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CONSTITUTION, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE FIGHT AGAINST RADICALISM: THE EXPERIENCE OF INDONESIA AND AUSTRIA Asfa Widiyanto

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INTRODUCTION FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARDS

Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion is successfully launched for the volume 1 number 2, July - December, 2016. This is the second volume published in English, since it is started in 2016. Many people have involved in this publication including advisory editorial, International editorial boards, editors, language advisors and assistant to editors. These people made this work run well in the midst of various challenges. The Analisa Journal has been accredited by the Indonesian Institute of Science since 2012 as an academic journal, and this year (2016) the Analisa Journal received a new extension accreditation for the next five years.

The articles published in this volume address the phenomenon of social and religious life, culture, and Islam either in Indonesia or in the global world denoted by an article that pictures Islamic religiosity in Austria. The issue of radicalism still becomes the focus of study, which is considerably actual and interesting for Indonesian scholars. Various cases of violence in Indonesia and other countries depict that the act of terrorism is a common enemy for humans. In Indonesia, since the fall of President Soeharto's leadership, radicalism has increased significantly; this can be seen from a series of bombing happened in various locations in the country and some violent-conflicts in the name of religion in some part of Indonesia.

In this edition, there are at least three articles inter-related on the same topic. An article written by Asfa Widiyanto researched the counter attack of radicalism in Indonesia and Austria. He mentioned and discussed in detail that Indonesia and Austria in this issue experience a same situation that entails commonalities among civil society and state law jointly supporting the eradication of radical movements. Then, Taufiqur Rahman wrote extensively on the discourse of Jihad in Indonesia. He found that Jihadist movement in the Indonesian context was originally demonstrated to fight the colonization that recently turns to be the act of terrorism in the name of religion. Meanwhile, Yusa 'Farchan in his article explained that Islamic thought in Indonesia has evolved over time. According to him, the Liberal Islam Network (LIN) in Indonesia has at least five main definitions. Regarding the topic, he revealed how LIN stands on gender equality, contextualizes religious doctrines, and promotes pluralism in Indonesia.

The presence of pluralism in Indonesia cannot be denied since the facts show that Indonesia has been recognizing six religions that are followed by most Indonesian citizens. The religious diversity, on the one hand reflects harmonization in the religious lives of Indonesian people. However, on the other hand, the diversity of language, ethnicity, culture, and religion can be a great threat if not managed systematically by the government. For instance, there are various religious schools of Islam, each of which is successfully able to establish harmony with others. The article collaboratively composed by Retnowati and Yedi Efriadi describes the religious life of Shia group that can harmoniously live with other communities in Salatiga. Their findings might constitute a social capital to build harmony among religious believers in Indonesia.

The diversity of ethnicity and religious beliefs in Indonesia in its broader practice allows the interreligious/interfaith marriage. The article transcribed by Muhammad Ansori and Yasser Amri elucidates, at great length, about religious conversions in Aceh. They assert that a religious conversion enables a religiosity of individuals. Despite being diverse in religious beliefs, Indonesia also possesses a variety of traditions that symbolizes harmony in

building a society. Mahmudah Nur through her study gives detail on the value of religion in the rituals of Pasambahan in Minangkabau.

Religious texts written by local scholars such as Musdah Dahrizal contain a lot of issues on character education for humans. The content of the texts imparts the importance of education and harmony in society. Similarly, the article penned by Abu Muslim exposes the Masamper art in North Sulawesi. The author pictures in more detail on how the people of North Sulawesi build harmony through a traditional yet also pseudo religious art. Furthermore, Abu Muslim explains that Masamper tradition, besides being functioned as a means of propaganda, has become one of the tools to cement harmony and build the character of the local community.

In nowadays context, the character education is built by the Indonesian Government, through implementing the concept of 2013 curriculum-based education. The concept is applied in elementary to secondary education. An article written by Nur Laili Noviani basically outlines the process of 2013 curriculum learning in SMA Negeri 1 Salatiga which particularly focused on the implementation of Islamic education.

We hope you all enjoy a nice reading!

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Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion would like to thank you to all international editorial boards for their support and their willingness to review articles for this volume. Analisa also expresses many thanks to language advisor and parties involved in the process of this publication. Furthermore, Analisa would also like to thank you to all authors who have submitted their articles to Analisa, so that this volume is successfully published. Special thanks go out to Prof. Koeswinarno, the director of the Office of Religious Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs, who has provided encouragement and paid attention to the team management of the journal so that the journal can be published right on schedule

The Analisa Journal do hope that we would continue our cooperation for the next editions.

Semarang, December 2016

Editor in Chief

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CONSTITUTION, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE FIGHT AGAINST RADICALISM: THE EXPERIENCE OF INDONESIA AND AUSTRIA

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ABSTRACT

The German scholar Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde (b. 1930) is reported to have said that "the free secular state lives on premises that it cannot itself guarantee". These premises include the morality, commitment to public order and the like. In this train of thought, we may say that the constitution is in need of strong civil society so as to maintain the well-being of the state. This article employs documents, observation and interviews to highlight the experience of Indonesia and Austria in minimizing radicalism. The first concern of this paper deals with the interplays between constitution and civil society in eradicating radical tendencies within Indonesian and Austrian society, most particularly within the Muslim communities of these respective countries. The second concern of the paper delves in which ways expressions of Islam in Indonesia and Austria contribute to the making of peace in the respective societies. Islam is recognized as religion in both countries. The notions of "European Islam" and "Indonesian Islam" are believed to shape the current-state of eradicating radicalism in the two countries.

Keywords : Constitution, civil society, radicalism, Indonesian Islam, European Islam

INTRODUCTION

"fundamentalism" The term was initially employed by the American Protestants in the first half of the twentieth They assign themselves "fundamentalists" to set them apart from "liberal" Protestants. The fundamentalism in this sense refers to the movement to return to "basics and reemphasise the fundamentals of Christian tradition", namely "a literal interpretation of Scripture and acceptance of certain core doctrines" (Armstrong, 2001: xii). Since then, the term fundamentalism has been applied to other religions, including the rest Abrahamic religions (Islam and Judaism), Indian and Chinese religions.

Karen Armstrong defines fundamentalism as "a militant form of piety whose objective is to drag God and religion from sidelines, to which they have been relegated in modern secular culture, and bring them back to the center stage". She goes on to explain that fundamentalism is "a response to the spiritual crisis of the modern world", which is contrary to the belief of some people who perceive it as "a throwback to some ancient forms" or "conscious archaism". For Armstrong, fundamentalism most particularly Enlightenment (Aufklarung, renaissance), after which the piety based on myth and cult fell down. Fundamentalism can be seen as an experiment in offering new ways of being religious in Post-Enlightenment world (Armstrong, 2001: vii). At this regard, we may say that there are at least two ways of being religious in Post-Enlightenment era, namely: being fundamentalist and being progressive religious.

Armstrong (2001: xii-xviii) highlights the features of fundamentalism which include:

- Splitting the world into two antagonistic camps: "one for God and the other against Him"
- 2. Developing the "fantasies of destruction and annihilation"
- 3. Rejecting the notions of secularism, pluralism, religious toleration, peacekeeping and free speech
- 4. Pulling out from society to produce a counterculture
- 5. Fighting the forces which imperil their "most sacred values".

Some fundamentalist (most particularly the radical fundamentalists) often exploit the sectarian issue (Sunnite versus Shiite, believer versus infidel) to justify their violence to others.

Islamic Fundamentalism can be seen as an effort to "deculturalize" Islam, in the sense of purifying Islam from "any specific cultural ties". The phenomenon of "deculturalization" of Islam is a clear example on how the forces of globalization play a role in the articulation of Islam in Muslim communities (Joseph and Ridel, 2008: 165-166).

"Islamism" is construed as "a new movement of thought that endeavoured to define Islam primarily as a political system", more specifically "in keeping with the two major ideologies of the twentieth century". This movement, which is mainly initiated by the Egyptian scholar Hassan al-Banna and the Indo-Pakistani scholar Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi, justifies this new vision by the notion of a "return", namely "a return to the texts and to the original inspiration of the first community of believers" (al-salaf). Oliver Roy explains further that nowadays Islamism has undergone a change regarding its vision. It has been transformed into a type which "neo-fundamentalism", primarily at re-establishing the shari'a (Islamic law), "without inventing new political forms" (Roy, 1994: viii-ix).

Roy (1994: 4-5) goes on to elucidate the tendencies of Islamism. First, it sets "against the corruption of times and sovereigns, against foreign influence, political opportunism, moral laxity, and the forgetting of sacred texts". Second, it sets against colonialism and imperialism.

Some scholars are of the opinion that Islamism is not a single entity; there is a "militant or radical Islamism", but there is also "moderate Islamism" (see: Miichi, 2011: 126-138). Pertaining to militant Islamism, Abdullah (2013: 76) puts it in the following words:

"They have also been responsible for social tensions in other places on several occasions and have certainly established themselves as the arch-enemies of humanity, the nation and the state. Indeed, these 'militant Islamist' organisations have created an ideological dilemma among Muslims. Based on the idea of establishing a society that is supposed to be a genuine reflection of the totality of Islamic doctrine, these groups aspire to recreate a universal Islamic state - as if the age of the Prophet and the Four Caliphs (the closest friends of the Prophet) could be recovered in the modern era. Apparently, organisations and their supporters believe that the course of history and geographical distance have no role to play in the efforts to build a society blessed by God Almighty."

The term "radicalism" was firstly used in politics. The (political) radicalism designates the movement which aspires "extreme change of part or all of the social order". It is worth mentioning that the word was "first used in a political sense in England, and its introduction is generally ascribed to Charles James Fox (1749-1806), who in 1797 declared for a "radical reform" consisting of a drastic expansion of the franchise to the

point of universal manhood suffrage (the right to vote in electing public officials and adopting or rejecting proposed legislation)". 1

The term "radicalism" has been then employed in the realms of religion. The religious radicalism designates a faith-based movement or mode of thought that "incites narrow-mindedness, intolerance and even hatred" (Timmermann et al, 2007: 8). It is worth mentioning that religious radicalism often targets both other religious doctrines and secular society. Religious radicalism is found in many religions. One may mention, for instance, "the Christian fundamentalists in the US campaigning against the lax moral of their society and young Muslim men harassing Muslim girls in Western Europe because in their eyes the girls do not behave according to Islamic rules". Another instance in Judaic tradition would be, "the crimes committed by Jews on Muslims in Israel" (Timmermann et.all, 2007: 9).

It is of particular interest to investigate the role of constitution and civil society in eliminating extremist tendencies within Indonesian and Austrian society, most specifically within the Muslim communities of these respective countries. Such an investigation is based on the assumption that the constitution needs strong civil society in order to keep up the well being of the country.

THE EXPERIENCE OF INDONESIA IN DEALING WITH RADICALISM

State ideology versus national philosophy

The Pancasila constitutes the Indonesian state ideology, or, in other words, the basis of the Indonesian state. It comprises of five pillars: (a) belief in one God; (b) just and civilized humanity; (c) the unity of Indonesia; (d) democracy guided by

¹ "Radical Ideologist", *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, http://www.britannica.com/topic/radical-ideologist, accessed February 2, 2016.

the wisdom in the unanimity emerging out of deliberations among representatives; and (e) social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

The state ideology Pancasila could serve as a means in countering radicalism if it is understood as Indonesian worldview, as "quintessence" crystallisation or Indonesian (living) values. It could be, however, trigger the emergence of radicalization if it is understood as a "forced ideology". Such coercion from apparatuses will trigger the resistance from a certain elements of the society. This coercion can be observed for instance during the New-Order Indonesia (1966-1988) in which the state apparatuses enforced the adoption of Pancasila as the sole principle (asas tunggal) to every organizations at the country.

It is interesting to look into the competing interpretations of Pancasila during the New Order-Indonesia. One publication points out that the competing interpretation of the Pancasila during this era shows the political antagonism, which does not meet any rational solution. This is due to the tensions between two main forces within the Indonesian society: "secular nationalists" and "Islamic fundamentalists" (Wahyudi, 2015: 3-4).

Wahyudi (2015: 5) goes on to explain the contention of "Islamic fundamentalists":

"The underlying issues and concerns of the radical Islamists have to do with the notion that as a state ideology or "dasar negara", one of the implications of Pancasila is that Islam is only one of many tolerated religious streams with no legitimate claim to exclusivity. However, the radical Islamist position would deny a place for Islam under the banner of Pancasila and argue against Pancasila (including pluralism, liberalism and democracy) for the superiority of Islamic Shari'a."

Wahyudi construes "secular nationalists" as "selected organizations and individuals involved in the activities of government institutions and civil societies that are concerned with the politics of radical Islam or Islamic fundamentalism". Furthermore, Wahyudi (2015: 6-7) indicates the types of "secular nationalists":

The *first* is "the marginalized, radical secular nationalists". This category refers to the attitudes of secular nationalists that are mainly anti radical Islam and anti-to all ideas of Islamism. Their ideological orientations are communitarian and republican-oriented, but they may also be aware or unaware of their ideological positions and be blind to the risks of excluding Islamic politics for the sake of the principle of state secularism.

The second category is "the compromised mainstream, secular nationalists." This group is generally unaware of its ideological orientations and does not bother with questions of ideological principles in dealing with radical Islam and the groups of Islamism. Members of the group may have liberal or communitarian orientations, but they are mostly unreflective of their own ideological positions and their attitudes to radical Islam can be opportunistic. This means that thev generally compromise their secular principles for the sake of power or other reasons.

The *last* group or category is "the reformist. enlightened secular nationalists." This group of secular nationalists is aware of and can be thoughtful of ideological their orientations and preferences, which mostly are liberal in orientation. They have a considerable tactical or even strategic calculation in dealing with radical Islam. They do not appear willing to compromise their political principles and show a strong commitment to political transformation and engagement.

State ideology, constitution, and the recognition of faith community

The "1945 Indonesian Constitution" (Undang-undang Dasar 1945, abbreviated as UUD 1945) is the basis of all regulations in Indonesia. This constitution was issued in 1945 and amended four times during the period of 1999-2002. The preamble of this constitution mentions that the Pancasila is the basis of Indonesian state. In other words, it constitutes the Indonesian state ideology.

The Indonesian constitution guarantees the people's freedom in practicing their respective religions. This can be observed from the chapter 11 article 29 of the constitution, which reads as follows:

- Negara berdasar atas Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa;
- 2. Negara menjamin kemerdekaan tiap-tiap penduduk untuk memeluk agamanya masing-masing dan untuk beribadat menurut agama dan kepercayaannya itu²
- The nation is based on the belief in one God;
- 2. the state guarantees the people's freedom to embrace and practice their respective religion.

This religious freedom is also stressed in another article of the constitution, namely chapter 10, article 28E. This article reads as follows:

- Setiap orang bebas memeluk agama dan beribadat menurut agamanya, memilih pendidikan dan pengajaran, memilih pekerjaan, memilih kewarganegaraan, memilih tempat tinggal di wilayah negara dan meninggalkannya, serta berhak kembali;
- 2. Setiap orang berhak atas kebebasan meyakini kepercayaan, menyatakan

² Naskah Undang-undang Dasar 1945.

- pikiran dan sikap, sesuai dengan hati nuraninya;
- 3. Setiap orang berhak atas kebebasan berserikat, berkumpul, dan mengeluarkan pendapat.³
- 1. Everyone has the freedom to embrace a religion and to worship according to his religion, to choose education, employment, citizenship, to choose a place to stay in the territory of the country and to leave it, and he is also entitle to return;
- 2. Everyone has the right to adhere to a certain belief, to express his mind and attitude, in accordance with his conscience;
- 3. Everyone has the right to freedom of association, assembly, and expression.

The government limits the number of recognized religions in the country. This can be observed from the first principle of state's ideology, namely "belief in one God". This pillar implies the obligation of every citizen to embrace a religion; accordingly the government regards those who do not attach themselves to any one religion as subversive (Franke, 2006: 61-82). This is most notably due to the government's alertness to the former Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Some government officials seem to simply equate communism with atheism.

The government also forces some religions to adjust their respective doctrines in order to be consistent to the principle of monotheism. This can be observed, for example, from the case of Buddhists who promoted the principle of "Adibuddha" as the only Buddhist God that should be assigned to conform to the Pancasila principle of "belief in one God". The Balinese Hindus likewise devised the principle of "Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa" (the All-One God), in order to be consistent with the principle of

"belief in one God". At this regard, one may see that Indonesia adopted "restricted pluralism" (Franke, 2006: 61-82).

Nowadays there are six recognized religions in Indonesia: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. The adherents of "local religions" and other unrecognized religions do not enjoy the same rights as the adherents of recognized religions. These religions are often considered as "aliran kepercayaan" (mystical movement) by the government and the majority of the people.

The Modalities of "Indonesian Islam"

The notion of "Indonesian Islam" gains its popularity among the scholars Asian and Islamic studies, most particularly since the early parts of twenty first century. The notion of "Indonesian Islam" has become the concern of the latest congress of the Muhammadiyah and the Nadlatul Ulama in The Nahdlatul Ulama coined the 2015. "Archipelagic theme Islam" Nusantara); whilst the Muhammadiyah brought forward the theme "Progressive (Indonesian) Islam" (Islam Indonesia Berkemajuan).

The ideas coming up during the two congresses were later elaborated into two edited volumes. The first is entitled *Islam Nusantara:* Dari *Ushul Fiqh Hingga Konsep Historis* (Archipelagic Islam: From the Principles of Jurisprudence to the Historical Concept) (Sahal and Azis, 2015). The second is entitled *Islam Berkemajuan untuk Peradaban Dunia* (Progressive Islam for the World Civilization) (Amirrachman, Nubowo and Khoirudin, 2015).

"Indonesian Islam" is considered by many scholars to have its distinctive characters. The compatibility between Islam and democracy constitutes one of the most important features of "Indonesian Islam". Some scholars are convinced that it is most notably due to this distinctive feature of

³ Naskah Undang-undang Dasar 1945.

"Indonesian Islam" that the process of democratization in Indonesia continues and likely to succeed. The case is different from the experiences of some Muslim countries in the Middle East and North Africa, which underwent the "Arabic spring" of democracy but regrettably did not last longer.

Some scholars have done their best to unearth the features of "Indonesian Islam". Azra (2013: 63-74), for instance, highlights the distinctive features of "Indonesian Islam". For him, these features comprise: (a) nonviolent spread (penetration pacifique) of Islam; (b) culturally embedded, namely encountering cultural enrichment without losing its own cultural roots; (c) rich heritage; (d) Pancasila state; (e) engagement of women in public; (f) mainstream organizations, which hold their moderate standpoint; (g) radical groups, which are undersized but somewhat vocal: (h) empowerment of the moderates, as an equilibrium to the discourses and actions of the radicals.

In Indonesia, radical Islamic groups are present during the Old Order, New Order and Reformation Era, but it is most notably during the Reformation Era that radical Islamic groups increase their visibility and activism in the Indonesian public sphere. What is distinct to Indonesia is that the number of these radicals is relatively tiny, and that there are counter-discourses and praxis made by the moderate Muslim personages and groups.

The nature and future of "Indonesian Islam" are determined in some ways by the discourses and praxis of the moderates as well as their interplays with the radicals, so as to minimize the radicalism within the Muslim community, in particular, and the Indonesian society, in general.

Indonesian Islamic Civil Society and the Prevention of Radicalism

For many specialists, the term "civil society" necessitates the two conditions, namely individualism and democratic institution. Due to this strict definition, some specialists reject the possibility of the existence of civil society in a Muslim country. Some scholars suggest that is due to the projection of Western concept of civil society to the realities in the Muslim world, which are in some ways distinct to that of the Muslim world (Kamali, 2006: 38-39).

In this regard, one has to look up an alternative definition. Kamali (2006: 39), for instance, prefers to stick to the definition of civil society which is offered by Craig Calhoun as "a civil sphere in which people can organize their daily lives without the intervention of the state". This definition is in line with what is brought forward by Michael Walzer, as quoted by Edwards (2011: 4). Walzer conceives civil society as "the sphere of uncoerced human association between the individual and the state, in which people undertake collective action for normative and substantive purposes, relatively independent of government and the market".

Kamali (2006: 39-40) goes on to argue that the discussion of the possibility of civil society in the Muslim world necessitates the acknowledgment of Islam as both religion and political theory. In this juncture, he perceives religious scholars ('ulama') and bazaris (bazaar-centered traders) as examples of civil society in the Muslim world, most particularly in the Middle East.

Kamali (2006: 39-40) rejects individualism and democratic institutions as the requirements for civil society. He would rather ground civil society on "the existence of influential civil groups and their institutions, which can, through established mechanisms, counterbalance state power". Kamali (2006: 40) goes on to elaborate the

conditions of civil society, which can do justice for the Muslim world:

- (a) relative autonomy of a societal sphere from the state;
- (b) relative autonomous access of some societal actors to the state or its elite;
- (c) existence of a relatively independent public sphere;
- (d) legal and/or normative protection of societal agents and institutions
- (e) existence of a "solidary sphere" based on redistribution of resources.

Civil society can serve as "social capital" for the society or country in question. Social capital, in this sense, refers to "the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively, provides a common frame of reference for conducting conversations about these important issues across disciplinary, methodological, ideological, and cultural lines, conversations which are vital --indeed necessary to the resolution of many of the issues themselves-- but which otherwise occur too rarely" (Woolcock, 2011: 197-198).

Miller (2011: 257-259) rightly points out that religion may contribute both positively and negatively to the civil society. As for the possible positive contributions, he puts in the following words:

First, it provides a place where moral conversation is encouraged, people can debate ideas and policies and hone their arguments about what is right and wrong. Second, vibrant religious institutions inspire their members to act out their convictions-through voting, public demonstrations, and other political acts that embody their moral values. Third, religious institutions have a long history of establishing schools, social service agencies, and responding to crisis situations related to natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, drought. Fourth, religious and

institutions provide opportunities for human community through music, the arts, and various means of caring for one another. And *fifth*, religious institutions have time-honoured means of dealing with rites of passage: birth, puberty, marriage, childrearing, and death, the final passage.

Miller (2011: 257-258) is also aware the negative potential of religion for the betterment of civil society. This is observable from the following quotation:

"...it is also true that religion has the potential to inflict great harm, especially if it becomes an instrument of the *state* or an uncritical advocate for sectarian or corporate interests. For example, clergy have openly supported genocide and totalitarian leaders, and they have justified the privileges of the social elite, who sometimes are their patrons."

Islamic Civil Society in Indonesia nowadays is represented most particularly by the Muhammadiyah (The Followers of the Prophet Muhammad) and the Nahdlatul Ulama (The Awakening of Religious Scholars). The Muhammadiyah was founded in 1912. This particular movement represents the orthodox-puritanical tendency within Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago. It runs some modern schools, orphanages and hospitals.

A few years later, in 1926, another organisation called the Nahdlatul Ulama was established. This particular organisation is considered be the stronghold to traditionalist orthodox thought among the majority of religious scholars ('ulama') in the Indonesian Archipelago (Niewenhuijze, 1985: 1229). It augmented the authority of within Muslim ʻulama' the society (Burhanuddin, 2007: 4).

The years 1983-1984 was crucial in the development of the Nahdlatul Ulama, since the major change of social and political orientation of the Nahdlatul Ulama took

place during this period. Nahdlatul Ulama once participated as a political party during the first Indonesian general election in 1955. Van Bruinessen and Wajdi (2006: 205-206) rightly points out organization's National Congress decided that the Nahdlatul Ulama should return to its original feature (khitta) as non-political religious and social organization. This decision was met by considering the fact that a number of conflicts with the government pertaining issues of religious concern (marriage legislation, formal recognition of heterodox religious movements) took place. In addition, there was also the phenomenon of sidelining of vocal Nahdlatul Ulama politicians.

Indonesian Islamic Civil Society Organizations are distinct to those of some Muslim countries (most notably the Jamaat-i Islami in Pakistan and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egpyt), in the sense that Indonesian Civil Society Organizations (most notably the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Muhammadiyah) demonstrate their commitment to Indonesian nationalism and constitutional governance (Hefner 2013: 58).

In this train of thought, Islam in Indonesia, or Indonesian Islamic Civil Society Organizations, may play a role in the consolidation of democracy in Post-Suharto Indonesia. "Indonesian Islam" is believed by many specialists to have its distinct features, of which the most striking compatibility between Islam and democracy. This distinct character of "Indonesian Islam" is considered to be able to explain why the process of democratization in Indonesia persist and likely to succeed, which is different from the experiences of Muslim countries in the Middle East and North Africa, which encountered the "Arabic spring" of democracy but unfortunately did not last longer.

Since mid-1998 Indonesia has underwent a transition from authoritarianism to democracy, and this process is uncompleted. The continuing success of this transition is relied on the moderation of two mainstream Islamic civil society organizations (the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Muhammadiyah) as well as the new Indonesian Muslim middle class (Hefner, 2013: 62).

The efforts of eradicating radicalism have been undertaken by the Nadlatul Ulama and the Muhammadiyah. This can be observed from the position of these two institutions as well figures within these institutions such as Abdurrahman Wahid, Salahuddin Wahid (see Widiyanto, 2014: 271-307), Sinta Nuriyah Wahid (see Widiyanto 2015: 1-24), Said Aqil Siradj, Syafi'i Ma'arif and Din Syamsuddin.

Ahmad Mustofa Bisri (b. 1944), one of the figures of the Nahdlatul Ulama, belongs to the scholars-activists who are actively engaged in eradicating radicalism and nurturing pluralism in Indonesia, most particularly among the Muslim community. He actively makes use of social media, most specifically Twitter and Facebook, since he feels that these media are easily accessed by the people. He promotes inner-Islamic pluralism, criticize fundamentalist tendency within the Muslim community, and is involved in interfaith dialogue cooperation. In addition, he criticizes the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (The Council of Indonesian Muslim Scholars), most particularly when issued a fatwa it condemning religious pluralism (see Widiyanto, 2016: 34-57).

the importance of the As for Muhammadiyah and the Nahdlatul Ulama, Bisri points out, "The Muhammadiyah and the Nahdlatul Ulama serve as the bastion of the Indonesian state. Accordingly many provoke these parties strive to organisations so as to come into conflict. If these two organisations are weak and influenced by others, the future of Indonesia will be in danger". He goes on to stress that such strength is needed in eliminating the radicalism as for instance the teachings of "Islamic State of Iraq and Syria" (ISIS).⁴

The leader of the Muhammadiyah Din Syamsuddin (2010: 195) argues that the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Muhammadiyah should be acknowledged as pillars of democracy, since they play a role in advocating good governance. Syamsuddin goes on to explain that Islamic Civil Society "strengthened Organizations have democracy in various ways, including asserting compatibility of Islamic values to democracy, supporting legal or judicial reform, encouraging good governance, strengthening cultural base for democracy, taking part in conflict resolution, and promoting interfaith and intercultural dialogue".

Democratic consolidation is conceived differently among scholars. Some convinced that democratic consolidation is concerned with "the 'positive' tasks of deepening a fully liberal democracy or completing a semi-democracy". Some others stress "the 'negative' challenges of impeding the erosion of liberal democracy or else, avoiding the breakdown of whatever minimal kind of democracy we have in place" (Schedler, 2001: 67). Other specialists understand democratic consolidation in a "neutral" way, namely in the sense of the "organization" of democracy, or the call for "establishing democracy's specific rules and The original meaning of organizations". democratic consolidation is concerned with "securing achieved levels of democratic rule against authoritarian regression" (Schedler, 1998: 91-100). It is worth to confine the meaning of democratic consolidation to the "negative" notions: two preventing

⁴ "Waspadai ISIS, Gus Mus: NU dan Muhammadiyah Perkuat Diri" (To Counter the ISIS Movement, Gus Mus Suggests the NU and Muhammadiyah to

Strengthen Themselves), http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-

timur/3074353/waspadai-gerakan-isis-gus-mus-nu-dan-muhammadiyah-tetap-perkuat-diri, accessed August 19, 2016.

democratic breakdown and averting democratic erosion.

Indonesian Strategies in Countering Radicalism

Indonesia's success story in confine the extreme tendencies within the society has attracted the attention from many European agencies and scholars. The Research Director of the Swedian Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies Magnus Ranstorp, observation instance, reveals his Indonesia: "Indonesia was chosen since the country has frequently been described as a major success story. As one of the largest Muslim countries in the world, Indonesia has successfully stemmed widespread development of violent radicalization as well as marginalized Jemaah Islamiyyah, an indigenous terrorist movement with regional and transnational tentacles" (Ranstorp, 2009: 2).

Ranstorp (2009: 3) goes on to evaluate Indonesian measures of marginalising extremist elements:

"The various measures in Indonesia that aim to preserve the basic system *Pancasila*, that is promotion of a tolerant and moderate interpretation of Islam and marginalization of extremist forces, are often carried out in an unorganized manner and on different strategic and tactical levels. Not only is there often no comprehensive idea of how various initiatives are connected, there is no unified national, regional or local strategy for how the various tools are designed in relation to the desired message or which target groups should be reached. This need not necessarily entail a problem since the various initiatives work well on different levels and for different target groups. However, it is more difficult to evaluate whether individual initiatives are effective from long and short term perspectives."

Ranstorp (2009: 9-18) reveals the strategic measures in combating extremism in Indonesia:

- (a) interfaith dialogue
- (b) popular culture
- (c) exposing the extent of extremism and its 'true colors'
- (d) providing positive counterbalances to extremism
- (e) promoting democracy
- (f) promoting mainstream religious education
- (g) capacity building initiatives for Muslim movements and activists on a grass roots level.

Ranstorp further stresses the strength of Indonesian measures against radicalism, "Indonesia is certainly unique with its coalitions of various strategic players that simultaneously act individually and collectively on different levels against extremism". Ranstorp (2009: 15) mentions the network built by LibForAll foundation:

"LibforAll's demonstration of strength involves creating a cross-sector network that is based on a five-level integration of the following: religious leaders (ulama) who have garnered widespread public support and who can radical backlash; religious scholars and teachers who can garner the requisite intellectual and theological support for a pluralistic and tolerant interpretation of Islam; pop idols who have massive support from young people; government leaders who are able to address social factors as an underlying factor of extremism; as well as business leadership that can offer requisite financial support."

Having aware of the strength of Indonesian measures in combating radicalism, Ranstorp (2009: 20) however underlines the limitations in exporting these models beyond Indonesia:

"Even if Indonesia is unique in many different ways with its pluralistic and tolerant interpretation of Islam, there are naturally limitations to what extent the different models can be directly exported other context-specific operational areas. Even though Indonesia has made enormous efforts to export its model to other countries as a means of bridging religious gaps, the country's efforts often encounter difficulty as a result of ethnic differences and cultural norms among Muslims in the Middle East. There are not only geographic barriers, strong cultural differences exist as Pancasila's influence including a strong separation of Islam and state is unique to Indonesia, but the dividing line ends there."

In this line of thought, the strategies to overcome such a transnational extremist group as the "Islamic State of Iraq and Syria" (ISIS) could not be uniform in every country. One publication points out that "there is no universal approach to tackling ISIS. Rather, the group can only be defeated through a variety of locally designed and targeted responses. Extremist groups like ISIS use technology and social networks to cross boundaries and attract recruits globally—but their discourse is linked to local grievances wherever they operate" (Ghannouchi, 2016).

Ghannouchi (2016) goes on to explain the way ISIS exploits the local problems. "It tapped into Sunni resentment over Shiite sectarian repression to forge support in Iraq. In countries like Tunisia, where sectarianism is less of a factor but unemployment remains at a crushing 40 percent for those under 35, it has exploited resentment at economic exclusion to appeal to marginalized youth. In this way, ISIS superimposes its global ideological narrative onto local contexts, presenting itself as the solution to local grievances".

It is worth remarking that ISIS had its greatest recruiting successes from in societies which endured the dictatorship.

ISIS has successfully taken advantage of these problems and grievances to establish their own image as alternative. One may say that ISIS "offers a false choice between extremism and dictatorship", without awaring that there is another feasible alternative, namely democracy. In this regard, "the fight against ISIS must be not only a fight *against* something, but a fight *for* something" (Ghannouchi, 2016).

THE EXPERIENCE OF AUSTRIA IN COPING WITH RADICALISM Austrian constitution

The Federal Constitutional Law 1920, amended in 1929 (Das Bundesas Verfassungsgesetz 1920 in der Fassung 1929), is considered to be the main Austrian constitution. All the basic issues of the structure of the state, democracy and the the courts are governed by Federal Constitution (Das Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz, often abbreviated as B-VG).5

The Federal Constitution 1920 was decided as the Constitution of the new Republic of Austria after politicians and jurists advised long about it and had negotiated. The Constitution was the result of difficult negotiations, and it was therefore considered by the parties as the greatest possible compromise. Among the most important personalities in the negotiations included the First Chancellor of the Republic of Austria Karl Renner of the Social Democratic Labour Party, Michael Mayr of the Christian Social Party and the reputed jurist Hans Kelsen. ⁶

In addition, "the Prohibition Act 1945" (Das Verbotsgesetz 1945) and "the State Treaty of Vienna 1955" (Der Staatsvertrag von Wien 1955) are considered as parts of

the Federal Constitution. With "the Prohibition Act 1945", the law and its constitutional status make it clear that the Austrian Republic and its citizens reject and fight the Nazi ideology. "the State Treaty of Vienna 1955" contains a clear commitment to modern democracy, to human rights and the rights of ethnic groups.⁷

In contrast to many other countries, in Austria there is a necessity to adopt a large number of schemes as a "constitutional law" (*Verfassungsgesetz*). This is often associated with difficult political negotiations, as there is always need a two-thirds majority in the National Council for a constitutional law. 8

The Recognition of Islam in Austria

Islam was recognised in Austria since 1912. This was rooted in the policy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire towards Bosnia and Herzegovina. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire created a challenge on how this large Muslim minority integrated themselves into non-Muslim majority state. The formation of new hierarchical organisation of Islamic community in 1882 marked the first step of Bosnians' endeavours to integrate themselves into Austrian society. This organisation later served as a model of the founding of "Islamic Faith Community in Austria" (Islamische Glaubengemeinschaft in Österreich, IGGiÖ) in 1979 (Lohlker, 2012: 12).

It is worth remarking that "Bosnian Islam" is considered by some scholars as representing "European Islam". This can be observed from the following quotation: "Because of the Yugoslav wars, the 1990s were marked by the rediscovery of an ancient and autochthonous Muslim presence in Europe. Bosnian Muslims, in particular, have become the symbol of European Islam that have been covered by the Cold War and

⁵"Das Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz" (Federal Constitution),

https://www.parlament.gv.at/PERK/VERF/BVG/inde x.shtml, accessed February 2, 2016.

⁶ "Das Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz".

⁷ "Das Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz".

⁸ "Das Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz".

forgotten by Western Europe, as well as by the Muslim World" (Bougarel, 2007: 96).

In 1932, the Muslims in Austria founded an "Islamic Cultural Association" (Islamische Kulturbund), whose it first president was the ethnologist Umar Rolf. The National Socialism banned the Islamic Cultural Association in 1939, and as a substitute it supported the establishment of "Islamic Community in Vienna" (Islamische Gemeinde zu Wien) in 1943 but this organisation did not last long, it dissolved in 1948. In 1951 we witness the establishment of "Association of Muslims in Austria" (Verein der Muslime Österreichs). It was followed by the emergence of "Muslim Social Services" which was initiated by some Bosnian intellectuals (Heine, Lohlker and Potz, 2012: 53-54).

Heine, Lohlker and Potz (2012: 18) underline the significance of recognition of religious community in the following words:

"In modern constitutional and legal state an especially constructed protection against discrimination are guaranteed not only by religious liberty, but also by the appropriate legal forms of religious communities and their activities. Corporate religious rights are therefore ideal in a special way as an institutional network for guaranteeing minority rights to immigrants."

At this regard, we may observe that the context of recognition in Indonesia is distinct to that in Europe. In Indonesia, the recognition is rooted in the state ideology Pancasila. The first pillar of this state ideology is the belief in one God, which clearly exhibits. One may say that this principle of monotheism is modelled on Islam accordingly religions other than Islam have to conform to this principle. In Europe, church structure and profile serve as a model of recognising other faith communities. Church structure shows a limited degree of plurality. This will create a problem if this

structure is applied to Muslim community, since their diversity is high.

In Austria, the recognition of religious community is issued by the Ministry of Culture and Education (Kultusministerium). One religious community should at least comprise of 16,000 members, in order to be recognised as a religious community. The Iraq Shiites in Austria cannot give the exact numbers of their members, since for them is dangerous if they have to collect their passports. Prof. Rüdiger Lohlker (chair of Islamic studies) and Prof. Stephan Procházka (chair of Arabic studies) were asked to provide recommendation pertaining Shiites in Austria. Such the recommendation is an indication that the university is involved in the policy of religion not only in pure scholarly matters (Discussion with Lohlker, November 3, 2015).

"Old Islamic Law", "New Islamic Law" and the Combat against Extremism

The "Islamic Law" (*Islamgesetz*) was issued on July 15, 1912. It is worth remarking that "Islamic Law 1912" did not deal with the implementation of injunctions of *shari'a* for the Austrian Muslims, but rather concerned with the state regulations pertaining to the rights and obligations of Muslims in Austrian public sphere (Discussion with Baghajati, October 20, 2015).

The Bosnians had enjoyed special cultural and religious assurance most notably polygamy, women's veil (hijab), inheritance, and patronage (Ehrschutz) fixed legally had been unfortunately did not have chance to be part of the "Islamic Law 1912". The "Islamic Law 1912" however was a best gift to the Muslim community since guarantied the equality of Muslims and Islam within Austrian system. This law also made possible establishment of IGGiÖ in the year 1979. This provides a legal model of modern

European society, which allots place for Islam, recognises its values, and is aware of the contribution of Islam in shaping European society (Shakir, Stanfel and Weinberger, 2012: 123).

There was discussion among Austrian Muslims pertaining to the "Islamic law 1912" which was only concerned with the Hanafite. Some people looked for recommendation from the Turkey government which hinted that legal schools in Islam are different from those of other religions. The Hanafite, Shafiite, Hanbalite and Malikite which are known in the Muslim world as legal schools (*madhhab*) are equally orthodox. The IGGiÖ which was established in 1979 declared that that they not only represented four Sunni legal schools but also Twelver Shiism, Ibadism and Zaidism (Potz, 2012: 120).

In the year 1987 the court took a decision that the article on "according to the rites of Hanafite" in the "Islamic Law of 1912" was abrogated. The argument was that the religious neutral state could not restrain a certain religious community since it fell into the unallowable discrimination and the attack independency of Islamic on community. This brings consequence to the statute of the IGGiÖ, and accordingly the IGGiÖ changed one of statute's articles "all adherents of Islam who live in Austria" (Potz 2012: 121).

"New Islamic Law" (Neue Islamgesetzt) was issued on February 25, 2015 by the Austrian parliament. Many people suppose that this new regulation is aimed at marginalising extremist tendencies within Muslim community. The terror attacks in some places of the world, most particularly which are committed by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), are considered as the backgrounds in issuing this regulation.

In Austria about 560,000 Muslims live. Most of them are hailing from Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Chechnya and Iran. It is assumed that about two hundred of them, including women and minors, have already joined terrorist militia ISIS. ⁹ This number is significant and it constitutes 0.00035 percent of the Muslim population in the country.

With this "New Islamic Law", the government strives to counteract extremist religious tendencies and create rules for a "European-style Islam". The minister of foreign affairs and integration Sebastian Kurz (b. 1987) said, "What we want is to reduce the political influence and control from abroad and we want to give Islam the chance to develop freely within our society and in line with our common European values". ¹⁰ Kurz went on to say that the law aims at granting more rights for Austrian Muslims, as well as avoiding undesirable developments. ¹¹

Elsewhere, Kurz explained, "We do not have the challenge (with other religions) that we have to worry about the influences from foreign nations and for that reason, we have to be a bit stricter about the financing from foreign countries in the case of Islam". 12 This "New Islamic Law" triggered a debate within Austrian Muslims, most particularly pertaining to the funding from overseas. This is due to the fact that most of the mosques in Austria have been supported by the government of Turkey, and accordingly such a regulation from Austrian government will weaken the financial state of the mosques in question.

⁹ "Regelungen für Muslime: Österreich verabschiedet Islamgesetz".

¹⁰ "Austria passes controversial reforms to 1912 Islamic Law", http://www.bbc.com/news/worldeurope-31629543, February 25, 2015.

¹¹ "Regelungen für Muslime: Österreich verabschiedet Islamgesetz" (Regulations for Muslims: Austria Adopt Islamic Law),

http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/islamgesetz-oesterreich-regelt-islam-europaeischer-praegung-a-1020536.html, published February 25, 2015.

¹² "Austria passes controversial reforms to 1912 Islamic Law", http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-31629543, February 25, 2015.

Some Austrian Muslim are not happy with the new Islamic law issued by the Austrian government since he observes that in this law he finds a clause that the Federal Chancellor can anytime cancel this law. According to them, the old Islamic law was more rooted in the constitution (Discussion with SR, November 26, 2015).

The debate on "New Islamic Law" was followed with interest by the people in some other European countries. This can be observed for instance in France, which witnessed the Islamist attacks the weekly magazine Charlie Hebdo in 2011 and 2015, and accordingly the government thinks of stricter rules. In this regard, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs and integration Sebastian Kurz pointed out the text of the law can serve as a basis for European regulations. He also stressed, Islamic clerics have to be positive role models to young Muslims. ¹³

This "New Islamic Law" has specific features:

- (a) the precondition for the acquisition of legal status include a positive attitude towards society and the State
- (b) the imams from abroad may only serve in Austria for maximum one year
- (c) the pastoral care are to be carried out by those who have capacities in Islamic knowledge and European constitution
- (d) Islamic holidays is guaranteed by the
- (e) The teaching of Islam in schools is in German.¹⁴

The independence and restriction of Islamic religious societies are observable

from the Part One, Section Two of the "New Islamic Law": 15

"Islamische religionsgesellschaften ordnen und verwalten ihre inneren angelegenheiten selbständig. Sie sind in Bekenntnis und Lehre frei und haben das Recht der öffentlichen Religionsausübung.

Religionsgesellschaften Islamische genießen denselben gesetzlichen Schutz gesetzlich wie andere anerkannte Religionsgesellschaften. Auch Lehren, Einrichtungen und Gebräuche genießen diesen Schutz, sofern sie nicht gesetzlichen Regelungen Widerspruch stehen. Religionsgesellschaften.

Kultusgemeinden oder andere Untergliederungen sowie ihre Mitglieder können sich gegenüber der Pflicht zur Einhaltung allgemeiner staatlicher Normen nicht auf innerreligionsgesellschaftliche Regelungen oder die Lehre berufen, sofern das im ieweiligen anzuwendende staatliche Recht nicht eine solche Möglichkeit vorsieht."

"[Islamic religious societies regulate and manage their internal affairs independently. They are free in teaching of creed and doctrine and have the right to publically practice their religion.

Islamic religious societies enjoy the same level of legal protection as any other recognized religious communities; their doctrines, facilities and practices also enjoy this protection provided they do not contradict any legal stipulations.

¹³ "Regelungen für Muslime: Österreich verabschiedet Islamgesetz".

¹⁴ "Das neue Islamgesetzt im Überblick" (New Islamic Law: An Overview).

http://religion.orf.at/stories/2696523/, accessed February 1, 2016.

¹⁵ "Bundesgesetz über die äußeren Rechtsverhältnisse islamischer Religionsgesellschaften - Islamgesetz 2015" (Federal Act on the external legal status of Islamic religious communities - Islamic law of 2015), http://www.derislam.at/deradmin/news/Islamgesetz_2 015.pdf, accessed November 21, 2015.

Religious communities or other subdivisions, including their members should prefer to stick to the general state rules rather than their intra-religious social rules or teachings, provided that in each case, applicable state law does not provide for such a possibility]."

It is particularly the stipulation "religious communities or other subdivisions, including their members should prefer to stick to the general state rules rather than their intra-religious social rules or teachings" that triggered a reaction from the "Islamic Faith Community" (IGGiÖ). This can be perceived from the following quotation:

"The Islamic community said they also objected to wording that state law takes precedence over religious rules, a phrase that does not exist elsewhere. "It's as if they believe Sharia law will take over Austria", Baghajati said. "We've said over and over in countless statements that we stand for pluralism, rule of law and equality". 16

"New Islamic Law" The is also concerned with the interaction between religious communities and the state. This can be discerned from the Part Five, Section Twenty Three of this law: "Die Verfassung einer Religionsgesellschaft, die Statuten von Kultusgemeinden sowie in diesen begründete Verfahrensordnungen, insbesondere Kultusumlagenordnung und und deren Wahlordnung, Änderungen Gültigkeit bedürfen zu ihrer Genehmigung des Bundeskanzlers" 17 (The constitution of a religious society, the statutes of religious communities as well as their respective established rules

 16 "New Islamic Law Sparks Controversy in Austria", http://www.dw.com/en/new-islamic-law-sparkscontroversy-in-austria/a-18276225, February 2, 2015.
 17 "Bundesgesetz über die äußeren Rechtsverhältnisse islamischer Religionsgesellschaften - Islamgesetz 2015". procedure, most specifically cult allocation order and electoral rules, and their changes are only valid with the approval of the Federal Chancellor).

Notification and reporting obligations are also regulated by the "New Islamic Law", and this to some extent indicates that control of the state towards Islamic religious communities in Austria. This can be perceived from the following excerpts from the "New Islamic Law".

"Die Religionsgesellschaft und die verpflichtet, Republik sind über Ereignisse, die eine Angelegenheit dieses Bundesgesetzes berühren, den jeweils anderen zu informieren. Dies insbesondere für die Einleitung und Beendigung von Verfahren, sowie die Verhängung von Haft für den in den §§ 14 und 21 genannten Personenkreis, sowie für innerreligionsgesellschaftliche Rechtsmittel gegen Wahlen in der Religionsgesellschaft oder einer Kultusgemeinde." 18

"[The religious community and the Republic are obliged to inform each other pertaining to events affecting a matter of this federal law. This is especially true for the initiation and termination of procedures and orders of detention for the people referred to in the section 14 and 21, and for intra-religious society appeals against elections in the religious society or in a religious community]."

In addition, the "New Islamic Law" is concerned with religious events so as not to run in counter with the public order. This is observable from the following excerpts:

"Die Behörde kann Versammlungen und Veranstaltungen zu Kultuszwecken untersagen, von denen eine unmittelbare Gefahr für die Interessen der öffentlichen

¹⁸ "Bundesgesetz über die äußeren Rechtsverhältnisse islamischer Religionsgesellschaften - Islamgesetz 2015".

Sicherheit, Ordnung oder Gesundheit oder der nationalen Sicherheit oder die Rechte und Freiheiten anderer ausgeht. Gefahren, die aus Anlass der Veranstaltung von Dritten ausgehen, stellen keinen Untersagungsgrund dar. ¹⁹

"[The (state) authority may prohibit gatherings and events of worship purposes, which may create a direct threat to the interests of public safety, order or health or national security or the rights and freedoms of others starts. Threats, which emerge from the occasion of the event of third parties, do not constitute a ground for prohibiting]."

Austrian Muslims and the Notion of "European Islam"

Some people point out that the notion of "European Islam" is forced from the outside. Muslims have to conform to the European key concepts. They are restricted in exercising their own identity. In my view, the notion of European Islam is distinct to that Indonesian Islam, in the sense that the notion come from within Indonesian Muslim community. The notion of "Euro-Islam" was introduced by Bassam Tibi in 1992 during the discussion on migration. Tibi was born in Damascus in 1944. He moved to Germany in 1962 and becomes German citizen in 1976. He served as a professor for International Relations in some universities.

Tibi construes European Islam as follows: "European Islam is revolving around five principles: acceptance of democracy, acceptance of separation between religion and politics, also laicity, acceptance of individual human rights (in Islam we know the existence of collective human rights) including freedom of religion, tolerance in modern sense, not in Islamic sense, the acknowledgement of pluralism of civil society" (Ghadban 2006: 7). Tibi's

conception of European Islam implies that this concept emerges not genuinely from within Muslim community.

The notion of "European Islam" or "Euro-Islam" can be considered a way of reconciliation between Islamic values and European key concepts, which have been pioneered most notably by Bassam Tibi and Tariq Ramadan (b. 1962). Ramadan is a Swiss Muslim scholar and currently serves a professor of Contemporary Islamic Studies at the University of Oxford. He is the grandson of Hassan al-Banna, the founder of Ikhwan al-Muslimin (the Muslim Brotherhood). Such a reconciliation may take in the form of, using the phrase of Mohamad (2014: 40) "adopting an idealized version of Islam that is 'unobtrusive' and 'in harmony' with the secular characteristics of Europe".

In making Islam in conformity with social realities in Europe, Tibi and Ramadan felt the necessity of adjustments in terms of theology and law (Mohamad, 2014: 41). Tibi's and Ramadan's projects are mostly concerned with such adjustments, notwithstanding the criticism of "conservative Muslims".

Ramadan justifies the legitimacy of "European Islam" by arguing that this is a kind of reinterpretation and contextualization of Islamic teachings in the context of European culture and society. This can be observed from the following quotation of Ramadan's statement (Mohamad, 2014: 41-42):

"This renewal is not a modification of sources themselves but the transformation of the mind and eyes that them. which are naturally influenced by the new social, political, and scientific environment in which they live. A new context changes the horizons of the text, renews it, and sometimes gives it an original purport, providing responses never before imagine."

Ramadan's efforts in justifying Muslim integration into European culture and

¹⁹ "Bundesgesetz über die äußeren Rechtsverhältnisse islamischer Religionsgesellschaften - Islamgesetz 2015".

society, by grounding on Islamic sources, are observable most notably from his book entitled *To be a European Muslim* (2015).

Ramadan does not want to be trapped with the displeased question, whether Europe should be perceived as dar al-islam (abode of Islam, lands under Muslim rule) or dar al-harb (abode of the war, lands not under Muslim rule). As an alternative to these classical concepts, he promotes viewing Europe as dar al-shahada (abode of testimony). This designates a space "within which Muslims are sent back to the essential teachings of Islam so that they can contribute to promoting good and equity within and through human brotherhood by bringing the strengths of the Islamic message their mostly non-Muslim societies" (Pipes 2000).

Further, Ramadan (2004: 18) criticises his fellow Muslims who holds bipolar vision pertaining to Islam and the West.

'Whatever is Western is anti-Islamic' or 'Islam has nothing in common with the West'. This bipolar vision is widespread and gives some Muslims a sense of power, might, and legitimacy in Otherness. But not only is this bipolar and simplistic vision a decoy (and the claims that justify it are untruths), but the power it bestows is a pure illusion: in practice, the Muslims who maintain these theses only isolate themselves, marginalize themselves, and sometimes, by their excessive emotional, intellectual, and social isolation, even strengthen the logic of the dominant system whose power, by contrast, lies in always appearing open, pluralistic, and rational.

Both Tibi and Ramadan are concerned with the harmonization between liberal democracy and dogmatic teachings of Islam. Their projects imply some challenges. Mohamad (2014: 43) points out:

"Here naturally lies the challenge of Islamic re-articulating in characteristics of liberal democracy such as equality (often implying strands such as gender, sexual orientation and pluralism) and freedom (often implying freedom of speech, lifestyle and religion), especially when they are constantly pitted against what many Muslims tend to perceive as normative Islamic dogmas, such as prohibitions against blasphemy, apostasy, hedonism, and sexual 'perversions', and commandments for embracing traditional gender roles and adopting Sharia and all the categories of law that it implies, including the controversial hudud."

Tibi is also involved in cooperation with the governments in Europe in terms of Muslim integration. This can be observed for instance from the fact that in 2005 he worked together with the Dutch government to establish an initiative called "Europe: A Idea". Beautiful This initiative was particularly aimed at encouraging Muslim immigrants to integrate with European culture and society. This is in line with Ramadan's project, in which he established a Muslim pillar in Rotterdam. Through this initiative, he encouraged Muslims in Europe to become "Citizens of the Heart" by embracing European identity and integrating themselves into European culture and society (Carle, 2011).

Tibi provides arguments of exhorting Muslim to integrate with European values: "Europeans need to be true to their Enlightenment heritage by giving up 'blood and soil' concepts of citizenship. In response, immigrants need to 'bring their identity into harmony with Europe and its cultural system'. Muslims can do this because they, like Europeans, are heirs of Hellenistic rationalism" (Carle, 2011).

The future of Austria's success in marginalising extremism lies in the ongoing elaboration of "European Islam", how the European Muslims (including Austrian Muslims) could respond genuinely to European key concepts, without necessarily breaking their Islamic values and tradition, and without feeling forced by the non-Muslim majority to pursue such undertaking.

In my point of view, it is necessary for the Austrian Muslims to firstly come to terms with the plurality within the Muslim community, so as to develop a kind of inner-Islamic pluralism. Such a capital is necessary and will become a fruitful step towards the elaboration of genuine European Islam.

The Austrian Muslims are believed to assign a double identity: being Europeans and being Muslims. Many European governments including Austria are taking the policy of integration, in the sense that the Muslims in Europe have to integrate to European culture. Some European state apparatus however are not of the complexity and diversity of Muslim countries, from which these Muslims, who are now residing in Europe, are hailing.

CONCLUCION

The state ideology Pancasila could serve as a means in countering radicalism if it is understood as Indonesian worldview, as "quintessence" or crystallisation Indonesian (living) values. It could however trigger the emergence of radicalisation if it is understood as a "forced ideology". Despite the relatively low degree of legal enforcement towards the acts (let alone plans) of radicalism in the country, Indonesia is considered by many specialists to be one of the countries which could resist radicalism.

Indonesia's success in eliminating radicalism is most notably due to its social capital namely in the form of strong civil society. Various actors and institutions within the society actively promote the virtues of tolerance and mutual respects which consequently counter the radicalism. Indonesian Islamic Civil Society

Organizations, for instance, demonstrate their commitment to Indonesian nationalism and constitutional governance. These Islamic Civil Society Organizations also take part in nurturing the spirit of tolerance within the Muslim community at large. They even defend the rights of other faith communities when these communities are threatened by the radicals.

The Federal Constitutional Law 1920, as amended in 1929 is considered to be the main Austrian constitution. All the basic issues of the structure of the state, democracy and the courts are governed by the Federal Constitution (*Das Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz*).

The "Islamic Law" (Islamgesetz) was This law is issued on July 15, 1912. regulations with the concerned state pertaining to the rights and obligations of Muslims in Austrian public sphere."New Islamic Law" (Neue Islamgesetzt) was issued on February 25, 2015 by the Austrian parliament. Many people suppose that this new regulation is aimed at marginalising extremist tendencies within community. With this "New Islamic Law", the government strives to counteract extremist religious tendencies and create rules for a "European-style Islam". With this in mind, we could see constitution and state plays a strong role in eradicating radicalism in Austria. Legal enforcement towards the acts of radicalism and terrorism is relative Nevertheless we see that high. percentage of Austrian Muslims which joined the ISIS is relatively higher than that of Indonesian Muslims. This could become one of the indications that the Austrian Muslims are still struggling in marginalising radicalism.

The future of Austria's success in marginalising extremism lies in the ongoing elaboration of "European Islam", how the European Muslims (including Austrian Muslims) could respond genuinely to European key concepts, without necessarily breaking their Islamic values and tradition,

and without feeling forced by the non-Muslim majority to pursue such undertaking.

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AUTHOR GUIDELINES

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GENERAL GUIDELINE

- 1. The article has not been previously published in other journals or other places
- 2. The article should be written in English (United State of America English) with a formal style and structure. This is because it is a fully peer-reviewed academic journal, so that an oral and informal language would not be accepted
- 3. The article should be written in word document (MS word), 1 space (single space), 12pt Georgia,
- 4. The article should be written between approximately 10,000 12,000 words including body text, all tables, figures, notes, and the reference list.
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- 1. Title
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- 6. Hypothesis (optional)
- 7. Methodology of the research (it consist of data collecting method, data analysis, time and place of the research if the article based on the field research).
- 8. Research findings and discussion
- 9. Conclusion
- 10. Acknowledgement (optional)
- 11. References
- 12. Index (optional)

WRITING SYSTEM

1. Title

- a. Title should be clear, short and concise that depicts the main concern of the article
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- c. Title should be typed in bold and capital letter

2. Name of the author/s

- a. The author/s name should be typed below the title of the article without academic title
- b. The author/s address (affiliation address) should be typed below the name of the author/s
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d. If the author is more than one writer, it should be used a connecting word "and" not a symbol "&"

3. Abstract and key words

- a. Abstract is the summary of article that consists of background of the study, data collecting method, data analysis method, research findings.
- b. Abstract should be written in one paragraph, single space and in italic
- c. Abstract should be no more than 250 words
- d. The word "abstract" should be typed in bold, capital letter and italic
- e. Key words should consist of 3-5 words or phrases.
- f. Key words should be typed in italic

4. How to Present Table

- a. Title of the table should be typed above the table and align text to the left, 12pt font Georgia
- b. The word "table" and "number of the table" should be typed in bold, while title of the table should not be typed in bold (normal).
- c. Numbering for the title of table should use an Arabic word (1, 2, 3, and so forth)
- d. Table should be appeared align text to the left.
- e. To write the content of the table, it might use 8-11pt font Georgia, 1.0 space.
- f. Source of the table should be typed below the table, align text to the left, 10pt font Georgia.

Example:

Table 4. Number of Rice, Corn and Sweet potato Production

product	2010	2011	2012	2013
Rice	1.500 Ton	1.800 Ton	1.950 Ton	2.100 Ton
Corn	950 Ton	1.100 Ton	1.250 Ton	1.750 Ton
Sweet potato	350 Ton	460 Ton	575 Ton	780 Ton

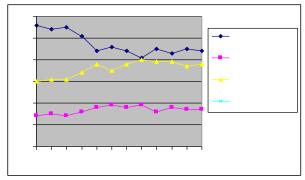
Source: Balai Pertanian Jateng, 2013.

5. How to present picture, graph, photo, and diagram

- a. Picture, graph, figure, photo and diagram should be placed at the center
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- d. Number of the picture, graph, figure, photo and diagram should use an Arabic word (1, 2, 3 and so forth).
- e. Source of the picture, graph, figure, photo and diagram should be typed below the table, align text to the left, 10pt font Georgia.
- f. Picture, graph, figure, photo, and diagram should not be in colorful type (should be in white and black, or gray).

Example:

Figure 1 Indonesian employment in agriculture compared to others sectors (% of the total employment)



Source: World Development Indicator, 2005

6. Research findings

This part consists of the research findings, including description of the collected data, analysis of the data, and interpretation of the data using the relevant theory

7. Referencing system

Analisa uses the British Standard Harvard Style for referencing system.

a. Citations (In-text)

Analisa uses in note system (intext citation) referring to the British Standard Harvard Style referencing system; format (last name of the author/s, year of publication: page number).

- Citing someone else's ideas. Example:

Culture is not only associated with the description of certain label of the people or community, certain behavior and definite characteristics of the people but also it includes norm and tradition (Afruch and Black, 2001: 7)

Afruch and Black (2001) explains that culture is not only associated with the description of certain label of the people or community, certain behaviour and definite characteristics of the people but also it includes norm and tradition.

Citations; quotation from a book, or journal article

Quotations are the actual words of an author and should be in speech marks. You should include a page number.

Example:

Tibi (2012: 15) argues that "Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world."

It has been suggested that "Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world" (Tibi, 2012: 15)

- Citations - Paraphrasing a book or journal article

Paraphrasing is when we use someone else ideas/works and write them in our own words. This can be done two ways, either is correct.

Example:

Batley (2013) argues that some of the detainees in the bombing cases were members of JI.

It has been suggested that some of the detainees in the bombing cases were members of JI (Batley, 2013: 45).

- Citing a source within a source (secondary citation)

Citing the source within a source, it should be mentioned both sources in the text. But, in the reference list, you should only mention the source you actually read. Example:

Tibi (2012, cited in Benneth, 2014: 15) argues that Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world.

It has been suggested that Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world (Tibi, 2012 as cited in Benneth, 2014: 15).

- Citing several authors who have made similar points in different texts

In text citations with more than one source, use a semi colon to separate the authors.

Example:

Understanding the cultural differences is an important element for mediation process (John, 2006: 248-289; Kevin and George, 2006: 153-154; Kriesberg, 2001: 375; Alaeda, 2001: 7).

- Citations - Government bodies or organizations

If you reference an organization or government body such as WHO, the Departments for Education or Health, the first time you mention the organization give their name in full with the abbreviation in brackets, from then on you can abbreviate the name.

Example:

The World Health Organization (WHO) (1999) suggests that.....

WHO (1999) explains that

b. Reference list

- Book

Last name of author/s, first name of the author/s year of publication. *Title of the book*. Place of publication: name of the publisher.

Example:

Aly, Anne. 2011. Terrorism and global security, historical and contemporary perspectives.

South Yara Australia: Palgrave Macmillan.

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

- Chapter of the book

Last name of the *author*/s, first name of the author/s. "Title of the chapter". In title of the book. Editor name, place of publication: name of publisher.

Example:

Dolnik. Adam. 2007. "Suicide terrorism and Southeast Asia." In A handbook of terrorism and insurgency in Southeast Asia. Tan, Andrew.T.H (ed). Cheltenham, UK and Northamtom. Edward USA: Elgar.

- Journal article

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article". *Name of the journal*. Volume. (Number): Page number.

Example:

Du Bois, Cora. 1961. "The Religion of Java by Clifford Geertz." American Anthropologist, New Series. 63. (3): 602-604

Sirry, Mun'im. 2013. "Fatwas and their controversy: The case of the Council of Indonesian Ulama." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 44(1): 100-117.

- News paper

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article". *Name of the newspaper*. Date of publication.

Example:

Eryanto, Hadi. 2010. "Menyiapkan Jihad di Aceh." *Kompas*. 18 March 2010.

- Internet

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article or writing". Date of access. Web address Example:

Suhendi, Adi. 2012. "Dana Osama bin Laden dipakai untuk bom Bali 1" (Osama bin Laden's fund was used for Bali Bomb 1). Accessed August, 20, 2014 from: http://nasional.kompas.com/rea d/2012/03/26/14001755/Dana. Osama.bin.Laden.Dipakai.untuk. Bom.Bali.I

- Unpublished thesis/dissertation

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. *Title of the* thesis/dissertation. Name of the university.

Example:

Muhtada, D. 2005. Zakat and Peasant Empowerment: Case Study on Zakat Organizations in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta: Unpublished Master thesis for graduate school of social work at

State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga, Yogykarta Indonesia.

- Article/paper presented at seminar/conference

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the *paper*." Article presented at seminar/conference, host of the seminar, place of the seminar, date of the seminar.

Example:

Anwar, K. 2007. "Mengungkap Sisi Akidah dalam Naskah Syair Kiyamat." Paper presented at a seminar on text of religions, hosted by Office of Religious Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic Indonesia. Jakarta, 30 November 2007-03 December 2007.

8. Transliteration system

Transliteration Arab-Latin system refers to SKB Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Education and Culture Republic of Indonesia Number 158 year 1987 and 0543/b/u/1987

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