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Review of Grace Davie's Analytical Work in the Handbook of the Sociology of Religion and Its Relevance to the Indonesian Context

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The contribution of Davie in "Evolving Sociology of Religion: Themes and Variations" provides an understanding on how religion, historically geocentric, develops. The above is meant to provide understanding on the state of Islam in Indonesia. The study intends to explain the evolution of the sociology of religion from Marx to Weber and Durkheim until a contemporary paradigm, and how these are relevant to the context of Indonesia. Davie's analytical framework, which emphasizes the geographical and historical contingencies in understanding religious phenomena, offers a critical perspective for analyzing the complex dynamics of religion in Indonesia. The development of religion in Indonesia challenges the simplistic dichotomy between European secularization theory and American rational choice theory. Indonesia thus serves as an example of the need for alternative approaches that are sensitive to local contexts, giving rise to the concept of "glocalization."
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1. Introduction

Sociology of religion has undergone a very significant transformation, in a way, since its emergence toward the end of the 19th century. Davie (2007) very sharply maps this intellectual evolution in his contribution to the Handbook of the Sociology of Religion, not only pinpointing important theoretical developments but also tracing geographic and historical variations that shaped different sociological traditions in Europe and the United States. The central position of Davie's work that sociological hypotheses are contingent, much like the world they seek to explain has profound implications for the development of the sociology of religion in non-Western contexts, particularly in Indonesia.

Indonesia is a case challenging the dominant paradigms within the sociology of religion due to its typical, complex religious pluralism and the fact that it represents a country with the largest Muslim population in the world (Hefner, 2000; Ricklefs, 2012). Indonesia, with a colonial past, non-linear modernization processes, and specific interactions between state and religion dynamics, can scarcely fit into the European model of secularization or the American model of religious markets (Bubalo & Fealy, 2005; van Bruinessen, 2013).

The objectives of this article are to: (1) provide a systematic analysis of Grace Davie's theoretical framework regarding the evolution of the sociology of religion; (2) identify Davie's key contributions in mapping competing theoretical paradigms; and (3) explore the relevance and limitations of Davie's framework in understanding contemporary Indonesian religious phenomena. The hope is that the present academic review will contribute to the discussion on the sociology of religion in Indonesia and eventually help develop a more contextualized theoretical perspective.

2. Theoretical Framework: Contributions of the Founders to the Sociology of Religion

2.1 The Classic Trilogy: Marx, Durkheim, and Weber

Davie starts his analysis by tracing the contributions of the three key figures in classical sociology-Karl Marx (1818-1883), Max Weber (1864-1920), and Émile Durkheim (1858-1917)-whose works have contributed significantly to the foundation of modern sociology of religion. This genealogical approach of Davie is consistent with Turner's (2010) argument that it is essential to understand one's theoretical roots in the sociology of religion in order to truly appreciate the complexity of the contemporary debates.

Marx dan Materialisme Dialektis

Two key elements in Davie's Marxian perspective on religion can be identified: a descriptive dimension that treats religion as the dependent variable of the economic structure, and an evaluative dimension that views religion as a form of alienation that serves to obscure capitalist injustice. Davie's major contribution consists in drawing a clear distinction between (a) Marx's own analysis of the phenomenon of religion, (b) the Marxist schools as sociological thought, and (c) the political application of Marxism in the 20th century.

Such a necessary distinction is relevant in light of McKinnon's (2010) critiques that the vulgar readings of Marx have often ignored the very nuanced original thought. Davie emphasizes that Marx never advocated the forcible eradication of religion a practice ironically carried out by Marxist regimes in the twentieth century. Instead, Marx held a long-term view that religion would naturally disappear in a classless society (Raines, 2002).

Weber and Multicausality

Davie analyzes that Weber focused on the concept of *elective affinities* between material interests and religion, which effectively refutes crude reflective materialism without entirely reversing Marx's causal order. In line with Howe (1978), Weber's notion of *elective affinities* allows for a more nuanced understanding of how religious ideas and material interests shape one another within specific historical contexts. Davie's key contribution lies in highlighting three central assumptions in Weber's sociology of religion: (1) the contingent and variable relationship between religion and the world; (2) the necessity of examining this relationship within its historical and cultural particularities; and (3) the tendency of this relationship to evolve toward an erosion of the boundary between religion and society a process known as secularization or the "disenchantment of the world" (Weber, 1922/1993). Davie also extends the relevance of the Weberian framework by posing contemporary questions concerning gender and religion, demonstrating how Weber's approach can be adapted to analyze the social dynamics of the twenty-first century (Walter & Davie, 1998).

Durkheim and Functionalism

Durkheim, as noted by Davie, emphasized the functionalist character of religion as a bond that holds societies together. Durkheim defined religion as a "unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things" (Durkheim, 1912/1976: 47). It therefore consists of two primal elements: the distinction between sacred and profane (the substantive element) and the binding together of the collective (the functional one). However, Davie analyzes critically the strengths and weaknesses of the Durkheimian approach. Durkheim's emphasis on the social dimension of religion made an important contribution by distinguishing sociology from psychology. On the other hand, his conception of society as a *sui generis* reality carries the risk of reductionism reducing religion merely to a symbolic expression of social experience (Pickering, 1984).

2.2 Geographical Contingency in the Reception of Classical Thought

Davie also contributes methodologically through her attention to the politics of knowledge in the sociology of religion. The availability of translations of classical works cannot be taken for granted, as it depends on

specific institutional and intellectual contexts (Willaime, 1999). Systematic documentation of the temporal and geographical patterns of classical translations remains fragmented, with existing studies focusing primarily on individual cases or limited periods. For instance, Weber's works became available in English nearly a generation earlier than in French, shaping a significant divergence in the development of the sociology of religion within these two intellectual traditions (Swatos, Kivisto, & Gustafson, 1998). This observation recalls Bourdieu's (2002) argument that the international circulation of ideas is always mediated by academic and linguistic power structures.

3. Trans-Atlantic Divergence: The Sociology of Religion in Europe and America

3.1 The European Tradition: From *Sociologie Religieuse* to the Sociology of Religion

Davie maps the transformation of European sociology of religion particularly in France and other continental Catholic countries from *sociologie religieuse* (a pastorally motivated religious sociology) into a scientifically autonomous sociology of religion. The genesis of this transformation can be traced to the post–World War II period, when concerns about the decline in religious practice prompted rigorous empirical investigations (Godin & Daniel, 1943).

Religious Cartography and Historical Explanation

A distinctive feature of continental European sociology of religion is its emphasis on the geographical mapping of religious practices, initiated by Gabriel Le Bras's pioneering work on Catholic religious practice in rural France (Boulard & Le Bras, 1947). This cartographic tradition culminated in the *Atlas de la pratique religieuse des catholiques en France* (Isambert & Terrenoire, 1980), a monumental work documenting regional variations in religious practice.

More importantly, European sociologists were not content with mere geographical description. They sought to explain regional variations through in-depth historical analysis, identifying how past events such as the French Revolution, the Wars of Religion, or patterns of aristocratic patronage left enduring imprints on regional religious cultures (Martin, 1978).

Deconfessionalization and Internationalization

Davie documents the gradual process of deconfessionalization within European sociology of religion, symbolized by the evolution of the Conférence internationale de sociologie religieuse (founded in 1948) into the Société internationale de sociologie des religions (1989). This change of name reflects a shift from a religiously motivated group to a more autonomous scientific community (Voyé & Billiet, 1999). However, Davie also observes that the Catholic–European context that shaped continental sociology of religion produced specific theoretical preoccupations particularly with the secularization thesis that are not always relevant to, nor easily transferable across, other contexts.

3.2 American Traditions: Functionalism, Constructionism, and Pluralism

Unlike Europe, the American sociology of religion is evolving in the ongoing institutional vitality of religion. Davie proposes several important phases in this evolving journey of American traditions:

Parsonian Functionalism Era (1950s-1960s)

This period was dominated by the normative functionalism of Talcott Parsons, emphasizing the integrative role of religion in social systems. Parsons synthesized elements of both Durkheim and Weber to develop a comprehensive model of social systems and social action in which religion functions as a central and prerequisite category (Parsons, 1951; Lechner, 1998).

Parsonian functionalism emerges and reflects the relatively prosperous and stable postwar American context in which consensus on values seems not only desirable but possible. In sharp contrast, the motivating turbulence of the European founders or the long drawn-out confrontation between church and state in continental Europe.

The Shift to Social Constructionism (1970s)

As the optimism of the 1960s gave way to a more reflective decade, American sociology of religion shifted toward the social construction of systems of meaning, as exemplified in the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966). The Parsonian model of a pre-given social order was no longer assumed but instead understood as constructed from the ground up through social interaction.

Berger's (1967) concept of the *"sacred canopy"* religion as a protective structure that provides meaning amid existential chaos reflects the human need for significance and purpose in an era marked by crises (the oil crisis, Vietnam, Watergate) and uncertainty (Karlenzig, 1998).

The Paradigm of Pluralism and the Religious Market

In contrast to the assumption of church monopoly in Europe, the United States has been characterized by denominational pluralism since its founding. This structural condition shaped an American sociology of religion that emphasizes competition, choice, and the religious marketplace (Warner, 1993). Ammerman (1997a) illustrates how local congregations function as "communities of choice," within which individuals actively construct their religious identities.

3.3 The British Case: A Trans-Atlantic Hybrid

Davie identifies the unique position of British sociology of religion as a hybrid that "faces in two directions at once" (Davie, 2000). On one hand, British sociologists have access to and are strongly influenced by the English-language American literature, particularly in studies of new religious movements and pluralism. On the other hand, they operate within a European context marked by low levels of religious practice, rendering much of the American work on religious vitality less applicable.

This liminal position provides British sociologists with a valuable comparative perspective, yet it also generates methodological and theoretical tensions. Davie notes that linguistic limitations the inability of most British and American scholars to access non-Anglophone literature have resulted in an imbalance within international academic dialogue.

4. Contemporary Theoretical Paradigms: Secularization versus Rational Choice

4.1 The Theory of Secularization: European Roots and the Assumption of Modernization

Davie provides a comprehensive analysis of secularization theory, identifying its historical roots in the medieval European experience. Warner (1997) traces the genesis of secularization back roughly eight centuries to medieval Europe, where the key element was the existence of a monopolistic church wielding authority over society as a whole, maintained through both formal and informal sanctions.

The Logical Structure of the Secularization Argument

The argument for secularization can be summarized as follows: (1) The monopoly of the church provides a plausibility structure within which it holds authority over people's religious beliefs. (2) Increasing pluralism arising from modernization processes and the proliferation of ideologies and cultures undermines this monopoly, eroding its authority. (3) The collapse of this monopoly diminishes the plausibility of religious claims. Therefore, modernization leads to secularization (Bruce, 2002; Berger, 1967).

Davie adds that the classical formulation of secularization theory presupposes its universal applicability across all modern societies, asserting that religiosity inevitably declines in the course of modernization. This assumption reflects the metanarratives of modernity that position Europe as the global prototype (Bruce, 2011).

Critique and Revision

However, since the 1990s, the theory of secularization has faced substantial criticism from multiple perspectives. Casanova (1994) introduced the concept of the "deprivatization" of religion, demonstrating that religion has remained or once again become a significant public actor in many modern societies. Berger himself (1999) revised his earlier stance, acknowledging that by the end of the twentieth century the world was "as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so."

4.2 Rational Choice Theory: American Origins and the Market Model

Davie contrasts secularization theory with an alternative paradigm that emerged from the American context the rational choice theory, or the *"new paradigm"* (Warner, 1993). Unlike secularization theory, which is rooted in the monopolistic church structure of medieval Europe, rational choice theory arose from the American experience of religious pluralism that has existed since the nation's founding roughly two centuries ago.

Structural and Behavioral Assumptions

Rational choice theory in the sociology of religion most explicitly articulated by Stark and Finke (2000) argues that: (1) there is no church monopoly in the United States, only a "quasi-public space" that cannot be dominated by any single group; (2) various denominations compete for "customers" in the religious marketplace; (3) such competition produces more vital and responsive religious organizations; and (4) pluralism, therefore, enhances rather than diminishes religious vitality (Iannaccone, 1992a, 1994).

Applications and Limitations

Davie highlights the success of rational choice theory in explaining specific phenomena, particularly the relative popularity of conservative "high-cost" denominations compared to liberal "low-cost" ones in the United States (Iannaccone, 1994). However, she also identifies serious limitations in applying this model to non-American contexts, especially within Europe.

4.3 Geographical Contingency and Paradigmatic Limitations

The most significant theoretical contributions of Davie are those in which he argued that both paradigms-secularization and rational choice-have their roots in contexts that are more specific to geography and history, and therefore quintessentially limited in their universal applications. As Warner (1997: 194-196) so aptly put it, the origins of both models lie centuries back and reflect very different structural configurations between religion and society.

Exceptionalism: Europe or America?

Davie delves into the continuing debate about "exceptionalism"-whether it is America or Europe where exceptionalism resides in the argument-that is, a country (with a robust market for religion but very advanced) has not adopted modernization, that is, secularization. According to Casanova (2001), this debate is fundamentally unproductive and should encourage thinking in more broadly inclusive global terms.

The "Public Utility" versus "Market" Mentality

Davie offers a critical observation regarding the European mentality toward the church, which is often perceived as a public utility rather than as a competing enterprise a legacy of historical state-church systems. The majority of Europeans regard the church as a socially beneficial institution that fulfils certain communal functions particularly at crucial life moments such as birth, marriage, and death yet do not see its survival as dependent on their active participation.

This mindset explains why the religious market though present in many parts of Europe does not operate effectively. The issue is not the absence of a market structure, but rather the consumer mentality that does not perceive a need to "invest" in religious goods. This observation carries significant methodological implications: the mere existence of a market structure does not necessarily produce market dynamics if the underlying cultural dispositions are not supportive.

5. Global Challenges: Beyond Paradigmatic Dichotomies

5.1 A Geographical Perspective: Complexity Beyond Europe and America

Davie argues that to comprehend contemporary global religious phenomena, the sociology of religion must move beyond the Europe–America dichotomy. She identifies complex patterns across various regions of the world that fit neither the secularization theory nor the rational choice paradigm.

The Developing World: Vitality and Transformation

Drawing on Berger (1999), Davie emphasizes that the developing world Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, and parts of Christian East Asia remains "as religious as ever." Yet this vitality does not merely represent the persistence of tradition; rather, it reflects dynamic transformations in which traditional forms of Christianity compete with innovative expressions, particularly the widespread growth of Pentecostalism (Martin, 2002; Corten, 1997).

In Latin America, for instance, the traditional discipline of the Catholic Church may be weakening, but this has not led to secularism. Instead, it has given rise to new, hybrid, and syncretic forms of Christianity that integrate Afro-Brazilian or indigenous elements (Chesnut, 2003; Freston, 2001).

Exceptions and Anomalies

Davie identifies Japan and Western Europe as major exceptions to the global pattern of religious vitality both being among the most economically developed regions. This provides a "pause for thought" regarding the relationship between modernization and secularization (Inglehart & Baker, 2000).

However, the United States remains a striking anomaly: a highly developed nation with remarkably high religious vitality. This complexity suggests that the relationship between modernization and religion cannot be reduced to a simple formula.

5.2 Thematic Approaches: Global Religious Social Movements

In addition to the geographical perspective, Davie identifies three major global religious social movements that challenge conventional paradigms:

Global Catholicism

Casanova (2001) highlights a paradox: while European Catholicism has been in retreat, global Catholicism has become a powerful transnational movement. Since 1870, Catholicism has steadily evolved into a movement centered on human dignity and universal human rights no longer exclusively Catholic in its orientation (Vallier, 1971). Transnational institutions such as the Roman Curia, movements such as

Liberation Theology and Opus Dei, and the figure of the Pope as a global media actor illustrate that contemporary Catholicism can no longer be understood solely within a national-territorial framework (Casanova, 2001).

Popular Pentecostalism

Martin (2002) documents the global expansion of Pentecostalism a phenomenon whose immediate institutional impact may be less visible than that of Catholicism, yet which influences hundreds of millions of individuals worldwide. Global Pentecostalism is not homogeneous; it adapts to local contexts while maintaining its core elements spiritual experience, healing, and emotional expression.

Coleman (2001) and Freston (2001) analyse distinct dimensions of this movement global communication and evangelical politics, respectively revealing its internal complexity. Significantly, Davie notes the "European exceptionalism" of Pentecostalism: unlike in most other parts of the world, it has not become a mass phenomenon in Europe (Martin, 2002).

Fundamentalism as a Global Phenomenon

Davie refers to The Fundamentalism Project (Marty & Appleby, 1991–1995), which documents the rise of reactive conservative movements across major world religions. The project developed the concept of "family resemblances" a Weberian ideal type of fundamentalism that enables cross-religious comparison without assuming identical characteristics.

Interestingly, Europe once again exhibits a relative absence of fundamentalist movements that fit this ideal type, whereas the United States displays a strong and visible presence (Almond, Appleby, & Sivan, 2003). This observation reinforces Davie's argument regarding the geographical contingency of religious phenomena.

5.3 Toward a More Sophisticated Analytical Framework

Davie concludes with a call for more sophisticated analytical tools that acknowledge the contingency of sociological thought. She argues that no single theoretical framework can adequately explain all cases both secularization and rational choice theories must be "used wisely" and may be "more plausible in some parts of the world than in others."

Comparative Analysis as a Key Method

Davie identifies rigorous comparative analysis as the most effective approach for working within a truly global framework. Through systematic comparison, underlying patterns and connections begin to emerge, enabling the development of heuristic concepts (such as the ideal type of fundamentalism) or mid-range substantive theories that bridge local particularities and general explanation (Martin, 2002).

Theoretical Flexibility and Contextual Sensitivity

Davie's argument for theoretical flexibility does not imply relativism or unprincipled eclecticism. Rather, it represents a demand for contextual sensitivity a recognition that phenomena that appear similar on the surface may hold distinct meanings and functions within different socio-historical contexts (Beckford, 2003). In this sense, the sociology of religion must remain reflexive and adaptive, constantly reassessing its own conceptual tools in light of global diversity and local particularity.

6. Relevance to the Indonesian Context: Critical Analysis and Application

6.1 Indonesia as an Anomalous Case in Global Sociology of Religion

Davie's work becomes particularly relevant when read in the context of Indonesia a nation with the world's largest Muslim population and a high degree of religious diversity. Her notion of "themes and variations" finds strong empirical support here. Indonesia demonstrates that modernization, democratization, and globalization do not necessarily lead to secularization; rather, they often reinforce the visibility and vitality of religion in the public sphere. Indonesia thus presents a compelling and challenging case for contemporary sociology of religion. As a country with approximately 230 million Muslims, Indonesia exhibits characteristics that align neither fully with the European secularization paradigm nor with the American religious market model.

Modernization Without (Full) Secularization

Since its independence in 1945 especially during the New Order era (1966–1998) Indonesia has undergone significant economic and social modernization. However, instead of producing secularization as predicted by classical theory, Indonesia's modernization has been accompanied by what Hefner (2000) calls *"Islamization by persuasion"* a deepening of both public and private piety. Indicators include the dramatic rise in hijab use among educated urban Muslim women (Smith-Hefner, 2007); the growth of modern Islamic schools that integrate religious and secular curricula (Lukens-Bull, 2001); the rapid expansion of Islamic banking and finance (Pepinsky, 2013); and the increasing participation in the hajj pilgrimage (Feillard & Madinier, 2011).

These developments challenge the classical secularization thesis, which assumes a direct correlation between modernization and religious decline. Within Davie's framework, such patterns can be interpreted as a *"variation"* on the broader theme of the relationship between modernity and religion. In Europe, modernity generated secularization; in Indonesia, it has fostered new forms of religiosity more open, transnational, and often political. This reinforces Davie's central argument that secularization is not a universal law but a product of specific historical conditions. As Hefner (2011: 3) aptly notes, "Indonesia offers a striking example of what might be called an 'alternative modernity' a pathway to modernity that does not follow the Western European pattern."

Pluralism Without a (Fully) Functioning Market

Indonesia also diverges from the American religious market model. Although the Indonesian constitution guarantees freedom of religion and the state officially recognizes six religions (Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism), its structural configuration differs significantly from American-style pluralism.

First, the state plays a strong regulatory role in religious life through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which oversees religious education, the construction of places of worship, family law, and even doctrinal interpretation (Gillespie, 2007). Second, the Blasphemy Law (Law No. 1/PNPS/1965) restricts religious expressions deemed deviant from the orthodox teachings of the six recognized religions, thereby creating a *"restricted market"* in which ideological competition is bounded by state regulation (Crouch, 2014). Third, although there is competition among major Islamic organizations (such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah), their dynamics do not entirely follow the logic of a rational market. Factors such as family affiliation, pesantren (Islamic boarding school) networks, and cultural loyalties often play a more decisive role than rational "cost-benefit" calculations of religious adherence (van Bruinessen, 1994; Fealy & Hooker, 2006).

6.2 Applying Davie's Framework to Understanding the Development of Islam in Indonesia: "Glocalization"

Davie's central argument regarding geographical and historical contingency is highly relevant to understanding Indonesia. As Ricklefs (2006, 2012) demonstrates, the development of Indonesian Islam cannot be separated from its long history of *"mystic synthesis"* an integration of Islam with Hindu-Buddhist and indigenous elements followed by waves of *"puritanization"* since the nineteenth century.

Colonial Legacy and the Religion–State Configuration

Unlike Europe, which experienced a medieval church monopoly, or the United States, which was founded on church–state separation, Indonesia inherited a complex configuration from the Dutch colonial period. The colonial administration developed what Kipp (1993) terms *"administrative religious categories"* a classificatory and regulatory system designed to control Islam while safeguarding Christian missions.

After independence, the Indonesian state maintained and expanded this regulatory role, though with a different purpose: not colonial control but nation-building amid extreme diversity. The national ideology, *Pancasila* particularly its first principle, "Belief in One Supreme God" requires every citizen to adhere to a recognized religion, creating what Picard (2011) calls *"religious secularism"* a paradox that exposes the limits of the simplistic secular–religious dichotomy.

"Believing Without Belonging" versus "Belonging Without Believing"

Davie (1994, 2007) is well known for her concept of *"believing without belonging,"* which describes contemporary European religiosity, where individuals retain private belief but disengage from institutional participation. Indonesia, however, displays an almost inverse pattern *"belonging without believing"* or, more accurately, *"belonging with orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy."* Religious affiliation in Indonesia is a prerequisite for citizenship and social legitimacy one must "belong" to one of the officially recognized religions. Yet anthropological studies reveal that "belief" in the orthodox theological sense is often more flexible and syncretic than formal classifications suggest (Beatty, 1999; Bowen, 1993). What matters most is ritual practice and social identity, rather than doctrinal consistency.

Internal Variation and Ambivalence Toward Modernity

In-depth studies reveal significant internal variation and ambivalence toward modernity. Movements such as the Salafi in Indonesia do not uniformly reject modernity; instead, they selectively adopt modern technologies (social media, higher education) while rejecting certain liberal values (Hasan, 2006; Woodward et al., 2012). Muhammadiyah, Indonesia's second-largest modernist Islamic organization with around 30 million members, offers a striking example. Although it promotes the purification of Islam from *bid'ah* (unfounded innovations), it is deeply engaged in modernization through its vast network of schools, universities, and hospitals (Peacock, 1978). This demonstrates that "religious purification" is not necessarily synonymous with reactive or anti-modern "fundamentalism."

Nahdlatul Ulama and Progressive Traditionalism

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Indonesia's largest Islamic organization with an estimated 40–60 million members, represents an even more complex pattern. NU explicitly identifies as "traditionalist," preserving Javanese syncretic Islamic practices and classical *fiqh* methodologies. Yet under the leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) and his successors, NU has emerged as a strong advocate of democracy, pluralism, and tolerance (Barton, 2002; Fealy, 2007). This shows that "traditionalism" is not necessarily conservative in socio-political terms, challenging linear assumptions about the relationship between religious orientation and political attitude. As Hefner (2000: 16) observes, "NU traditionalism demonstrates that 'tradition' can serve as a resource for social innovation and tolerance, not merely conservatism."

The Pancasila Model: Plural Accommodation within a National Framework

The Indonesian model can be described as one of *"plural accommodation,"* in which the state actively recognizes and accommodates religious diversity while maintaining a degree of control for the sake of national integration (Assyaukanie, 2009). The Ministry of Religious Affairs functions as a mediator between religious communities and the state, developing what Gillespie (2007) calls *"national orthodoxy"* for each officially recognized religion.

This model has attracted criticism from multiple directions. Secularists criticize the state's excessive involvement in religion and its discrimination against atheists or unrecognized faiths (Bagir, 2013). Islamists denounce *Pancasila* as an obstacle to fuller implementation of *sharia* (Assyaukanie, 2009). Religious minorities criticize the asymmetry of power that grants Islam a *de facto* dominant position despite formal pluralism (Schäfer, 2019).

The Challenge of Coexistence: From Passive Tolerance to Active Dialogue

Budhy Munawar-Rachman (2010) distinguishes between *"negative tolerance"* (non-interference among religious groups) and *"positive tolerance"* (active dialogue and cooperation). Historically, Indonesia has succeeded in maintaining negative tolerance relatively peaceful coexistence among religious communities but struggles to cultivate positive tolerance, particularly amid contemporary political polarization (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2020). A 2019 study by the Maarif Institute shows that while most Indonesian Muslims support religious diversity in principle, support for specific minority rights (such as building places of worship or holding political office) remains low. This indicates a persistent tension between *"principled pluralism"* and *"practical pluralism."*

7. Conclusion

A systematic analysis of Grace Davie's contributions in *The Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* reveals her significant theoretical insights into the evolution and geographical contingency of the sociology of religion. Sociological thought about religion, as Davie demonstrates, is inherently contingent upon specific historical and geographical contexts. Through a comprehensive intellectual genealogy, Davie traces how the three classical founders Marx, Weber, and Durkheim laid the theoretical foundations that later evolved into distinct traditions in Europe and the United States, producing two dominant paradigms: secularization theory and rational choice theory. Davie's analytical framework shows that secularization theory is rooted in the medieval European experience of church monopoly that gradually eroded with modernization, whereas rational choice theory emerged from the American context of enduring religious pluralism since the founding of the nation. Both paradigms, however, possess significant limitations when applied universally. Her critical observation of the contrasting "public utility" versus "market" mentalities in understanding religion–society relations underscores that the mere existence of a market structure does not automatically generate market dynamics if the supporting cultural dispositions are absent.

Indonesia home to the world's largest Muslim population illustrates this theoretical tension vividly. It represents a case of modernization without full secularization and pluralism without a religious market in the American sense. The rise of both public and private piety amid rapid modernization challenges the classical secularization thesis, which assumes a linear relationship between modernization and religious decline. Comparative analysis shows that Indonesia's unique religion–state configuration shaped by its colonial legacy and further developed through the ideology of *Pancasila* has produced a model of "plural accommodation" fundamentally different from both the American separation of church and state and the European system of established churches. The regulatory role of the state through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, blasphemy laws, and the recognition of six official religions creates a "restricted market" where

ideological competition is bounded by state regulation. Case studies of Indonesia's major Islamic organizations, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) and *Muhammadiyah*, reveal further layers of complexity. NU demonstrates that "traditionalism" can serve as a resource for tolerance and social innovation, rather than merely conservatism, while Muhammadiyah exemplifies that religious purification is not necessarily synonymous with reactive or anti-modern fundamentalism. These internal variations reinforce Davie's argument on contingency and challenge overly simplistic categorizations within the sociology of religion.

Theoretical Contributions and Future Research Directions

Davie's analysis of the evolution of the sociology of religion and our critical engagement with its relevance to the Indonesian context leads to several important theoretical implications:

Contingency versus Universalism

Davie's central argument that sociological thought is contingent challenges universalist aspirations in social theory. However, this does not entail radical relativism. Rather, as Beckford (2003) suggests, what is needed is a form of *"contextual universalism"* an acknowledgment that while certain processes (such as modernization or globalization) may be universal, their manifestations and consequences are profoundly shaped by specific historical and cultural contexts. In the case of Indonesia, this means that concepts such as *"secularization," "fundamentalism,"* or the *"religious market"* may be heuristically useful but must be adapted and modified to capture Indonesia's unique realities. As Hefner (2011) notes, we need *middle-range theories* theories abstract enough to allow cross-case comparison but sufficiently grounded to reflect contextual variation.

Paradigmatic Synthesis: Moving Beyond Dichotomies

The Indonesian case highlights the limitations of maintaining a rigid dichotomy between secularization theory and rational choice theory. Elements of both paradigms can be valuable for explaining different aspects of Indonesian religious life. First, the concept of *"differentiation"* from secularization theory helps explain how religious and secular institutions in modern Indonesia have undergone partial functional separation (Casanova, 1994). Second, the *"religious market"* framework from rational choice theory helps elucidate the competition among Islamic organizations for members and influence (Stark & Finke, 2000). However, both paradigms must be supplemented by attention to the role of the state, colonial legacies, and historical contingencies factors often overlooked in Western theoretical models.

Glocalization" as an Alternative Framework

Robertson's (1995) concept of *"glocalization"* captures the dialectical relationship between globalization and localization how global phenomena are adapted and transformed within local contexts. This framework is particularly useful for understanding contemporary Indonesian religiosity, where transnational religious movements (such as Pentecostalism, Salafism, and Hizbut Tahrir) undergo processes of *vernacularization* (Bruinessen, 2013). A glocal framework acknowledges that: 1) Indonesian religion cannot be understood in isolation but must be situated within global religious flows; 2) these global connections do not lead to homogenization but to *glocalization* a unique synthesis of global and local elements; and 3) this process is dialogical and contingent rather than deterministic.

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