Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, Schwarz. *A nation in waiting: Indonesia's search for stability*, Oxford: West view press, 2000.

Adcock, C S. *Debating conversion, silencing caste: The limited scope of religious freedom* in Journal of law and religion, Published by Cambridge University Press, Vol. 29, No. 3 (October 2014): 363-377

Adhi, Priamarizki and Dedi, Dinarto. *Capturing anti- Jokowi sentiments and Islamic conservative masses: PKS 2019 strategy*, Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2019.

Ahmad, Permata Norman. "Study of the internal dynamics of the Prosperous Justice Party and Jemaah Tarbiyah", in eds; Djik, Kees van and Kapten, Nico J G. *The Indonesian experience after the fall of Suharto*, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016.

Aiyar, Mani Shanker. "Politics and religion in India", in *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2007) 42-50.

Akkara, Anto. *Kandhamal: A blot on Indian secularism*, New Delhi: Media House, 2009.

Al – Anni, Khalil. *Inside the Muslim brotherhood*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Allan, Charles. *Ashoka: The search for India's lost emperor*, London: Abacus, 2012.

Amnesty International 2019, Halt the hate, 4 October, 2019. https://amnesty.org.in/wpcontent/uplaods/2019/10Halt-the-Hate-Keyfindings-Amnesty-International-Indi-I.pdf

Andersen, Walter K and Damle, Shridhar D. *The brotherhood in saffron: The Rasthriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu revivalism*, New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1987.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Appleby, R. Scott. *The ambivalence of the sacred*, Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2000.

Armstrong, Karen. *Battle for God: A history of fundamentalism*, New York: Ballantine Books, 2001.

Aristoni, "Integration of Sharia in zakat law", *Jurnal Zakat dan Wakaf*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2021): 18 – 33, https://journal.lainkudus.ac.id (Accessed on 17/7/2022)

Art 28 E, *The 1945 Constitution of the republic of Indonesia*. As amended by the first amendment of 1999, the second amendment of 2000, the third amendment of 2001 and the fourth amendment of 2002.

Asad, Talal. "Reading a modern classic: W.C. Smiths the meaning and the end of religion", in *History of religion*, Vol.40, No. 3 (Feb. 2001): 205 -222.

Asad, Talal. "Trying to Understand French secularism". In Lawrence Ed. *Vries Hent de and Sullivan, Political theologies: Public religion in a post secular world*. New York: Fordham University Press, (2006): 494 – 523.

Asad, Talal. *Formation of the secular: Christianity, Islam, modernity*, California: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Asad, Talal. *On suicide bombing*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Ashok, Malik. "Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh: Exploring a new paradigm", ORF special report, Observer Research Foundation, No. 94, August 2019. www.orfrontline.org/research/jammu-kashmir-and-ladakh-exploring-a-new-paradigm-54185

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Aspinall, Edward and Mietzner, Marcus. *Problems of democratization in Indonesia: Elections, institutions and society*, Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2010.

Ayodya Verdict: Indian top court gives holy site to Hindus, *BBC News*, November 9, 2019, www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-50355775

Bajoria, Jayshree. 'India's cow protection groups raise tensions' Commentary, Human Right Watch Dispatch, March 21, 2016, www.hru.org/news/2016/03/21/dispatches-indias-cow-protection-groups-raise-tension

Barr, James. *Escaping from fundamentalism,* London: SCM Press, 1984.

Basu, Amrita. *Violent conjunctures in democratic India*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Beckford, James A. The return of public religion? A critical assessment of a popular claim, *Nordic Journal of religion and society, 23*, (January 2010): 121 -136.

Benavides, Gustavo and Daly, M. W. *Religion and political power*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.

BJP leader Adityanath makes hate speech again, *Hindustan Times*, September 9, 2014, www.hindustantimes.com/india/bjp-leader-adityanath-makes-hate-speech-again-story-AjZpzOEHIDuBr4k7STEJ.html

BJP MP Sakshi Maharaj says ready to kill and get killed for our mother, calls SP's Azam Khan a Pakistani', October 6, 2016, www.news18.com/politics/bjp-mp-sakshi-maharaj-says -ready-to-kill-and-get-killed-for-our-mother-calls-sps-azam-khan-a-pakistani-1143939

Bolland, B J. *The struggle of Islam in modern Indonesia*, The Hague: Matinus Nighoff, 1971.

Bose, "Ethnic cleansing in Ahmedabad", *Outlook*, November, 2002. www.outlookindia.com/website/story/ethnic-cleansing-in-ahmedabad/214962

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Brown, W. Norman. "The sanctity of the cow in Hinduism", in *Economic Weekly*, (February 1964).

Bruinessen, Martin Van. *Contemporary developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the "Conservative Turn"*, Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2013.

Budijanto, Bambang. "Islam in Indonesia." in *Transformation*, Vol. 20, No. 4, (2003): 216-219.

Bunte, Macro and Ufen, Andreas. *Democratization in Post – Suharto Indonesia*, Landon: Routledge, 2009.

Burhani, Ahamad Najib. "Piagam Jakarta dan Piagam Madinah", *Kompas*, September 31, 2004.

Bush, Robin. "Regional *Sharia* regulations in Indonesia: Anomaly or symptom" Ed; Greg Fealy and Sally White. *Expressing Islam: Religious life and politics in Indonesia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, (2008): 174 -191.

Buswell, Robert E. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol 2, USA: Macmillan Reference, 2004.

Campo, Juan E. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New York: Facts on file Inc, 2009.

Casanova, Jose. *Public religions in the modern world*, Chicago and Landon: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Cesari, Jocelyne. *We God's people: Christianity, Islam and Hinduism in the world of nations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2022.

Cherian, M T. *Hindu agenda and minority rights: A Christian response*, Bangalore: Centre for Contemporary Christianity, 2007.

Constitution and rules as amended by the national council at Delhi 6th Feb 2004, Bharatiya Janata Party.

Corbridge, Stuart and John, Harris. *Reinventing India: Liberalization Hindu nationalism and popular democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Cow protection legislation and vigilante violence in India", www.jstor.org/stable/resrep32030

Craig, Mark Calhoun, Juergensmeyer and Van Antwerpen Jonathan. *Rethinking Secularism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Criminalizing the practice of faith: A report by PUCL Karnataka on hate crimes against Christians in Karnataka, December 2021. www.pucl.org/sites/default/files/reports/(final)%20criminalizing%20the%practice%20of%20faith.pdf

Crossed and crucified: Parivar's war against minorities in Orissa: A report by PUCL, Bhubaneswar and Kashipur solidarity group, Delhi, April 2009, P. 7, https://cupdf.com/document/crossed-and-crucified-parivars-war-against-minorities-in-orissa.html?page=1 (Accessed on 14/7/2022)

Dani, Muhtada and Buehler, Michael. "Democratization and the diffusion of *Sharia* law: Comparative insights from Indonesia" in *Southeast Asia Research*, Vol. 24, (2016): 261 - 282.

Dayal, John. *Gujarat 2002: Untold and re-told stories of Hindutva lab*, New Delhi: Media House, 2002.

Dibyesh, Anand. *Hindu nationalism in India and politics of fear*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Dijk, Kees vas and Kaptein, Nico. *Islam, Politics and change: The Indonesian experience after the fall of Suharto*, Chicago: Leiden University Press, 2016.

Dirk, Tomsa. "Moderating Islamism in Indonesia: Tracing patterns of party change in the Prosperous Justice Party" in *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 3, (September 2012): 486 – 498.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Durkheim, Emile. *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, London: The Free Press, 1995.

Durkheim, Emile. *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, London: Routledge, 2002.

Durkheim, Emile. *Division of Labour in Society*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1984.

Dutta, Sumi Sukanya. "BJP's 2014 win was historic and Hindutva means nationhood, says new class XII text"; *New Indian Express*, May, 2018. www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2018/may/exclusive-bjp-2014-win-historic-and-hindutva-means-nationhood

Edwards, Beverley Milton. *Islamic fundamentalism since 1945*, London: Routledge, 2005.

Effendi, Bahtiar. *Islam and state in Indonesia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.

Elizabeth, Pisani and Michael, Buehler. *Why do Indonesian politicians promote Sharia laws? An analytical framework for Muslim – majority democracies*, Third world Quarterly Published online Routledge, Taylor and Francis, Vol.3, Jul 29, (2016) https://tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01436597.2016.1206453?journalCode=ctwqzo.

Ethnic cleansing in Ahmedabad, A preliminary report by the SAHMAT fact finding team to Ahmedabad, 10 – 11th March 2002. www.outlookindia.com/website/story/ethnic-cleansing-in-ahmedabad/214962

Fanani, Ahmad Fuad. "Implementation of Sharia bylaws and its negative social outcome for Indonesian women", *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2017), 153 – 174.

Farhadian, Charles E. *Christianity, Islam, and Nationalism in Indonesia*, London: Routledge, 2005.

Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Fealy, Greg and White, Sally. *Expressing Islam: Religious life and politics in Indonesia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008.

Fealy, Greg. *Islamic radicalism in Indonesia: The faltering revival? In Southeast Asian Affairs* Singapore: Published by ISEAC, 2004.

Fika Fitriasari, "The growth of Islamic banking in Indonesia", https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/11072-EN-the-growth-of-islamic-banking-in-indonesia.pdf

Flood, Gavian *An introduction to Hinduism*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Fox, Frampton F. *Violence and peace: Creating a culture of peace in the contemporary context of violence*, Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation, 2010.

Gandhi, Mohandas. *Collected works*, 100 Vols, New Delhi: Government of India, 1925.

Gary, Bell f. "Multiculturalism in law is legal pluralism: Lessons from Indonesia, Singapore and Canada", in *Singapore Journal of Legal Studies,* Singapore: Published by National University of Singapore, (December 2006): 315 – 330.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of culture*, New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Geertz, Clifford. *The religion of Java*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Ghosh, Partha Sarathy. *BJP and the evolution of Hindu nationalism: from periphery to center*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and distributors, 1999.

Ghoshal, Devjyot. "Amit Sha vows to throw illegal immigrants into Bay of Bengal", in *Reuters,* April 13, 2019. www.reuters.com/article/india-election-speech-idUSKCN

"Godhra anniversary: 10th year of shame for Gujarat, says Sanjiv Bhatt, February 28, 2012, https://dnaindia.com/india/report-godhra-anniversary-10th-yr-of-shame-for-gujarat-says-sanjiv-bhatt-1655992 (Accessed on 16/7/2022)

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Golwalkar, Madhav Dadashiv. *We, or Our nationhood defined*, Nagpur: Bharat Publication, 1939.

Gonda, Jan. *Handbook of Oriental studies: Section 3 Southeast Asia*, Koln: E . J. Brill, 1975.

Greg and Barton, *Abdurruhman Wahid: Muslim democrat, Indonesian president: A new view from inside*, Honolulu: University Hawaii Press, 2002.

Greg, Fealy. *"Divided majority: Limits of Indonesia political Islam" in Shahram Akbarzadeh and Abdulla, Islam and political legitimacy,* Landon: Routledge, 2003.

Griffith, Lee. *War on terrorism and the terror on God*, London: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2002.

Gupta, Surabhi and Ojah, Shashi Bhushan. "Article 370 of the Indian Constitution: A study in special reference to legal dimensions and implications", in *International Journal of Law,* Vol. 4, Issue. 3, (May 2018): 1 -4. http://www.lawjournals.org/download/320/4-2-26-501.pdf

Hasan, Noorhadi. "Islamist party, electoral politics and dakwah mobilization among youth: the Prosperous Justice Party in Indonesia", in *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Vol. 6, No. 1, (June 2012).

Hashmi, Shabana. Webinar on Godhara Incident on 30/3/2022

Hate speech from BJP's Vinay Kaiyar: Why do Muslims live in India, *NDTV*, Feb 7, 2018, www.ndtv.com/video/news/hate-speech-from-bjp-s-vinay-katiyar-why-do-muslims-live-in-india-478336

Hawley, John Stratton and Narayanan, Vasudha .*The life of Hinduism,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Hecker, Roger. *Religious freedom,* New York: St. Pauls, 1980.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Hefner, Robert W. *Civil Islam: Muslims and democratization in Indonesia*, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Herdenia, L S. *Sabko Sanmati De Bhagwan: RSS ideology greatest danger for the country*, Bhopal: Ls Herdenia, 2014.

Heredia, Rudolf C. Gandhi's Hinduism and Savakar's Hindutva, in *Economic and political weekly*, published by Economic and political weekly. Vol. 44, No. 29 (Jul 18-24, 2009) 62-67.

Hoover, R Kenneth. Conservatism. In Mary Hawkesworth and Maurice Koyan (Eds), *Encyclopedia of government and politics*, London and New York: Routledge,1992.

Hoskote, Amitabh "Jammu and Kashmir and the politics of article 370: Seeking legality for the illegitimate: in *PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.3 (1), https://doi.org/10/20319/pijss.2017.s31.813835

Howe, Leo. *The changing world of Bali*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005.

http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ctwq20.

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1feYqY2Cp1-6e2W83_SwKX0ZCC-d9HBi90dTEAzKUCCA/edit#responses

https://eci.gov.in/statistical-report/statistical-report

https://kpu.go.id/dmdocuments/modul_1d.pdf

https://kpu.go.id/page/read/1099/hasil-pemilu-2019

https://pemilu2019.kpu.go.id/#/dprri/rekapitulasi

Human Right Watch, Vol. 14, No.3, April 2002.

Idinopulos, Thomas A. and Brian. ed; *Reappraising Durkheim for the study and teaching of religion today*, Koln: Brill, 2002.

Ilaiah, Kancha. *Baffalo Nationalism: A critique of spiritual fascism*, Kolkota: Samya, 2004.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

India: EFICOR responds to communal violence in Kandhamal: Orissa update 4, February 12, 2009.www.reliefweb.int/report/india-eficor-responds-communal-violence-kandhamal-orissa-update-4

India: Vigilante 'cow protection' groups attack minorities' Feb 18, 2019. www.hrw.org/report/2019/02/18/violent-cow-protection-india/vigilante-groups-attack-minorities

Intan, Benyamin Fleming. *"Public religion" and the Pancasila – bases state of Indonesia: An ethical and sociological analysis,* New York: Peter Lang, 2008.

Islam, Shamsul. *Hindu nationalism and Rashtriya Swayamsevek Sangh*, New Delhi: Media House, 2015.

Islam, Shamsul. *Religious dimensions of Indian nationalism: A study of RSS,* New Delhi: Media House, 2006.

Islam, Shamsul. *RSS marketing fascism as Hindu nationalism*, New Delhi: Media House, 2018.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. *The Hindu nationalist movement and Indian politics: 1925 to the 1990s: Strategies of identity building and mobilization*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1999.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*, Pinceton and Oxford: Pinceton University Press, 2007.

Jaffrelot, Christopher. "Education, ours and their", *Indian Express*, 16 November 2019, www.carnegieendowment.org/2019/11/16bjp-has-been-effective-in-transmitting-its-version-of-indian-history-to-next-generation-of-learners

Jaiswal, Nimisha. "Under Modi government, VIP hate speech skyrockets – By 500%", April, 2018, www.ndtv.com/india-news/under-narendra-modi-government-vip-hate-speech-skyrockets-by-500-1838925

Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Jha, D N. Brahmanical intolerance in early India in *Social Scientist*, Published by Social Scientist, Vol. 44, No. 5/6, (May – June 2016): 3-10.

Jha, D N. *The myth of the holy cow*, New Delhi: Navayana Publishing, 2009.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. *The New Cold War? Religious nationalism confronts the secular state*, Berkely: University of California Press, 1993.

Jun Kim, Hyung. "The changing interpretation: religious freedom in Indonesia", in *Journal of Southeast Asian studies*, , Singapore: Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of Department of history, National University of Singapore, Vol. 29, No. 2, (Sep 1998): 357-373.

Karina, Tehusijarna. "Political parties clash over *Sharia* – based bylaws", *The Jakarta Post*, Nov 19, 2018. thejakartapost.com/news/2018/11/19political-parties-clash-over-*Sharia*-based-bylaws-html, Accessed on 3/2/2021.

Karnataka orders survey of Churches to check forced conversion, *Times of India*, October 16, 2021. www.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bengaluru/karnataka-orders-survey-of-churches-to-check-forced-conversion/articleshow/87053650.cmg

Karnataka passes anti-conversion bill in assembly, *Times of India*, 23 December, 2021.www.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Karnataka-passes-anti-conversion-bills-in-ssembly/articleshow/88454867.cms

Katju, Manjari. "The politics of Ghar Wapsi" in *Economic and political weekly*, Vol. 50, No.1, (January 2015): 21 -24.

Kikue, Hamayotsu. "The political rise of the Prosperous Justice Party in post – authoritarian Indonesia: Examining the political economy of Islamist mobilization in Muslim

Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

democracy", in *Asian Survey*, Published by University of California Press, Vol. 51, No. 5, (September/October 2011): 971 -992.

Kinney, Ann R. *Worshiping Siva and Buddha: The temple art of east Java*, Honolulu: University of Hawai Press, 2003.

Klinken, Gerry van. *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia*, London: Routledge, 2007.

Konety, Akim Neneg. "The shifting of halal certification system in Indonesia: From society centric to state centric, *MIMBAR*, Vol. 35, No. 1, (2019): 115 – 126.

Kressel, Neil J. *Bad faith: The danger of religious extremism*, New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2008.

Ravinjay Kuckreja, "The Hare Krishanas in Bali: Localized religion and new religious movement" in *Religio: Jurnal Studi Agama Agama*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March, 2022): 24-36.

Kunkler, Mirjam and Stepan, Alfred. *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.

Kumar, Ruci, "Ayodya: Ram Mandir construction work moving in fast pace; foundation stone of garbha griha on June1", 25 May 2022, https://indiatvnews.com/news/india/ayodya-ram-mandir-construction-work-update-garbhagriha-ram-temple-photos-sactum-sancturum.

Kuruvachira, J. *Roots of Hindutva: A critical study of Hindu fundamentalism and nationalism*, New Delhi: Media House, 2005.

Lambert, Ricahrd D. *Hindu Muslim riots*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Lemer, Hanna. Permissive constitutions, democracy, and religious freedom in India, Indonesia, Israel and Turkey, in *World politics*, Vol. 65, Issue 4, October 2013): 609 – 655.

Lessy, Zulkipi. "Zakat (Alms-giving) management in Indonesia: Whose job should it be? Fakultas Ilmu Agama Islam, Universitas Islam Indonesia, 2009,

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

https://jurnel.uii.ac.id/index.php/JEI/article/view/2557 (Accessed on 15/7/2022)

Lindsey, Tim. "Islamization, law, and the Indonesian courts: the more things to change" Ed; Robert W. Hefner. *Handbook of contemporary Indonesia*, Landon: Taylor and Francis, 2018.

Long, Jeffery D. *A vision for Hinduism: Beyond Hindu nationalism*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2006.

Lodrick, Deryck O. "Cattle in South Asian Culture", *Dialectical Anthropology*, Vol. 29, No.1 (2005),

Ludden, David. *Making India Hindu: religion, community and the politics of democracy in India*, London: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Machmudi, Yon. *Islamizing Indonesia: The rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party*, Australia: ANU Press, 2008.

Madhav, Godbole. *Secularism: India at crossroads*, New Delhi: Rupa Publications, 2016.

Mafula, Faricha and Miraj, Denizar Abdurrahman. "Islamic Insurance in Indonesia: Opportunities and challenges on developing the industry", *Journal of Islamic Economic Laws*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (January 2022)

Malekar, Anosh "Silence if the lambs" in *The Week*, April 7, 2002.

Mangat, Ajay P. "Nobody saw Modi's fall: no more Congress to topple BJP?" *Malayala Manorama*, March 12, 2022. www.manoramaonline.com/news/latest-news/2022/12/bjp-marks-anideological-win-in-5-state-elections-what-is-next-html

Manickam, Thomas. *Role of religions in national integration*, Bangalore: Dharmaram Publications, 1984.

"Manmohan Singh hits back at Modi, blames him for 2002 Gujarat riots, *Hindustan Times*, Jan 3, 2014, https://hindustantimes.com/indian/manmohan-singh-hits-back-at-modi-blames-

Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

him-for-2002-gujarat-riots-story-eavlgdJvCBBJqiOExwmTGK (Accessed on 15/7/2022)

Marshal, Paul. 'The ambiguities of religious freedom in Indonesia, Published Online', *Review of faith and international affairs*, Vol. 16, Issue 1. March 6, 2018. https://doi.org.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/10.1080/15570274.2018.1433588

Martin, Bruinessen. Van *Contemporary developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the conservative turn*, Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2013.

Mathew, Liz *The Indian Express*, March 4, 2016.

Mattam, A D. *Religions and religious freedom in India,* New Delhi: Media House, 2004.

Mayer, Ann Elizabeth. "Law and religion in the Muslim Middle East", in *The American Journal of comparative law*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Oxford: Oxford University Press, (1987): 127 – 184.

Mehta, Asoka and Patwardhan, Achyut. *The Communal Triangle in India*, Allahabad: Kitabstan, 1942.

Mellisa, Crouch. "Stretching the scope of special autonomy in Aceh: The controversial Quran requirement for election candidates" in *Australian Journal on Asian Law,* Vol. 11, No. 1,(2009): 135 – 158.

Merrigan, Terrence and John Friday Ed; *The past, present and future of theologies of interreligious dialogue*, Oxford Scholarship, 2017.

Michael, Buehler. "Rise of *Sharia* by – laws in Indonesian districts", in *Southeast Asian Research*, Vol. 16, No. 2, (2008): 255 – 285.

Michael, Buehler. *The politics of Sharia law: Islamist activists and the state in democratizing Indonesia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Mohamad, Rapik. "The politics of Islamic criminal law in Indonesia", The first International Conference on Law, Business and Government, Indonesia, UBL, 2013.

Muhamad, Ase Fadhly. "Mengkagi ulang eksistensi perda bermuatan Syariah: Sebuah pendekatan yuridis normali", Jakarta, Direktorat Jenderal Badan Peradilan Agama, Mahkamah Augung Republik Indonesia, 2009.

Muhamad, Wildan. "Islamism and democratization in the post 411 and 212 rallies of Indonesia, Southeast Asia on Southeast Asia, 19/ January 2016. https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/24475/1/wildan-Thinking-ASEAN-Jan2017-Islamism%20%20democratization.pdf (Accessed on 4/11/2021)

Muhtadi, Bruhanuddin. The quest for Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia, in *Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 37, No. 4, (2009): 623-645.

Mujiburahman. *Feeling threatened: Muslim Christian relations in Indonesia's new order*, London: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

Newsweek, New York, 26 April, 1993.

Norris, Pippa and Inglehart, Ronald. *Sacred and secular: Religion and politics worldwide*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Nussboum, Martha, *The clash within: Democracy, religious violence and India's future*, Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2006.

"Overview of the attacks against Muslims", https://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/india/India0402-03.htm#P649_116912 (Accessed on 14/7/2022)

Pandey, Rjendra. *Minorities in India*, New Delhi: Aph Publishing Corporation, 1997.

Perform Quran reading test for legislator candidates, *Jakarta Post,* September 1, 2008.

Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Permata, Ahmad Norma. *Ideology, institutions political actions: Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia*, ASIEN 109, (October 2008): 22 -36.

Platzdasch, Bernhard. *Islamism in Indonesia*: *Politics in the emerging democracy*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009.

Playing with fire: How increasing hate speech threatens India, *The Week*, February 9, 2022. www.theweek.co.uk/india/955693/why-rising-hate-speech-india-disaster-waiting-to-happen

Poonam, Snigda. 'To protect Indian culture, protect gau: Adityanath at meeting of cow vigilantes', *Hindustan Times*, Number 5, 2017.

Porter, Donald. *Managing politics and Islam in Indonesia*, London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2000.

"Post-Godhra riots have put India to shame", April 27, 2009, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/surat/post-godhra-riots-have-put-india-to-shame/articleshow/4456215.cms Accessed on 14/7/2022

Prawiranegara, Sjafruddin. "Pancasila as the sole foundation, in Indonesia", published by Southeast Asia programme publications at Cornell University. No.38 (Oct, 1984): 74-83.

Pringle, Robert. *Understanding Islam in Indonesia: Politics and democracy*, Singapore: Editions Difier Millet Pte Ltd, 2010.

Puniyani, Ram. *Ambedkar and Hindutva Politics*, New Delhi: Pharos Media and Publishing Pvt Ltd, 2016.

Puniyani, Ram. *Ghar Wapsi conversions and freedom of religion*, New Delhi: Media House, 2015.

Puniyani, Ram. *Hindu extreme right wing groups: Ideology and consequences*, New Delhi: Media House, 2004.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Puniyani, Ram. *Indian nationalism versus Hindu nationalism*, New Delhi: Pharos Media and Publishing Pvt Ltd, 2016.

Puri, Geeta. *Hindutva politics in India: Genesis political strategies and growth of Bharatiya Janata Party*, New Delhi: UBS Publishers, 2005.

Radakrishnan, S. ed; *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1936.

Rahman, Fazlur. *Revival and reformation in Islam: A study of Islamic fundamentalism and nationalism*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2006.

Rajarajan, R. "Secularism in Indian politics: Theory and practice" *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.68. No.2, (April – June, 2007), 403 -412.

Rajan, Naini. *The story of secularism: 15th – 21st Century*, New Delhi: Paranjoy, 2016.

Rao, Nandini and Reddy, Rammanohar. "Ayodya, the print media and communalism" eds.,

Ricklefs, M C. *A history of modern Indonesia since C. 1200*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Ricklefs, M C. *Islamization and its opponents in Java: C 1930 to the present*, Singapore: NUS Press, 2012.

Robert, Pringle. *Understanding Islam in Indonesia: Politics and diversity*, Singapore: Editions Didier Millet PTE Ltd, 2010.

Robert, Thomas, Julian and Peter. *Destruction and conservation of cultural property*, London: Routledge, 2004.

Robin, Bush. "Reginal *Sharia* regulations in Indonesia: Anomaly or symptom?" Eds; Greg, Fealy and White, Sally. *Expressing Islam: Religious life and politics in Indonesia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, (2008): 174 – 191.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s**
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Rumadi, "Regulasi bernuansa agama dan arah demokrasi: Survey sigkat dari berbagai daerah" in *Agama dan kontestasi ruang public Islamisme, konflik, dan demokrasi*, Jakarta: The Wahid Institute: 2011.

Sachau, *Edward*. *Alberni's India*, New Delhi: Rupa. Co, 2009.

Salim, Arskal. *Challenging the secular state: The Islamization of law in modern Indonesia*, Honolulu: University of Hawai Press, 2008.

Salim, Arskal. "Muslim politics in Indonesia's democratization: The religious majority and rights of minorities in the post new order era", in Eds; Mclead, Ross H and Madntyre, Andreas. *Indonesia: Democracy and the promise of good governance*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies: 2007.

Savarkar, V D. *Essentials of Hindutva*, New Delhi: Hind Sahitya Sadan, 2003.

Schlensoy, Stephan, "Hinduism and politics: On the role of religious antagonisms in Indian history and politics",in *Dei Fredens Warte*, Vol. 44, No. 2/3, (2007): 159-169.

Schwarz, Hans. *Search for God: Christianity, Athesism, Secularism, World Religions*, Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1975.

Sen, Amatya. *The argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian history, culture and identity*, New York: Farrar, Strans and Giroux, 2005.

Sen, Ronojoy. *Articles of faith: Religion, secularism and the Indian Supreme Court*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Shakoor, Farzana. "Babri Mosque at Ayodya", in *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 46, No. 2. (April 1993).

Sharma, Arvind. Education about Asia in *Asian philosophies and religions*, Vol. 25, No. 1, (Spring 2020)

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Sharma, Arvind. On Hindu, Hindustan, Hinduism and Hindutva, in *Numen*, Vol. 49, No. 1 Published by Brill, (2002): 1-36.

Sharma, Arvind. *Problematizing religious freedom,* Montreal Quebec: Springer, 2011.

Sharma, Ram Sharan. "The Ayodhya issue", in eds. Robert, Thomas, Julian and peter *Destruction and conservation of cultural property*, London: Routledge, (2004): 138 – 153.

Shepherd, John J. *Ninian Smart on world religions*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

Shukla, I K. *Hindutva: An autopsy of fascism as a terrorist cult and other essays*, New Delhi: Media House, 2005.

Sikand, Yoginder and Katju, Manjari. "Mass conversion to Hinduism among Indian Muslims", in *Economic and political weekly*, Vol. 29, No. 34, (August 1994), 2214 – 2219.

Simon, Butt. "Regional autonomy and legal disorder: The proliferation of local laws in Indonesia in *Journal of legal studies*, Singapore: published by National University of Singapore, (July 2010): 1 -21.

Singh, Nuanihal. *Nationalism*, New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2006.

Smart, Ninian. *Religion and nationalism: The urgency of transnational spirituality: And toleration*, Rome: Centre for Indian and Inter-religious studies, 1994.

Sofjan, Dicky. Minoritization and criminalization of Shia Islam in Indonesia in *Journal of Southeast Asian and Middle Eastern studies,* Vol. 39, No.2, (Winter 2016): 29 – 45.

Special Correspondence. 'Pehlu Khan lynching case: HC issues warrants against accused', Sept 7, 2021. www.thehindu.com/news/national/pehlu-khan-lynching-case-hc-issues-warrants-against-accused/article-36335623.ece

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Staff Reporter. 39 attacks on Christians in Karnataka this year: PUCL report, *The Hindu*, December 15, 2021. www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/39-attacks-on-christians-in-karnataka-this-year-pucl-report/article37956603.ece

Stark, Rodney and Finke, Roger. *Acts of faith: Explaining the human side of religion*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Stepan, Alfred and Taylor, Charles. *Boundaries of Toleration*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Stepan, Alfred, Juan J. Linz and Yadav, Yogendra. *Crafting state – nations: India and other multinational democracies*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2011.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: Strategies of identity-building, implantation and mobilization*, London: Hurst and company, 1996.

Swami Vivekananda. *The complete works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, Advaita Ashrama, 1986.

Tampu, Valson. *Religion and politics: Minorities and the regeneration of the main stream*, New Delhi: Media House, 1999.

Taylor, Charles. *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Thapar, Romila. *Ashoka- A retrospective,* in *Economic and political weekly*, published by Economic and political weekly, Vol. 44, No. 45 (Nov 7 – 13, 2009): 31 – 37.

Tharoor, Shashi. A liberal faith in *India Today*, Vol. XLIII, No. 5, January, 2018.

Ten years after the Odisha massacres, Archbishop Barwa calls for 'forgiveness, reconciliation and peace, https://www.asianews.it/news-en/Ten-years-after-the-Odisha-massacres,-Archbishop-Barwa-calls-for-'forgiveness,-reconciliation-and-peace'-44706.html

Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

(Accessed on 15/7/2022)

The Citizenship Amendment) Act, *The Gazette of India,* Government of India, Ministry of law and justice, legislative department, December 12, 2019. http://egazette.nic.in/writeReadData/2019/214646.pdf

The Constitution of India, New Delhi: published by Government of India Ministry of law and justice, 2015.

Thomas, Blom Hansen. *The saffron wave: Democracy and Hindu nationalism in modern India*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Those who can't live without beef should go to Pakistan: Naqviat Aag Tak Manthan, *Indian Today*, May 21, 2015.

Tikkanen, Amy. "Sanctity of the cow" www.britanica.com/topic/sanctity-of-the-cow

Varma, Pavan K. "Don't doubt Savarkar grit, question his prejudice", *Deccan Chronicles*, Oct 17, 2021. www.deccanchronicle.com/opinion/columnists/161021/pavan-k-varma-dnt-doubt-savarkar-grit-question-his-prejudice.html

Vernandhie, Dhanar Dhono. The Government's Efforts Through Legal Politics In Hajj Management, Legal Reconstruction in Indonesia Based on Human Right, The 5th International Conference and Call for Paper Faculty of Law 2019, http://jurnal.unissula.ac.id/index.php/apic/article/view/13448

Roy Vettikuzhiyil, Emanuel Gerrit, and Abdul wahid, "A comparative discourse on the status of Indian women in he light of the Quran and Manusmriti", *Advances in Social Sciences, Education and Humanities Research*, Vol. 339, (2019), , https://doi.org/10.2991/aicosh-19.2019.47 205 - 209.

Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Vivekananda, Swami. *Complete works of Vivekananda*, Online Published. www.advaitashrama.org/cw/content.php

Voters value actions over ideology, *Jakarta Post,* July 11, 2008.

Vries, Hent de. *Religion beyond concept*, New York: Fordham University Press, 2008.

Werleman, C J. "Rising violence against Muslims in India under Modi and BJP rule", in *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 23, No.2, (Spring, 2021): 39 – 49.

Wertheim, W F. *Moslems in Indonesia: Majority with minority mentality*, Townsville Old: James Cook University of North Queensland, 1980.

Why India man was lynched over beef rumours, October 1, 2015. www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-34409354

Wounds remain for victims of Kandhamal anti-Christian riots, https://www.ucanews.com/news/wounds-remain-for-victims-of-kandhamal-anti-christian-riots/83189 (Accessed on 15/7/2022)

www.http://kpu.go.id/page/read/1099/hasil-pemilu-2019 (Accessed 21, November, 2021)

www.kompas.id/baca/riset/2021/12/01/electablitas-pka-meningkat-inilah-pertanyaan-yangharus-dijawab/?status=sukses-login&status=sukse (Accessed 16, December, 2021)

www.svarkarmark.com/activityimeges/The%Gandhian%20Confusion.pdf

Yachury, Sitaram. *Secularism versus Communalism*, Hyderabad: Prajasakti Book House, 2008.

Yotsu, Kikue Hama. "The political rise of the Prosperous Justice Party in Post – Authoritarian Indonesia: Examining the political economy of Islamist mobilization in a Muslim democracy", in *Asian Survey*, Published by University of California Press, Vol. 51, No. 5, (Sept / Oct 2011): 971-992.

Yusuf, Muhammad and Sterkens, Carl. "Analyzing the state's laws on religious education in post

Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

– new order Indonesia", *Al – Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 1, (2015): 105 – 130.

Zachary, Abuza. *Political Islam and violence in Indonesia*, New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2007.

Zitzewitz, Karin. *The art of secularism: The cultural politics of modernist art in contemporary India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Zollner, Barbara H E. *The Muslim brotherhood: Hasan al – Hudaybi and ideology*, London: Routledge, 2009.

Interviews:

Interview with Julias on 13/5/2021

Interview with Husain Badri on 13/11/2021

Interview with Sinu on 15/11/2021

Interview with Felix on 20/11/2021

Interview with Joseph on 12/12/2021

Interview with Gabi on 15/12/2021

Interview with Shoji on 20/12/2021

Interview with Heri Setyawan on 22/12/2021

Interview with Dr. Baskara on 27/12/2021

Interview with Joseph Kuruvida on 9/1/2022

Interview with Suraj on 15/1/2022

Interview with Fr. Prier on 16/1/2022

Interview with Kurian on 17/1/2022

Interview with Wildan, on 26/1/2022

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Comparing Conservative Turns in India and Indonesia: The Case Studies of Hindutvaization of BJP and
Shariatization of PKS Since The 1990s**
Vettikuzhiyil Joseph, Roy, Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gerrit Singgih;Dr. Abdul Wahid
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Interview with Joko on 27/1/2022

Interview with Biju on 4/2/2022

Interview with Joshy on 2/3/2022

Interview with Revati Laul on 30/3/2022