the skills of the reporters, problem with deadline, and the media's "ideology" in regards to the issues being covered.

The problems with description bias and selection bias in a media study can be solved by resorting to multiple sources instead of relying on just one single media source. To deal exclusively with description bias, content analysis and framing analysis may be applied to identify the possibility of bias (Kripendorf 1980; Neuendorf 2002).

Coverage of Study

As mentioned earlier, this study aimed at developing a database of religious conflicts, both peaceful (including protests) and violent. The study covers the period from January 1990 to September 2008. The study covered a period of 18 years and 8 months.

Studying this period allows us to examine the various religious conflicts that had occurred over three different administrations in Indonesia. First, the end of the authoritarian New Order, from January 1990 to 20 May 1998. Second, the period of transition towards democracy under the governments of B.J. Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati Soekarnoputri, from 20 May 1998 to 20 October 2004. Third, the period of the new democratic regime under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, which

also marked the start of the era of direct presidential elections, from 20 October 2004 to 31 August 2008.

Studying the issues under different administrations allows us to understand if each administration experienced similar types of religious conflicts and violences or that each government faced different kinds of conflicts and issues.

Sources and Data-Gathering Method

This study used *Kompas* daily and the *Antara* News Agency as its data sources. Despite the number of methodological issues mentioned above, for an initial attempt at creating a database on religious conflict incidences in Indonesia, *Kompas* and *Antara* proved to be relatively good —if not the best—sources compared to other sources. *Kompas* is the most widely-read national newspaper, equipped probably with the best news-gathering infrastructure compared to other national newspapers. Meanwhile, *Antara* is the only news agency in Indonesia that have existed during all periods under study.

The data from *Kompas* was collected by reading all the editions and archives during the periods being studied, that is from January 1990 to September 2008. The newspaper archives were obtained from the National Library in Jakarta.

The search on *Antara* involved a different approach. This is because *Antara* does not index the news. The search for news archives was then carried out by using several combinations of key words. The most widely used key words were "religion", "conflict", "violence", "protest/ demonstration", "SARA", "clash", "bombing", "indecent places", "dim-lighted stalls", and "pornography" and "pornoaction". Several other key words were obtained from other studies on the same subject, such as "black magician", "HKBP", "Ahmadiyah" and "heretical sect".

The data gathering process lasted from September through December 2008. Eight data collectors were specially trained for this study. They read all the archives to identify relevant articles on religious conflict that took the form of either peaceful or violent actions. In addition to the articles on conflict incidences, the field officers also identified articles related to the incidences, both prior to and after they had occurred, to find background information that might help explain how and why religious conflicts occurred.

The result was compiled in a data search journal. Then, the relevant articles were copied, either physically or in a digital format. Copied articles and the data search journal were then submitted to the staff in charge of coding the data following the coding template that has already prepared. Prior to coding, a re-identification of the news articles that have been collected by the field officers was conducted. This was to ensure that all the news articles that were gathered meet the criteria.

Incidence Tally

The analysis of this study focuses on religious conflicts. It is possible that one news item covered or reported more than one incidence. Events of religious conflicts are tallied as one incidence if same actors are involved, trigerred by the same religious issues, occurred on the same day and at the same place. In this regards, two protest rallies that occurred at the same time in two different locations are considered as two incidences. Similarly, a violent action that happened in two days is considered as two incidences. One incidence may involve a group or several groups. In short, an incidence that occurred on the same day, at the same location, involving the same actors and driven by religious issues is considered as one incidence.

As mentioned earlier, the incidences covered in this study occurred between January 1990 and September 2008, but this period also refers to the period of occurrence and coverage. Therefore, an incident that happened on December 30, 1989 but was reported on January 2, 1990, is not included in this study. Similarly, an incident that occurred at the end of August 2008 but reported in September 2008 is also not included in the study.

The study discusses only religious conflicts in Indonesia. With East Timor is no longer part of Indonesia since 1999, the religious conflicts that occurred in East Timor, including incidences that occurred prior to its secession from Indonesia, were not included in this study. Provinces were categorized based on the name used in the news articles. Thus, prior to the establishment of Banten as a Province in 2000, all the incidents in Tangerang city/regency were categorized as incidences that occurred in West Java Province.

Since this study used the data gathered both from *Kompas* and *Antara,* it is possible that an incident was covered by both media. In such cases, only the data from *Kompas* was used while the data from *Antara* was used as comparisons. In case an incident was not covered by *Kompas* but

was featured by *Antara*, the event counts as an incidence, with all the information provided by *Antara* serving as reference. In other words, there were no double counts.

Once all the incidences had been identified, they were coded by using the coding template designed on Filemaker Pro software (see "Notes on Coding" at the end of this report). Once coded, they were double-checked to validate the data. The data was only processed and analysed after validation using SPSS software.

Religious Conflict: Definition

The classic definition of conflict proposed by Louis Coser (1956) is that a conflict is "a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources, a struggle in which the main aims of opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals" . For the purpose of this study, this definition was considered too broad and seemed to be based only on political-economic rationality of acts. This definition does not really fit with the purpose of this study. It is because, as shown by several other studies,[2] religious acts—including those within the context of conflict and violence—cannot simply be understood through economic, political, or power rationality. A number of protests and violent actions related to religious conflict are rooted in the cultural and ideological origins of religion. The underlying rationality of religious conflict is more often expressive or symbolic in nature; for example, as an expression of what a religious community understands as "obedience" to religious teachings or as a symbol of solidarity among the religious community.

This may indicate a weakness in explaining about conflicts, including ethno-religious conflict that is the area of this study. As explained by Bertrand (2004: 14), "In general, theories of ethnic conflict have been poor at differentiating between forms of conflict and better at developing theoretical propositions about the causes of all forms of ethnic conflict". In a more general context, Bertrand's statement can be understood to indicate that the different explanations of conflict, including ethno-religious conflict, fail to address the variety or characteristics of conflict.

Focusing on the characteristics of various religious conflicts enables us to explain why a form of conflict occurred at a certain time and place while other forms of conflict occurred at other times and places. This study was based on the assumption that religious conflict must be defined based on the religious issues, which have triggered the conflict. Therefore, this study

defines religious conflicts as "disputes over values, claims, and identities regarding religious issues while using religious slogans or expressions."

Religious conflicts can take the shape of peaceful or violent action. In this study, peaceful action is defined as every nonviolent action committed to deals with religious issues that has triggered dispute in the community. This category includes protest rallies (actions to reject a point of view or policy regarding the issue in dispute), support rallies (actions to support a point of view or a policy on the issues in dispute), and mediation actions (actions to support efforts to settle an ongoing conflict).[3]

Meanwhile, violent actions are defined as every physical action committed in dealing with religious issues that has triggered conflict and caused impacts on people (deaths, injuries, disappearances or displacement of people). It also caused the society to lose their properties.[4] For example, although a violent action does not necessarily cause injuries on both sides or cause property damages, a clash between two groups is still considered an incidence of violent action.

Issues of Religious Conflict in Indonesia

It is difficult to break down religious issues into categories. This is due in part to the all-encompassing and comprehensive nature of religion as understood by its followers, such as Islam. It is impossible to categorize issues that involve religious conflict as "purely" religious because, in reality, we discover that those issues are linked to other issues such as politics, economics, and culture.

Therefore, this study used the terms "religious issues" and "issues packed in religious slogans or expressions" as the basis to determine whether an event is an incidence of religious conflict or not. Religious issues are any problems that relate with the teachings or doctrines of a religion, such as prostitution, adultery, gambling, or drinking alcoholic beverages. Meanwhile, issues packed with religious slogans or expressions are more of a general problem, though, the religious community consedered as these problems relate with the teachings or doctrine of their religion, such as corruption. If a protest or rally carried out to address corruption cases and used a religious slogan or expression—such as, "Only Islamic shari'a and *khilafah* can stop corruption in Indonesia!"—this protest is classified as an incidence of religious conflict.

This study differentiated religious issues that have triggered religious conflicts into six categories:

First, *moral issues.* This includes gambling, consuming alcoholic beverages or drugs, immoral actions, prostitution, pornography/pornoaction. Other moral issues such as corruption also fall into the category of religious issues as long as this case involve religious groups and are packed in religious slogans or expressions.

Second, *sectarian issues.* It pertains to any dispute over the religious interpretation or understanding about leadership status in a religious community. Within the Muslim community, Ahmadiyah[5], Lia-Eden, and Al Qiyadah Al Islamiyah are considered as those religious groups who often trigger protests or violent actions. Meanwhile, in the Christian community, the conflict of leadership in the HKBP Church (Huria Kristen Batak Protestan) is also an example of a sectarian issue.

Third, *communal issues.* It involves disputes and hostility between different religious for communal groups such as conflict between the Muslim and the Christian. Issues such as blasphemy, the case of the cartoons portraying the Prophet Muhammad fall in this category. It must be noted that hostility or clashes involving a religious issue—between parties as belonging to or representing the same religious communities—also fall in this category. If both hostile groups can be identified as belonging to the same religious community, then the conflict falls into the category of *sectarian issues.*

Fourth, *terrorism issues.* This relates to an act of terror targeting religious groups or the property of other religious groups. It is also an attack against foreign citizens and the property of foreign governments. These acts are considered as religious terrorism, which according to Juergensmeyer are "symbolic acts" rather than tactical or strategic.[6] In Indonesia, there are several incidents related to terror attacks, including the Bali bombing led by Imam Samudra and other bomb attacks in Jakarta. The act of terror in areas where communal conflicts efforts to settle the conflict in certain communities are pervasive like in Poso, Central Sulawesi, and Ambon, Maluku, all fall into the third category.

Fifth, *religious-political issues* which involve rejection against the West or other foreign governments and opposition against Western ideologies/cultures. Included in this category, for example, is the implementation of shari'a.

At last, *other issues* include mystical religious sub-cultural issues like black magic and other problems outside the five categories mentioned above.

Patterns of Religious Conflicts

This study aims to identify the patterns of religious conflict in Indonesia from January 1990 to September 2008. The study reveals the type of conflict, level, or frequency of conflict, development, and spread of conflict, factors behind the conflict, who are the actors involved in the conflict, and the impact of the conflict.

In this study, religious conflicts are divided into two main categories of incidents, first, peaceful action, either in the form of protest or action to find a solution to a religious conflict. Second, violent action, which caused human casualties and/or property damages. Peaceful actions are further classified into mass and non-mass actions. Mass actions take the form of demonstration or protest, long march, parade, mass prayer/reflection, delegation/filing a complaint, or strike/boycott. In addition, the non-mass actions take the form of a petition, press conference/press statement, or legal action (warning/class action/judicial review).

Violent actions related to religious conflict are classified into the following types:

1. Assault on people/group of people;
2. Attack on property of other people/group;
3. Attack on government apparatus/property;
4. Attack on foreigners/property of foreign governments;
5. Clash between citizens/religious groups and security forces;
6. Clash between communal groups, and;
7. Riot that claims lives/cause damage to property of religious groups.

Violent actions/attacks can take the form of:

1. Sweeping/expulsion;
2. Hostage taking/kidnapping/imprisonment;
3. Torture ;
4. Death by torture;
5. Shooting/murder;
6. Confiscation/sealing off of property;
7. Destruction;
8. Destruction and looting/arson;
9. Bombing;
10. Torture/murder and destruction/arson.

People involved in religious conflict consist of religious groups, communal groups, university student/youth groups, juvenile groups, unidentified people/group, security forces, and civic groups. In addition, the number of people involved is also noted to determine the size of the incident. The number can be in the dozens, hundreds, or thousands.

The study recorded the impact of violent actions in terms of human casualties (deaths, injuries, disappearance, and displacement of people) as well as lost properties (houses, places of worship, and other buildings).

The Role of Security Forces in Religious Conflict

This study also aims to portray the patterns of the involvement of the security forces in religious conflict. The patterns include the presence of security forces, the timing of their presence, elements of security forces involved, and the types of action that were taken.

The presence of security forces can be divided into two categories: that is either the security forces were present or not. Elements of security forces include troops, police, and other security apparatus, as well as a combination of these.

The actions taken by security forces include: acts of omission; guarding the masses; pacifying the masses; dispersing the masses; making arrests; and other.

Part II : Findings

Incidences of Religious Conflict: Type, Level, and Development

The study found that there had been 832 incidents of religious conflicts in Indonesia from January 1990 to September 2008. Of this number, as presented in **Chart 1**, two thirds were considered as peaceful while one third were belong to violent actions.

Chart 1
Type of Incidents of Religious Conflicts
in Indonesia, 1990-2008
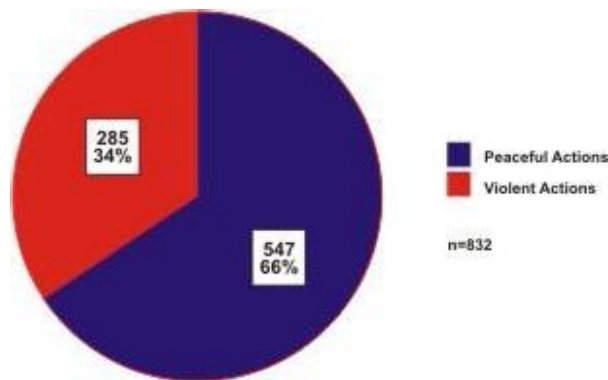
The lower incidents of violent actions compared to the peaceful actions was, in fact, a common phenomena that have also occurred in different places. However, this does not mean that violent actions had less impact because of the destruction they wrought both in human lives and in property. The Indonesian people have the ability to peacefully respond to issues that were triggered by religious matters. They use protests and other efforts to find solutions to the conflicts..

Another interesting finding was in the way how religious conflicts developed. As shown in **Chart 2** below, fluctuating incidents of peaceful actions follow the fluctuating incidents of violent actions, except during the transition period from the fall of Soeharto's New Order in 1998 to the mid-term period of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. As will be discussed later, this was related to the renewed opportunities of political participation after the fall of the New Order regime.

Chart 2
Development of Religious Conflict
in Indonesia, 1990-2008
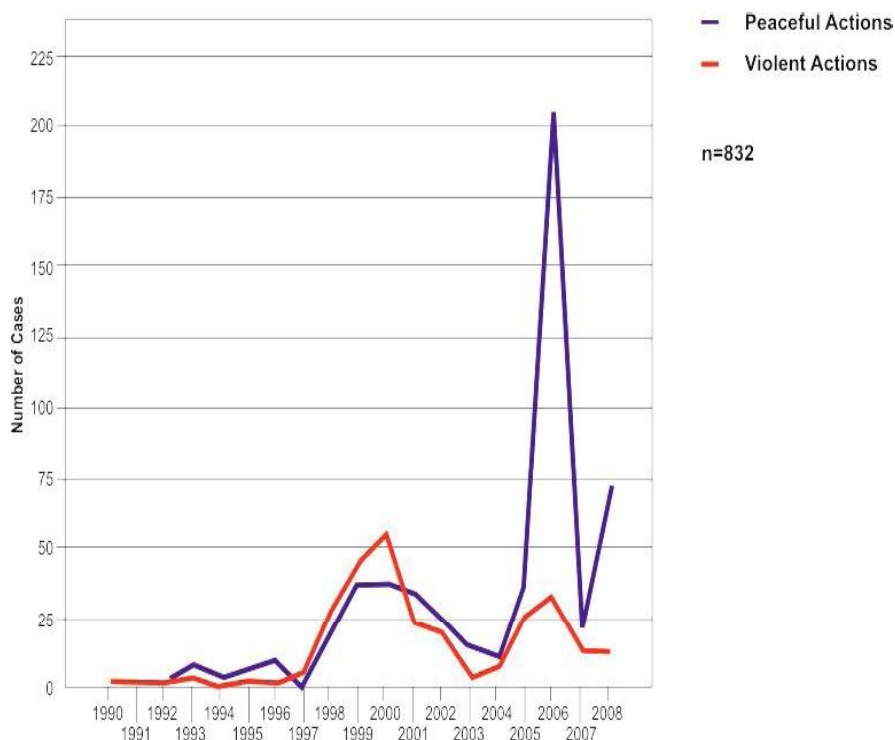
Subtypes and Forms of Incidents of Religious Conflict

The study divided peaceful actions into two categories: the mass and the non-mass actions. Violent actions, however, were divided into three: attacks, clashes, and riots.

Of the 547 peaceful actions, 433 (79%) cases have taken the form of mass actions while 144 (21%) cases were categories of the non-mass actions. As shown in **Chart 3**, most of the mass actions (85%) appeared in the form of demonstrations, long marches, human processions, and mass prayers, and followed by delegations/complaints (13%). In addition, about 3% of the actions took the form of strikes/boycotts and art/cultural performances.

Chart 3
Forms of Mass Actions
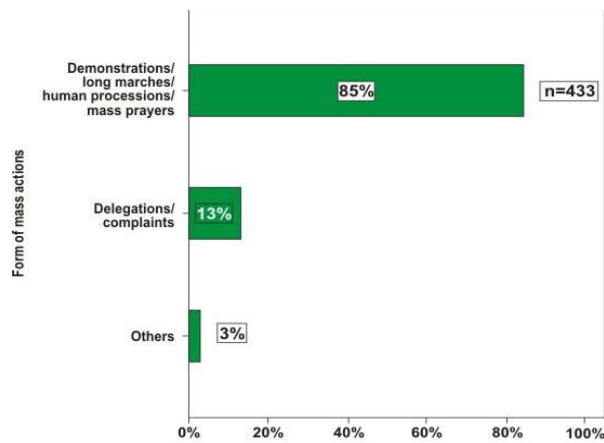
Most of the non-mass actions (96%) took the form of petitions, press statements or press conferences, while the remaining actions were carried out in the form of distributing leaflets, the placement of banners, lawsuits/ class actions, and lawsuits/legal reviews (**see Chart 4**).

Chart 4
Forms of Non Mass Actions
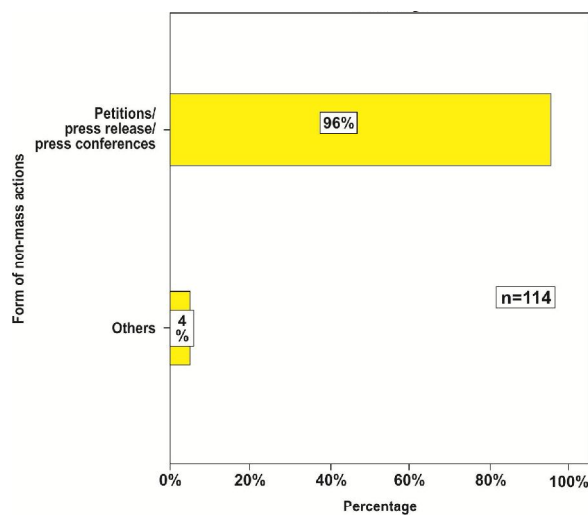
This data shows that mass actions were considered as the most effective ways of responding to issues of religious conflict. It is obvious that, compared to the period under the New Order, mass actions tended to escalate because of the presence of freedom of expression (see **Chart 5**). However, it is still not clear if in the future mass actions will remain the most preferred actions compare to the non-mass actions.

Chart 5
Development of Peaceful Actions
by Type of Action, 1990-2008
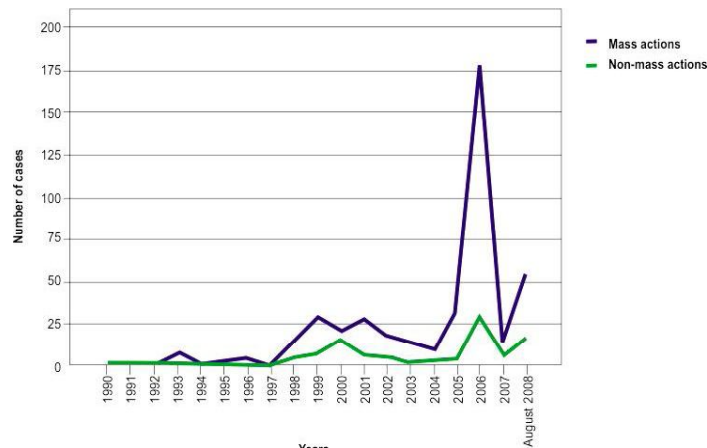
Within the violent actions, attacks were in the highest rank, followed by clashes and riots. Of the 285 violent incidents related to religious issues as reported by *Kompas* and *Antara* during the period from January 1990 to September 2008, 77% were carried out in the form of attacks, 18% were clashes, and about 5% appeared in the form of riots.

Chart 6
Types of Violent Incidents
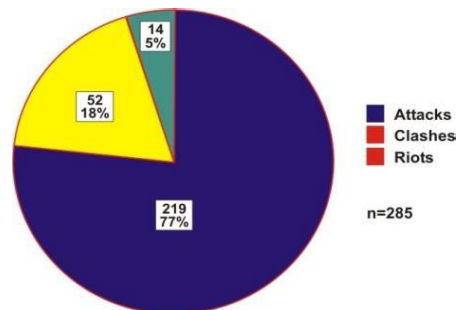
The study classified violent incidents based on the targets and the players involved, for example: attacks on individuals/groups; attacks on the property of individuals/groups; attacks on government employees/property; attacks on foreigners/property of foreign governments; clashes between communal/religious groups and security forces; clashes between communal groups; and riots that led to the destruction of human lives/property of religious groups.

Chart 7 shows that violence in the form of attacks against the property of individuals/groups related to religious issues ranked highest with 111 number of cases of the total 285 violent incidents. They were followed by attacks against individuals/groups related to religious issues (82 cases) and clashes between communal groups (41 cases). There were less than 15 cases that took the different form in the other.

Chart 7
Subtypes of Religious Violence
by Target/Actor Involved
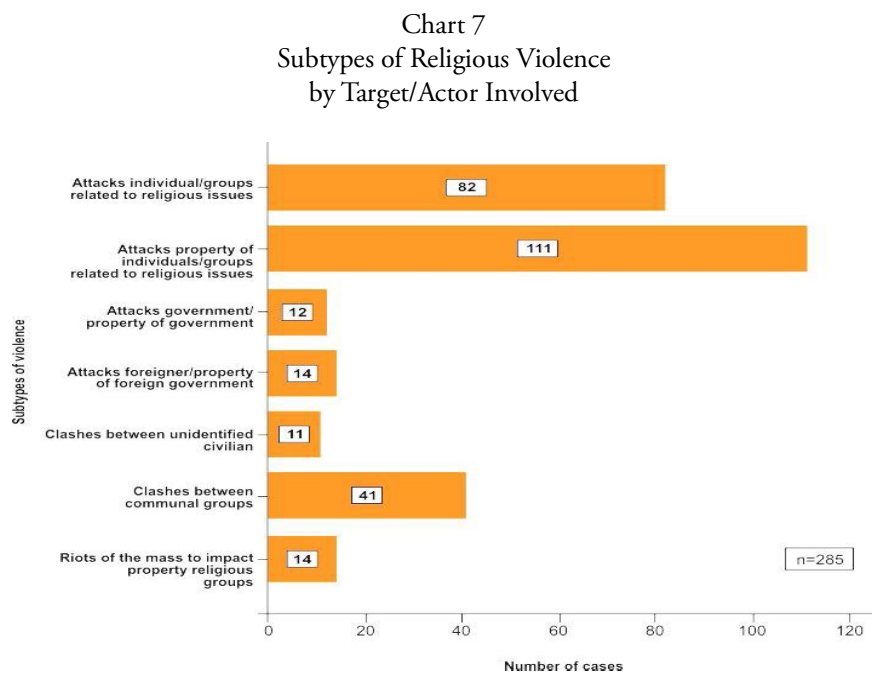
During the last 19 years, it was the riots that were broke out within 2 periods that have claimed human lives and caused damage to the property of religious groups. The first was the period between 1995 and 1998, and the second was the period from the final years of the New Order until the beginning of the democratic transition. During this period, 10 incidents

were occurred, and in 2005 and 2006 during SBY's administration there were four riots took place (see **Chart 8**).

Chart 8
Development of Types of Religious Violence, 1990-2008
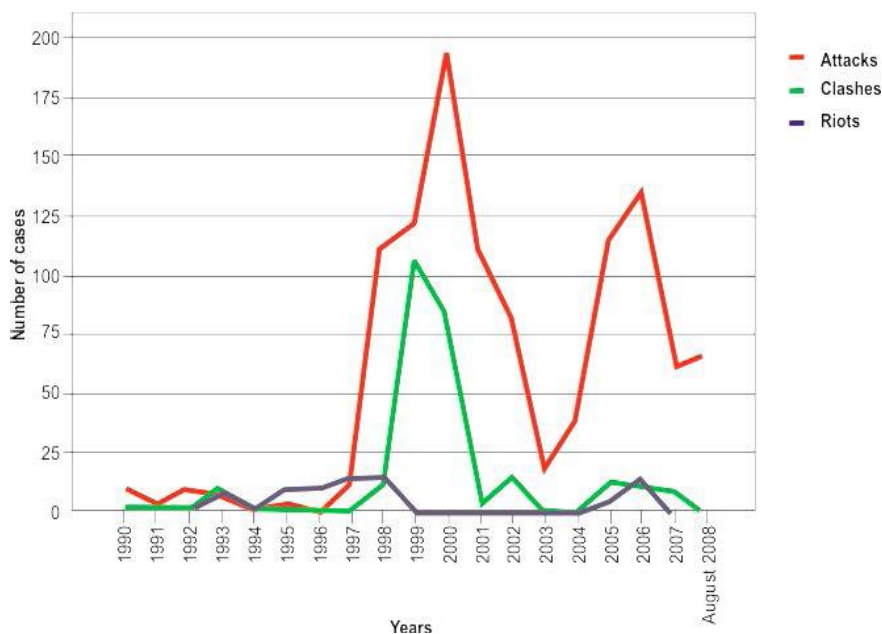
The incidents of violence in the form of clashes was also limited to certain periods, albeit with higher intensities. The number of clashes reached its peak in 1999 with 21 incidents and dropped to 17 in the following year. There were only 2 clashes occured at the end of the New Order compared to 6 clashes under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration from 2005 to 2007. This means that the number of clashes occured under SBY's government was relatively small compared to the New Order.

Chart 8 shows that the pattern of violent incidents in the form of attacks during the democratic transition period was quite similar to the pattern found during Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's government. Violent incidents in the form of attacks reached its peak in 2000, with about 38 incidents and about 27 incidents in 2006. The number of attacks dropped to 12 in 2007, and only escalate in the following year. Until the end of August 2008, there had been 13 attacks related to issues of religious conflict. Most of the attacks were bombings, followed by the acts of destruction and these acts were accompanied by looting/arson attacks (see **Chart 9**).

Chart 9
Forms of Attack
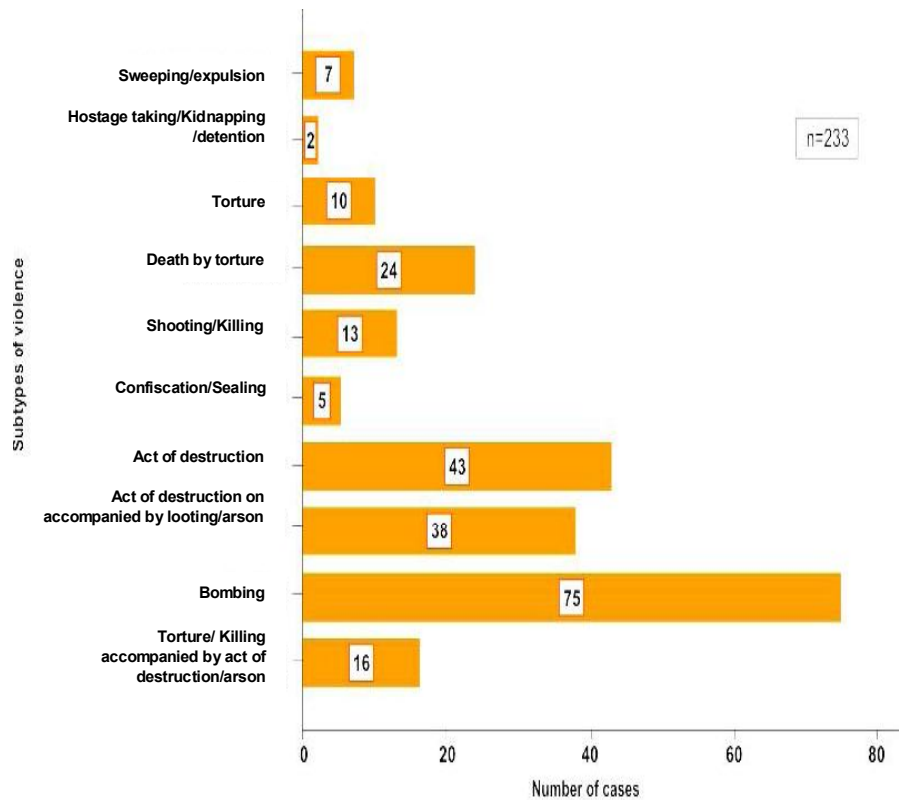
* The figure shows the total sum of violent incidents in various attacks types including riot,
but excluding clashes

Pattern of the Spread of Religious Conflict

What is the pattern of the spread of religious conflict in Indonesia? Reports obtained from *Kompas* and *Antara* show that compared to violent acts recorded between January 1990 and September 2008, the peaceful acts related to religious conflict spread in wider areas. In addition, violent incidents related to religious conflict occurred in 20 Provinces and peaceful acts happened in 28 Provinces of the total 33 Provinces in Indonesia.

Table 1
The Spread of Incidenct of Religious Conflict
by Province, from 1990 to 2008

Provinces	Peaceful Actions	Violent Actions	Total of Incidents
NAD (Aceh)	3	1	4
North Sumatra	9	8	17
West Sumatra	4	0	4
Riau	2	5	7
Riau Archipelago	2	0	2
South Sumatra	3	0	3
Bangka Belitung	1	0	1
Bengkulu	1	0	1
Jambi	1	0	1
Lampung	7	0	7
Banten	5	5	10
Jakarta	267	41	308
West Java	57	45	102
Central Java	37	12	49
Yogyakarta	18	4	22
East Java	33	32	65
Bali	14	9	23
West Nusa Tenggara	5	9	14
East Nusa Tenggara	2	5	7
South Kalimantan	5	1	6
Central Kalimantan	5	0	5
East Kalimantan	2	3	5
South Sulawesi	19	6	25
Central Sulawesi	28	48	76
North Sulawesi	2	2	4
South-East Sulawesi	5	1	6
North Maluku	0	12	12
Maluku	7	36	43
Papua	3	0	3
Total	547	285	832

When the regions are classified based on the intensity of incidents: *low* (1-4 incidents), *medium* (5-24 incidents), and *high* (≥ 25), the results appear as in **Table 2** and **Table 3**:

Table 2
Number of Provinces by Intensity
of Peaceful Actions

	Peaceful Actions			
	Low	**Medium**	**High**	**Total of**
	1-4	**5-24**	**> 25**	**Provinces**
Provinces	12	11	5	28
	43%	39%	18%	100%

Table 3
Number of Provinces by Intensity
of Violent Actions

	Violent Actions			**Total of**
	Low	**Medium**	**High**	**Provinces**
	1-4	**5-24**	**≥ 25**	
Provinces	6	9	5	20
	30%	45%	25%	100%

Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, East Java, and Central Sulawesi are recorded having the highest number of peaceful acts (≥ 25). At the same time, the highest levels of violent incidents (≥ 25) were recorded in Central Sulawesi, West Java, Jakarta, Maluku, and East Java.

Actors in the Religious Conflicts

In terms of players or actors, about 50% of the people involved in peaceful acts related to religious conflict during the period of 1990-2008 were members of religious groups (see **Chart 10**).

Chart 10
Peaceful Actions by Groups of Actors
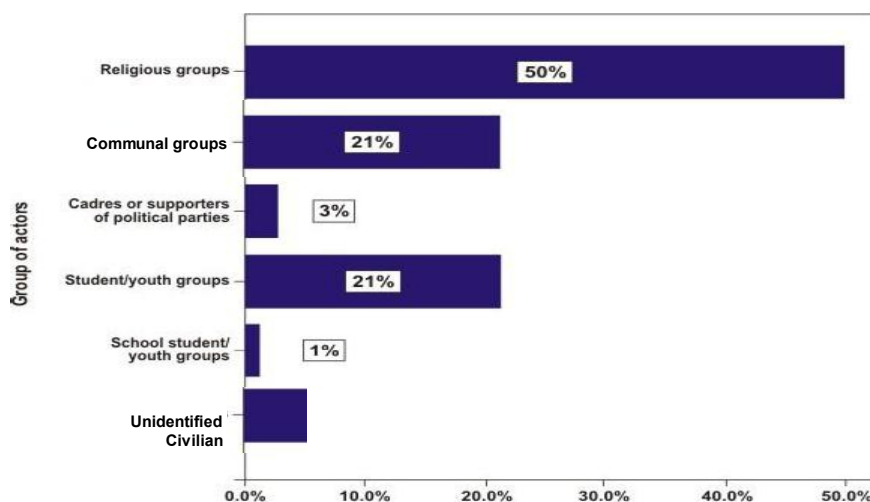
Communal groups and student/youth groups were the dominant players in incidents of peaceful acts that is about 21% each. They were followed by unidentified civilians (5%), cadres or supporters of political parties, and school student/youth groups (1%).

Hundreds of supporters were involved in about 35% of peaceful incidents in the form of mass actions, about 22% involved tens of people, and 17% involved thousands of people. Only about 6% of the peaceful incidents involved dozens of people. However, the media that provided the data for this study (see Chart 11) did not report the number of people involved in the 20% of the total number of peaceful incidents.

Chart 11
Number of People Involved in Peaceful Actions
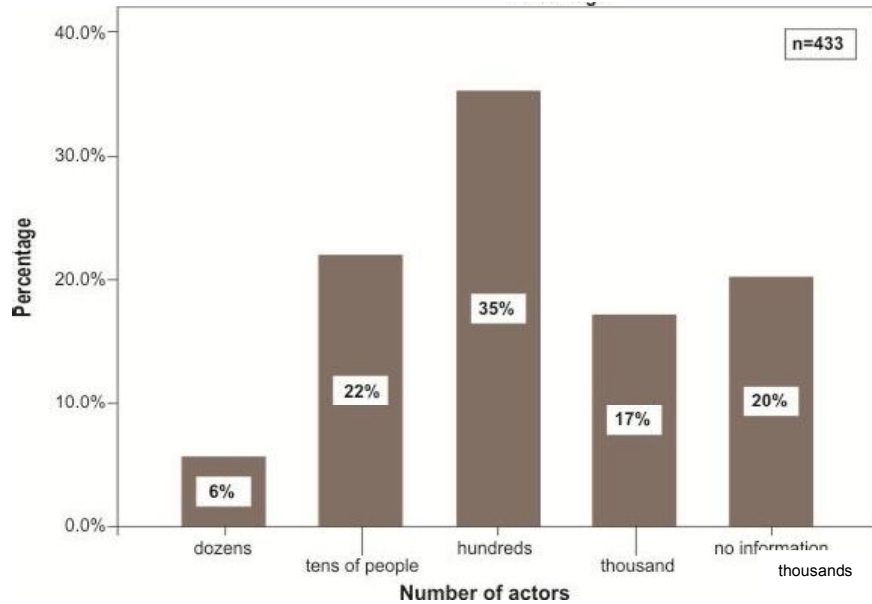
Unlike their 5% involvement in peaceful acts, communal groups dominated nearly half or 47.8% of violent incidents related to religious conflict in Indonesia (see **Chart 12**).

Chart 12
Violent Incidence by Group of Actors
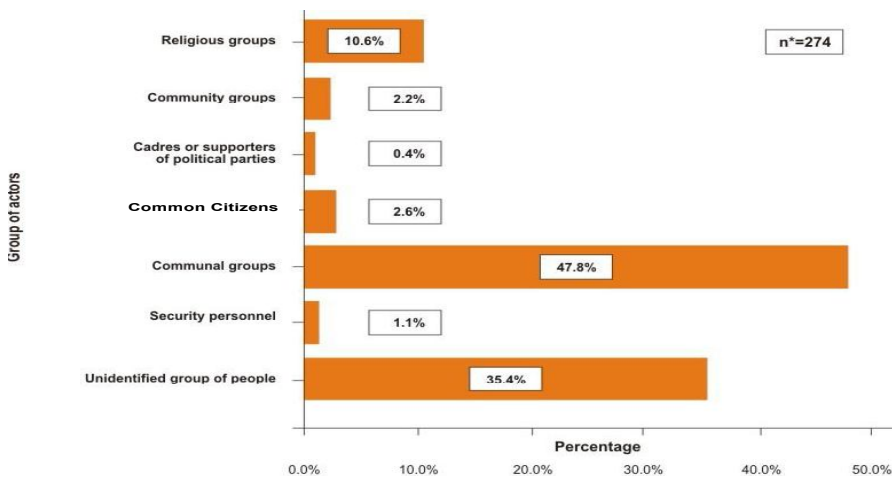
*Violent incident not including communal groups between security forces

Second to that is the number of violent incidents (35.4%), which involve unidentified groups of people. Religious groups were involved in about 10.6% of the incidents of religious violence. The rest involved university students/youths (2.6%), community groups (2.2%), security personnel (1.1%), and political party cadres (0.4%).

The study shows that the media sources used in this study provided little information about the number of people involved. About 64% of incident reports did not contain information on the number of people involved. Only 20% of incidents were reported to have involved hundreds of people, 6% of the incidents involved tens of people while other incidents involved dozens (5%) and thousands (5%) of people.

Chart 13
Numbers of People Involved in Violent Actions
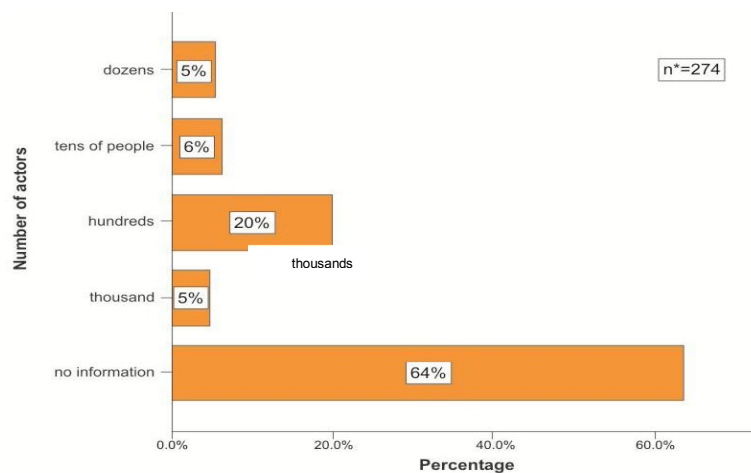
*) Violent Incident not including communal groups between security forces

Issues of Religious Conflicts

This study shows that most religious conflicts in Indonesia relate to communal issues (39%), followed by moral issues (19%), political-religious issues (17%), sectarian issues (12%), terrorism issues (8%), and others (6%), as shown in **Chart 14**.

Chart 14
Issues of Religious Conflict
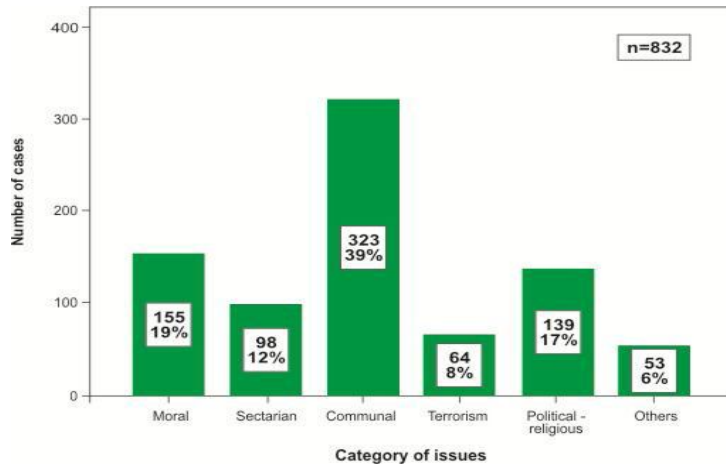
This study shows that the intensity of conflict based on religious issues varied in terms of the responses to the issues that triggered the conflicts.

Chart 15
Issues of Religious Conflicts by Type of Incidents

Chart 15 shows that although communal issues were the main factors behind the religious conflicts, both are the peaceful and violent actions, while their rank differently. Communal issues are the major factors behind the peaceful actions, followed by the political-religious, moral, sectarian, others, and terrorism issues. The triggering factors behind violent actions were communal, moral, terrorism, others, sectarian, and political-religious issues. This can be seen from **Table 4**:

Table 4
Issues of Religious Conflict by Type of Incidents

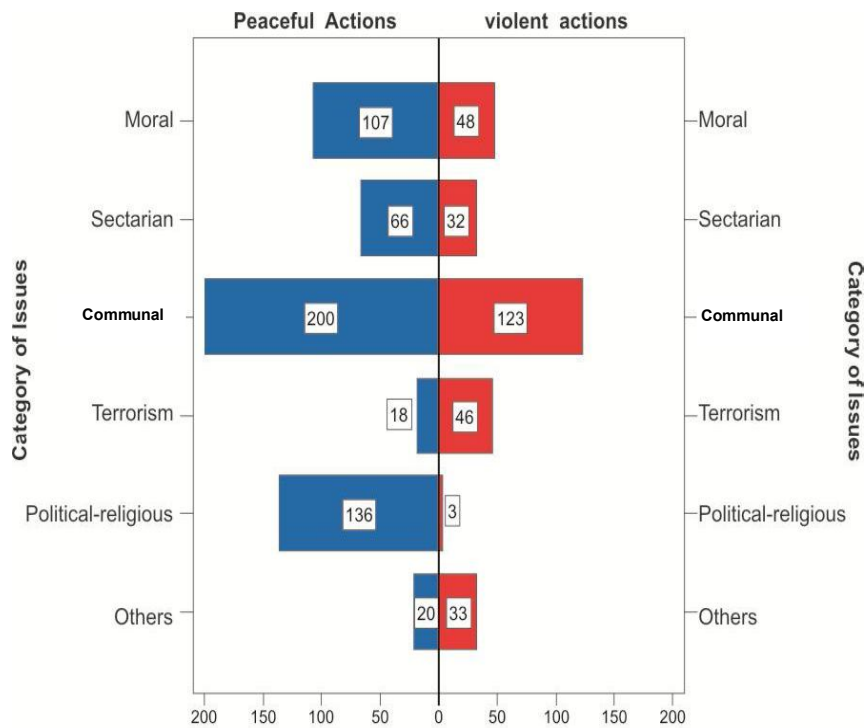| Number of Issues	Peaceful Actions	Violent Actions	Peaceful actions and violent actions
1	Communal	Communal	Communal
2	Political-Religious	Moral	Moral
3	Moral	Terrorism	Political-Religious
4	Sectarian	Others	Sectarian
5	Others	Sectarian	Terrorism
6	Terrorism	Political-Religious	Others

The study shows that the intensity of religious conflicts varied according to the period of occurrence. The periods under our study allow us to compare three different administration: New Order administration, the transitional governments of B.J. Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Soekarnoputri, and the new democratic government of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

The study shows that communal issues were the main factors behind religious conflicts faced by the transitional and new democratic governments (see **Chart 16**). Religious conflicts in the form of peaceful and violent acts during the transition period peaked in 1999, particularly in the conflicts between Muslim and Christian communities in Maluku (and North Maluku) and in Poso, Central Sulawesi. During the new democratic government, violent acts related to communal issues peaked in 1999. However, unlike in 1999 when communal violence mostly took the form of open clashes between communal groups, in 2006 the acts of violence mostly terror attacks, both in shooting and bombing incidents, in areas where communal conflicts were common like Poso and Palu, Central Sulawesi, and Maluku (and North Maluku).

Another dominant phenomena was the high level of incident of peaceful acts in 2006, which were triggered by the publication of cartoon depicting the Prophet Muhammad in the Danish daily *Jylland-Posten* at the end of 2005, the settlement of the communal conflict in Poso, and the protest rallies against and in support of the execution of the key players in the Poso violence, Fabianus Tibo, Dominggus da Silva, and Marinus Riwu.

Chart 16
Development of Religious Conflict
Related to Communal Issues, 1990-2008
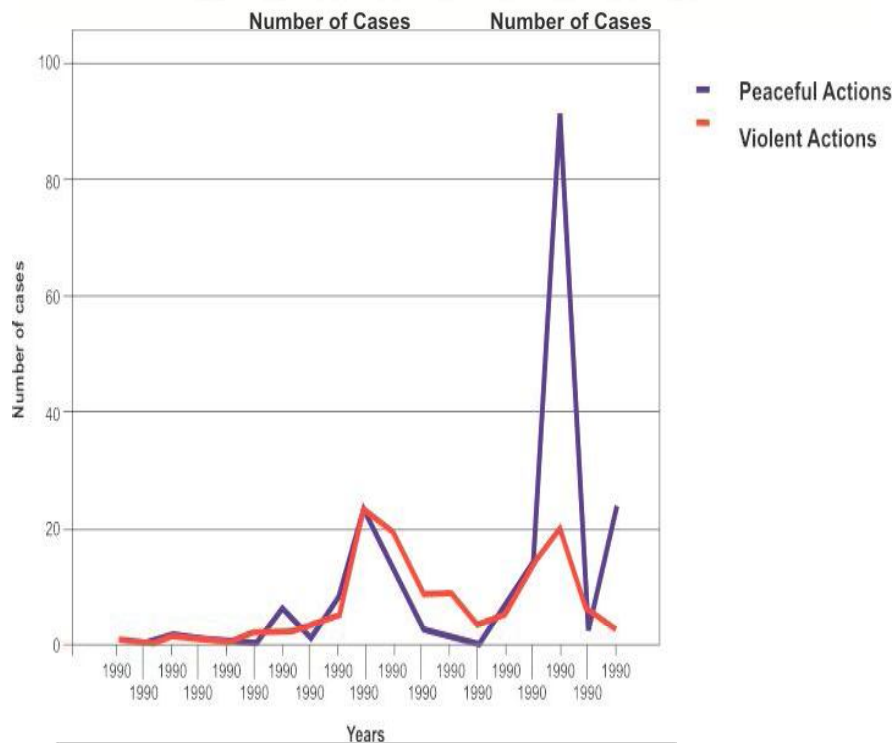
The development of religious issues related to moral issues during 1990-2008 shows that they played a part in the incidence of religious conflicts under different regime, although their intensity varied (see **Chart 17**). Violent acts related to these issues remained high under the transitional regimes but declined under the new democratic regime, although they remained high compared to the final years of the New Order regime. Violent acts related to these issues mainly took the form of attacks against

places considered indecent such as night clubs, stalls offering food and sex workers (*warung remang-remang*), places that sold alcoholic beverages, and gambling dens.

As in the case of communal issues, incidents of peaceful acts related to these issues peaked in 2006 under the new democratic government. The high level of incident in that year was mostly related to the pros and cons about the bill on pornography.

Chart 17
Development of Religious Conflict Related to Moral Issues, 1990-2008
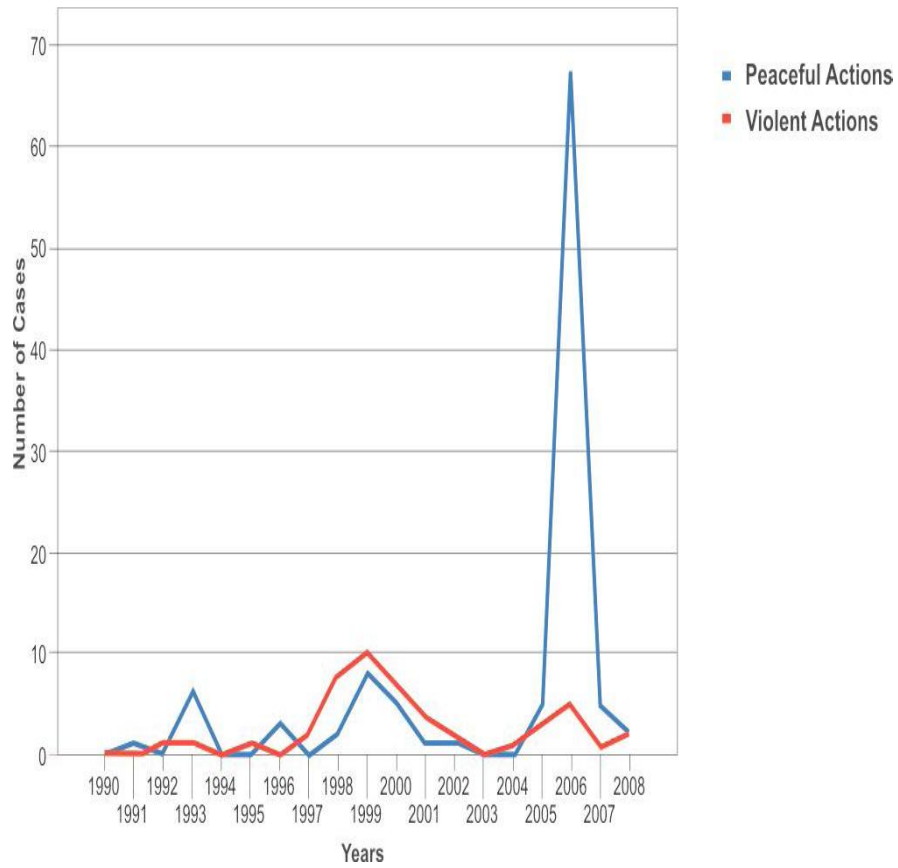
Under all administrations, there were relatively few violent incidents that were triggered by political issues (see **Chart 18**). Both during the transitional and the new democratic regimes, there were high number of peaceful acts organized in response to political-religious issues. Unlike the other two issues related to domestic issues, political-religious issues were mainly related to international issues like Western/foreign government policies, particularly those of the US and Israeli governments. Issues related to anti-Western/foreign government policies accounted for 71% of the 139 incidents related to conflicts linked to political-religious issues.

Chart 18
Development of Religious Conflicts
Related to Political-Religious Issues, 1999-2008
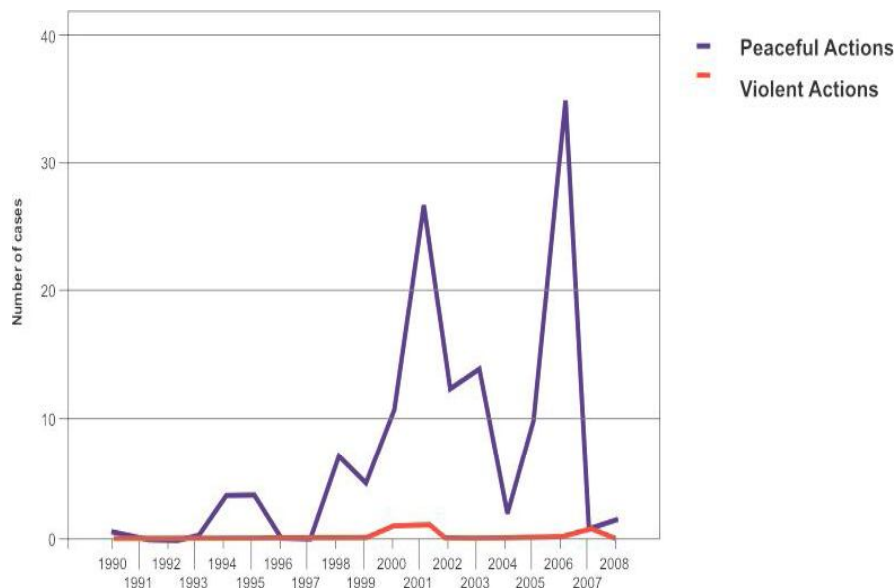
Peaceful protests and rallies caused by political-religious issues peaked in 2001 and 2006. The US attack on Afghanistan in the wake of the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 triggered a wave of protests in 2001. Meanwhile, the war between Israel and the Hizbullah in Southern Lebanon in mid-2006 and the planned visit of the US President George Bush to Indonesia on November 20, 2006 were key triggers of protests and peaceful rallies.

It is understood that all administrations had to deal with incidents of religious conflicts related to sectarian issues at a different level. This study shows that violence related to sectarian issues was a major problem faced by the new democratic administration and the level of incident followed an uphill trend after 2005 (see **Chart 19** below). The Ahmadiyah sect was not among the religious groups that became the target of violence. Incident of protests and rallies related to these issues escalated under the new democratic administration. The number of incidents increased in 2008 due in most part to Muslim demands for the government to ban the Ahmadiyah sect in Indonesia. In the final years of the New Order administration, sectarian issues were mostly related to the conflict within the leadership of the Huria Kristen Batak Protestan (HKBP) church.

Chart 19
Development of Religious Conflicts
Related to Sectarian Issues, 1990-2008
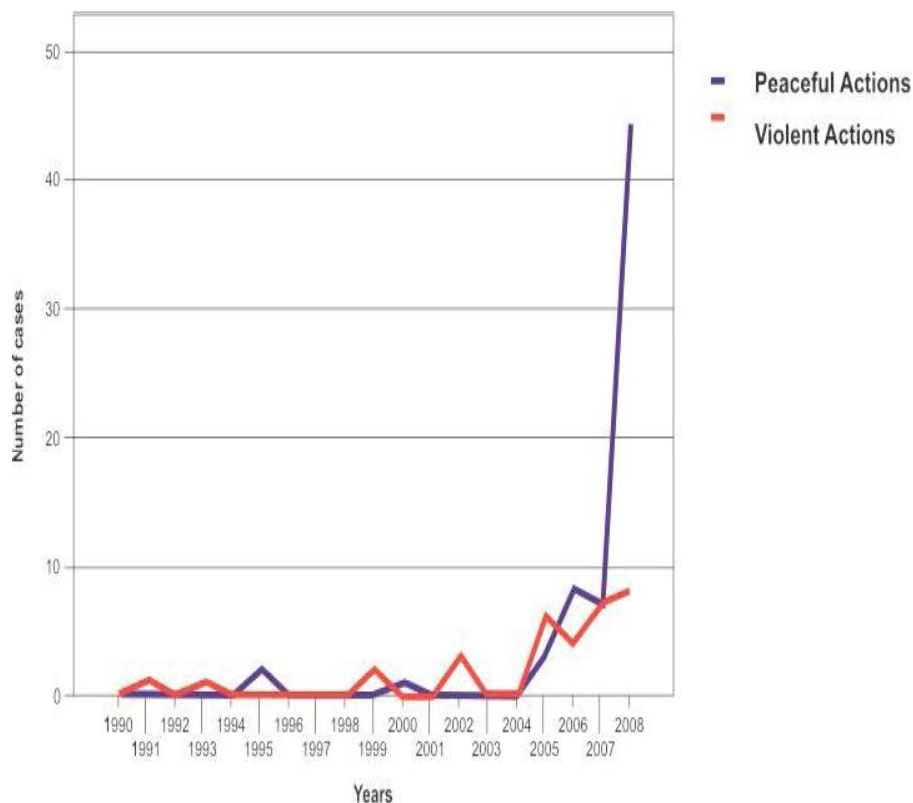
The study shows that the transitional and new-democratic administration had to deal with religious terrorism, which did not occur in the previous administration (see **Chart 20**). However, the type of terrorism during the transition period was different from that under the new democratic administration. Religious terrorism during the transition period, particularly in 2000 reached its peak. They mostly took the form of attacking the property of the Christians, such as bombing the churches in a number of cities in Indonesia. In addition, in the period from the end of the transition to the new democratic administration, religious terrorisms took the form of bombings targeting foreigners and their facilities.

Chart 20
Development of Religious Conflict
Related to Issues of Terrorism, 1990-2008
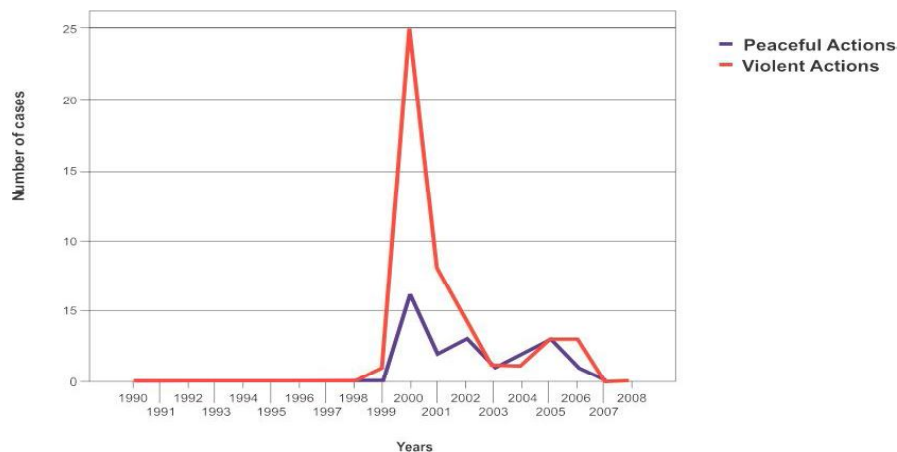
At last, other issues in this study were mostly (about 56% of the 53 incident of conflict) related to violence against the religious subculture of mysticism, particularly againts practitioners of black magic. Violence against people accused of practicing black magic peaked in 1998 in East Java. Although these were special cases in 1998 that observers linked to the political issues of the time, the issues emerged under every government regime (see **Chart 21**). This means that regardless of the presence or absence of underlying political issues, these issues played an important part in the incidence of religious conflicts in Indonesia.

Chart 21
Development of Religious Conflict
Related to Other Issues, 1990-2008
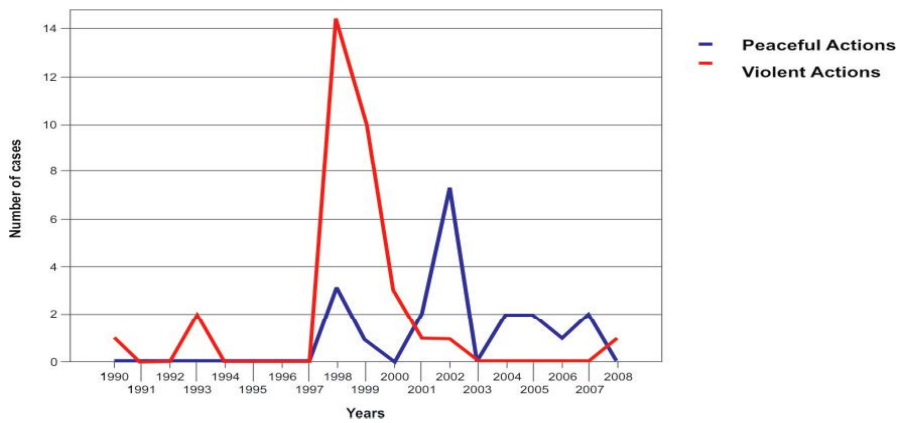
Another important finding of the study is that each region faced different issues of religious conflict.

As seen in **Chart 22**, of the total 48 violent incidents related to moral issues, 41.7% occurred in West Java and 22.9% in Jakarta. Similar incidents occurred in Central and East Java (both 8.3%) and the remaining 18.8% occured in many other provinces.

Chart 22
Distribution of Violent Actions
Related to Moral Issues
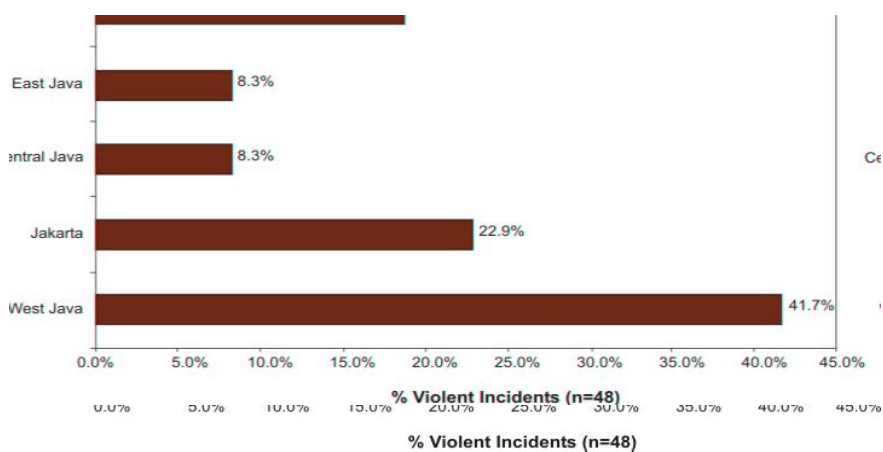
Similar to moral issues, most of the total 32 violent incidents related to sectarian issues occurred in West Java and in Jakarta (37.5% and 15.6% respectively). Banten and West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) recorded about 9.4% of violent acts while another 28.1% of the incidents occurred in various provinces (see **Chart 23**).

Chart 23
Distribution of Violent Actions Related to Sectarian Issues
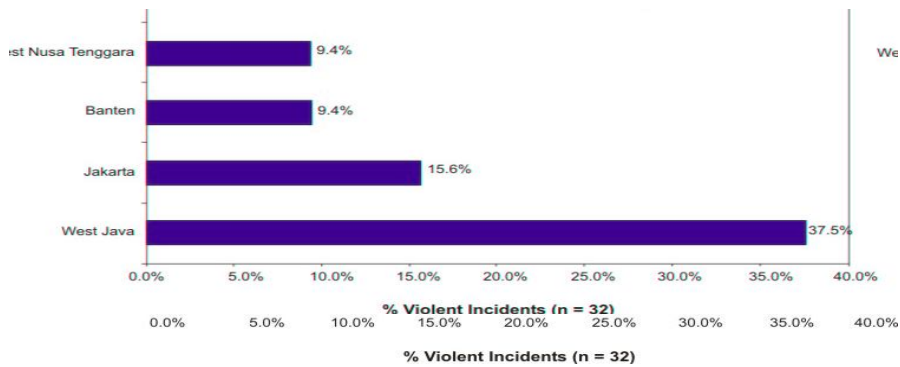
Violent incidents related to communal issues seemed to be concentrated in Central Sulawesi (35.8%) and Maluku (29.3% in Maluku and 9.8% in North Maluku). In West Java and East Nusa Tenggara there were about 4.1% of incidents while there were 17.1% occurred in other provinces. In total, there were 123 violent incidents related to communal issues (see **Chart 24**).

Chart 24
Distribution of Violent Actions Related to Communal Issues
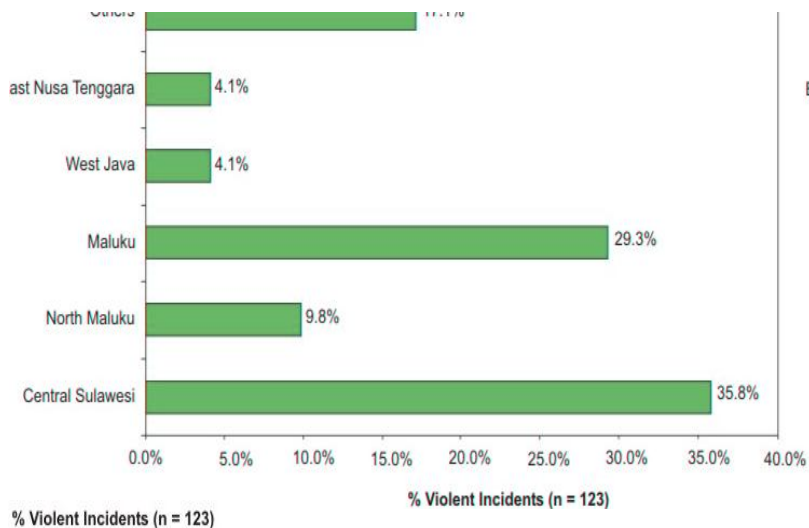
Chart 25 shows that more than half of the violent incidents related to terrorism occurred in Jakarta, East Java, and Bali. Of the total 46 violent incidents, the highest number (37%) occurred in Jakarta. In East Java and Bali there were 8.7% of incidents, while the other 45.7% of incidents occurred in other provinces. NB this is in total 100.1% and thus impossible. Please adjust, also in the chart.

Chart 25
Distribution of Violent Actions Related to Terrorism Issues
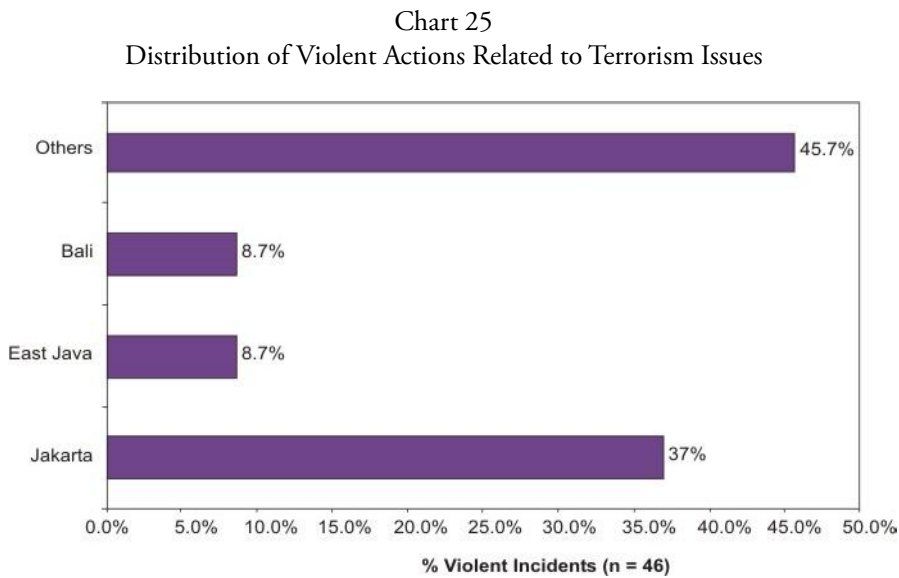
There were only three incidents related to political-religious issues that were reported. They occurred in three provinces: East Java, Central Java, and Jakarta. Of the total of 33 cases of violence related to other issues, were violence against black magicians, and about 57.6% seemed to be concentrated in East Java (see **Charts 26** and **27**).

Chart 26
Distribution of Violent Incidents Related to Political-Religious Issues
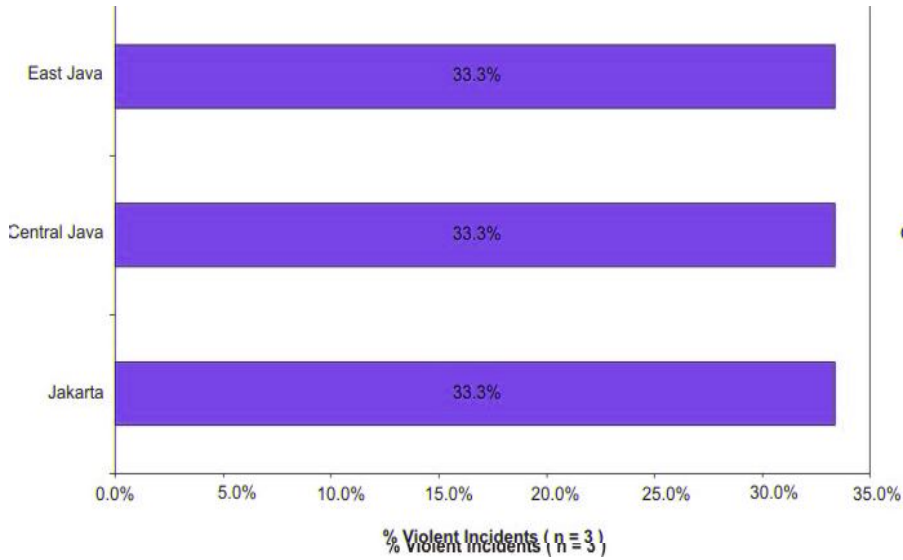
Chart 27
Distribution of Violent Incidents Related to Other Issues
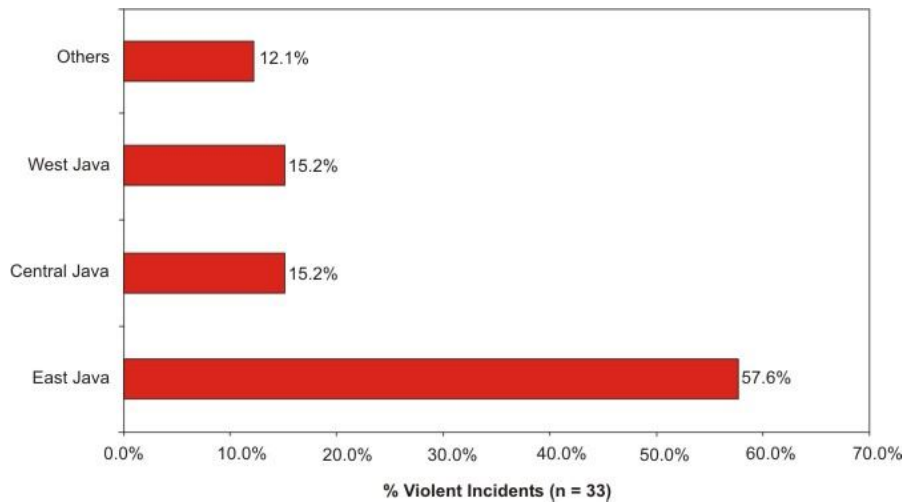
From this part we may conclude that the intensity of the incidents of religious violence was concentrated on the type of issues that triggered the conflict. This underlines the urgency of diversified strategies which depend on the type of issues, in particular the religious violence in different regions.

The Impacts of Incident of Religious Violence

Over 19 years, violent incidents related to religious conflicts in Indonesia claimed about 55,080 victims: among them 761 were killed, 1,873 injured, and 52,446 went missing or displaced. In terms of property, violence related to religious issues in Indonesia damaged about 1,330 houses, 70 places of worship, and 593 other buildings, bringing the total to 1,993. The amount of material losses did not include damages to vehicles and other properties that were not reported by the media used in this study (see **Table 5** below).

Table 5
Impact of Religious Violence, 1990-2008

Category of Issues	Victims (People)	Material losses (Unit)
Moral	212	422
Sectarian	500	63
Communal	53096	1472
Terrorism	1193	32
Political-Religious	4	0
Others	75	4
Total	**55080**	**1993**

Table 6 shows the number of human casualties and property damages caused by violent acts related to religious issues.

Table 6
Number of Casualties and Losses
Inflicted by Incidents of Religious Violence, 1990-2008

Category of Issues	Description Victims/Material Losses	Total of Cases	Total of Victims/ Material Losses
Moral	Killed Victims	2	2 people
	Injured Victims	5	10 people
	Missing/displaced Victims	1	200 people
	Houses	2	53 unit
	Places of Worship	0	0 unit

	School/Government Offices/ Communal/ Commercial Buildings	24	369 unit
Sectarian	Killed Victims	4	10 people
	Injured Victims	9	45 people
	Missing/displaced Victims	4	445 people
	Houses	9	54 unit
	Places of Worship	6	6 unit
	School/Government Offices/ Communal/ Commercial Buildings	3	3 unit
Communal	Killed Victims	52	460 people
	Injured Victims	50	835 people
	Missing/displaced Victims	5	51801 people
	Houses	14	1218 unit
	Places of Worship	19	55 unit
	School/Government Offices/ Communal/ Commercial Buildings	10	199 unit
Terrorism	Killed Victims	14	249 people
	Injured Victims	24	944 people
	Missing/displaced Victims	0	0 people
	Houses	1	3 unit
	Places of Worship	8	8 unit
	School/Government Offices/ Communal/ Commercial Buildings	4	21 unit
Political-Religious	Killed Victims	0	0 people
	Injured Victims	1	4 people
	Missing/displaced Victims	0	0 people
	Houses	0	0 unit
	Places of Worship	0	0 unit
	School/Government Offices/ Communal/ Commercial Buildings	0	0 unit
Others	Killed Victims	23	40 people
	Injured Victims	4	35 people

	Missing/displaced Victims	0	0 people
	Houses	2	2 unit
	Places of Worship	1	1 unit
	School/Government Offices/ Communal/ Commercial Buildings	1	1 unit

The above data show that violence related to communal issues claimed the highest number of human victims and property damages. In particular, in terms of the number of deaths, religious conflicts related to communal issues left the biggest impact, followed by violence related to issues of terrorism, as seen in **Chart 28**.

Chart 28
Number of Deaths in Incidences of Religious Violence
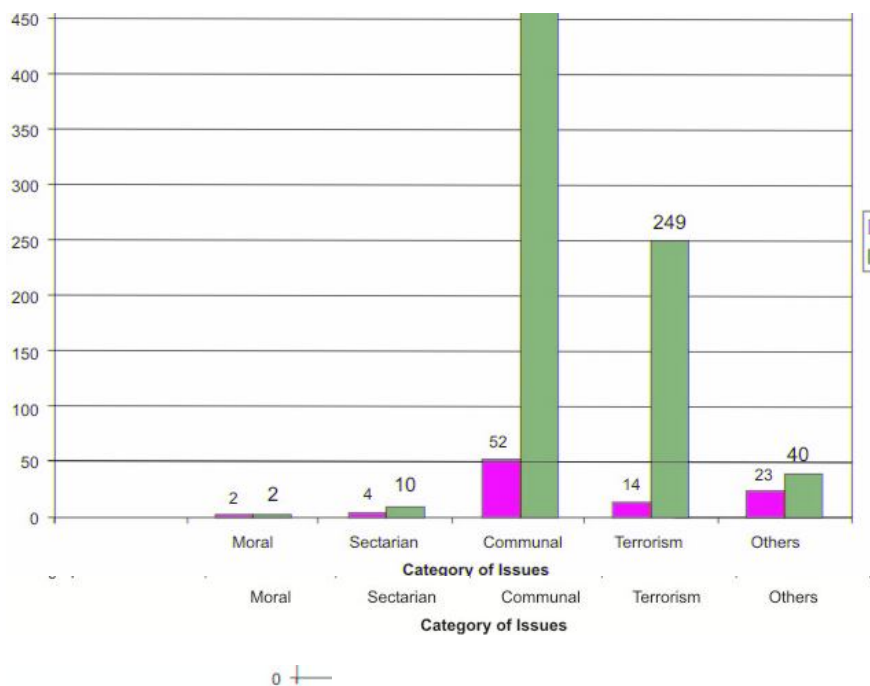
In terms of property losses, violent incidents related to moral issues ranked second after communal issues. The amount of property losses related to moral issues accounted for nearly one third of the total losses inflicted in violent incidents related to communal issues. The losses were mostly due to damages to places (houses, stalls, or places of business) considered as indecent such as night entertainment places, brothels, gambling dens and places that sold alcoholic beverages.

The Role of Security Forces in Incidences of Religious Conflict

This study also aimed to get a clear picture of the role of security forces in various incidents of religious conflicts. *Kompas* and *Antara* reported about 832 cases of religious conflicts between January 1990 and September 2008. Of this number, about 285 took the form of violent and 547 of peaceful actions (433 mass and 114 non-mass actions). It was reported that security forces were only present during violent incidents and peaceful actions that involved the masses. Thus, only 718 incidents (433 peaceful mass and 285 violent actions) offered information on the presence of security forces during the incidences. See also further down below *Kompas* and *Antara* only reported the presence of security forces in 172 of 718 incidents. In other words, only 24% of the reports on the incidents contained information about the presence of security forces while 76% did not (see **Chart 29**).

Chart 29
Presence of Security Forces in Incidences of Religious Conflict
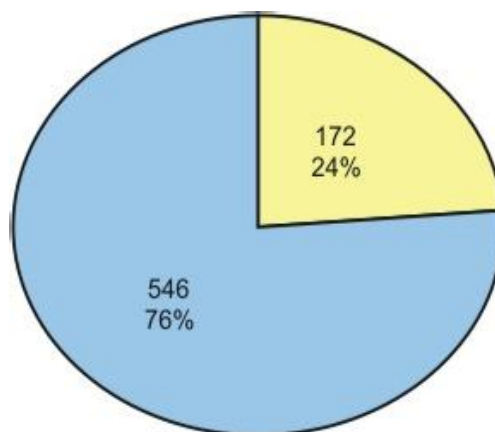
The information on the presence of security forces reveals that about 53.5% of security presence was related to violent incidents and only 46.5% to peaceful incidents (see **Table 7** below).

Table 7
Presence of Security Forces by Type of Incidences

		Types of Incident		Total
		Peaceful	**Violent**	
		Actions	**Actions**	
Presence of Security Forces	Count of Incident	80	92	172
	% within Presence of Security Forces	46.5%	53.5%	100.0%

Table 8 shows that security forces were almost always present at peaceful incidents. Meanwhile, in regard to violent incidents, nearly 61% of security presence was reported during the incidents and 39% after they had occurred.

Table 8
Presence of Security Forces
According to Time and Type of Incidences

			Types of Incident		Total
			Peaceful	**Violent**	
			Actions	**Actions**	
Presence of Security Forces	**During the incident**	Count of Incident	79	56	135
		% within Presence of Security Forces	58.5%	41.5%	100.0%
		% within Types of Incidents	98.8%	60.9%	78.5%
	After the occurrence	Count of Incident	1	36	37
		% within Presence of Security Forces	2.7%	97.3%	100.0%
		% within Types of Incidents	1.3%	39.1%	21.5%
Total		Count of Incident	80	92	172
		% within Presence of Security Forces	46.5%	53.5%	100.0%
		% within Types of Incidents	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

This is understandable in regards to the low level of predictability of violent incidents compared to peaceful incidents, which resulted in the security forces' lack of anticipation. Violent incidents, unlike peaceful actions, often happened very quick. This was why security forces arrived late in such violent incidents.

The study also shows that most often police officers were deployed to deal with various incidents of religious conflicts (see **Chart 30**). Of the 172 cases of religious conflicts that offered information on the presence of security forces, 76.7% revealed the presence of police officers. In addition, 11.6% showed the joint presence of the police and the army.

Chart 30
Elements of Security Forces Deployed
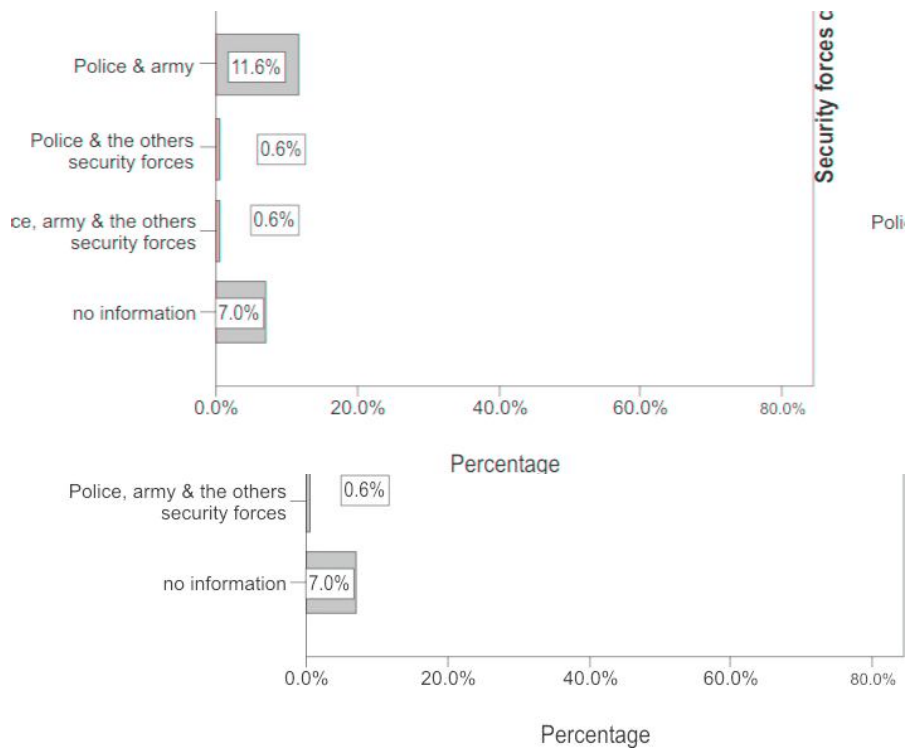
The last aspect that this study examined is the type of actions taken by the security forces in various incidents of religious conflicts. As shown in **Chart 31** it is revealed that about 41.4% of the measures taken by the security forces involved the guarding of the masses. Of the total, 19.2%

of incidents revealed the measures taken by security forces to disperse the crowds and 7.6% in calming the masses. Only 4.7% of the incidents revealed that security forces committed acts of omission.

Chart 31
Measures Taken by Security Forces
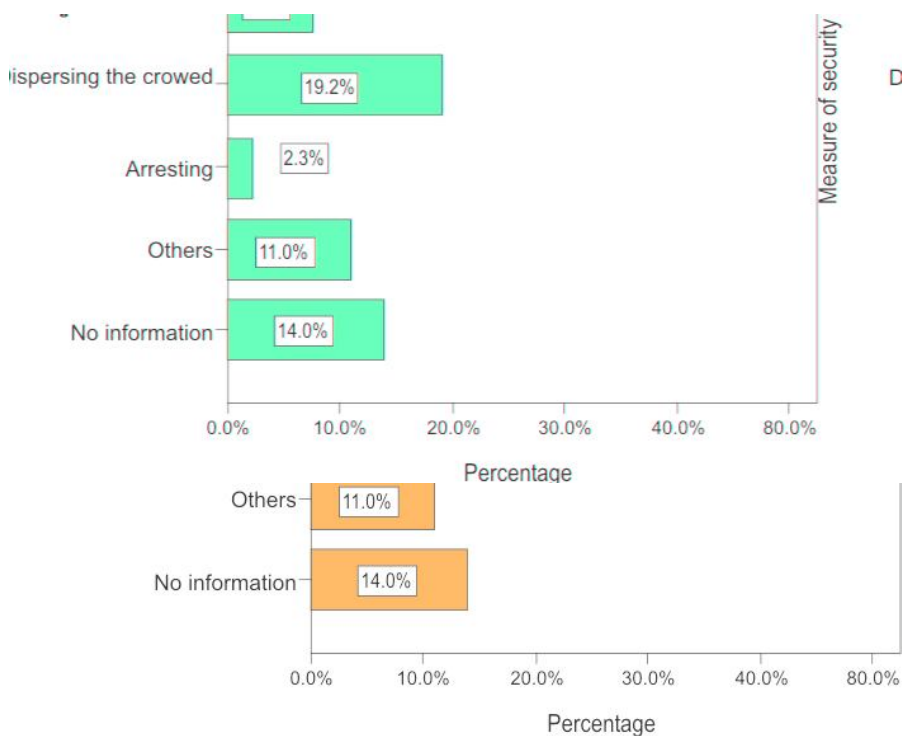
The measures taken by security forces in controlling the masses, including to calm and disperse the crowds were mostly related to peaceful incidents. In some cases of peaceful incidents, the acts of omission by security forces were mostly related to violent acts. Included in this category were the acts of omission committed by security forces on the ground of their inability to deal with the masses as they were outnumbered by the masses (see **Table 9** below).

From the limited information available about the presence of security forces, we may conclude that, in general, they performed their tasks following prevailing procedures in dealing with various incidents of peaceful and violent religious conflict. Despite the cases where security

forces are committed to acts of omission, the available data shows that they had taken the necessary measures. However, it should be noted that the information about the presence of the security forces in various incidents of religious conflict as reported by *Kompas* and *Antara* only represents a quarter of the total 718 incidents that indicated the presence of security forces. Therefore, the portrait of the role of the security forces in various religious conflicts in Indonesia might have been different if more data on the subject had been available.

Table 9
Measures Taken by Security Forces
by Type of Incidences

| | | | Types of Incident | | Total |
			Peaceful Actions	Violent Actions	
Measure taken by security forces	In action of the masses	Number of Incident	2	6	8
		% within measures taken by security forces	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
		% within types of incident	2.5%	6.5%	4.7%
	Guarding of the masses	Number of Incident	68	3	71
		% within measures taken by security forces	95.8%	4.2%	100.0%
		% within types of incident	85.0%	3.3%	41.3%
	calming masses	Number of Incident	2	11	13
		% within measures taken by security forces	15.4%	84.6%	100.0%
		% within types of incident	2.5%	12.0%	7.6%
	dispersing the crowded	Number of Incident	2	31	33
		% within measures taken by security forces	6.1%	93.9%	100.0%
		% within types of incident	2.5%	33.7%	19.2%
	arresting	Number of Incident	1	3	4
		% within measures taken by security forces	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
		% within types of incident	1.3%	3.3%	2.3%

	Others	Number of Incident	3	16	19
		% within measures taken by security forces	15.8%	84.2%	100.0%
		% within types of incident	3.8%	17.4%	11.0%
	No information	Number of Incident	2	22	24
		% within measures taken by security forces	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
		% within types of incident	2.5%	23.9%	14.0%
Total		Number of Incident	80	92	172
		% within measures taken by security forces	46.5%	53.5%	100.0%
		% within types of incident	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The Possibility of Data Bias

The final part of this report briefly discusses the reliability of the data obtained from *Kompas* and *Antara* in portraying the incidents of religious conflicts in Indonesia from 1990-2008.

As mentioned earlier, the attempt to get a picture of the incidences of religious conflicts may be influenced by the choice of data used, or what is known as 'selection bias' and 'description bias'. As explained earlier, *Kompas* and *Antara* were chosen as data sources based on the consideration that both are the most representative national media for the period under study. Another consideration was that the two media had a more sophisticated infrastructure compared to other media, both in terms of the scope of their national coverage and in their archives. In other words, as a preliminary study to obtain a national picture of religious conflicts in Indonesia the two media were considered unrivaled.

However, a national description of religious conflicts in Indonesia could also be made by integrating local media. In a number of cases, the use of local media might report incidents and thus might affect the picture of the level of incidents. In addition, compared to the national daily like *Kompas*, local media often provide more in-depth descriptions in their coverage of incidents, including the role of the security forces in religious conflict incidents.

Selection bias by national media, in this case *Kompas* and *Antara*, is revealed in a similar study conducted by Balai Litbang Agama Jakarta (Balai

Litbang Agama Jakarta 2008), although it spanned the shorter period from 2004 to 2007. By using *Radar Banten* daily as its data source, it recorded 112 peaceful incidents related to religious conflict in Banten during the period (compared to 2 incidents reported by *Kompas* and *Antara* in the same period). In other words, in a shorter period, *Radar Banten* reported 50 times as many reports of peaceful incidents than *Kompas* and *Antara*.

In addition, from 2004-2007 *Radar Banten* reported 28 violent incidents in Banten compared to 5 incidents reported by *Kompas* and *Antara* from 1990-2008. In other words, local sources (*Radar Banten*) reported 6 times more violent incidents in its area of coverage than the national media (*Kompas* and *Antara*).

Table 10
Kompas-Antara Coverage as Compared to Radar Banten Coverage of
Incidences of Religious Conflict in Banten Province

Sources	**Period**	**Peaceful Actions**	**Violent Actions**	**Total**
Kompas and Antara	2004-2007	2	4	6
Radar Banten	2004-2007	112	48	140

This indicates that the use of local media results in more information on religious conflict incidences. *Radar Banten*, which was used in Balai Litbang Agama Jakarta's study, for example, first hit the newsstands in 2000. Initially, the daily did not cover incidents that occurred prior to its establishment. In other words, the use of local media is probably more suitable for studies designed to examine the phenomenon of religious conflict in Indonesia in a more contemporary period; for example, to portray incidents of religious conflict that occurred from the transition period following the New Order regime to the new democratic administration under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, from 1998-2008.

Conclusions

The objective of this study is to obtain a broad picture of the patterns of religious conflicts in Indonesia from January 1990 to September 2008. The study was based on reports in *Kompas* daily and from *Antara* news agency. This part is a summary of the study's key findings.

The study found that two-thirds of the religious conflicts in Indonesia were peaceful, and one-third violent actions. This should not be understood that there is a low level of violence, because, whatever the intensity of violence, it must be eliminated on one way or the other. Instead, the finding is that Indonesians are capable of peacefully responding to religious conflicts. What needs to be done now is to find ways to encourage people to resort to peaceful actions as their first means of choice in responding to religious issues.

During the period covered in the study, most violent actions occurred under the transitional regime than under the other two regimes. This should not lead to the conclusion that there were no violence acts under the New Order regime, because the authoritarian government run by the regime was already in itself a form of violence and a form of repression of the rights and freedom of the people. This finding shows that there is new opportunity for civic participation in the era of democracy after the prolonged repression by the authoritarian New Order regime, which had not been accompanied by full functioning of security forces. This was supported by the fact that peaceful actions following religious conflicts dominate under the subsequent democratic regime.

Most peaceful and violent actions were linked to communal issues such as conflicts between the Christian and Muslim communities and cases of blasphemy against a religion. However, there were local variations in the issues that triggered these conflicts. Religious conflicts were dominated by communal issues in regions where they were pervasive such as in Maluku, North Maluku, and Central Sulawesi. In West Java and Banten, religious conflicts were mostly triggered by moral and sectarian issues, while in Jakarta acts of violence with religious undertones most often carried nuances of terrorism and moralism.

The study also shows that each administration was confronted by different sets of religious conflict issues. Communal issues dominated religious conflict under the transitional government and the new democratic government. However, unlike the transition regime when communal violence occurred in the form of open clashes between communal groups,

under the new democratic regime acts of violence in the regions that were rocked by communal conflicts, Poso and Palu, Central Sulawesi, and Maluku (North Maluku) mostly took the form of terror attacks, either shootings or bombings. In addition, the new democratic regime also faced issues of communal conflicts and issues of blasphemy.

The new democratic administration also faced a higher number of religious conflicts related to sectarian issues. Although these issues emerged in different regime, there was a growing intensity in these conflicts. Although the intensity of violent incidents related to moral issues under the new democratic regime were less compare to that under the transitional regime and during the final years of the New Order regime, occurrences of peaceful actions peaked during the new democratic regime. In short, there were different issues dominating religious conflicts under each government.

Communal groups dominated acts of violence related to religious conflicts. Religious groups, which are often perceived as the actors behind all violent acts, only ranked third. The perception of the dominant involvement of religious groups was only confirmed by the study in terms of their involvement in peaceful actions.

Violence related to communal issues caused the highest number of human casualties and the loss of property. In terms of property losses, violence related to moral issues ranked second. Most damages occurred in places lika houses and stall or places of business. Public places include night entertainment, brothels, gambling dens, and places that sold alcoholic beverages as indecent.

The study shows that the information obtained from *Kompas* and *Antara* on the role of the security forces during religious conflicts was inadequate. Both media only reported one-quarter of the total of 718 conflict incidents where the presence of security forces was assumed. The information did not confirm that the security forces were present in the other three-quarters of incidences.

The limited information that *Kompas* and *Antara* provided, shows that in general, the security forces had executed their tasks well. They guarded peaceful rallies and dispersed the masses. This indicated that the security forces had adequately taken the necessary steps. The information shows that only 4% of the security forces were engaged in "acts of omission", including the inability to deal with the masses on the argument that the masses had outnumbered them.

Kompas' coverage on religious conflicts, except the cases that involve huge number of victims/damages, tended to be limited. This can be seen from its description on the role of the security forces in these incidents. On the other hand, *Antara* provided more comprehensive descriptions. From this study, it shows that national media, can be bias in providing data, resulting in underreporting of incidents. This will have the impact to what could have been obtained if the study had included local media in provinces and cities/regencies as its source of information.

However, the study still provides useful preliminary data to form general pictures of the patterns of conflict with religious undertones occurred in Indonesia between 1990 and 2008. In addition, the study also provides the ground for assessing the reliability of follow-up studies based on the local media and non-media sources.

Recommendations

The study shows that Indonesians are capable of resorting to peaceful means in responding to issues that cause religious conflicts. The challenge is how to encourage people to resort to peaceful means as their first choice when they are confronted by conflict. It is necessary to design a program to improve public understanding to promote strategies for peaceful actions. In light of this, the actors who commit acts of violence with religious undertones were most likely communal groups rather than religious groups. Thus, these programs should be designed to reach the widest possible segments of society.

Issues that have caused religious conflicts are different from one region to another. Therefore, efforts to confront violent religious conflicts should be designed to address specific issues of religious conflicts that dominate each region. Programs to promote religious harmony among communities of different religious beliefs should be prioritized in Eastern Indonesian regions such as Central Sulawesi and Maluku. Programs to promote intra-religious harmony are needed in Western part of Indonesia such as Banten and West Java.

Attention should be given to develop public capacity to respond peacefully to moral issues that often trigger incidences of violence in the western parts of Indonesia. This is related to the preparedness and firmness of the security forces in upholding the law and in providing protection for places that have become the target of destructive acts related to moral issues according to prevailing law. The study managed to identify few cases

of acts of omission. Nevertheless, the capacity and professionalism of the security forces in dealing with conflicts, particularly with religious-inspired violence, should be improved.

To respond to incidents of contemporary religious conflict, the use of national media like *Kompas* and *Antara* as sources of information was inadequate. This report recommends a follow-up study to understand the patterns of religious conflicts in Indonesia to cover a more contemporary period using local mass media in provinces and cities/regencies as sources of information.

Reports from non-media sources such as the police and non-governmental organizations might have escaped media attention, including local media, should be considered. The use of varied sources is expected to provide adequate information for a comprehensive and detailed picture of the patterns of religious conflicts and the efforts to deal with them by the security institutions in Indonesia. ***

Appendix 1
Notes on Coding and Template
to Record Incidents of Religious Conflict

Table 1: Source & Location

001   No. Entry
Number of entry will be automatically added with new data entry

002   Coder
Filled in with the three initials of the coding officer using capital letters

003   Source
Source of news; 1= *Kompas* and 2=*Antara*

004   Date Edition   : [day]   [date]
Day and date of news publication

005   Date of incidence   : [day]   [date]
Day and date of incident . Usually a day or two after day and date of
publication.

006   Location
Filled in with the smallest location where the incident occurred such as in
front of the state palace, at the campus of University A or at Jl. B.

007   Province   : [text]
No explanation required

008   City/Regency   : [text]
No explanation required

009   District   : [text]
No explanation required

010   Sub district/Village   : [text]
No explanation required

The name of the location follows the name of origin entered in the news archive, although several locations may have changed their names following the establishment of the new provinces. For example, news reports on incidents in Tangerang Regency prior to 2000 were entered under West Java Province, instead of Banten.

Table 2: Description of Incident

011   Types of incident

Types of incident can be classified into: 1= peaceful acts and 2=violent acts "Peaceful acts" are an act performed by two or more people in response to religious conflicts; in the form of protests to express dissatisfaction over or objection to religious issues, acts to support a certain position, point of view or policy, and acts to contribute to efforts to find a settlement to a conflict.

 "Acts of violence" are intentional physical assaults committed by two or more people against individuals or property, or physical clashes between two communal groups that claim human lives, cause injuries, the disappearance or displacement of people, as well as damage to houses, places of worship or other buildings.

012   Subtypes of incidence

Peaceful acts fall into two subtypes: 1=mass actions and 2=non-mass actions. Mass actions are actions involving the deployment of the masses, regardless of their number. Non-mass actions are actions that do not involve the deployment of the masses.

Violent acts are classified into the following three subtypes:
        1=assaults
        2=clashes
        3=riots

An "assault" is an arbitrary act of violence committed by a group of people against another in the form of assault, attack, ambush, etc. An assault can be launched by both communal groups and security forces.

A "clash" is a two-way act of violence, usually described as a brawl, assault and counter assault, fight, etc. A clash can break up between communal

groups and between communal groups and security forces.

A "riot" is a large-scale attack involving a larger target. However, the study only examined riots that involved or victimized certain religious groups and/or caused damage to the property of certain religious groups.

By their types, acts of violence are divided into the following categories:
1=attacks on individuals/group of individuals
2=attacks on property of individuals/group of individuals
3=attacks on government officials/property
4=attacks on foreigners/property of foreign governments
5=clashes between communal/religious groups and security forces
6=clashes between communal groups, and
7=riots that lead to the destruction of human lives/property of religious groups

013   Forms of peaceful acts
1=demonstration/long march/procession/mass prayer
2=Act of silence/reflection/mass prayer
3=delegation/complaint filing a report
4=strike/boycott
5=art performance/music concert
6=petition/press conference/press release
7=distribution/installment of leaflets/banners
8=lawsuit/warning/class action lawsuit/judicial review

The first five acts fall into the category of mass action while the last three acts are non-mass actions.

A "demonstration/protest rally" occurs when a group of people gathers to voice objection to or support a position, point of view, and policy.

"Long march/procession" is a form of expression to reject or support a certain position, point of view, and policy by moving from one location to another that is the target of the protest.

"Mass prayer" is a form of expression to reject or support a certain position, point of view, and policy by taking advantage of a certain moment or religious occasion.
"Delegation/complaint" is a form of protest by submitting reports to

concerned institutions such as the police, government commissions, higher state institutions, etc.

"Petition" is a form of protest by submitting a letter signed by the protesters.

"Press conference/press release" is a form o protest by inviting journalists to a press conference or by sending a press release to media offices.

"Lawsuit" is a form of protest by filing a lawsuit against a certain group (in the form of warning or complaint) or a lawsuit against a legislation or government policy with the State Administrative Court (PTUN), in the form of class action or judicial review.

014   Forms of assault
1=Sweeping/expulsion
2=Hostage taking/kidnapping/detention
3=Torture
4=Death by torture
5=Shooting/killing
6=Confiscation/sealing
7=Act of destruction
8=Act of destruction accompanied by looting/arson
9=Bombing
10-Torture/killing accompanied by act of destruction/arson

015   Issues of incidence   : [text]

Issues of incidence are issues or the main themes that trigger a protest incident or incidence of religious violence.

016   Category of issues
        1=moral
        11=gambling/alcoholic drinks/narcotics
        12=immoral act/prostitution/places that offer sex workers
        13=pornography/pornoaction
        14=other; [explain]

        2=sectarian
        21=between Muslims
        22=between Christians

23=between other religious groups
24=other; [explain]

3=communal
31=Muslim-Christian
32=Muslim-groups of other religion
33=blasphemy
34=terror/violence in areas hit by communal conflict
35=settlement of communal conflict
36=execution of Tibo et al.
37=other; [explain]

4=terrorism
41=terrorist attack
42=terrorist attack against foreigners/property of foreign
     governments
43=arrest of terrorists
44=other; [explain]

5=political-religious
51=anti Western/foreign government policy
52=anti Western/foreign ideology
53=Islamism/implementation of the Islamic sharia
54=other; [explain]

6=other
61=black magicians
 62=other

017 Players 1: [text]

018 Category of Players 1
        1=religious groups
        2=community groups
        3=university students/youths
        4=student/youth groups
        5=cadres/supporters of political parties
        6=security forces
        7=common citizens
        8=unidentified individuals/group of individuals

019   Target/Players 2: [text]

020   Category of Target/Players 2:
1=religious groups
2=community groups
3=university students/youth groups
4=student/youth groups
5=political party cadres/supporters
6=security forces
7=common citizens
8=unidentified individuals/group of individuals

021   Number of Target/Players 2:
0=no information available
1=several/dozens
2=tens
3=hundreds
4=thousands

Table 3: Measures taken by security forces

022   Presence of security forces
1=information available
2=no information available

023   Time of arrival of security forces
0=no information available
1=when an incident is underway
2=when an incident is over

024   Security forces deployed [more than one option possible]
0=no information available
1=military; unit: [explain]
2=police; unit: [explain]
3=other security forces: [explain]

025   Measures taken by security forces [more than one option possible]
0=no information available
1=act of omission
2=guarding the masses

3=calming the masses
4=dispersing the crowd
5=making arrests
6=other; [explain]

Table 4: Impacts of Incidents

Human casualties:
026   Killed: people
027   Injuries: people
028   Missing: people
029   Displaced: people

Material losses
030   Houses: units
031   Places of worship: units
032   Other buildings: units
033   Other casualties reported: [text]

These items are used to list other casualties reported that cannot be coded based on the categories in the templates, including reports on the impact of incidents that do not use discreet figures such as in "several people were injured", "a number of houses were damaged", etc.

Notes

034   Notes   : [text]

These items are used to take notes of important issues that can help analysts understand this information. This is written in the form of a brief narration of no more than five lines.

Appendix 2
Coding and Template to
Record Incidents of Religious Conflict

Tab 1   **Sources and Location**

No. Entry		Location
Coder		Provinces
Sources		City/ Regency
Date Edition	day / date	District
Date Incidence	day / date	Sub districts/ Village
Headline News		

Tab 2   **Descriptions of incidents**

Types of Incidences

Subtypes of Incidents

Subtypes of Peaceful Actions

Subtypes of Violent Actions

Form of Peaceful Acts

Form of Assaults

Players 1

Category of players 1

Number of Players

Targets/ Players 2

Category of Target/ Players 2

Number of Players 2

Issues

Category of Issues

Subcategory of Issues

Tab 3   **Security Forces**

Presence of Security Forces

Elements of Security Forces

Measure taken by Security Forces

Tab 4   **Impacts of Incidents**

Human   Killed   ☐
casualties
                Injuries   ☐
                Missing   ☐
                Displaced   ☐

Material Losses

                Houses   ☐
                Place of worship   ☐
                others buildings   ☐
                other casualties reported   ☐

Tab 5   **Notes**

☐

Endnotes

1. Another newspaper-based study of religious conflicts in Indonesia was carried out by Balai Litbang Agama Jakarta, a research section of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The study was conducted in 10 provinces in western part of Indonesia, including Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Jambi, Bengkulu, South Sumatra, Lampung, Banten, Jakarta, and West Java (Balai Litbang Agama Jakarta 2008; see also Alam, 2009).
2. See Juergensmeyer (2003), Sofyan (2006), Mujani (2007) and Balai Litbang Agama Jakarta (2007).
3. Koopmans and Rucht understand protests as "messages directed to political adversaries, sympathizers, decision makers, and the wider public…to attract attention, to appeal or to threaten, to make claims heard and visible, and eventually to have an impact on politics and society" (Koopmans and Rucht, "Protest Event Analysis," in Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002: 231).
4. Rule (1998: 11) defines violence as "deliberate destruction of persons or property by people acting together". Sidel (2007: 7) defines religious violence as "collective physical attacks on persons or property launched in avowed defense or promotion of religious beliefs, boundaries, institutions, traditions, or values, and behind religious symbols and slogans".
5. The attacks on the Ahmadiyah community prior to this study occurred in, among others, Eastern Sumatra (1935); Medan (1964); Cianjur (1964, 1984), Kuningan (1969); West Nusa Tenggara (1976); Central Kalimantan (1981), South Sulawesi (1981); West Kalimantan (1981); Surabaya (1981), Parung Bogor (1981); and Garut (1988). The ban on Ahmadiyah teachings and books in Sungai Penuh, Kerinci, Jambi Province, by the local prosecutor's office took place on 4 April 1989. See Darul Aqsha, Dick van der Meij, and Johan Hendrik Meuleman, *Islam in Indonesia: A Survey of Events and Developments from 1988 to March 1993* (Jakarta: INIS, 1995), p. 447.
6. Juergensmeyer (2003: 125) argues that, "By calling acts of religious terrorism 'symbolic', I mean that they are intended to illustrate or refer to something beyond their immediate target". For example, the attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York were not solely aimed at destroying the buildings but to show that despite its superpower status, the US is not completely safe from attack. In addition, the attacks can also be seen to display the superiority of the attackers, as well as to motivate others following the same ideology to launch similar attacks.

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Samsu Rizal Panggabean is a lecturer at Masters Program in Peace and Conflict Resolution (MPRK) Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

Rudi Harisyah Alam is a researcher at Center for Research and Development (Balitbang) at the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kementerian Agama), Jakarta.

Ihsan Ali-Fauzi is the Program Director of Paramadina Foundation and a lecturer at Paramadina University, Jakarta.