

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the conservative turn that has taken place in India and Indonesia in terms of religious freedom. India's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and Indonesia's Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) are two religiously-based parties that have emerged as key agents of conservatism in their respective countries. Although political intellectuals prophesied the extinction of religions in the 19th and 20th centuries, what we are witnessing today is the resurgence of religions in the public domain. In some countries during the middle of the twentieth century, and particularly towards the beginning of the twenty-first, religions have taken a very active position in the public sphere. This contrasts with the traditional assigned function that religion has played in the private domain of the individual. As a result, deprivatization of religion has replaced the supposed of privatization of religions in the world. This study examined the comparative consequences of this deprivatization of religion in India and Indonesia since 1990.

This research has tried to answer the following questions: Why has there been a conservative turn among the major religions in India and Indonesia, which affects the religious freedom of minorities? What are the factors and actors behind conservative turn in India and Indonesia? What are their targets? What are the manifestations of these conservative turns? And finally what are the effects of conservative turns on religious freedom of minority religions and democracy? This study employed the theories of deprivatization of religion, by Jose Casanova, majority as minority syndrome by Ninian Smart, secularization by Talal Asad and politics of recognition and politics of difference by Charles Taylor. Qualitative research method is used to analyses the research problems. It is found that India and Indonesia have been known for religious pluralism and tolerance from time immemorial. The history has proved that the tolerant nature towards other religions in both countries surpass intolerant nature. The plurality of religions and the religious diversity is obviously guaranteed in the Constitutions of both countries. But from 1990 onwards, the wave of conservative turn with regards to religion is more evident in both India and Indonesia. Religious identity has been highly used by political parties, especially religiously based parties. BJP in India and PKS in Indonesia have tried to make use of religious sentiments of the people and have shown differing degrees of success in polarizing the masses on a religious

basis. Both BJP and PKS have influence from religious organizations, namely; Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Jemaah Tarbiyah. Both organizations are religious in nature and focus on what I will call *Hindutvaization* in India and *Shariatization* in Indonesia. As the political offshoots of these militant organizations, BJP and PKS acted as instruments to execute the religiously ideologies they represent in the political sphere of their respective societies.

This investigation shows both parallels and contrasts in the way the BJP in India and the PKS in Indonesia are implementing religious ideology. Both the BJP and PKS are similar in a number of ways, including their inclusive and exclusive nature, their portrayal of the majority religion as victimized, their hidden agendas, their creation of fear in the mind of the minorities, their division of society into majority and minority groups, and their use of government machinery to implement religious ideologies. From 1990 onwards, both the BJP and PKS have used religion to seize political power at local and national levels. Although the BJP and PKS achieved phenomenal electoral success by promoting Hindutva and Sharia ideas, the degree of conservatism varies from India to Indonesia. In India, the BJP was able to win power at the national level and in a number of states, but PKS has won only a few regions and a few seats at the national level. This has repercussions for minorities' religions, religious freedom, and democracy. Under the deprivatization of religion, which resulted in the conservative turn in both countries, democracy has a tendency to collapse into mobocracy. This study shows that, despite India's declaration as a secular democracy, the influence of the BJP has influenced it to become more religious over time, a tendency more visible in India. By contrast Indonesia, which is not officially a secular state, has not made a significant amount of conservative change due to the influence of PKS in comparison to India. The only way to keep both countries' plural nature is to implement their original constitutions, as formalized by their founders, which guarantee the rights of all citizens and uphold democracy, without dilution.

**Keywords:** Conservatism, Deprivatization, BJP, PKS, India, Indonesia, Shariatization, Hindutvaization.

## ABSTRAK

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah mengkaji kecenderungan konservatif yang terjadi di India dan Indonesia dalam hal kebebasan beragama. Partai Bharatiya Janata (BJP) di India dan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) di Indonesia merupakan dua partai berbasis agama yang muncul sebagai agen-agen utama konservatisme di negara masing-masing. Meskipun para intelektual politik meramalkan kepunahan agama-agama pada abad ke-19 dan abad ke-20, kita saksikan pada saat ini kebangkitan agama-agama di ranah publik. Selama pertengahan abad ke-20, dan secara khusus menjelang awal abad ke-21, agama-agama telah mengambil posisi yang sangat aktif di ruang publik, yang kontras dengan fungsi tradisional yang dimainkan oleh agama di ranah privat individu. Akibatnya, deprivatisasi agama telah mengambil peran privatisasi agama-agama di dunia. Penelitian ini mengkaji konsekuensi-konsekuensi komparatif deprivatisasi agama di India dan Indonesia sejak 1990.

Penelitian ini mencoba menjawab pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut ini: Mengapa ada perubahan konservatif di antara agama-agama besar di India dan Indonesia, yang mempengaruhi kebebasan beragama minoritas? Apa faktor-faktor dan aktor-aktor di balik pembelokan ke arah gerakan konservatif di India dan Indonesia? Apa sasaran mereka? Apa wujud-wujud pembelokan ke arah gerakan konservatif ini? Dan terakhir apa efek dari perubahan konservatif terhadap kebebasan beragama agama minoritas dan demokrasi? Penelitian ini menggunakan teori deprivatisasi agama oleh Jose Casanova, sindrom mayoritas sebagai minoritas oleh Ninian Smart, sekularisasi oleh Talal Asad dan politik pengakuan dan politik perbedaan oleh Charles Taylor. Metode penelitian kualitatif digunakan untuk menganalisis masalah penelitian. Ditemukan bahwa India dan Indonesia terkenal dengan pluralisme dan toleransi agama sejak dahulu kala. Sejarah telah membuktikan bahwa sifat toleran terhadap keanekaan agama di kedua negara melebihi sifat intoleran. Pluralitas agama-agama dan keanekaan agama secara jelas dijamin dalam Konstitusi kedua negara. Namun sejak 1990 dan seterusnya, gelombang pembelokan ke arah gerakan konservatif agama lebih terlihat di India dan Indonesia. Agama sering digunakan oleh partai-partai politik, terutama partai-partai berbasis agama. BJP di India dan PKS di Indonesia telah mencoba memanfaatkan sentimen-sentimen keagamaan umat dan mereka berhasil mempolarisasi massa

atas dasar agama. Baik BJP maupun PKS memiliki pengaruh dari organisasi-organisasi keagamaan, yaitu Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh dan Jemaah Tarbiyah. Kedua organisasi tersebut bersifat keagamaan dan fokusnya adalah Hinduisasi di India dan Syariahisasi di Indonesia. Sebagai cabang-cabang politik dari organisasi-organisasi militan tersebut, BJP dan PKS berperan sebagai instrumen-instrumen untuk melaksanakan ideologi-ideologi keagamaan yang mereka representasikan di ruang politik masyarakat.

Penyelidikan ini menemukan baik paralel maupun kontras dalam cara BJP di India dan PKS di Indonesia menerapkan ideologi agama. Baik BJP maupun PKS serupa dalam beberapa hal, termasuk sifat inklusif dan eksklusif mereka, bagaimana mereka menggambarkan para pemeluk agama mayoritas sebagai korban, agenda tersembunyi mereka, penciptaan ketakutan di benak minoritas, pembelahan masyarakat menjadi kelompok mayoritas dan kelompok minoritas, serta penggunaan mesin pemerintah untuk menerapkan ideologi-ideologi agama. Sejak 1990 dan seterusnya, baik BJP maupun PKS menggunakan agama untuk merebut kekuasaan politik. Meskipun BJP dan PKS mencapai kesuksesan elektoral yang fenomenal dengan mempromosikan gagasan-gagasan Hindutva dan Syariah, tingkat konservatisme berbeda antara India dan Indonesia. Di India, BJP mampu merebut kekuasaan di tingkat nasional dan di sejumlah negara bagian, sedangkan PKS hanya dapat menang di beberapa daerah dan beberapa kursi di tingkat nasional. Ini berdampak terhadap agama-agama minoritas, kebebasan beragama, dan demokrasi. Dalam proses deprivatisasi agama, yang mengakibatkan pembelokan ke arah gerakan konservatif di kedua negara, demokrasi cenderung runtuh menjadi mobokrasi. Ditemukan bahwa meskipun India mendeklarasikan diri sebagai negara demokrasi sekular, pengaruh BJP telah membuat India menjadi terlihat lebih religius dari waktu ke waktu, sedangkan Indonesia yang secara resmi bukanlah negara sekular, dibandingkan dengan India, belum membuat cukup banyak perubahan ke arah gerakan konservatif dengan pengaruh PKS. Satu-satunya cara untuk menjaga sifat plural kedua negara adalah menerapkan konstitusi asli mereka, seperti yang dirumuskan oleh para pendiri negara mereka, tanpa melemahkan komitmen untuk menjamin hak-hak semua warga negara, dan menegakkan demokrasi.

**Kata kunci:** Konservatisme, Deprivatisasi, BJP, PKS, India, Indonesia, Syariahisasi, Hindutvaisasi.