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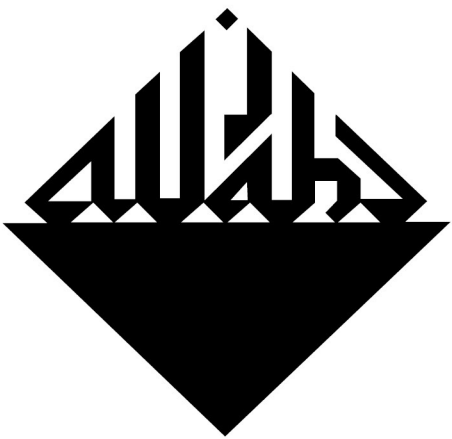

The Study of Islam in Indonesia: A 75-Year Retrospective on a Post-Orientalist Collaboration

James B. Hoesterey

The Social Scientific Study of Islam in Indonesia: A 75 Year Retrospective

Robert W. Hefner

Indonesian Post-Orientalist Study of Islam

Muhamad Ali

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Robert W. Hefner

The Social Scientific Study of Islam in Indonesia: A 75 Year Retrospective

Abstract: *This essay provides an historical overview of broad currents in the social scientific study of Islam in Indonesia from the Modjokuto project of the early 1950s to today. It makes three broad points. First, the essay shows that a perennial influence on the refiguration of Muslim politics and ethics in Indonesia has been, not scriptural principles alone, but the global ascendance of the modern nation state and Muslim intellectuals' and politicians' efforts to craft a Muslim public ethics consonant with the realities of a modern and religiously plural nation. Second, the essay shows that another feature of the social scientific study of Islam in Indonesia has been the ascendance of Indonesia-born Muslim intellectuals to positions of intellectual leadership in the field. Third, the overview makes clear that one of the most important recent achievements of this social scientific research has been to explain how Indonesia succeeded in developing the most effective and sustainable democracy in the Muslim-majority world.*

Keywords: Muslim Politics, Democracy, Citizenship, Jurisprudence, Islamic Reform, Mass-Based Religious Associations.

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Abstrak: *Tulisan ini memberikan tinjauan historis mengenai arus besar dalam kajian ilmiah sosial Islam di Indonesia sejak proyek Modjokuto pada awal 1950-an hingga saat ini. Esai ini membuat tiga poin besar. Pertama, esai ini menunjukkan bahwa pengaruh abadi dalam refigurasi politik dan etika Muslim di Indonesia bukanlah prinsip-prinsip kitab suci semata, melainkan naiknya negara bangsa modern secara global serta upaya para intelektual dan politisi Muslim untuk menyusun etika publik Muslim yang selaras dengan realitas negara yang modern dan majemuk secara agama. Kedua, tulisan ini menunjukkan bahwa ciri lain dari kajian ilmiah sosial Islam di Indonesia adalah naiknya para intelektual Muslim kelahiran Indonesia ke posisi-posisi kepemimpinan intelektual di bidang ini. Ketiga, artikel ini menjelaskan bahwa salah satu pencapaian terpenting dari penelitian ilmiah sosial ini adalah menjelaskan bagaimana Indonesia berhasil mengembangkan demokrasi yang paling efektif dan berkelanjutan di dunia yang mayoritas penduduknya beragama Islam.*

Kata kunci: Politik Muslim, Demokrasi, Kewarganegaraan, Yurisprudensi, Reformasi Islam, Asosiasi Keagamaan Berbasis Massa.

ملخص: تقدم هذه الورقة مراجعة تاريخية للتيارات الرئيسية في الدراسات الاجتماعية العلمية للإسلام في إندونيسيا منذ مشروع موجوكتو (Modjokuto) في أوائل الخمسينيات وحتى الوقت الحاضر. تقدم هذه المقالة ثلاث نقاط رئيسية. أولاً، تشير المقالة إلى أن التأثير الدائم في إعادة تشكيل السياسة والأخلاق الإسلامية في إندونيسيا ليس مبادئ النصوص المقدسة فحسب، بل صعود الدولة القومية الحديثة على مستوى العالم وجهود المثقفين والسياسيين المسلمين لصياغة أخلاق عامة إسلامية تتماشى مع واقع الدولة الحديثة والمتعددة الأديان. ثانيًا، توضح هذه الورقة أن سمة أخرى للدراسات الاجتماعية العلمية للإسلام في إندونيسيا هي صعود المثقفين المسلمين المولودين في إندونيسيا إلى مواقع القيادة الفكرية في هذا المجال. ثالثًا، تشرح هذه المقالة أن أحد أهم إنجازات هذا البحث العلمي الاجتماعي هو توضيح كيف نجحت إندونيسيا في تطوير الديمقراطية الأكثر فعالية واستدامة في العالم ذات الأغلبية المسلمة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السياسة الإسلامية، الديمقراطية، المواطنة، فقه الشريعة، الإصلاح الإسلامي، الجمعيات الدينية ذات القاعدة الشعبية.

The Western academic study of Islam in Indonesia began in the Netherlands during the final decades of the nineteenth century. The scholarship was spearheaded by the Orientalist scholars Carel Poensen (d. 1919) and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (d., 1936; see Ricklefs 2012,13). Both had ties to the Dutch East Indies' colonial administration. However, for the purposes of this essay's abbreviated retrospective, I believe the early 1950s are a more appropriate date for marking what is today recognized as the beginning of the modern academic study of Islam in Indonesia. In those years Indonesia was in the early stages of national independence and the whole of the country was on the move. In 1952, American anthropologists Hildred and Clifford Geertz and Robert Jay arrived and began an ethnographic study around the small town of Pare in the Kediri district of East Java (Geertz 1960, 1965; Jay 1963). In the publications resulting from this project, Pare was referred to with the pseudonym Modjokuto. However much these three researchers owed an intellectual debt to their Dutch predecessors, their research laid the foundation for a new era in the Western and Indonesian study of Islam in Indonesia.

In this paper I provide an overview of the academic study of Islam in Indonesia in the 75 year period from the Modjokuto study to today. My discussion highlights major trends in the social scientific and, in particular, sociological-anthropological study of Muslim politics and religion in this Southeast Asian country, the most populous Muslim-majority country in the world. Having adopted this societal perspective on Islam in Indonesia, my essay does not review scholarship on such otherwise important topics as Islamic theology (cf. Kersten 2015, 2017; Saleh 2010), the Islamic arts (cf. George 2010; Rasmussen 2010), Islamic education (Brankley Abbas 2021; Jabali and Jamhari 2002; Jackson and Bahrissalim 2007), or Islamic jurisprudence (Bowen 2003; Feener 2007; Feener and Cammack 2007; Lindsey 2012). Rather than providing a comprehensive analysis of all sub-fields, my remarks highlight general trends in what can be broadly understood as the sociopolitical and social anthropological study of Islam.

Among the trends that I highlight two strike me as especially noteworthy. The first is that the study of Islam in Indonesia has consistently demonstrated that modern Islam in general and modern Muslim politics in particular have been perennially reshaped, not by scriptural principles alone, but, to quote from Cesari's recent study of

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Muslim politics, by the modern world order and, in particular, "the globalization of nationalism and the introduction of the nation-state framework in Muslim regions" (Cesari 2021, 7; see also Ayoob and Lussier 2020). To state the matter differently, and to borrow a phrase from Joseph Chinyong Liow, Muslim culture and politics in Indonesia have been influenced by tensions and "anxieties in response to structural strains on the fundamental premises of nation and state" (Liow 2016, 216). One additional consequence of this co-evolution is that Muslim attitudes toward politics and citizen-belonging in Indonesia have tended to "develop in tandem with… evolving attitudes toward religious traditions" (Kloos and Berenschott 2017, 180; see also Ahmed 2016). One especially important feature of this co-evolution has involved the interaction of the Muslim and Christian communities, and the sometimes contentious debates within and across each community with regard to state policies and societal attitudes on inter-religious relations (Brankley Abbas 2021; Mujiburrahman 2006).

A second takeaway from this overview of the social scientific study of Islam in Indonesia is different but no less important. It is that a key trend in this academic enterprise over the past thirty years has been the movement of large numbers of Indonesia-born scholars into the commanding heights of the field. This latter trend demonstrates that the study of Islam in Indonesia has moved well beyond its origins in the Western academy toward what can today be described as – to borrow a phrase from Tamara Sonn (2021) – a "post-Orientalist" period in which native Muslim intellectuals play the leading role (see also Lukens-Bull 2005).

Politics and Public Ethics in an Era of Nation-States

Led by the anthropologists Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz, and Robert Jay, the research project carried out in the East Java town of Pare from late 1952 to 1954 inaugurated a new era in the study of Islam in Indonesia. As Amanah Nurish (2019) has observed in a book based on her recent restudy of Islam in Pare, the project's publications eventually became landmarks for academic research on Islam and society not just in Indonesia but in other areas of the Muslim-majority world. Nurish's book itself offers another striking example of the "Indonesianization" of the anthropological study of Islam. Her study showed that the Pare project was intellectually transformative in this way not by deliberate design but in large part for reasons of historical serendipity. The

MIT-based project coincided with the post-World War II ascendance of American social science to a preeminent position in the Western study of Islam. This development stood in contrast with the situation a century earlier, when European Orientalists were in the forefront of the Western study of Islam (see also Laffan 2011).

This early phase in the U.S.-based study of Islam in Indonesia ushered in another important analytic shift. The pivot was away from prioritizing the study of scripture and early Islamic history toward the study of Muslim societies in the post-colonial circumstances of the global south's "new nations." In his *The Religion of Java* (1960) and later essays, Geertz pointed out that Muslim religion and politics across the global south were being decisively transformed by what he described as an "integrative revolution" (Geertz 1973) in state and society. The latter process centered on the efforts of national leaders and religious publics to forge a shared culture capable of overcoming the ethnic and religious divisions pervasive in the newly independent nations of the world. In Muslim-majority societies, the question of just where Islamic values and institutions should figure in this project was central to these debates, which were often highly agonistic in form. With its one thousand ethnic groups and diverse religious communities, the newly independent nation of Indonesia offered one of the most important settings for just such a contentious co-evolution of Islamic thought and nation-making

In the East Javanese setting that became the focus of the Modjokuto project, this new wave of research also came to emphasize, not just the existence of different varieties of Islamic observance, but that the variants coincided with broad structural cleavages in society. In particular, Geertz showed that adherents of the "scriptural" or "orthodox" Islam in Java were disproportionately concentrated in Indonesia's merchant and trading classes. Borrowing a phrase from Javanese, Geertz referred to this community as *santri*, a term which in its literal usage refers to students in the Indonesian Islamic boarding schools known as *pesantren* or *pondok pesantren* (Azra et al. 2007). The second variant of Islam Geertz highlighted was more localized and syncretic in its values and practices. Geertz associated this variant with the Javanese peasantry and urban poor and characterized its religious worldview as a blend of Islam, animism, and Hindu-Buddhism. Borrowing a phrase used in some but not all regions of Java (see Hefner 2011), Geertz referred to this

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less normative-minded variant of Islam as *abangan,* from the Javanese term for "red" (see also Burhani 2017; Hefner 1985; Nurish 2019). Geertz associated a third variant of Islam with the traditional Javanese aristocracy and their latter day heirs within the state bureaucracy, the *priyayi*. *Priyayi* values, Geertz argued, were a blend of Islamic and status-minded "Hindu" concerns.

When, in the fall of 1982, I met Geertz for the first time in his spacious office at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, one of the first questions I asked him was whether he believed that the correlation of social class with varieties of Islamic observance he had described in *The Religion of Java* was still operative in Javanese society. The tone of my question made clear that I felt the time had come for a serious updating of the typology. To my surprise, Cliff responded by saying that he felt otherwise. He declared that, notwithstanding the thirty years that had passed since he had conducted his Java research, he was convinced that these structural cleavages were still the dominant divisions operative in Javanese religion and society.

Research over the past forty years has confirmed that the structural cleavages with which Geertz was grappling were real and politically consequential. However, studies like those of Amanah Nurish (2019) and Najib Burhani (2017), as well as those of Mark Woodward (1988) and me (Hefner 1987, 1990, 2011a, 2011b), have all also demonstrated that Geertz's typology was analytically overgeneralized. More specifically, Geertz's categorizations obscured the scale of ongoing changes as well as areas of overlap across the three primary social groupings. For example, and as the sociologist Abdul Munir Mulkhan has shown in an important East Java study (Mulkhan 2000), even in the 1950s, some Muslim farmers were not *abangan* but *santri* well-studied in matters of Islam. As for the *priyayi,* Woodward (1989) and the historian Peter Carey (2008,72) have both shown that already in the nineteenth century many Javanese *priyayi* identified with a normative-minded variant of Islam.

Others have examined the categories Geertz bequeathed us, not to assess their pervasiveness in Indonesian society, but to explore their subjective and social-psychological entailments. In a 1978 study, the anthropologist James L. Peacock was among the first researchers to explore the implications of different varieties of Islamic observance for socialization and economic ethics. In addition to confirming

Geertz's observation that individuals from reformist groups like the Muhammadiyah are disproportionately active in commerce and education, his research demonstrated that that, even while maintaining a high respect for Javanese customs with regard to politeness and manners, reformists rationalized their child-rearing habits in a manner especially well suited to the demands of the modern nation and marketplace (Peacock 1978, 57-58). In the Indonesian wing of Indonesian studies, Peacock's insights had been anticipated in the pioneering scholarship of Amin Abdullah (Abdullah 1971). In more recent years, Indonesian scholars have refined our understanding of the categories all the more. Among other things, these scholars have demonstrated that the terminologies for and social pervasiveness of such cleavages varies greatly across different parts of Java and Indonesia (Alfian 1989; Azca et al. 2019; Bamualim 2015; Burhani 2017, 2019; Jamhari 2000).

Hindu Buddhism or Localized Islam?

Another feature of Geertz's analysis to which subsequent researchers have directed their attention had to do with Geertz's application of the label "Hindu-Buddhism" to many of the practices of religious observance he had associated with the *abangan* and some *priyayi*. In a posthumously published book on civilizational Islam, Marshall Hodgson (d. 1968) took especially strong exception to this feature of Geertz's Java narrative. Hodgson's critique is worth quoting at length:

> "Unfortunately, its general high excellence is marred by a systematic error: influenced by the polemics of a certain school of modern shariah-minded Muslims, Geertz identifies Islam only with that which that school of modernists happens to approve, and ascribes everything else to an aboriginal or Hindu-Buddhist background, gratuitously labeling much of the Muslim religious life in Java 'Hindu'. For one who knows Islam, his comprehensive data – despite his intention – show very little has survived from the Hindu past even in inner Java and raises the question of why the triumph of Islam was so complete" (Hodgson 1974, 551).

Although Hodgson wrote these words in the early 1960s, they did not appear in print until the publication of his *The Venture of Islam* in 1974. When in 1978 I headed out to begin dissertation research on religion and politics in the East Java uplands, I had read Hodgson but had not yet formed an opinion as to the soundness of his critique.

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However, while conducting research in East Java during 1978-1980 and again in 1985, I was surprised to discover that the great majority of *abangan* I met insisted that they were Muslim. My village interlocutors also asserted that the rituals of birth, adolescence, marriage, and death they performed had nothing to do with Hindu-Buddhism but were rooted in Sufi and Javanese notions of the the body, the soul, and human consciousness (Hefner 1990; cf. Alatas 2021).

It was only after my second stint of research in 1985 that I came to understand that, not just Hodgson, but a growing number of scholars of Islam in Indonesia have expressed views similar to those of my Javanese interlocutors, arguing that much that Geertz classified as "Hindu-Buddhist" actually bore Sufi and popular Islamic influences. To my knowledge, the first Western researcher to make this point in a rigorously empirical way was Mark Woodward (1989). However, as can be seen in Ismail Fajrie Alatas' 2021 study of Islamic authority in modern Java (Alatas 2021), today this point has become a cornerstone of research on Islam in Indonesia (see Feillard and Madinier 2006; Formichi 2021; Picard and Madinier 2011).

My research and that of many other Indonesia researchers soon also began to take note of another development in Indonesia's religious field, the fact that by the 1980s Muslim communities across the archipelago were in the throes of an ongoing shift in religious observance away from Islamic syncretism toward more normative-minded varieties of Islamic observance. As I saw in rural Pasuruan and Malang in the 1980s, mosque services that used to be shunned by *abangan* were now packed. Islamic study circles (*pengajian)* that used to be limited to a handful of *santri* villagers now attracted hundreds of former *abangan* (Hefner 1987, 1990). Villagers once reluctant to salute each other with Arabic greetings now did so with abandon. In her restudy of Pare in the 2010s, Nurish demonstrated with brilliant insight that similar changes in religious observance and Islamic sociabilities had long been underway in that Kediri region as well (Nurish 2019; cf. Beatty 1999; Herriman 2012).

This dramatic uptick in Islamic observance was significant for sociopolitical as well as religious reasons. In much of Java and rural Indonesia as a whole, the bitter political party mobilizations of the late 1950s and early 1960s had built on these same socio-religious cleavages for much of their social force (Hefner 1987; Ricklefs 2012). Rather

than boosting the electoral fortunes of Islamic parties, however, my research indicated that the deepening of Islamic piety across Indonesia in the 1980s was encouraging heretofore "secular-nationalist" actors in political parties like Golkar to lend their support to policies promoting Islam in public life (Hefner 1987, 1990). The upsurge in Islamic observance in society, then, did not mean that Muslim political parties were winning more votes. What it instead meant was that pietistic practices once seen as exclusively *santri* were now being taken up by Muslims of all political persuasions.

Islam Observed and Reconceptualized

If Geertz's correlation of social class and religiosity applied only imperfectly to the whole of Java, it encountered even greater problems when generalized to Muslim communities elsewhere in Indonesia. Certainly, in these latter territories one also encountered significant variation in Islamic values, observance, and sociabilities. However, research in these other parts of Indonesia consistently showed that the categorical terminology (*abangan, santri, priyayi*) Geertz devised on the basis of his East Java research was not part of most local vernaculars (Abdullah 1971). More generally, where different variants of Muslim culture and observance existed they were and are still today articulated in ways that show the influence of ethnic, religious, and associational legacies more diverse than those operative in Java (see for example Sakai 1999).

Although the currents of Islam observed across Muslim Indonesia show greater variation than can be accommodated within Geertz's Java-derived schema, the academic labor Geertz pioneered nonetheless had several positive implications for research on Islam and Muslim society. In particular, Geertz's correlation of variation in Islamic observance with structural features of Javanese society had the salutary effect of encouraging researchers working in other regions to put aside any assumption that Islamic observance and sociabilities are uniform because derived from an invariant and textually-specified body of Islamic doctrine. More than thirty years ago, two prominent scholars in the study of Islam in the Middle East, Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori – both of whom knew Clifford Geertz well -- took a page from Geertz's work and summarized this new theoretical premise for the larger field of Islamic studies. They wrote that "historical 'Islam'

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does not neatly coincide with doctrinal 'Islam' and… the practice and significance of Islamic faith in any given historical setting cannot readily be predicated from first principles of dogma or belief" (Eickelman and Piscatori 1996, 18; see also Eickelman and Anderson 1999).

In Indonesian studies, this same theoretical preoccupation with the correlation of Islamic observance with cleavages in society has remained one of the cornerstones of research. However, this same research has also moved beyond the earlier emphasis on regions and ethnic groups to examine how Islamic observance differs as a result of variation in social class, educational background, and social media. One of the most vivid recent examples of this Islam-and-media approach has been that carried out by the American anthropologist, James Hoesterey. Hoesterey's study of the celebrity preacher Abdullah Gymnastiar demonstrated that new varieties of Islamic learning and observance in Indonesia showed the influence of, not just ethnicity and region, but new social media as well as a highly eclectic social epistemology that combined "Sufi ideas about the ethical heart with self-help slogans of Western popular psychology" (Hoesterey 2016, 1). Hoesterey also underscored that figures like Gymnastiar are emblematic of a general trend, where "despite their lack of formal education," preachers "attract widespread followings through their savvy use of media technologies and their simple lessons for applying Islamic teachings in daily life" (Hoesterey 2016, vi; see also Abdullah and Osman 2018; Slama 2017). Islam in Indonesia, it seems, had entered the age of new social media.

Another of the studies to combine a concern for Islamic ethics with the analysis of social networks and media was carried out by the American psychological anthropologist, Gregory M. Simon, in the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra. Simon observed that a key feature of Islam, personhood, and society in this latter region was that it generates a tension between two visions of moral selfhood, one individual-focused and the other community-based. Simon summarized the tension in the following way:

> "Minangkabau people are drawn into the management of tensions between seemingly conflicting yet simultaneously culturally celebrated visions of moral selfhood…. [S]elves are often imagined as essentially and most properly constituted by their integration with others, united and made perfect in submission to God; yet they are also imagined as essentially and most properly autonomous, innately pure but forced to maneuver through a corrupting world" (Simon 2014, 1).

Simon's study also showed that, rather than being a source of social or psychological tension, these two models of ethics and subjectivity – one Islam-based, and the other emergent from social life generally -- allowed Minangkabau "to help think through and manage… dimensions of personhood and capacities of human selves" (Simon 2014, 2; see also Dobbin 1983). In other words, Simon showed that Islamic values and discourse were being made not only "local," but socially and personally meaningful because grounded in local life-worlds.

Dissemination and Pluralization

As this last example also shows, another welcome trend in post-Geertzian scholarship on Islam in Indonesia is that, rather than assuming Islam has been everywhere disseminated in a uniform manner, scholars have devoted greater attention to examining the social technologies and infrastructures through which different varieties of Islamic observance have been diffused. The late Azyumardi Azra's Ph.D. dissertation, defended at Columbia University in 1992, offered an early and striking example of this fusion of Islamic history and trans-regional network analysis. Azra's study explored the scholarly networks through which reform-minded *ulama* arrived in the Indonesian archipelago from the seventeenth and eighteenth century onward, and how their arrival introduced new understandings and practices of Islam (Azra 2004). This approach to the study of Islam in Indonesia has been adopted by other researchers. Among others, the Dutch anthropologist, Martin van Bruinessen, and the American historian Ronit Ricci, have deployed a similar blend of historical and ethnographic analysis to examine the networks through which Sufi orders and Arabic-language literature spread to different parts of Indonesia from the sixteenth century onward (van Bruinessen 1999; Ricci 2011; cf. Howell and van Bruinessen 2007). More recently, Megan Brankley Abbas has applied a no less incisive optic to the study of the historical evolution of new varieties of Islamic education in Indonesia (Brankley Abbas 2021).

Already in the 1990s and 2000s, then, a second and third generation of researchers revisited the question of the varieties of Islamic observance in Indonesia, and demonstrated that even on Java Islamic traditions showed variation greater than Geertz's Pare study had recognized. Based on a Ph.D. thesis defended at Cornell University

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in 1976, Mitsuo Nakamura's ethnohistorical study (enlarged and re-issued in 2012) of the Muhammadiyah offers a powerful example of this latter research trend. Recent historical studies by Michael Laffan (2003, 2011) and Merle Ricklefs (2012) have drawn on even richer array of archival materials to rethink some of the field's assumptions as to the localization and pluralization of Islam in Indonesia. Among other things, these studies have demonstrated that "the birth of the abangan" (Ricklefs 2012) did not go back to the early centuries of the arrival of Islam in Java or Indonesia as a whole, as Geertz had assumed, but had become ascendant in the nineteenth century. The *santri* advance was also influenced by a huge increase in religious pilgrimage by Indonesians to the Muslim holy land, as well as the widespread establishment of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren, pondok pesantren*) across broad expanses of the archipelago (van Bruinessen 2008; cf. Brankley Abbas 2021; Hefner 2009; Laffan 2011).

In addition to highlighting the variation in Islamic observance across Indonesia, recent studies have also explored the role of Islamic actors and concerns in politics and society. Studies have demonstrated, for example, that over the course of the New Order period (1966-1998) many communities once indifferent to the ideals of Islamic normativity had begun to show a heightened interest in more studied styles of prayer and devotion. Although the dissemination of these normative-minded varieties of Islam enjoyed the support of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Muslim civil society associations like the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, its dynamics at the grassroots were typically deeply personal and local, and were expressed as much in changing patterns of dress, greetings, and interactional styles as in formal membership in Islamic social welfare associations.

The anthropologist, M. Bambang Pranowo, provided one of the earliest and most detailed studies of this sort by an Indonesian scholar, examining the steady advance of *santri* religious observance in the Magelang region of central Java. His research confirmed that from the late 1970s onward this Central Javanese territory had seen a "continuing process of Islamization and the increasing influence of santri religious culture in village life" (Pranowo 1993, 134). In a thesis submitted to the Australian National University in 1996 and based on ethnographic research carried out in 1992-1994, the Korea-born anthropologist, Hyung-Jun Kim, drew attention to the same phenomenon:

> "From the 1970s on…, a remarkable change has been going on in Java. Increasing numbers of Javanese show their strong commitment to Islam; the participants in Friday prayers and in the fast have increased and more Indonesians have made the pilgrimage to Mecca…. Islamic activities such as prayers and studies take place everywhere and nominal Muslims participate in these activities…" (Kim 1996, 13).

Based on research carried out a decade later in a nearby area of rural central Java, the Indonesian anthropologist Jamhari Makruf took note of a similar diffusion of a normative-minded observance and sociabilities into once-*abangan* territories. No less important, Jamhari showed that the varieties of normative Islam to which Indonesians were turning were not uniform but varied. In the Magelang district that was the focus of Jamhari's study, the Muhammadiyah had led the way in implementing far-reaching programs of religious revitalization. But the modernist organization's reform campaigns had also catalyzed an effort on the part of local traditionalist Muslims to revive such Sufi-inspired activities as *tahlilan* and *slametan* (Jamhari 2000, 195).

In a Yogyakarta-based study, the American anthropologist Timothy Daniels showed a similar pattern of pluralism within Islamization. Daniels noted additionally that in the post-New Order era the pluralization of religious observance was not restricted to normative varieties of Islam. He wrote that, "with the demise of the New Order regime and the emergence of a new spirit of openness in the Reformasi Era, politicized divisions between the *santri* and *abangan* have resurfaced in a strong way." On rare occasions, he noted, these politicized cleavages were even giving rise to "physical confrontations on the streets of south-central Java between 'radical *abangan*' and 'puritanical' Islamic sects" (Daniels 2009, 50).

Elsewhere, the *santri* community was itself experiencing agonistic pluralizations. One of the most striking of these developments was the spread on campuses of a new variety of modernist reform known as *jemaah tarbiyah* (Machmudi 2006). These reform-minded groups shared some normative commitments with long-established modernist associations like the Muhammadiyah. But they also differed sufficiently as to be regarded by many Indonesia researchers as a new stream within the *santri* community. Most of the individuals drawn to the *tarbiyah* groups in their early years did not come from traditional *santri* backgrounds but from secular-nationalist or modernist Muslim families. In emphasizing re-socialization through *usrah* (lit. "family")

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study groups and in their conviction that Islam is a all-encompassing "system" (*al-nizam*), the *tarbiyah* groups more strongly resembled groups like the Middle East's Muslim Brotherhood than they did modernists in the Muhammadiyah. As the *tarbiyah* movement gained momentum, youth from traditionalist family backgrounds also flocked to its study circles in growing numbers (Machmudi 2006, 14).

In the open environment of *Reformasi* Indonesia, the *tarbiyah* groups eventually came together to form one of the most important new Muslim political parties of *Reformasi* era, known today as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Interestingly, however, as the *Reformasi* has moved forward, this once-transnationally-oriented movement has become more comfortable with Indonesian nationalism and local styles of Islamic observance. As Machmudi (2021) has reported, since 2015 a new PKS leadership has relaxed its policies on everything from the Pancasila to Sufi ritual litanies (Machmudi 2021, 172-73). Although a few provincial branches remain fiercely opposed to these indigenizing initiatives, the PKS and its *tarbiyah* associates offer a qualified example of something hoped-for but actually quite rare in many parts of the Muslim-majority world, that participation in a democratic political order can indeed moderate Islamist aspirations and strengthen actors' identification with an inclusive understanding of Islam and nation (see Buehler 2016; Machmudi 2021).

Conducting research in the Yogyakarta region during and after the early *Reformasi* period, I had encountered a similar pattern of competitive socioreligious mobilization (Hefner 2024). However, by the 2010s, my research revealed that tensions between *abangan* or ex-*abangan* and their *santri* rivals had greatly diminished. One factor contributing to the diminution in tensions was that since the late 1980s local representatives of the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah had taken a cue from their own national leadership and committed their membership to a more inclusive practice of Indonesian citizenship. With this development, they had also come to show a significantly heightened tolerance of diversity in the profession of Islam and religious observance generally (see Staquf 2021, 2019 and below). These developments were to have powerful cultural influences well beyond the religious field.

Expanding Horizons and Varied Social Contentions

By the mid-1990s, then, social science research on Islam and society in Indonesia had been extended to regions well beyond Java. This research also revealed that social cleavages between different ethnoreligious groupings often took forms quite different from those in Java. As in North Sumatra, Maluku, and other areas of central and eastern Indonesia, the primary ethno-religious cleavage often centered on, not the correlation of social class with rival varieties of Islamic observance, but the social cleavage separating Muslims and Christians (Aragon 2000; Duncan 2014; al Qurtuby 2017; Smith Kipp 1993). Even in Muslim-majority West Java, Christian outreach was on the rise, and with it religious tensions were as well (Husein 2005). The Indonesian historian Chaidar Bamualim noted that, "In general in West Java, the Christian population's annual growth rate exceeded 4.0 per cent per annum from 1970 to 2000, the highest percentage experienced by Christians in majority-Muslim areas across Indonesia" (Bamualim 2015, 216). The Christian advance had led Muslim groups to respond with no less vigorous "anti-apostasy" campaigns (see also Bertrand 2004; Mutaqin 2014).

In Indonesian provinces like Aceh and West Sumatra where Christian missions were never particularly prominent, social research showed that the more pervasive socioreligious cleavage had to do with, not Christians vs. Muslims or normative Islam vs. some local equivalent of *abangan*-ism, but with the contest between modernist and traditionalist varieties of Islam. John Bowen's (1993, 2003) studies of Islam among the Gayo in the special province of Aceh offer an ethnohistorical perspective on just such intra-Muslim contestation. Bowen's research revealed that, as the New Order era progressed, many Muslim youth came to view traditionalist rituals as old-fashioned and un-Islamic. There was a structural dimension to these socioreligious changes as well. Muslim traditionalists tended to be village-based. The new youthful reformists tended to identify with trans-regional Muslim organizations and more cosmopolitan ways of life. Reformist observance, Bowen added, "stresses the importance of scripture based norms" and prohibits ritual communication and exchange with spirits. As in Java, another consequence of these reform campaigns in Gayo has been the emergence of a "new definition of religion [that] excluded many older practices" and promoted identification with Islamic observances regarded as

normatively-based and universal, thus meeting the standards required of true "religion" (*agama*, see also Hidayah 2012; Hurriyah 2023).

Syncretism Surviving?

However widespread the growth of movements for Islamic reform, the religious field in today's Indonesia remains highly varied (Hefner 2018). The most widely observed trend in Muslim-majority territories has been for robustly syncretic varieties of Islamic observance to decline (Hefner 2019). However, in several regions Islamic traditions of a broadly syncretic variety, like the Sunda Wiwitan of West Java, have reinvented themselves, developed new social organizations, and survived (Hurriyah 2023).

Another of Indonesia's largest syncretic communities in which the mechanisms of ritual reproduction have proved surprisingly resilient is among ethnic Sasak on the island of Lombok. Social scientific research on Sasak traditions was pioneered in the early 1970s by the Swedish anthropologist Sven Cederroth, whose studies focused on a peasant community in the island's north. Cederroth's research showed that Islam in this region was not a new religious current, the faith had been brought to Lombok from Java in the 1540s. According to indigenous folk histories, two brothers from Java were the first to engage in Islamic appeal. Each established one of the two varieties of Islam dominant among Sasak Muslims until well into the New Order period. The variants were known respectively as *wetu telu* and *wetu lima* (Cederroth 1981, 5; cf. Kingsley 2010).

Of these two traditions of Islamic observance, the *wetu telu* were the more syncretic; until the late nineteenth century they were also the more widely followed. Although self-identifying as Muslim, the *wetu telu* rarely performed Friday congregational prayer; some even used their mosques for the conduct of ritual observances of ancestral veneration (see also Kingsley 2010). In a manner that shows striking parallels with *abangan* in Java, in recent decades the numbers of *wetu telu* syncretists have fallen as growing numbers of Sasak shift to a more normative-minded profession of Islam (Cederroth 1981, 17). Much of the customary *adat* once regarded as "religious" (*agama*) has since the 1970s come to be redefined as non-religious and "customary" (*adat,* see Avonius 2004; Kingsley 2010; and for Indonesia generally, Bagir 2020; Hidayah 2012).

Another population whose syncretic heritage shows similarities with Java's *abangan* and Lombak's Sasak is the Gumai or Gumay of South Sumatra. In a longitudinal study carried out over more than a quarter century, the Japanese anthropologist, Minako Sakai, has shown that most Gumai confidently self-identify as Muslim. However, many also have preserved ritual traditions centered on rites dedicated to a "particular person who is regarded as their origin" (Sakai 1999, iii; see also Sakai 2017). The concern with origins (*asal*) and first-founding ancestors had long been a feature of *abangan* ritual observance in Java (Hefner 1985, 139) and the *wetu telu* in Lombok. It is thought to reflect a cultural heritage once widespread among peoples of a broadly Austronesian background (James Fox 2006, 231).

Sakai also revealed that another key to Gumai success at maintaining their traditions is that in recent years they have redefined their rituals of origin as "custom" (*adat*) rather than "religion" (*agama*; cf. Hidayah 2012). But factors of a more local nature have also allowed the Gumai to maintain and reproduce their ritual traditions. Sakai reports that, unlike Java, "Affiliations with any Islamic organization in the [Gumai's] Lahat area of South Sumatra are uncommon," and "Sending children to an Islamic boarding school is not part of popular local tradition" (Sakai 2017, 51). The Gumai also differ from their *abangan* counterparts in Java in that in the 1950s and early 1960s few indigenes lent their support to the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). As a result, the New Order government that came to power in 1965-1966 did not suspect the Gumai of harboring leftist or PKI sympathies. "The majority of the Gumay people did not risk being accused of supporting communism as a result of practicing their rituals" (ibid., p. 52). As these examples show, among the Gumai as among most Muslim Indonesian syncretists the fate of local traditions has in recent years depended greatly on the ways in which local religious actors have interacted with state agents and policies (see also Hurriyah 2023; Ropi 2012).

The Gender Turn

Another current in the study of Islam in Indonesia that in recent decades has experienced a marked efflorescence is that which has to do with women's and gender/ sexuality studies. Since this topic is the subject of another essay in this collection (see Smith-Hefner chapter), I will mention it but briefly here. One historical point that merits mention

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is that there was an important precedent for the recent gender/sex turn in studies of Islam in Indonesia. The precedent was Hildred Geertz's 1961 work, *The Javanese Family* (Geertz 1961). This highly original book introduced readers to an idea heretofore overlooked in studies of Islam in Indonesia, that families in this Muslim-majority society often showed a matrifocal emphasis. By "matrifocal" Geertz meant, not "matriarchy" or that wives and mothers had greater authority than husbands and fathers, but that mothers tended to be the social and emotional center of the family, the parent to whom children turn most consistently when in need of affection or counsel.

In many parts of Indonesia, this matrifocal emphasis is related to broader kinship realities. Although a few Muslim Indonesian communities have unilineal descent groups, the more widespread kinship order in Indonesia, and the variety practiced by ethnic Javanese, Sundanese, Malays, Madurese, Bugis, Betawi, and Buginese (who together comprise two-thirds of Indonesia's population), is a cognatic or bilateral system. Bilateralism eschews lineality so as to accord equal weight to maternal and paternal relatives. One consequence of this pattern is that, rather than creating powerful, male-dominated patrilineages like those we see in the Arab Middle East, bilateralism encourages a flexible reliance on a small circle of male and female kin. It also allows mothers, sisters, and daughters to exercise considerable social agency (Robinson 2009; Schröter 2013). As the Australian anthropologist Kathryn Robinson has observed, "bilateral systems... open up a space for social practices that allow agency to women, especially in comparison to societies practicing patrilineal descent and patrivirilocal residence" (Robinson 2009, 14; see also Karim 1995).

Consistent with this general pattern of female agency, anthropological research on Muslim communities in Indonesia has demonstrated that women have long been prominent players in local marketplaces (Alexander 1987; Brenner 1998, 72-79; Dewey 1962). Research has also demonstrated that women's agency extends well beyond the household and marketplace into associational life. Nelly van Doorn Harder's 2006 *Women Shaping Islam: Reading the Qur'an in Indonesia* and Anne Rasmussen's *Divine Inspirations* (2010) both demonstrate that Muslim women in Indonesia have succeeded at building their own Islamic associations, and these are among the largest women's religious associations in the world (see also Lussier and Fish

2012). The Islamic study circles held every day across Indonesia include many that accommodate millions of Muslim women and are led by women themselves (Aryanti 2013; Winn 2012). Muslim thought of a gender-egalitarian sort is also given pride of place in the largest Muslim women's organization, including the Muhammadiyah-linked Aisiyah (see Aryanti 2013; Rinaldo 2013). Moreover, Nancy Smith-Hefner's *Islamizing Intimacies: Youth, Sexuality, and Gender in Contemporary Indonesia* (Smith-Hefner 2019) shows that the influence of Islam on gender ideals is not just associational. It extends into Muslim youth's practices of sociability, courtship, and marriage (see Smith-Hefner essay in this collection).

A Democratic and Inclusive Muslim Ethics

In Muslim-majority nations like Indonesia one additional feature of Islamic traditions that has recently become the focus of social research is that associated with the body of Muslim jurisprudence known as *fiqh.* In this final section of this essay, I review research on Islamic jurisprudence and modern Muslim ethics in Indonesia. Developments in these fields, I will suggest, are highly varied. The majority currently retains a strong emphasis on a classical and largely unreformed Islamic jurisprudence (Van Bruinessen 2008). However, a progressive vanguard in both the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama is committed to fiqh reform that is arguably among the most forward-looking not just in Indonesia, but across the broader Muslim world. Although for reasons of brevity the bulk of the observations that follow in this essay focus on efforts of this sort in Nahdlatul Ulama, I would emphasize that in recent years the Muhammadiyah leadership has also initiated bold programs to reform its jurisprudential and ethical traditions in manner consistent with the principles of democracy, pluralist nationalism, and the higher aims of Islamic shariah (*maqasid al-shariah*; see Azca et al. 2019; Burhani 2021; Mu'ti and Khoirudin 2019; Wahid et al. 2015).

In the 2010s the leadership of Nahdlatul Ulama and its youth wing, Ansor, reinitiated a campaign for Islamic jurisprudential reform first inaugurated by Abdurrahman Wahid and Achmad Shiddiq in the 1980s (Barton 2002). These efforts centered on the formulation of a *fiqh* grounded on the principles of modern democracy and equal citizenship rather than a foundational opposition of Muslims against non-Muslim *dhimmis*. Under the leadership of such eminent NU scholars as Shaykh

KH. Abdulla Kavabiri Mahrus, KH. Mustofa Bisri, KH. Yahya Cholil Staquf, and others, NU officials announced their determination to create what they called a *fiqh al-hadarah*, or "civilizational fiqh" (Staquf 2021).

One of the earlier and most globally significant products of NU's civilizational fiqh was presented on May 9 and 10, 2016, when NU hosted an International Summit of Moderate Islamic Leaders (ISOMIL) in Jakarta. The event drew a select group of 400 Muslim scholars from more than 30 nations. At the summit's close, the NU Central Board issued a sixteen-point declaration. The statement decried the growth of Islamist extremism around the world, and appealed to "people of good will of every faith and nation to join in building a global consensus not to politicize Islam," and to work together "to bring about a world in which Islam, and Muslims, are truly beneficent and contribute to the well-being of all humanity." Three days later, the Ansor Movement joined with the Bayt ar-Rahmah foundation to issue a three page statement calling "for an end to conflict in the name of religion, and for qualified *ulama* ... to carefully examine and address those elements of *fiqh*... that encourage segregation, discrimination, and/or violence towards those perceived to be 'non-Muslim."

Following a conference of 300 scholars held at Pondok Pesantren Tambakberas in Jombang, East Java, on May 22, 2017, the Ansor leadership formulated what has come to be known as the Gerakan Pemuda Ansor Declaration on Humanitarian Islam. In this 8000 word declaration, NU *ulama* called for Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh)* to be transformed so as to align with the "higher aims of the shariah" (*maqasid al-shariah*) so as to "reflect the constantly shifting circumstances of life on earth." The declaration made a direct appeal to Muslim scholars to provide jurisprudential sanction for two world-historical developments not explicitly recognized within established Islamic *fiqh*, the ascendance of the nation-state as a primary unit of political organization around the world, and the late-twentieth century founding of the United Nations and, with it, the global diffusion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see Staquf 2021).

This declaration was soon followed by a no less remarkable document, the forty-page *Nusantara Manifesto,* crafted at the Second Global Unity Forum organized by the Ansor youth wing of the NU in Yogyakarta in October 2018, and co-authored by NU's current executive director,

KH. Yayha Cholil Staquf. It is in this document that the concept of *fiqh al-hadarah* received its most comprehensive formulation. Attendees at the international conference agreed on the following reforms to Islamic ethics and jurisprudence:

> "that the modern nation state is theologically legitimate; that there is no legal category of infidel (*kafir*) within a modern nation state, only 'fellow citizens'; that Muslims must obey the laws of any modern nation state in which they dwell; and that Muslims have a religious obligation to foster peace rather than automatically wage war on behalf of their co-religionists, whenever conflict erupts between Muslim and non-Muslim populations anywhere in the world" (Staquf 2019).

The *Nusantara Manifesto* also makes clear that one of the movement's primary objectives is to revise those "tenets of classical Islamic law... which are premised upon perpetual conflict with those who do not embrace or submit to Islam." As an example of such enmity the *Manifesto* cited the 2016-2017 campaign against the Chinese Christian governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjajaha Purnama ("Ahok"; see Hefner 2024). The *Manifesto* decries such campaigns as examples of "the weaponization of religion and its abuse for political purposes." It also underscores that such efforts have been exploited by "extremist groups that reject the existence of Indonesia as a multi-religious and pluralistic nation state" and that claim "to have a monopoly on the correct interpretation and practice of Islam." In the face of such discriminatory efforts, the *Manifesto* states, all Indonesians must work "to re-enliven the pluralistic and tolerant values that lie at the heart of Indonesia's national consensus" and "to revitalize the understanding and practice of religion as *rahmah* (universal love and compassion)."

The NU project for a civilizational jurisprudence was not promoted at the national headquarters alone. From August 2023 to early 2024, the NU leadership organized no fewer than 231 *halaqoh* study circles at Islamic boarding schools across Indonesia to introduce the aims and methods of a civilizational *fiqh*. The *halaqoh* meetings were sponsored by NU's Institute for Study and Human Resource Development, under the direction of its current Chairperson, KH. Ulil Abshar Abdalla. With the support of the North-American-based and NU-linked Sufi organization, Bayt ar-Rahmah, NU also disseminated its proposals for a Humanitarian Islam and Civilizational Jurisprudence, not just in Indonesia, but across the broader world, including in Western nations.

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I wish to underscore again that, although my discussion here has focused on NU, efforts to formulate democratic and inclusive ethics like these are not limited to NU alone. Similar efforts have been undertaken in the Muhammadiyah from the 1980s onward. Indeed, the effort to forge and promote an "inclusive ethics" in Muhammadiyah circles has included an extraordinary program to reach out to and recruit non-Muslim students into local Muhammadiyah schools (see Mu'ti and Khoirudin 2019).

As a result of these and other initiatives, the NU and Muhammadiyah have been rightly described as the "central pillars" and "primary actors" behind Indonesia's return to democracy in 1998-1999 (Azca et al. 2019, x, xvii). Both Muslim associations were able to take the fruits of their democratic efforts forward because they had a "structural breadth" and "grassroots penetration" that reached upward into the ranks of Muslim elites and downwards into mainstream society (Azca et.al. 2019, xxv). As a result of this remarkable combination of enlightened leadership and broad-based support, intellectuals and activists from these two Muslim mass organizations are today at the forefront of the global effort to build a democratic and inclusive Muslim political ethics.

Conclusion

I have in this essay provided what is for reasons of space an abbreviated review of social scientific research of a broadly sociological-anthropological nature on Islam and society in Indonesia. By way of conclusion, I would make just a few summary points. The first is that social research on Islam in Indonesia has convincingly shown that over the past 75 years this Muslim majority nation has experienced an Islamic resurgence that is arguably among the most transformative of any in the Muslim-majority world. The practice and profession of normative-minded piety is no longer a *santri* preserve; they are features of Indonesian Muslim life generally (see also Saat and Burhani 2020).

A second finding from the social scientific study of Islam in Indonesia is no less remarkable. The social and political expressions of the Islamic resurgence have included a diverse array of Muslim personalities and political currents. The phenomenon has included a significant number of Muslim organizations committed to a conventional or even exclusivist practice of Islam and nation (Hadiz 2006; Hasan 2006). But the most remarkable feature of the Islamic ascendance in Indonesia

is that the country's major Muslim organizations have used the social and intellectual capital generated by the resurgence, not to press for an exclusive political framework like that of an Islamic state, but to promote a democratic and multireligious Indonesia.

In their 2018 book, the political scientists Thomas Pepinsky, William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani have used statistical surveys to underscore this same point. The authors show that the growth in Islamic piety in Indonesia over the past generation has not resulted in Muslim Indonesians supporting any single or narrow variety of Muslim politics, least of all one Islamist in orientation. The authors observe that, "there is no evidence that the religious orientations of Indonesian Muslims have any systematic relation with their political preferences" (Pepinsky, Liddle, and Mujani 2018, 4). This finding challenges the idea that the growing piety leads to a heightened commitment to Islamist and anti-democratic varieties of politics.

The overview I have presented in this review of the social science literature on Islam in Indonesia also confirms the findings of two other recent studies on Islamic ethics and politics in Indonesia conducted by leading Indonesian scholars of Islam. I am referring to the brilliant works by Ahmad Najib Burhani (2019) and Muhammad Najib Azca et al. (2019). Both studies conclude (to quote from the executive summary of Azca et al. 2019) that "One of the key factors behind the success story of Indonesia's democratization are Islamic-based mass organizations, namely Muhammadiyah and NU" (ibid. p. xxiii; see also Abdillah 1997). Both organizations are rightly referred to as "the pillars of 'Civil Islam'" in Indonesia. I could not agree more fully (see Hefner 2000; Hefner and Bagir 2021).

However great Muslim Indonesia's democratic achievements, it goes without saying that there are also anti-democratic and exclusivist currents in this vast Southeast Asian country. Vedi Hadiz (2016) and Noorhaidi Hasan (2006) have provided us with in-depth overviews of some of the more aggressively anti-democratic movements; I have discussed the broader phenomenon of exclusivist and anti-democratic variants of Islam in a recent book (Hefner 2024; see also Fealy and Ricci 2019; Hasyim 2021; Makin 2017; Mietzner and Muhtadi 2020). Mujiburrahman's 2006 study of the agonistic nature of Muslim-Christian relations in New Order similarly reminds us that interreligious relations in modern Indonesia have not always been

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harmonious. Muslim Indonesia's distinctiveness, then, does not lie in its never having witnessed anti-democratic movements or uncivil currents. The country's distinction lies in its having weathered the political trials of earlier decades and having emerged with the strongest movement in the world for a democratic and inclusive Muslim politics.

This brings me to a third and final observation about the study of Islam in Indonesia. It is that, notwithstanding the claims of Western secularization-theorists a generation ago, Indonesia shows that a high wall of separation between religion and state is *not* necessary to make democracy work in an effective and sustainable way. I would point out that such a high wall of separation may have been attempted in the U.S., but it was *not* the norm in Western Europe during that world area's spurt of democratic growth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Moensma and Soper 1997). In fact, most Western European countries still today have established churches and/or special financial arrangements for the support of certain state-recognized religions, much like those we see here in Indonesia. In a 2006 study of the separation of religion and state in 152 countries, the political scientist, Jonathan Fox, showed that a full separation of religion and state (defined as "no state support for religion and no state restrictions on religion" [Fox 2006, 537]) is found *nowhere in the world* except the United States. This is to say that, in pursuing a collaborative relationship between religious authorities and the state, or what Jeremy Menchik (2016) has aptly referred to as a "godly nationalism," Muslim Indonesians are *not* somehow violating some tenet of democracy and citizen equality. Democracy does not require an assertive secularist separation of religious and state actors (see Kuru 2021). In fact, among religion-minded peoples like those here in Indonesia, democracy benefits from their virtuous-circle collaboration.

Muslim politics in Indonesia has fulfilled its promise of being democratic and inclusive, then, not because the country has pursued a assertively secularist separation of religion and state, but because it encourages citizens to draw on the most inclusive and egalitarian of their religious values to "make democracy work" (see also Saeed 1999). In an age of growing right-wing populism and Islamophobia in the West, Indonesia's achievement offers an important lesson to the world. It is that, contrary to earlier forecasts, religion still matters in many nations, not least here in democratic Indonesia. No less important,

religion can be made to "matter" in a democratic and inclusive way where it offers religiously-grounded affirmations of human dignity and equality. It is precisely that affirmation that Muslim democrats in Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and like-minded organizations have offered their fellow citizens in Indonesia. In these and other ways, the country offers lessons on religion and democracy relevant, not just for Indonesians, but for all humanity.

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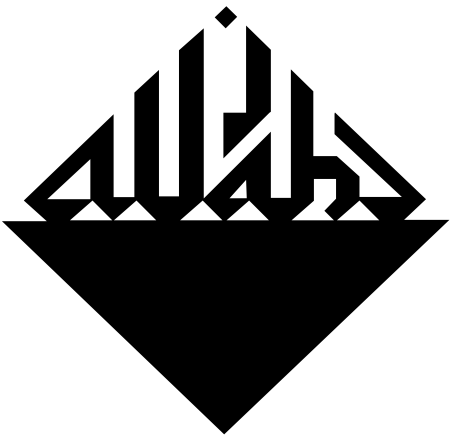

Gender and Islam in Indonesian Studies, A Retrospective

Nancy J. Smith-Hefner

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