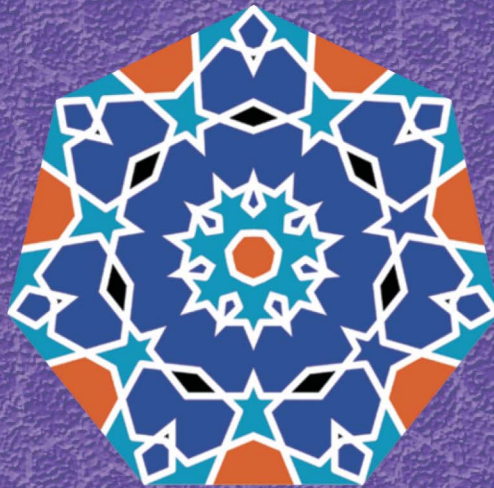


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Religious freedom of indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

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Abstract

Following the recent changes in laws regarding national identity card for the adherents of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia, this study tries to examine 21 types of regulations to see how freedom of indigenous beliefs is in Indonesia from their adherents' perspective. This is done through conducting semi-structured, in-depth interviews with three groups of indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The types of examined regulations are taken from the Religion and State Project Round 3 by Jonathan Fox of Bar-Ilan University that has been used widely to gather cross-country data on religious freedom. The result of the interviews shows that there are at least four restrictive regulation points, namely on places of worship, surveillance, antireligious campaign and religious education.

Keywords: Indigenous beliefs, religious freedom, Indonesia, Yogyakarta

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Introduction

Indonesia, as a country, has a long problem with religious freedom. Vázquez & McMahon (2020) indicated that modern Indonesia scores 5.2 out of 10 for its overall religious freedom, placing Indonesian personal freedom ranking on the 94th place out of 162 countries surveyed. These relatively low scores came from the restriction of religion in Indonesia with the score of 2.8 out 10. These problems are presented as well from many aspects in public. For example, at the national level, there is a long standing issue of the National Identity Card (NIC) which

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only recognized six religions, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism (Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia, 1965).

This leads into the problem where the government seemingly only recognizes six religions in Indonesia, discounting indigenous religions. The terminology of Indigenous Beliefs refers to the Indonesian *Aliran Kepercayaan*. Multiple other research such as Nalle (2021) and Marshall (2018) have used the term synonymously to other religion that is not recognized by the Indonesian Government, which have been mentioned above.

The situation changed in 2017 when the Indonesian Constitutional Court announced that the government allowed indigenous belief to be inserted as ‘indigenous belief’ in NIC despite bearing no detail of the name of their belief (Erdianto, 2017). The absence of detail in the NIC for indigenous belief have made conflict in terms of treatment with the adherence of the six recognized regulation. This condition has changed in the Law of Civil Administration where the indigenous belief adherent have the ‘empty religious column’ into ‘at the very least we do not have to lie about our belief anymore’ (Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5, 2014).

As Indonesia transitioned into the new age of democracy after it toppled its late dictator, the situation of religious freedom has become increasingly restrictive, with regulation playing a central role in these restrictions. Using the data set from the Religion and State round 3 (RAS3), Fox (2016) determined the presence, or absence, of religious freedom in south east Asian countries. It compares the data from 1990 and 2014, and used three variables to measure religious freedom: (1) discrimination against religious minorities, (2) regulation of all religion and, (3) support for religion. In all three variables, Indonesia shows increased score in comparison between 1990 and 2014. Indonesia is grouped along with Brunei and Malaysia as three Muslim majority countries. The three countries have extremely high levels on all three variables, indicating that the Indonesia is religiously un-free according to this research. While Fox provide data to on the level of discrimination towards religious minorities (along with two other variables), Crouch (2009) provided the argument why the level increase. It reviews 161 local religious regulations from 26 provinces in Indonesia and demonstrate how the “...transition to democracy and decentralization is failing vulnerable groups at the local level.” The result concludes that the implementation of democracy and decentralization in Indonesia since 1998 has failed to deliver effective guarantees of rights for vulnerable groups. The reason is because of the emergence of religious regulations at the provincial and local level following the decentralization as part of the reform and the relative inaction of the national government towards the discriminative regulations enacted by the provincial and local government.

This writing is particularly focused on three indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta following two reasons: *First*, there is a long tradition of syncretism or dilution between the teaching of Islam and indigenous belief in Yogyakarta. Several scholars have expressed that the line of culture and religion in Yogyakarta are blurred. Geertz (1976) for example, stated that in the northern part of Java, syncretism has been rather less diluted with mystical and animistic elements than in the great inland courts, such as those at Yogyakarta and Surakarta, or in the rice-plain peasant villages of the Solo and *Brantas* rivers. Woodward (2011) also argued that the dilution of religion and culture in Yogyakarta forged the way for the region to be the “center of Javanese culture” with the *Kraton* (royal palace) asserting religious legitimacy from this it. This status of dilution of *religion* and *culture* in Yogyakarta thus creates unique status of Yogyakarta in which the government derived legitimacy not only from its constitutional and institutional power, but also from the indigenous beliefs. As we will learn shortly, several indigenous believe that we examined practice such teaching of dilution between Islamic teaching and Indigenous belief. *Second*, UU Nomor 13 (2012) stated that the assertion of religious legitimacy is enforced by the status of Yogyakarta as a special region. It specified that to be the Governor of Yogyakarta has to be coronated as Sultan Hamengku Buwono, the feudal ruler of the region. Thus, Sultan, as the king of Yogyakarta that has power, to some degree, above the democracy set by the national government, is imperative when discussing the religious freedom of its subjects, especially once we learned that the *Kraton* itself asserts legitimacy from indigenous beliefs. The two reasons combined created the condition in which the

As the regulation allowing the adherents of indigenous beliefs to put “indigenous belief” on their identity card had been enacted and began to be implemented, it becomes important to examine the religious freedom of those who have changed the status on their religion column from empty or one of the six recognized religions into the indigenous beliefs. This is considering the important role of the religious regulations in shaping religious freedom as has been demonstrated by (Crouch, 2009; Fox, 2016b; Vàsquez & McMahan, 2020). Looking at the development of the case of NIC of the Indigenous beliefs in Indonesia raised several have raised a question of how far is the extent of freedom of indigenous belief adherents in Yogyakarta?

This study intends to answer this question by conducting series of interviews to the key figures of three indigenous beliefs based in the province of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The indicators of religious rights are taken from the variables of Religious Discrimination Against Minority Religions of Religion and State Project Round 3 (RAS3) of Bar-Ilan University. This study was also designed to go further than knowing how much freedom the adherents of indigenous beliefs have. The researcher examined the current state of the relation between state and indigenous beliefs, also the religious and daily lives of the adherents of indigenous

beliefs from their own perspectives. Finally, after the interviews were conducted, the results would be grouped into four categories: (1) religious practices, (2) religious institutions and the clergy, (3) conversion and proselytizing, and: (4) other restrictions.

Defining religious freedom has been a meaningful discussion in the realm of academic research. Prior to defining the concept of “religious freedom”, we have to define religion, which become complicated when considering that defining religion with a single definition might single out the other definitions, which in turn might injure the concept of religious freedom itself. For example Sharma (2011) criticized the definition which limit religion into service and worship of God or the supernatural; commitment or devotion to religious faith or observance, a personal set or institutionalized system of religious attitudes, beliefs, and practices, a cause, principle, or system of beliefs held to with ardor and faith by mentioning that “Buddhism and Confucianism barely make it into the category of ‘religion’ according to such a definition, and it is not easy to imagine what the expression ‘freedom of religion’ from such definition” (p. 18). Another critic of “single definition of religion” is Hick (1990) as he quoted number of definitions of religion from its lexical definition, definition by philosophers, sociologist, and anthropologist, just to conclude in the end that religion does not have a single correct meaning.

Alternatively, scholars have generally divided the attempt to define religion into three groups: the real definition, functional, and stipulative (Muckadell, 2014). The real definition of religion seeks to provide analysis and account both of what makes something religion and what the concept “religion” refers to. One of the examples of a real definition of religion is the definition: “belief in spiritual beings.” (Tylor, 2012;causing the pole inequality relations between men and women. Therefore, in this study wanted to dismantle the detail view of some theories, both social and feminist about gender relations in the family. Each of these theories (structural functional, conflict and feminist Muckadell, 2014). Functional definition on the other hand concentrates on what religion does, instead of what it is, as attempted by real definition of religion. Durkheim (1995) and Muckadell (2014) defined that religion can be an example of the functionalist definition of religion, as it states “sacred things as something that unites its adherents into a moral community.” Finally, the stipulative definition determines the way in which a term such as religion is applied within a specific context such as an academic article or a larger study.

In seeking the extent of religious freedom of unrecognized indigenous beliefs in Indonesia, we cannot escape from using stipulative definition of religion in the term of “religious freedom.” This is particularly to examine religious freedom from the perspective of religious regulations imposed upon the citizens of Indonesia. Aside from the stipulative definition, the researcher has also to rely on a functional definition of religion considering that the researcher is examining a certain set of regulations imposed by the state upon its

citizens that can only be measured, proven, and enforced by individual *action*, which is the exact reason why it would be difficult to use the substantive/realist definition of religion only. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, it is necessary to acknowledge the *functionalist-stipulative* definition of religion where the practical purpose of religion is being recognized, while its scope is limited to the context of this research. Hence, religion here is defined as *any activity that the adherents of minority indigenous beliefs regard as a religious practice*.

After we explore the definitions of religion from scholars and its categorization, we may now dig into the concept of religious freedom. We may begin from the more “commonly accepted” or “widely recognized” description of religious freedom. There are multiple international efforts to define religious freedom, including United Nations (1949) stated in the Article 8 that the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief contains detailed specification of what shall one has as parts of their religious freedom. The article 6 of the declarations specifies the freedom that one shall have, among others “To worship or assemble in connection with a religion or belief, and to establish and maintain places for these purposes”, “To write, issue and disseminate relevant publications in these areas” or “To teach a religion or belief in places suitable for these purposes.” (United Nations, 1949).

Such effort to define religious freedom by the United Nations are all designed to be enforced by the member states of United Nations. Indeed, the criteria of religious freedom based on these international laws have been adopted by a large number of United Nations member states. Nonetheless, it is designed to be used as binding law when it is adopted to countries’ domestic law, and countries’ capacity of implementing the international law is different to one another (Cole, 2015). Moreover, variables from the such international laws are limited and prone to political intervention. For example, during the voting for UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, rounds of Muslim countries abstained from the final vote of approval for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, possibly because of Islamic belief that is derived from the Koran that no Muslims has the right to convert to another faith (Drinan, 2004). For the purpose of this research then, we cannot depend on definitions and dimensions of religious freedom asserted in International Laws. With no doubt these International Laws have been helpful to improve the condition of religious freedom in many societies. Nevertheless, it is nowhere near perfect to guarantee the freedom of religion of many. Therefore, we need to use independently developed dimensions and indicators of religious freedom built specifically to measure the involvement of the state in the religious freedom of its citizens.

Instead of depending to one definition of religious freedom in order to examine religious freedom, Sharma (2011) stated that the discussion of religious freedom follow the flows of the three approaches of conceptual framework consecutively: (1) by examining the *degrees* of

religious freedom, then shift to the discussion of; (2) *kinds* of religious freedom, and finally to; (3) *constraints* to religious freedom. Examining the *degrees* of religious freedom means examining to what extent does a person can observe their religion, as Sharma provide the example as follow:

“...a person who can observe religious rites but cannot belong to a community of religious believers has a certain amount of religious freedom, but he obviously has, *ceteris paribus*, less religious freedom than the individual who can both observe religious rites and belong to a community of religious believers.” (p. 77)

Following the discussion of the degrees, one can shift into the discussion of what *kind* of religious freedom they are having, or to put it in another way, one may ask in what sense are they religiously free? For instance, one kind of religious freedom will involve the freedom not to be religious at all, while another kind is defining religious freedom as “power to do whatever things associated with religion one wants to do, regardless of prudential or moral considerations” (Sharma, 2011). Finally, the discussion will move naturally to the third approach to religious freedom of recognizing its constraints. Under most cases, the constrain of religious freedom “you are free to do anything in regards of your religion, as long as you...” In other words, one has the liberty to do whatever things associated with religion one wants to do, as long as certain conditions are met.

This research will combine Sharma’s three approaches. The degrees approach will be especially prominent in order to examine the religious freedom of indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta. Firstly, it is because by using the degrees approach, we are able to determine the extent of one’s religious freedom, and further able to make the case of why they only achieve certain extent of religious freedom. The degrees approach, therefore, requires certain measurement. We also have to recognize what kind of religious freedom we are examining. In our research we are examining the freedom of religion in the sense that freedom is the freedom from restriction in line with Sharma explanation of what constitute religious freedom:

“It is apparent that the concept of freedom can be associated with two elements: the element represented by choice and the element represented by freedom from restraint. In other words, in order to understand the freedom of religious practice, we must understand what is meant by freedom. The word freedom ‘has a broad range of application from total absence of restraint to merely a sense of not being unduly hampered or frustrated.’ The particular shade of meaning within this broad semantic spectrum one would like to identify for present purposes is the sense that freedom implies ‘the absence of necessity, coercion, or constraint in choice or action.’” (p. 75)

Further, the researcher classified the kind of religious freedom being examined as *freedom from restrictions by the government in practicing any activity that the adherents of religious groups regard as a religious practice*. By conducting qualitative research, this study would also determine what constraint on religious freedom the minority indigenous religion groups in Indonesia are currently experiencing, either in legal context or implementation or in its impact on individuals. This will be explained further in the research methodology in chapter three.

Schultz (2004) in *Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy* states the following regarding the definition of regulation:

“When applied to organizations or individuals, the word regulation refers to the maintenance of a standard of behavior. It can also be used to describe a rule prescribed for the management of some matter” (p. 363)

Based on the definitions provided, in conclusion, religious regulations are all legal measures enacted by the government in regards to the religion. This writing uses variables from the third round of Religion and State Project, specifically those included in the Religious Discrimination against Minority Religions group. Fox (2009) stated, the Religion and State Project “is intended to create a set of measures that systematically gauge the intersection between government and religion. Specifically, it develops and collects multiple variables that measure government religion policy.” (p. 444) The project uses variables that are frequently updated over time to measure the government involvement in religion or GIR. Fox (2011) claimed that variables in RAS are weighed and evaluated by experts in political science and sociology. Therefore, the variables provided in the Religion and State Project are capable to determine freedom of religious adherents by looking at the regulations imposed by the state upon them.

The immense number of variables used in the research makes it the most exhaustive composite instrument to measure religious freedom through looking at the relations between state and religion which uses religious regulations as its indicator. It provided the researcher with at least two advantages supporting this study. First, it provided a wider spectrum with detailed types of regulations to measure the extent of religious freedom by examining the relations between state and religion. Second, the wider spectrum allowed the researcher to pinpoint more precisely what problem, if any, that harms the full extent of religious freedom of the indigenous belief adherents.

Table 1: Group of Variables of RAS 3

No.	Group of Variables	Number of Variables
1.	Separation between religion and state	2
2.	Religious discrimination against religious minorities	36
3.	Regulations of and restrictions by the majority of all religions	29
4.	Specific types of religious support	52
5.	Religious education in public schools	3
6.	Limits on proselytizing	12
7.	Discrimination, harassment, acts of prejudice, and violence against minority religions: general	27
8.	Religious registration and state	8
9.	Restrictions on abortion	9
10.	Minority actions of discrimination, harassment, acts of prejudice and violence	5
11.	Against other minority religions	5
12.	Societal regulations of religion	3
13.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious funding exclusivity; • Prayer in public schools; Religious requirements and oaths for holding office and oath of holding office; • Religion and citizenship; • Building, leasing, or repairing places of worship; • Religious Political Parties; 	5
Total variables		158

RAS' variables intended as a composite instrument to measure the relations between state and religion across the country have 18 categories, with each category divided further into sub-categories according to the types of actions the government imposes on religions, which can be viewed in detail in table 1. It was unnecessary to use all the categories to conduct this research. This study simply had to focus on a category that suited the need. For that reason, the researcher was only using the "religious discrimination against religious minorities" category. It consists of 36 variables, which are also divided further into sub-categories: (1) religious practices; (2) religious institutions and the clergy; (3) conversion and proselytizing; (4) other restrictions.

This research, as has been mentioned above, focused on the impact of various religious regulations on religious minorities in Indonesia. Therefore, the research would be a qualitative study. Qualitative research, as described by Lune & Berg (2017), should be interested in the meaning of a phenomenon and seek a deeper meaning of patterns in the society. This

research used a case study design approach (Bryman, 2012), and was only focused on one case in examining the relations between state and religion. Further, the researcher examined the relations between state and minority religions, specifically the unrecognized indigenous beliefs within the province of Special Region of Yogyakarta. A case study, according to Lune & Berg (2017), is merely one or a few of illustrations, and "... view the case as illustrative of something larger. The case under study is one case of something with the implication that there are other cases as well." (p. 170) The case being examined in this research is hopefully able to be used to illustrate government's actions toward the indigenous belief adherents in Indonesia, who are minorities.

Lune & Berg (2017) state, "As a result, qualitative techniques allow researchers to share the understandings and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives. Researchers using qualitative techniques examine how people learn about and make sense of themselves and others." (p. 16) Based on Lune's and Berg's explanation on how qualitative techniques capture the meaning of interaction between people, this research would not attempt to examine a theory nor hypothesis. Instead, this research would attempt to capture the meaning behind a phenomenon of the extent of freedom of indigenous belief adherents.

In case of a social science qualitative research, Lune & Berg (2017) stated that a researcher is frequently presented with interesting and potentially important research questions that cannot be answered by a probability sampling technique that is often employed with a large scale quantitative research. In line with this statement, the researcher thought that it would be wise to employ non probability samples in examining the extent of freedom of the indigenous belief adherents in Yogyakarta since there have not been official, verifiable data which list all the indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta, let alone data on the adherents of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia. However, many indigenous beliefs in Indonesia are registered in *Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Indonesia* (MLKI), which is the umbrella organization of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia. Unfortunately, MLKI's list of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia was not frequently updated and had to be obtained from secondary source other than MLKI itself. Therefore, this research employed purposive sampling method.

According to Lune & Berg (2017), in developing a purposive sample, researchers use their special knowledge or expertise about a certain group to select subjects who represent this population. In some instances, purposive samples are selected after field investigations on a group to ensure that certain types of individuals or persons displaying certain attributes are included in the study. As the researcher would examine the extent of religious freedom using indicators of potential restrictions on religious freedom, this research sought informants who are registered in the MLKI's list of indigenous beliefs, particularly in the province of Special Region of Yogyakarta, who have served as vocal advocates for the rights of indigenous belief

adherents. In identifying these informants, the researcher received help from Yayasan Satu Nama, a non-governmental organization (NGO) that has been very active in advocating the rights of indigenous belief adherents. They were present and involved during court sessions of the Constitutional Court of Indonesia in the process of its allowing indigenous belief adherents to put “penghayat kepercayaan” in their national identity card’s religion column.

To choose the informants, the researcher employed method of identifying *key informants* from ethnographic study. M. Marshall (1996) explains that a key informant is a member of a community that “... as a result of their personal skills, or position within a society, are able to provide more information and a deeper insight into what is going on around them.” (p. 92) In doing this method, the researcher would have to determine the key person of each indigenous belief community. In addition, (Tremblay, 1957) highlights five characteristics of the ideal key informants: (1) Role in community: their formal role should expose them to the kind of information being sought by the researcher, (2) Knowledge: In addition to having access to information desired, the informant should have absorbed the information meaningfully, (3) Willingness: the informant should be willing to communicate their knowledge to the interviewer and to co-operate as fully as possible, (4) Communicability: they should be able to communicate their knowledge in a manner that is intelligible to the interviewer, (5) Impartiality: key informants should be objective and unbiased. Any relevant biases should be known to the interviewer.

The researcher identified relevant key informants of each indigenous belief group that was going to be examined, i.e. Paguyuban Sumarah, Tri Soka and Palang Putih Nusantara, according to Tremblay (1957) characteristics. After identifying the key informants of each community, the researcher conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews in order to gather the data needed from the indicators provided. According to Bryman (2012) a semi-structured interview is conducted according to a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered called interviewer guide. What differentiates it from a structured interview in the quantitative research is that the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply. For this research, the interviewer guide was composed based on the variables of the Religion and State Project Round 3 which have been explained in the literature review section.

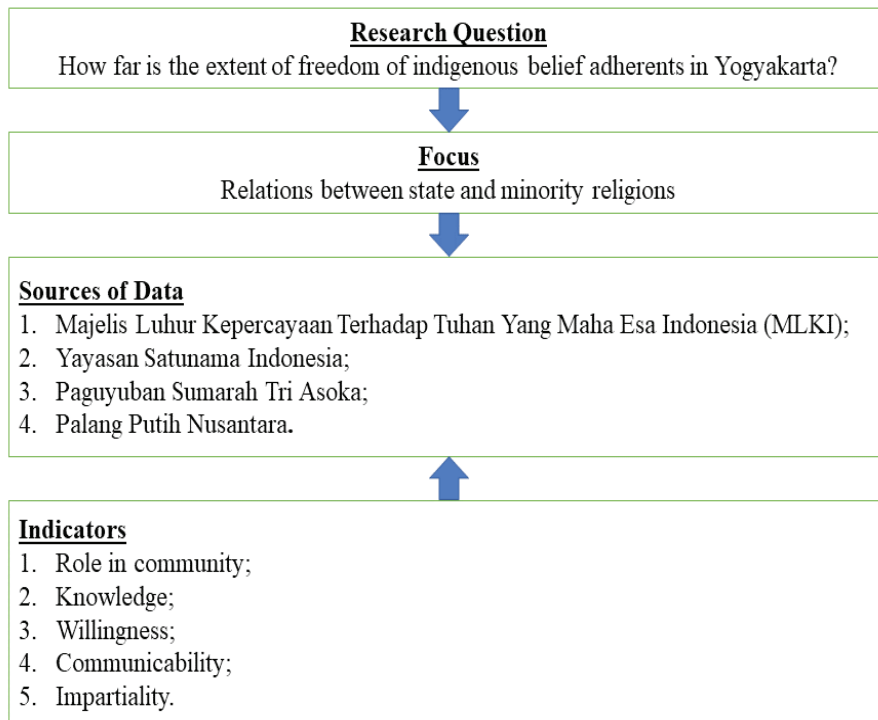
Table 2. Date of interview

No.	Initial	Organization	Date of Interview
1.	KM	Sumarah	29 November 2018
2.	MN	Sumarah	29 November 2018
2.	BS	Palang Putih Nusantara	20 November 2018
3.	SP	Tri Soka	4 January 2019

After all data had been gathered, the researcher then analyzed their validity. Among others, the method that could be used to check data validity for this research was conducting a cross-check between all the informants of the interviews. And in doing so the researcher adopted a triangulation method. Bryman (2012) describes triangulation as “... using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena.” Bryman also notes that triangulation is used to check the credibility of research findings in the social reality area.

In this research, the interview was conducted using three sources of data—informants from Palang Putih Nusantara, Sumarah, and Tri Soka—all with the same data collecting technique, hence the concept of data triangulation. This is in line with what Denzin (1978) regards as data triangulation “By triangulating data sources, analyst can efficiently employ a standard method ... to maximum theoretical advantage.” (p. 295). Aside from obtaining information from multiple sources, the researcher also conducted desk research from secondary sources in order to triangulate data. In more detail, research method can be looked by diagram below:

Diagram 1: Research Framework



Policies of religious practice, institution and clergy, and conversion and proselytizing in Yogyakarta

In the field of religious practice, the adherence of indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta does not feel any restriction from the government. Every key informant from Palang Putih Nusantara, Paguyuban Sumarah, and Tri Soka stated that the government even tends to support the celebration of their religious holidays. Likewise, in the case of publication, Palang Putih Nusantara and Sumarah see that there is no restriction from the government. Both even regard that the government pushed the group to “show their existence”. According to the experience of MN, one of the members of *Sumarah*, the Directorate of Indigenous Belief see that the publication of Indigenous belief of *Sumarah* are “not fierce enough” and “not aggressive enough”. This might imply that the government wants the indigenous beliefs to show itself through their own publication. It was later found out, after the interview to the informant of *Tri Soka*, that the government published the history of various indigenous beliefs in Indonesia in a book called “The Encyclopedia of Indigenous Beliefs.” In order to be inserted to this encyclopedia, any kind indigenous beliefs had to went through selection process by the government, and registered to the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. There is however, a certain policy by Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs that only recognized 1 *Syuro* as the holidays for all indigenous belief in Indonesia, despite indigenous beliefs in Indonesia celebrate different and diverse holidays.

All indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta regard that one of the regulations regarding place of worship in Indonesia, Joint Ministerial Decree regarding the building of place of worship, is discriminative. One of *Sumarah* member, KM, expressed that the joint ministerial decree does not accord to the value of human rights. However, the *Sumarah* believes that this regulation would not violates their rights to build a place of worship as, KM stated: “Indeed, according to common rights or human rights, it is discriminative. But we are not worried about that, because we are not dependent to one sacred place.”

Other groups such as the *Palang Putih Nusantara* even saw that this kind of regulation exhibits an act of intimidation from the government to the adherences of indigenous beliefs. However, these indigenous belief groups in Yogyakarta are not experiencing restrictions regarding the access to place of worship despite the existence of the regulation that have been mentioned previously. Moreover, the government allows all indigenous belief groups to form a formal organization. In fact, the *Sumarah* group formed their own formal organization with a hierarchical order from provinces level to sub-district (*kecamatan*) level.

Although the majority of key informants from indigenous beliefs groups in Yogyakarta reveals the limitation imposed by the state in terms of certain regulation regarding place of worship, in contrast, they witnessed zero restriction in terms of clergy activities. The clergy

of indigenous beliefs only has to obtain a certification from the Directorate of Indigenous Belief of the Ministry of Education and Cultural affairs before exercising their legal power to marry persons as well as to be teacher of religious education for the students who observe indigenous belief at school.

Like in the previous fields, the *Sumarah*, *Palang Putih* Nusantara, and *Tri Soka* claimed that there is no restriction in terms of conversion to the indigenous beliefs to their belief. If one's conversion wanted to be recognized by the state, they only have to follow certain procedure as BS, one of *Palang Putih Nusantara* member, put forward: "In fact, the government provide a form, if I am not mistaken it is the form f105, if a person wants to change their identity. Such as changing [their identity] from religion to indigenous beliefs." Among the adherence of indigenous beliefs, there is no effort to convert any other religious believers into their belief. However, certain groups of people are conducting illegal sweeping towards those who were currently conducting a ceremony called *Larung*, in which the group are checking people national identity card, and claiming those who remain to have religion in their KTP to be *sesat* or deviant. As regards proselytizing, all indigenous beliefs interviewed are not conducting proselytizing in order to gain followers, in contrast to their Abrahamic religion as missionary religion.

In other aspect, the regulation regarding education for the adherence of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia allows indigenous beliefs teaching to be taught at school along with other six recognized religion. To be a teacher who taught indigenous belief at school, an adherence of indigenous beliefs should be certified by the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. Despite the varieties of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia, the religious education of indigenous belief in Indonesia does not separate each indigenous beliefs teaching. Instead, the education seeks the common "values" among all the indigenous beliefs.

In conclusion, all adherents of indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta are enjoying a certain degree of religious freedom in their society at Yogyakarta. The government also facilitated them with several procedures to assure their rights namely the religious freedom. The state through its ministerial bodies encourages them to show up their existence into a broader public space. The Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs even facilitated the indigenous beliefs group to bolden their existence through publication such as the "The Encyclopedia of Indigenous Beliefs." Likewise, the members of indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta were experiencing freedom in other key aspects of religious practices, namely, the clergy activities, proselytizing, and education for the adherence of indigenous belief. Even though their personal experiences do not indicate any hurdles to build their place of worship, however, they tend to resist the Joint Ministerial Decree regarding the building of place of worship because it could violatethe human rights principle.

The religions degree of worship, surveillance, campaign, and education in Yogyakarta

Evidence showed that restrictions occurred under six examined types of regulations: religious holidays, places of worship, surveillance, anti-religious campaigns, education, and various administration-related matters. In terms of erecting a worship place, KM stated that the current Joint Ministerial Decree that regulates the matter is indeed discriminative from the perspective of human rights despite the fact they are not impacted by the regulation (Joint Regulation Religion Minister and National Affairs Minister, 2006):

“..the place of worship is usually from house to house. For example, in the past, there was Mantrijeron a place at the house of the head of the Mantrijeron, Wirobrajan. Right now, there is no special place for worship. It is fine because our principle is spiritual, does not matter of place. The main thing is that we have a good heart and can do that. Yeah, that’s basically what I think the view of collective rights or human rights. Humans are quite discriminatory. But we do not worry about that too. Because we are not hanging from a sacred place..”

The statement is interesting because BS said that *Palang Putih Nusantara* organization is not impacted by the regulation. He voiced scrutiny to this regulation by stating that it is a form of intimidation from the government to the minority religions in Indonesia (Peraturan Bersama Menteri Agama dan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 8 dan Nomor 9, 2006)

“..before there was the joint regulation of three ministers, we had established. So, we have not felt the obstacle because we don’t have any members yet who filled. But every time we talk national always recommends Ministerial Decree concerning the establishment of houses of worship. That is not a recognition of rights. It is not shaping protection, but it was intimidation not directly from the government, because of logic it is impossible for people with other beliefs it will support physically and mentally the establishment of houses of worship for people who have different beliefs. So, for the Penghayat people, joint regulation of three ministers regarding the establishment of houses of worship for devotees this belief we firmly state this a form of government intimidation of appreciation. If the government doesn’t want to be stamped intimidating about building a house revoke worship is about building house worship..”

The statement above showed that Joint Regulation Religion *Peraturan Bersama Menteri Agama dan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 8 dan Nomor 9* (2006) required religious groups in Indonesia to obtain the signatures of at least 90 members of their groups and at least 60 members of the surrounding community to erect a place of worship. Rising tension over the place of worship between a religious group in Indonesia under the old regulations under the Stipulation of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 the year 1965. An old decree has been used by radical Muslims in Indonesia to justify an attack towards the

place of worship of non-Muslims. Although enacted during the Old Order era, the attack was prevalent after the fall of Soeharto or called the Reform era.

These problems also happened under the presidency of Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati when 156, 232, and 68 churches were destroyed, respectively. The situation changed during the era of Yudhoyono when the rampage was heightened considerably and prompted a review by the then called Department of Religious Affairs which lead to the enactment of Joint Ministerial Regulation of Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Home Affairs No. 9 and 8 the Year 2006 (Crouch, 2009). Crouch (2007) pointed out two reasons why the new regulations are discriminative. *First*, the 90/60 requirement discriminates against groups with less than 90 members. *Second*, some regional governments have existing requirements that differ from the 90/60 requirement. He mentioned that the examples that in Bali, groups must have at least 100 families, while in Southeast Sulawesi, groups must have at least 50 families.

This contradiction between regional and national law may create confusion in the implementation of obtaining permits for a place of worship in those regions. This confusion is aggravated further with the existence of UU Nomor 23 (2014) regarding the Regional Government, particularly in article 9 and article 10 which stated that the central government control the affairs of religion, along with international politics, defence, security, judiciary, fiscal, and monetary policy.

In terms of surveillance, KM stated that regardless of the existence of surveillance by a state institution namely *Badan Kepercayaan Masyarakat* (abbreviated into *Bakorpakem* or *Pakem*), *Sumarah* association does not feel the surveillance by the state:

“..if there is supervision from the government, for believers. It is not only Sumarah, but it is also everywhere, Bakorpakem and Flow Supervision Coordination Agency Community Trust. But we do not there is a streaming language. I am not a stream. Later, if the flow is considered another fraction, have a special thing. I do not feel supervised. Because I do not do anything that negative for the state. And we are not that much leverage that we are being watched..”

There are several reasons. *First*, it is because *Pakem* is an old institution established by the Department of Religious Affairs in 1953. Following that, reports showed there are 360 new religions and *Kebatinan* (beliefs) in *Pakem* (Sihombing et al., 2008). *Second*, *Pakem* has established under Law Number 16 (2004) regarding Office of the Prosecutor General (*Kejaksaan*), which stated that the Attorney General of Indonesia, in the realm of keeping public order and peace, has the function of conducting “surveillance of specific belief that may endanger the people and the state.”

Aside from the mentioned law, Stipulation of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 (1965) has also been used by *Pakem* regarding the forming of The Coordinating

Team for Surveillance of Indigenous Beliefs that includes specific hierarchy, task, and authority of *Pakem*. Their task includes: “Receive and analyze reports or information about indigenous beliefs” and “Research and assess the development of an indigenous belief to understand its impact to public peace and order,” also they have the authority to “take necessary preventive and repressive measure in line with the existing law.”

In terms of the religious campaign, BS stated that there is no form of a campaign to convert the adherence of indigenous religion to the recognized religion from the government nor from the society to those who have the population identified with indigenous religion put on it. For those who have not yet obtained their indigenous beliefs Identity Card (ID), BS provides an example that there was a form of intimidation by the group of people who are illegally checking the ID card of the people who are conducting a religious ceremony of *Larung*:

“..if that person is openly appreciative indicated by the ID card of the adherents, but brothers whose ID cards are still filled religion, just yesterday at that the beach, then there was occurrence. There was an incident about that, which I heard was going to hold a Larung ritual. Larung what I do not know, there is a group of people sweeping ID cards. From the look at the ID card, it turns out that the ID card is still indicating or filled with one religion. And it is considered to be teaching heresy. But, if the Penghayat already has an ID card trust, there is no intimidation anymore..”

Although BS does not refer to a specific case, on 13 October 2018, several media outlets in Indonesia reported a case in which a group of 50 people were acting violence when a community in Bantul, Yogyakarta was preparing *Sedekah Laut*, a term used by the media to describe *Larung* ceremony referred by BS (Anugrah, 2018). Similar case of anti-religious campaign regarding the ceremony of *Sedekah Laut* also happened in Cilacap, Central Java. Provocative banners were erected by an organization called *Forum Umat Islam* (FUI/Forum of Islamic Umma) encouraging people to not join the ceremony of *Sedekah Laut* (Anugrah, 2018). However, FUI took down the banners a couple of days later following pressures from the government, civil society, and other non-governmental organizations (Muzakki, 2018).

Although have been implemented and regarded to be successful by both informants interviewed, BS of *Palang Putih Nusantara* states that not every teacher at schools where it is taught understand that there is a regulation that requires a school to provide religious education to the student who recognizes themselves to be the adherences of indigenous beliefs:

“..starting from 2017 school year, education Penghayat has begun to be taught in schools. My child and my friend’s child have received spiritual lessons at school. But it depends on the child. If the child has understood the teachings of religion and understand the teachings Penghayat will firmly state that I want to participate in

the education of it. But not all teachers can understand and understand, even do not know at all that education Penghayat is already regulated in the regulations Minister of Education and Culture Number 27 the Year 2016.”

The regulation mentioned in the decree of Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia Nomor 27 (2016) regarding the Religious Education of The Indigenous Belief in National Curriculum. The regulations state that students who recognize themselves as adherence to indigenous belief will receive religious education from the education of indigenous belief. The regulation also required the education for the adherence of indigenous belief to be structured like any other education subject at school. However, no line required schools to implement the regulation, which is by actually teaching it at schools. Moreover, there is a lack of publicity regarding the implementation of this regulation. Thus, this might lead to some educators not fully understanding the regulations even not knowing the existence of the regulations.

Table 3: Identified Restriction to the Adherence of Indigenous Beliefs

No	Fields of Regulation	Form of Restriction	Relevant Law
1	Place of Worship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The government maintain restriction to the minority religions and beliefs. The majority of adherence of indigenous beliefs are not impacted by the regulation although they regard the regulations to be restrictive. 	Joint Ministerial Regulation of Ministry of Religious affairs and Ministry of Home Affairs No. 9 and 8 Year 2006
2	Surveillance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The government maintain surveillance strictly to the indigenous beliefs and other religion other than the 6 recognized religion. The Indigenous beliefs claimed to be not impacted by the surveillance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presidential Decree No. 1/PNPS/1965 Decree of The Attorney General of Indonesia No.Kep-004/J.A/01/1994
3	Anti-Religious campaign	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no anti-religious campaign from the government. The adherence of religious belief states that there is an anti-religious campaign in the form of “sweeping” by unknown group of people as the impact of religious segregation by the government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presidential Decree No.1/PNPS/1965 Law No. 24/2013

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| 4 | Religious Education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government provide one single religious education for students who recognized themselves to be the adherence of indigenous beliefs alongside the six recognized religion. • Not every educators know the existence or understand the regulations. | Decree of Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs No. 27 year 2016 |
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Conclusion

After the discussion in the prior explanation, the extent of the religious freedom of the adherences of indigenous beliefs in Yogyakarta, Indonesia can be concluded to have not yet reached its full extent. Out of the 20 types of religious regulations examined, the analysis shows that there are at least four types of regulations that can be deemed restrictive: place of worship, surveillance, anti-religious campaign, and religious education.

The regulation regarding place of worship remains to be restrictive, not only for the adherences of the indigenous beliefs, but also to any other minority religion. This is because through Joint Ministerial Decree between the Ministry of Religious affairs and Ministry of Home Affairs No. 9 and 8 Year 2006, any religion that wants to erect a new place of worship is required to obtain the signatures of at least 90 members of their groups and of at least 60 members of the surrounding community.

Bakorpakem as an old institution originated in the 60s continue to operate to maintain surveillance towards the adherences of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia. However, key informants stated that they do not feel that they are being supervise by *Bakorpakem*. Another key informant stated that they are only required to report to *Bakorpakem* via instant messaging from their phone.

Key informants stated that there is no anti-religious campaign that force the adherence of indigenous beliefs in Indonesia to convert or to purify their belief to one of the six recognized religion in Indonesia as written in the Presidential Decree No. 1/PNPS/1965 from the government. As the impact of the formalization of the six recognized religion in Indonesia, however, there are actions by a group of people that deemed the teachings of some indigenous beliefs group is defiant. For example, this action was taken when a group of people illegally checking the religious column of the Indonesian national identity during one of the traditional rites of the *Larung* or *Sedekah Laut* ceremony. Another one is when *Forum Umat Islam* putting up offensive banners that told people to not celebrate *Sedekah Laut*.

Lastly, in the field of religious education, the government has supported the religious education of the indigenous beliefs at schools around Indonesia through the Decree of Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs No. 27 year 2016. The implementation, however remains to be limited with curriculum taught at school, generalizes the teaching of all indigenous beliefs in Indonesia and ignores the diversity of the teachings. Some teachers also remain uneducated regarding the existence of the religious education for the indigenous beliefs at schools.

The examination of four important indicators used in this article tends to reflect the bigger picture of religious freedom in Indonesia. Practices of religious freedom in Yogyakarta as explained in previous sections tend to similar to Crouch's findings (2009) which shows that religious discrimination often happens in local context. Although the local government in Yogyakarta does not impose a particular policy based on a certain religion law such as the *Perda Syariah* in Aceh Province, however, the government tends to let the indigenous beliefs adherents face the threat of discrimination without a protection from the local officials. As a consequence, indigenous religion adherents often have to survive in practicing their beliefs unsafely despite the official government recognition in 2017.

Moreover, the local officials also do not have a straight-legal procedure to keep minorities from any form discrimination. This is because there is a confusion in the national government about laws regarding the legal guarantee for minorities to practice their beliefs in a public space. For instances, in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia especially in article 28, there mentioned that it is a right for every citizen to believe every religion and practicing their beliefs. On the other hand, in a contradictive way, the national government imposes Joint Ministerial Decree regarding place of worship that gives an opportunity for the religious majority group to determine a provision. Often, several majority groups tend to not giving a provision for minorities' place of worship construction. This has been the case for indigenous beliefs adherents in Yogyakarta.

Despite there is no anti-religious campaign in Yogyakarta context and an accommodation for indigenous beliefs in national education curriculum, nevertheless, minorities group like the *Sumarah* and *Palang Putih* community still have to face the threat religious discrimination in several important aspects. This local case might also strengthen Fox (2016) evaluation results on religious freedom in Southeast Asia, particularly in Muslim-majority country such as Indonesia. Fox findings indicates that Muslim-country experienced a considerable increase in religious discrimination from 1990 to 2014. This increase exceeds the average number of religious discriminations in Christian-majority country and Buddhist-majority as comparisons. Although Indonesia did not witness a significant increase in religious discrimination compare to Brunei and Malaysia, however, indigenous beliefs adherents still suffer from discrimination, particularly in the aspect of erecting place of worship, surveillance,

and threat from conservative majority group despite several progressive initiatives has been made in the field of religious education curriculum and the absence of anti-religious campaign supported by the state.

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