



The Political View of Religious Leaders in Indonesia

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As a city with religious diversity, Magelang is inseparable from the potential conflicts that occur between religious adherents. One of the factors that led to the conflict was the narrow understanding of exclusively the diversity of religious leaders. Towards the implementation of the 2019 general election in Indonesia, mapping the political views of religious leaders became very important to ward off the issue of conflict in the name of religion. This article aims to map the political view of religious leaders in Magelang and to figure out the position of religious leaders in political aspects by using Importance-Performance Analysis methods, based on the statement of 122 religious leaders in Magelang. Importance-Performance Analysis analysis on 11 attributes of political views was carried out to provide recommendations for religious leaders in developing religious views on political aspects. The result obtained show that one attribute of 'concentrate here' in quadrant 1, six attributes of 'keep up the good work' in quadrant 2, and four attributes of 'low priority' in quadrant three are plotted in a two dimensional (importance-performance) matrix. Furthers, to develop the political view of religious leaders, the results are used to propose one suggested view for improvement.

Keywords: *Political View, Religious Leaders, Importance-Performance Analysis, Magelang Indonesia*

Introduction

After the reformation of 1998, the discourse about the harmony of religious life and diversity in Indonesia becomes very important and presents many challenges (Hasan, 2017), especially with the increasing development of interfaith religious sentiments, many divergent perspectives (Fadli, 2017), various movements and interpretations emerged (Muhammad, 2014; Dhanapal & Sabaruddin, 2017). There are three popular models and views of interreligious relationships which are: the plurality of different religious beliefs: inclusivism, exclusivism, and pluralism (Irlenborn, 2010; Drew, 2012; Safehian, 2013; Lovat & Crotty, 2015). These three views can be reflected in



various aspects of the lives of religious people, one of which is in the political element (Fust, 2005). In politics, the inclusive religious view tends to be open and accepts the presence of leaders from other religions. On the other hand, exclusive views in politics tend to have the potential to cause conflict between religious communities created by symbolising religion and identity in the realm of practical politics. (Qodir, Hoedodo & Surjo, 2013). K.H Ma'ruf Amin states that the political conflicts among religious communities in Indonesia are influenced by theological understanding and the attitudes of religious leaders (Adnan Hye & Islam, 2013; Wahjusaputri, 2016).

In 2014, Sapto Waluyo - Expert Staff of the Minister of Social Affairs for Public Relations and Governance Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia charted six regions as the most vulnerable areas of political conflicts in the context of religious relations, are Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, North Sumatra, Central Sulawesi and Papua. In 2015, the Central Java High Prosecutor's Intelligence Unit charted at least nine regions in Central Java falling into the category of conflict-prone areas (Red Zone) among religious communities, one of which is Magelang (Mulia, 2018).

Magelang is categorized in the red zone due to the diverse population of religious followers in which 84.5% of the majority of the followers of the religion are Muslims (BPS, 2017). On the other hand, centres for spiritual development have also been growing exponentially in Magelang. These centres include mosques and boarding schools (pesantren) which introduce Islamic values including philosophy and theology among its students. This occurs extensively throughout the regions in Magelang (Sauri, Nursyamsiah & Nurbayan, 2018), Petrus Kanisius Seminary and Theological College as education institutions for prospective pastors, Borobudur as the center of Buddhism, and many other religious centers emerge. Being a city with religious diversity, Magelang is also inseparable from inter-religious conflict. Religion broadcasting packaged in medical activities, providing essential foodstuff, the process of selecting leaders based on religious sentiments and rejection of the construction of religion worship places are forms of conflict resulting from the exclusive behaviours of religious adherents.

According to the Kipsigei (2015), in the era of religious diversity today, inclusive and comprehensive understanding is badly needed to respond to the problems of conflict generally occurring in Indonesia and Magelang in particular. This study aims to map the political view of religious leaders in Magelang and to figure out the position of religious leaders in political aspects in the lead up to the 2019 general election by using importance and performance (IPA) methods which in previous studies were used to analyse service issues in the context of trade or business (Masoumik, Abdul-Rashid & Olugu, 2015). These methods, however, have never been used to



discuss perceptions and expectations of religious leaders who can increase tolerance and avoid inter-religious conflict (Popoviciu, 2007).

Previous studies on political view in religion have not shown consistent results related to the roles, positions and religious attitudes of religious leaders and their impact on the lives of religious people. Research on the religious demeaning of religious leaders has already established some facts. One of them was the study by the Ministry of Religious Affairs RI (2013) discussing the views of religious leaders on religious exclusivity in Indonesia. It concludes that religious attitudes of religious leaders are on the inclusive side in the context of religious theology. Other researches have studied the effects of beliefs in religion, some of which only discuss the concept of religious diversity (Hosu, 2013) and the role of inclusive and exclusive attitudes at the level of doctrine and philosophy (Al-Fahad, 2004; Lee, 2013).

While some studies conducted by Alabi (2002) and Anwar (2009) show that religious leaders have a significant influence on interfaith tolerance, the findings show that religious leaders who use religion as a means to convey hope and program of action that might have a political impact. Abdulmajid (2018) concluded that many religious leaders escalated politically due to the lack of the role of religious leaders in disputes, the management of religious diversity that was less efficient or even caused by the results of conflicting political agendas. Referring to KH Ma'ruf Amin's opinion that one of the factors causing interfaith conflict is a narrow understanding of the diversity of religious leaders, it is necessary to know the political views of religious leaders in Magelang. The results of the mapping are expected to be an essential consideration to prepare measures for preventing radicalism and conflict in the name of religion in political life and ahead of the 2019 general election, especially in Magelang.

Therefore, as a continuation of previous religious relations studies and as proposed by Martilla and James (1977), this study uses importance and performance analysis techniques that are useful to identify indicators of religious leaders on political aspects. This article is expected to be a consideration for religious leaders to improve religious relations in Magelang.

Method

Study Design

In this study, questionnaires were given to religious leaders in Magelang. The survey was designed to measure participants' perceptions and expectations against political relation among religious communities. The sample consisted of 122 religious leaders in Magelang. The religious leaders



were asked to rate on a five-point Likert scale where; 1 is representing strongly disagree, and 5 is representing strongly agree assigned to each attribute.

Participants Characteristics

The analysis began with exploring the demographics of participants using descriptive frequency techniques and percentages involving 122 participants based on religion, gender and profession. Among the 122 participants, 53.3% of them were male, and 46.7% were female. Most participants were Muslims (27%), Christians (18.9%), Catholics (16.4%), Hindus (17.2%), Buddhists (17.2%), and Kong Hu Cu (3.3%). Based on the profession, most of the participants worked as private employees (68.9%), Civil Servants (15.6%), Teachers (12.3%), and Lecturers (3.3%). The characters of the participants are explained below in Table 1;

Table 1: Characteristics of the participants

Religion	People Surveyed	%
Islam	33	27
Christianity	23	18.9
Catholic	20	16.4
Hinduism	21	17.2
Buddhism	21	17.2
Confucianism (Kong Hu Cu)	4	3.3
Gender	People Surveyed	%
Male	65	53.3
Female	57	46.7
Profession	People Surveyed	%
Lecturer	4	3.3
Teachers	15	12.3
Private Employees	84	68.9
Civil Servant	19	15.6

Data analysis

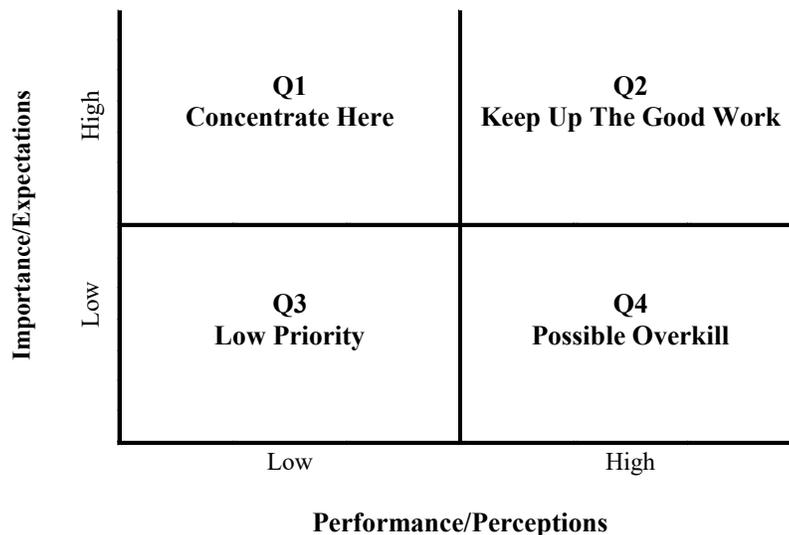
Various methods have been adopted in previous studies to evaluate the level of perception of sustainability and expectations of performance. Proposed by Martilla and James (1977), an

importance-performance analysis (IPA) technique contributes an effective instrument for knowing the essential indicators in providing input for performance. IPA will help the leaders to set a priority and decide how resources can be allocated. IPA is easily applied in a variety of circumstances and gives the ability to present suggestions based on data (Chang et al., 2017; Ahmad, 2018).

In this study, IPA techniques were used to map the religious views of religious leaders in political aspects. This technique is used to compare the political opinions of religious leaders in empirical reality with the expected view (expectations) possessed by the religious leaders. The first step of IPA is the making of a questionnaire about the political views of religious figures consisting of 11 statements to investigate expectations and perceptions in a five-point Likert scale. This tool allows us to create two matrices from the relative position of political views of religious leaders based on high or low importance and high or low performance.

(Wong, Hideki & George 2012:654–657) States that the two dimensions of the science are split into four quadrants with perceptions on the x-axis and expectations on the y-axis (Cvelbar & Dwyer 2013:487–504). As an outcome of this, four quadrants in **figure 1 below**, were created that can be used to generate advice for religious leaders in religious views.

Figure 1. The IPA Framework





Quadrant I (Concentrate Here)

The indicators in this quadrant explain the factors that need to be improved as a top priority. In this quadrant, it is expected that religious views of religious leaders are high importance, but in reality, they have not been as expected and low performance.

Quadrant II (Keep up The Good Work)

All indicators that enter the quadrant are considered as the strength of the sacred view pillar of religious leaders and must be pride. In this quadrant, religious leaders are expected to have high-performance religious views and in reality, are also high performance (according to expectations). The variables in this quadrant must be maintained.

Quadrant III (Low Priority)

In this quadrant, some factors are considered to have level of perception or actual performance low and not very important and or not too expected, so those religious leaders do not need to prioritize or pay more attention to these factors.

Quadrant IV (Possible Overkill)

In this quadrant, some factors are considered not too important and not also expected, so that religious leaders better allocate the attention related to these factors to other factors which have higher priority levels.

IPA analysis in this study consists of 4 stages: (1) collecting key indicators, namely, items that can be characterized by the level of expectations and perceptions of religious views of religious leaders in political aspects; (2) conducting surveys to measure perceptions and expectations; (3) determine the average value of perception and expectations for each item, and (4) determine the value of perception and expectations in the IPA Grid (Wong et al., 2012)

Results



This study tries to illustrate and develop the scientific approach in mapping perceptions (x) and expectations (y) related to the tendency of religious views of each religious figure in Magelang in the political aspect. The result of this analysis will form a matrix consisting of four quadrants, which each quadrant describes the priority scale in providing input to religious leaders in the form of increasing perceptions or maintaining the political perceptions.

According to the IPA approach, the first religious views in political aspects attributes was 3.887, and the second was 4.441 in this study. According to the empirical questionnaire surveys, the findings indicate that among the eleven religious view attributes, one religious view attributes were in Quadrant 1 (i.e. concentrate here), while four religious view attributes were in quadrant 3 (that is, low priority). As to religious views items, six attributes were in quadrant 2 (that is, keep up the good work). The analytical results are as shown in Table 2 below. The relative positions of the religious view attributes are as shown in Figure 2 below.

Table 2 presents the average values of perceptions and expectations of 11 indicators on religious views of religious leaders. These results indicate that the perception of religious views are the highest related to the selection of regional and state leaders based on the vision, mission and work program, not on religion ($M = 4.200$ and 4.098), Objective Assessment Against Different Leaders of Religion ($M = 4.087$), the active role of figures religion in the settlement of political conflicts ($M = 4.058$), and the rules and policies of leaders must be based on religious teachings ($M = 4.022$). On the other hand, political relations built only based on religious sentiment ($M = 3.398$) have the lowest level of perceptions of religious leaders.

According to Table 2, the religious view item with the highest mean of importance was 4.200, that is, Election of regional leaders based on vision, mission and work program, not based on religion (code 2); while the lowest mean of performance was 3.398, that is, Political relations are built only by religious sentiments (code 11). The highest mean of expectation was 4.697 (code 2); while the lowest was 4.160, that is, Support against policies/rules contrary to religious beliefs (code 3)



TABLE 2: IPA Analyses of Religious Leaders

Code	Indicator	Islam Mean		Christianity Mean		Catholic Mean		Hinduism Mean		Buddhism Mean		Confucianism Mean		Average Mean	
		P	E	P	E	P	E	P	E	P	E	P	E	P	E
1	Election of state leaders based on vision, mission and work program, not based on religion.	3.150	3.970	4.570	4.780	4.550	4.850	4.550	4.520	4.330	4.900	3.440	4.790	4.098	4.635
2	Election of regional leaders based on vision, mission and work program, not based on religion.	3.390	4.180	4.430	4.830	4.500	4.950	4.500	4.430	4.380	4.950	4.000	4.840	4.200	4.697
3	Support against policies/rules contrary to religious beliefs.	3.520	3.580	4.170	4.650	3.400	4.300	3.400	4.140	3.520	4.290	3.700	4.000	3.618	4.160
4	Different choice of leaders affects inter-religious relationships.	3.150	4.090	4.300	4.740	3.950	4.700	3.950	4.000	4.050	4.620	3.570	4.780	3.828	4.488
5	Objectivity Assessment Against Religious Leaders.	3.090	3.940	4.390	4.740	4.450	5.000	4.450	4.380	4.240	4.810	3.900	4.550	4.087	4.570
6	Politics should be separated from religious symbols.	2.850	3.760	4.260	4.610	4.200	4.850	4.200	4.100	3.760	4.480	3.000	4.590	3.712	4.398
7	The active role of religious leaders in solving political	2.850	3.790	4.480	4.740	4.550	4.950	4.550	4.330	4.140	4.760	3.780	4.300	4.058	4.478

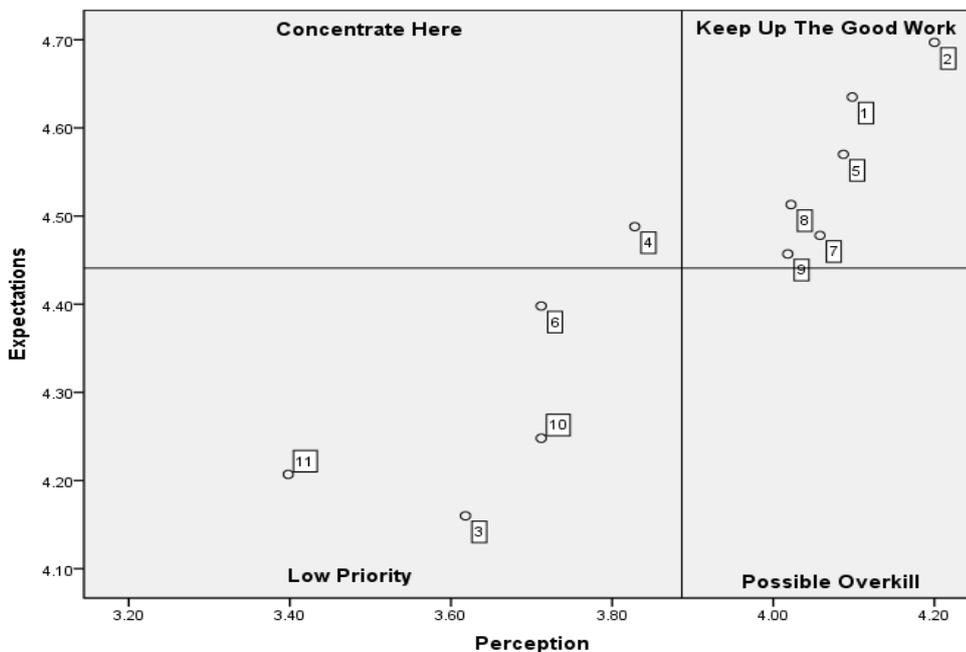


	conflicts.														
8	Leaders' rules and policies should be based on religious teachings.	2.880	3.820	4.390	4.700	4.500	4.870	4.500	4.380	4.140	4.760	3.720	4.550	4.022	4.513
9	Political interests cause conflicts between religious people.	2.700	3.640	4.430	4.610	4.600	5.000	4.600	4.330	4.100	4.760	3.680	4.400	4.018	4.457
10	Election of political parties without seeing religious sectarianism.	2.850	3.730	3.870	4.570	4.150	4.650	4.150	3.620	4.000	4.670	3.250	4.250	3.712	4.248
11	Political relations are built only by religious sentiments.	3.610	4.450	3.780	4.430	3.550	4.450	3.550	3.810	2.900	3.900	3.000	4.200	3.398	4.207
Average		3.095	3.905	4.279	4.673	4.218	4.779	4.218	4.185	3.960	4.627	3.549	4.477	3.887	4.441

The data in table 2 are then transferred to the IPA grid presentation (Figure 2). In Figure 2, the X-axis shows the perception score related to the religious view of religious leaders in the political aspect, while the Y-axis indicates the normal weight in religious views. Four quadrants are formed based on the average values of expectations and perceptions. For religious leaders (Figure 2), the average rating of expectations is 4.441, and the average perception rating is 3.887.

Figure 2 shows the results of eleven factors of religious views in political aspects, with one factor classified in the Concentrate Here quadrant; six factors in the Keep up the Good Work quadrant; and four factors in the low priority quadrant.

Figure 2. Quadrant diagram of political views of religious leaders



The concentrate here quadrant

Aspects of this quadrant have a high level of expectations but having a low perception performance showing that religious leaders must concentrate on this aspect. This quadrant shows indicators of religious views are considered important but are not well implemented. Religious views of religious leaders in this quadrant are expected to be inclusive, but in reality, they are exclusive. In religious views, the fourth variable (differences in leader choices affect interreligious relations) is considered to be the main focus of religious leaders in improving religious views on political aspects.³

The keep up the good work quadrant

Indicators of religious views included in this quadrant are indicators that are considered important and well implemented (have good expectations and perceptions). Expectations and perceptions of religious views of religious leaders are inclusive. These indicators are (1) Selection of candidates for leaders of different religions, (2) Selection of candidates for leaders of different religions, (5) Objective of Assessment of Different Leaders of Religion, (7) Active role of religious leaders in resolving political conflicts, (8) Regulations and Leader policies must base on religious teachings and political interests cause (9) conflicts among religious communities.

Items of the views of religious leaders in this quadrant are the strengths and need defending by religious leaders.

The low priority quadrant

The indicator in this quadrant shows the factors considered less important and not well implemented. In this quadrant, religious views of religious leaders are expected to be exclusive and also exclusive. The indicators included in this quadrant are (3) Support for policies/regulations that are contrary to religious beliefs, (6) Politics must be separated from religious symbols, (10) Election of political parties without looking at sectarian religion, and (11) Political relations are built only on the basis of religious sentiment.

Discussions

This study is intended to identify perceptions and expectations in the political view of religious leaders in Magelang in the context of inter-religious relations. At least four findings from this study are worthy of discussion. First, the results of research data processing developed through IPA show that the view of religious leaders has good results in political aspects. These results provide real capital to maintain stable interactions and foster tolerance among religious communities in Magelang. However, some things still need attention because what is currently on the practical level is not following the conditions that should be.

Secondly, of the eleven indicators that the researchers raised in this study, the fourth indicator related to the statement that “differences in the choice of leaders influence inter-religious relations” is included in Quadrant A, meaning this indicator requires special attention or concentration. In a broader discussion, this data shows that the difference in perception of the leader's criteria has the potential to influence the harmony of inter-religious relations. The four indicators are included in quadrant B so that the indicators included are considered as important indicators. The suitability

between perceptions and expectations about indicators in the quadrant shows that religious attitudes of religious leaders are inclusive and need to be maintained by religious leaders because they can contribute positively and significantly to the harmony of relations between religious communities. The location of these four indicators in quadrant B shows that in these four indicators the view of religious leaders should show an exclusive view and the results of the study show that religious leaders have an exclusive view. This shows that there is a match between what should be done and the reality in the community.

From the explanation above, it can be further determined that there is only one indicator that still needs improvement by religious leaders, namely a view that is related to the influence of differences in perceptions of the leader's criteria for inter-religious relations. Meanwhile, the other indicators are in line with expectations, so it needs to be maintained and analysed like the current conditions. View indicators connecting to the influence of differences in the perception of the leader's criteria on inter-religious relations are not yet in line with rational expectations. This is proven by the ongoing debate among religious leaders related to the requirements of the ideal leader in the public sphere. The discussion occurs among religious leaders who prioritise religious symbols versus the ones who prioritise universal religious values as the principal criteria of an effective leader. These debates often have an impact on differences in perceptions among religious communities, both inter and among religious communities, which are prone to create conflict and racial discrimination (Chng & Tan 2017:461–472).

The results of this study show that in the context of the existence of exclusivism and inclusivism, neither should be eliminated, but rather there needs to be emphasis placed on the right thing in the appropriate situation. This exclusivism must be maintained in the area of theology (theology) and worship (ritual), while in social problems not related to the belief and religion, an inclusive attitude is applied as long as it does not harm one another (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 2005).

There are three interrelated main ideas of inclusivism namely; (1) the substance of faith and worship is more important than literal formalities and religious symbolism; (2) spiritual messages that are eternal in their essence and universal in their meanings must always be reinterpreted by each generation of followers according to the context of the era at hand, and (3) absolute truth belongs only to God, so no one can ensure that his understanding of the message of God is faithful, true or better than the knowledge of others (Baatsen 2017:33–65; Niekerk 2018:1–11). This group emphasised the importance of tolerance towards religious people and among religious communities because religious differences are seen as universal human nature (Kremers, 2013). For Christianity, an inclusive attitude is interpreted as a difference between God in the context of salvation with God in the activity.



In the context of God's activity, the belief that all the truths of non-Christian religions refer to the activities of God in Jesus Christ (Sara Silvestri and Mayall, 2015), becomes inclusive. While inclusive Muslims hold the view that the doctrine of all Prophets is one, this group adheres to the Al-Qur'an view on the meeting point of religions (Q.S. 3:64), in which each of the people has been established a shir'ah and Minhaj. According to these circles, God does not want human equality in all things. The existence of differences in motivation to compete in goodness; and God will judge and explain these differences (Q.S. 5:48). The above theory of equality reinforces that the attitude of inclusiveness in the political views of religious leaders needs to be maintained because it dramatically influences the universal harmony of the religious community (Wani, Abdullah & Chang 2015:642–656).

Conclusion

Importance-Performance Analysis is a useful and straightforward method that helps religious leaders and society to recognise strengths as well as identify areas needing improvement and development to counter religious conflict among religious believers in Magelang. From the research developed through analysis of Importance vs Performance Matrix, it is verified that religious leaders have good results in religious-political views. Of the 11 indicators of political views, there is only one indicator that must be the main focus of religious leaders in developing religious, political relations between religious adherents in Magelang Indonesia, that is the view that differences in leaders' choices influence religious ties among religious adherents.

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