

## The Politics of Islamophobia in Indonesia: Reacting Religious Issues in Politics

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Received: 2023-09-15; Accepted: 2024-04-20; Published: 2024-07-18

**Abstract:** This research analyses the political ramifications of Islamophobia in Indonesia, particularly how the apprehension linked to radical Islamic ideologies shapes the responses of government and political entities. Utilising a qualitative library research approach, this paper scrutinises an array of academic books, peer-reviewed journals, and scholarly articles to explore the interplay between religious anxieties and political measures. The findings indicate that the government's approach to combating perceived threats from Islamic movements involves strict enforcement of Pancasila, alleviation of fears regarding the replacement of national ideology by a caliphate, and promotion of religious moderation to deter extremism. The study highlights the politicisation of radicalism and Islamophobia, revealing the strategic use of these concerns to influence public policy and political discourse in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Governmental response; islamophobia; political dynamics; religious moderation.

**Abstrak:** Penelitian ini menganalisis dampak politik dari Islamofobia di Indonesia, khususnya bagaimana kekhawatiran yang berkaitan dengan ideologi Islam radikal membentuk respons pemerintah dan entitas politik. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan penelitian kepustakaan kualitatif, makalah ini menelaah berbagai buku akademik, jurnal yang ditinjau sejawat, dan artikel ilmiah untuk menggali interaksi antara kecemasan religius dan tindakan politik. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa strategi pemerintah dalam menghadapi ancaman yang dirasakan dari gerakan Islam melibatkan penegakan Pancasila secara ketat, pengurangan ketakutan terhadap penggantian ideologi nasional oleh khilafah, dan promosi moderasi agama untuk menangkal ekstremisme. Studi ini menyoroti politisasi radikalisme dan Islamofobia, mengungkapkan penggunaan strategis isu-isu ini untuk mempengaruhi kebijakan publik dan wacana politik di Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** Tanggapan pemerintah; islamofobia; dinamika politik; moderasi agama.

### 1. Introduction

In the contemporary era, a new type of phobia has emerged, affecting specific regions and populations—namely Islamophobia, characterized by fear and hostility towards Islam and its adherents. This phenomenon is not restricted to non-Muslim majority countries; it has notably impacted countries with significant Muslim populations, including Indonesia (Aziz, 2016). Historically, manifestations of Islamophobia have ranged from the vilification of the Prophet Muhammad by the Quraysh in Mecca—who described him pejoratively as a madman and sorcerer—to more modern expressions, including legislative and social restrictions on Muslims (Moordiningsih, 2005; Narkowicz, 2017).

In this millennium, new types of phobias have emerged, affecting certain regions and specific populations, particularly phobias against Islam, commonly referred to as Islamophobia (Narkowicz, 2017). Everything related to Islam, even to its symbols, can be a monster for people with this phobia. There are three dimensions of Islamophobia, namely the private dimension of fear, suspicion and violence targeting Muslims by private actors, structural Islamophobia, in the form of fear and suspicion

of Muslims from government institutions, and Islamophobic dialectics, in the process of forming structural Islamophobia (Beydoun, 2018).

Islamophobia is an attitude of hatred and fear of all things that smell of Islam. If we look at history, actually propaganda of Islamophobia has existed since ancient times. History records that Islamophobia propaganda has appeared in the era of the Prophet Muhammad in the past. Various forms of insults, threats and violence hit the Prophet's missionary journey. We will remember when the disbelievers of Quraysh insulted the Messenger of Allah as a madman and sorcerer. Furthermore, during the colonial era, the Dutch were also hostile to Islam because many kiai and their students were fanatical about their teachings, hated the colonialists and continued to struggle to defend and defend the Indonesian people (Moordiningsih, 2005).

Imagining Islamophobia now we can not only think that this disease only affects the population of the country who are the majority of infidels. This is 'natural' considering that in such countries there is no "anti-body" against Islamophobic attacks, even if there is certainly very little. But in fact Islamophobia has now infected countries with a majority Muslim population, such as Indonesia (Aziz, 2016).

Indonesia, which has a Muslim majority, has been plagued by Islamophobia bondage, which is fear of Islamic ideologies. Thus, the phenomenon of Islamophobia becomes interesting because in the Islamic community there is also fear of Islam (Buchowski, 2016). Assume that anyone who echoes the idea of applying Islam as a whole in every frame of life is a misguided and misleading not even dubbed radical and intolerant understanding. So anyone who is considered to embrace radicalism and intolerance is forbidden to spread even get threats and criticism.

Islam has a strong influence on Indonesian politics. As some have explained, "conservative tendencies" in the form of massive peaceful protests on 2 of December 2016 organized by the Islamic Defendant Action (Movement of 212) could be a game changer. The 212 movement mobilized by Muslims was not just a phenomenon that occurred on Java. In the outer provinces of West Sumatra, North Sumatra, South Sulawesi and North Sulawesi, a large narrative of 212 influences local Muslim voters in determining their choices. In the future, the Islamic conservatism movement can have a great influence in shaping Indonesian public policy, regardless of who is elected president in the 2019 presidential election (Alfin & Stelmachowska, 2018).

After their successful campaign to overthrow former Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) and lead to his imprisonment for two years on blasphemy charges. So the 212 Movement has become an influential phenomenon in Indonesian politics. This movement not only encouraged Muslims to express their social, economic and political views and preferences, but also made the two presidential candidates (Jokowi and Prabowo) to change their political strategies to be more accommodating and attentive to Islamic issues.

The last few years, long before the 2019 presidential election campaign, were not only symbols that received restrictions or attacks, some Islamic teachings were "obliterated" to death, for example, in Indonesia, anyone who preaches the concept of khilafah will be considered a common enemy, so we often hear the persecution of the clerics and preachers who were found out had mentioned the khilafah as the teachings of Islam in their lectures. Some are even reckless to say that the khilafah is the same as the PKI or that the monotheism flag is a terrorist flag. Hizb ut-Tahrir for example, as one of the mass organizations that loudly spoke the teachings of Islam this one (the khilafah) was revoked by BHP and even its members were declared to be pursued if they still spread the Khilafah understanding. This is based on the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU-30.AH.01.08 of 2017 concerning the revocation of the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights number AHU-0028.60.10.2014 concerning the legalization of the establishment of a legal entity HTI association. The revocation was carried out as a follow-up to Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 2 of 2017 which amended Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Community Organizations.

Besides, related to radicalism, that the emergence of radical in religion is really difficult to stem, let alone be eliminated in this country. They always appear suddenly accompanied by terror movements and violent movements, which are truly barbaric and inhuman (Huda, 2015). Even the

planned assassination of several state officials considered important and strategic which some time ago had been announced by the Chief of Indonesian National Police, General Tito Karnavian. The plan became evident on October 10, 2019 ago in Banten, Wiranto underwent attempted murder by an unknown person. After being traced by the Police, it turned out that the person was a member of a network group affiliated with ISIS. as reported by the online print media DW.Com (10/10/2019), that the two suspected perpetrators of the stabbing of Wiranto were claimed not only to be exposed to Islamic State ideology, but also to be identified as members of JAD. Wiranto had previously been the target of assassination (Kusuma, 2019).

This is a warning to all of us that radical religious movements will never cease their activities and will emerge at any time until the goal is achieved, namely changing the form of this country into an Islamic state with the Khilafah Islamiyah system by using radical methods and far from humanity. According to Solihin, this underlies President Jokowi to appoint General Fahrur Rozy who has a military background as Minister of Religion in his government cabinet in the 2019-2024 period (Muliono, 2018).

The election of Fahrur Rozy is expected to provide strategic solutions on how to overcome the ideology of radicalism and religious intolerance in Indonesia, which lately is really massive. Armed with his experience in the military world he is also expected to act decisively but remain in the corridors of persuasive and peaceful ways. Besides, he is also expected to sow and spread how to peaceful and moderate religion in Indonesia.

Based on the description above, it is known that anxiety has befallen the political elites and the government in some radical Islamic understandings in Indonesia, so that religious issues become political problems. With this, the author tries to examine the three steps of Islamophobia politics in Indonesia in this article, namely: *first*, limiting the scope of movement of Islamic organizations; *secondly*, the issue of *khilafah* is raised; *third*, the declaration of religious moderation. To answer this problem, the author uses qualitative research methods, and the type of research used is library research, and the data collection techniques used are documents in the form of books, journals and other articles.

## 2. Method

In conducting this research, researchers used the literature study method. In Mestika (Mestika, 2008) it is said that what is meant by the literature study research method is an activity related to the process of collecting data sourced from the library. These activities include reading, recording and also processing research materials or data. Meanwhile, according to Abuddin, what is meant by literature study research is research in which data collection uses reading materials from various reference sources (Nata, 2012). The references referred to in this study are books, journals and articles related to research problems.

## 3. Results

### *Restrictions on the movement space of ulemas and Islamic organizations*

Islamophobia is fear, hatred or prejudice against Islam. It is also somewhat strange to say that Indonesia has contracted Islamophobia, while Indonesia itself is one of the largest Muslim countries in the world (Amany, 2016). However, the majority of these fears are felt by the political elite (including the government) towards Islam, and this can be proven by the rampant criminalization of ulemas and narrowing the space for Islamic organizations.

Prejudice against Muslims arose when the leader of the Islamic Defender Action on November 4, 2016 at the Istiqlal mosque, before moving down to Monas, worshipers numbering in the hundreds filled the mosque listened to the direction of the ulama and habaib. Speeches by some of the Martial Arts Action figures appealed to the government, lest the government be a priori towards them. Why is it thrown accusations without the fact that their actions are ridden by political parties, paid, impure, infiltrated by terrorists, want to replace Pancasila with Islamic Shari'ah, and the most sinister: will kill the minorities (Muliono, 2018).

As with the 212 actions in 2016 and the reunion in 2018, all proceeded in an orderly and peaceful manner as recognized by many parties. Many accusations that this is a political movement, many also accuse this of the masses paid to support one of the presidential candidates and ride Muslims, some are planning to lower the monotheism flag if it is seen at the reunion for reasons to defend the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

Suspicion does not only occur between non-Muslims against Muslims, it also does not only occur between officials against Muslims, nor also towards one Islamic organization against other Islamic organizations (Amany, 2016). Suspicion in Indonesia has increased to the level of fellow Muslims who are not even related to any organization. Some of the ulama who have been "labelled" as radicals, let alone not certified by the Ministry of Religion, have experienced various "attacks", even though they have not yet reached physical attacks. The attack took the form of blocking and blocking the da'wah or discussion program that would be carried out by certain scholars who had entered the black label label "radical" (Amalia & Haris, 2019).

The last example that is more widely discussed is the cancellation of Ustad Abdul Somad to hold a public lecture at Gadjah Mada University (UGM) with the headline "Integration of Islam with Science". The reason stated related to the cancellation mentioned by the UGM leadership was, "This was done to maintain the harmony of academic and non-academic activities with UGM's identity." Interestingly, Abdul Somad was also forbidden by the Yogyakarta Palace to carry out an activity called 'Muslim United: Sedulur Saklawase' held by the Ukhuwah Islamiyyah Forum held on 11-13 October 2019 (Bareno, 2018).

It also happened that the event was also attended by several names of scholars who were widely referred to as entering the "black book" of scholars exposed to radicals, such as Adi Hidayat, Salim A Fillah, Bachtiar Nasir, and Felix Siauw (Bareno, 2018). Some time before this, Ustad Abdul Somad was also reprimanded by the Indonesian Ulema Council for the content of his lecture in front of Muslims who were considered offensive to other people, when Ustad Abdul Somad about the statue and position of the Prophet Jesus according to the Koran. And maybe that is one of the reasons why Ustad Abdul Somad is considered incompatible with UGM's identity.

But if we explore deeper, is it wrong if a cleric delivers the contents of his book? Is it not the duty of scholars, priests or monks to teach and distribute the contents of their respective books? And aren't those present at the event as people of their own uniform? so it's a phobia, and develops again into paranoia, which ended like in the United States about a decade ago: "We have to give freedom of thought, ideas, speech, and everything to be arranged by others to get freedom.

Islamophobia in the government can be seen with the blocking of 22 suspected Islamic radical media sites on 29 of March 2015. The blocking was carried out by the Ministry of Communication and Information at the request of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). The blocking was carried out suddenly without prior notice or deliberation to the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) (Hariyanti, 2019). Blocking that was done seemed authoritarian and one-sided. Take cover behind the government's efforts to prevent the spread of radical ISIS ideology. Armed with information from the BNPT, the Ministry of Communication and Information blocked Islamic sites that had been used by many Muslims to find information about the development of the Islamic world.

An Islamic site blocked by the Ministry of Communication and Information is suspected to spread radicalism and teachings related to the ISIS network. But many people who deplore even condemned the blocking of these Islamic sites. The reason is that the Ministry of Communication and Information has blocked it without prior dialogue and clarification with the management of Islamic sites or Islamic leaders. The government should give a warning to the management of the Islamic site first, then hold a dialogue to find the right solution to the problem of spreading radical understanding in Indonesia that the government is worried about (Hariyanti, 2019). In addition, the government can invite dialogue of Islamic scholars and leaders to identify sites that are indeed dangerous for Muslims. So that the government has clear reasons and grounds when it wants to take action to overcome the spread of radical understanding.

As a result of the blocking, there were opinions of the Muslim community who asked the government policy. However, government agencies are throwing away responsibilities, the Ministry of Communication and Information argues that they only fulfill the request of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). On the contrary, BNPT argued that they only offered recommendations to the Ministry of Communication and Information and the follow-up was submitted to the Ministry of Communication and Information. In the end, a few days later after 12 Islamic media sites were blocked, they were reopened. While the rest is still blocked because the management has not sent a letter requesting that the block be revoked. Member of the Central MUI Study and Research Commission Fahmi Salim Zubair assessed that the Jokowi-Jusup Kalla regime and the people around him were strongly indicated to have Islamophobia.

The government's action is not in accordance with the statement of the Inspector General of Police Anton, that in this reform era, including the legal and information fields of print, electronic, cyber media, it should not be of unrestricted origin or blockade origin. The Ministry of Communication and Information should study in depth with measurable evidence and evidence, not just orders. Even though the government said that the action was blocking (Hariyanti, 2019).

In accordance with Press Law No. 40/1999, there should be no more bans. Anton argues that blocking pornographic sites is very easy and measurable, while the problem of faith is very complex and complicated. Therefore, said Anton, if you want to block or close down Islamic sites, the Ministry of Communication and Information should not be careless. The Ministry of Communication and Information should not be banned only from reports from one particular institution. Must go through in-depth studies and involve several competent institutions, such as the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), representatives of Islamic mass organizations, and Islamic experts.

Blocking Islamic sites indicates that the government is overreacting to Muslims. Though usually European and American countries that take actions that restrict Muslims because they have a negative stigma against Islam. So then they feel excessive fear (Islamophobia) of anything related to Islam. But apparently it is undeniable that Islamophobia still exists in Indonesia. In the reformation era, Islamophobia should no longer exist in Indonesia. The spirit of freedom brought by the reformers should also provide a space for freedom for Muslims in this country to worship and develop their Islam as freely as possible in accordance with Islamic law itself. But in fact every time there are issues from abroad about the movement of a group of people who are considered radical, Muslims in the country are also affected, participate in suspicion, limited participation, and most recently closed media acces.

#### *The reflection of khilafah issues ahead of presidential election*

Phobias towards Islam also increase when Indonesia is entered into issues about the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or those of such ideology, who want the formation of the Islamic *Khilafah* (Raj, 2016). As well as a series of suicide bombings by extremist and radical forces in the name of jihad. Islam in Indonesia, which has always lived peacefully, peacefully and harmoniously, finally began to be sprinkled with negative dust, such as radicalism and extremism, liberalism and secularism, to the rise of streams (Islam) that have deviated from the true teachings of Islam (Putra, 2019).

Although according to experts who want the formation of the Islamic *Khilafah* it is very difficult to realize. Need to know if the wishes of these radical groups have not yet been fulfilled, then they do various ways to realize the "Islamic State", anywhere, as in Indonesia (Dzuhayatin, 2020). Sarinah bombings some time ago were also carried out by terrorists (ISIS extremist groups) who spread in Indonesia. Even in this incident, ISIS itself claimed responsibility for all that (Karim, 2016).

The foregoing, of course, is not only limited to "contemporary issues" anymore, but has sped far into "contemporary (historical) facts". Because radicalism in the name of religion in this era will be one of the dark history of Islam. So, it is only proper that recently there is the issue of "Islamophobia", namely a group of people who are anti-Islam, because in their view Islam is a religion that is 'very frightening' (Aziz, 2016).

The *Khilafah* continues to be criminalized and monetized. For example, it was adopted that the *Khilafah* would divide the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, in contradiction with Pancasila and the 1945

Constitution. Even recently the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security (Wiranto) stated that the spreaders of the *Khilafah* could now be charged with punishment (Putramudji, 2019). Even though there was nothing wrong with the *Khilafah*. *Khilafah* as prayer, fasting, zakat and hajj are part of the teachings of Islam. As the Messenger of Allah exemplifies the procedure of purification when performing prayers, praying when starting activities, leaving usury when conducting economic transactions, closing the nakedness when dressed, being gentle to the brothers and sisters, now this *khilafah* is the guidance of the Messenger of Allah in state governance.

It is clear that the fear of Islam in question is the fear of its position as an ideology. The fear of the post-reformation government regime towards the application of Sharia in every aspect of life is evident in every policy that discredits Islam (Subarkah, 2018). Like a ban on lecture content that is considered to contain radical and intolerant elements, even clerics and scholars who preach ideological Islam (*khilafah*) are banned.

If you look closely, Islam is a religion that will bring people to glory because it comes from Allah. It is the promise of Allah and the good news of the Prophet Muhammad whose application is a consequence of the faith as he said: "*Fa lā wa rabbika lā yu`minūna ḥattā yuḥakkimūka fīmā syajara bainahum ṣumma lā yajidu fī anfusihim ḥarajam mim mā qadaita wa yusallimū taslīmā*" (So for your Lord's sake, they are essentially devoid of faith until they make you judge in a matter in which they are disputed, then they do not feel any objection in their hearts towards the verdict that you give, and they receive it fully (Surah an-Nisa: 65).

In Islamic Shari'ah, a state is inseparable as the principle of secularism seeks to separate it. Imam Al-Ghazali in the book of *Ihya' Ulumuddin*, the Islamic Hijjatul says that religion and country are like twin brothers. Religion as its foundation and the country as its protector. Something without a foundation will collapse, and a foundation without its guardians will disappear. What is happening today is that the absence of Islam as a national ideology has made Islam credible, so it is our conscious duty to continue to fight Islam to raise awareness of Islam in order to make Islam the only way of life in the framework of the Islamic Caliphate Rasyidah Islamic Implementation System *Minhaj Nubuwwah*.

#### 4. Discussion (The religious moderation: Efforts to address islamophobia)

True Islamic teaching is merciful and aims to improve people's behavior. However, as reports of extremist violence often escalate, non-Muslims may mistakenly believe that such wrongdoing reflects Islamic teachings and blame Islam as a religion (Muchlis, 2013). According to KH Ahmad Mustofa Bisri, states that there are four basic strategies for overcoming Islamophobia, namely, *First*, emphasizing the understanding of the struggle against religious extremism is part of the struggle for peace and justice. *Second*, the idea of Islamic extremism stemming from a superficial religious understanding must be confronted with the dissemination of the teachings of the deep-rooted Aswaja scholars. *Third*, the consolidation and mobilization of scholars around the world to guide the people to understand Islam as a mercy is a strong consensus among Muslims around the world. *Fourth*, close co-operation between moderate and objective groups outside the country to neutralize Islamist extremist views and Islamophobia is developing in society.

The breakdown of relations between religious adherents in Indonesia today, according to Nafik Muthohirin (LIPI, 2017), is motivated by at least two dominant factors: first, religious populism presented to the public sphere which is peppered with a tone of hatred towards adherents of a particular religion, race and ethnicity. Second, sectarian politics that deliberately uses religious symbols to justify the truth of certain political maneuvers so as to lead society towards radical conservatism in thought. Religious populism arises from a narrow perspective on religion, so that it feels the most correct and can not accept any different opinions.

In addressing and resolving issues, moderate Islam seeks a balanced approach, positioning itself in the middle. When responding to differences—whether religious or ideological—moderate Islam emphasizes tolerance and mutual respect, while maintaining belief in the truth of its own religious tenets. This approach allows for decisions to be accepted calmly, without resorting to anarchistic actions (Darlis, 2017).

Religious moderation serves as a middle ground amidst Indonesia's religious diversity. Moderation is deeply rooted in the culture of the archipelago, harmonising religion with local wisdom rather than opposing them. Do not contradict each other but seek tolerance with tolerance.

The religious moderation launched by the government aims to promote tolerance in diversity. Openness accepts diversity (inclusivism). Both diverse in the school and diverse in religion. Differences do not prevent cooperating with the principle of humanity. Believing that Islam is the most correct religion does not mean that you have to insult the religion of others. So that there will be fraternity and unity among religions, as had happened in Medina under the command of the Prophet Muhammad (Akhmad, 2014).

Moderation can be understood as a shared commitment to maintaining a perfect balance, where every member of the community, ethnicity, culture, religion, and political choices wants to listen to one another and learn from each other to practice their ability to manage and overcome differences between them. Religion becomes the guideline of life and the solution of the middle path (the middle path) that is fair in dealing with the problems of life and society, religion becomes a balanced perspective and guidelines between world and hereafter affairs, mind and heart, ratios and norms, idealism and facts, individuals and society. In accordance with the purpose of religion, relegated to this world to become a guide for life, religion was sent down to earth to answer various world problems, both on a micro and macro scale, family (private) and state (public) (Schmid, 2017).

With this, the government has launched religious moderation. Being moderate does not mean being weak in religion, it also does not mean being open and leading to freedom. It is wrong to assume that someone who is moderate in religion means that he does not have militancy, is not serious, or does not really mean it, in practicing the teachings of his religion. According to Lukman Hakim Saefudin (Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia at the time), that religious moderation was not religious moderation, but contained the principle of balance and justice with the aim of not falling into extremity. Thus, the Government through the Ministry of Religion launched the strengthening of religious moderation carried out with three main strategies, namely: *First*, the dissemination of ideas, knowledge, and understanding of religious moderation to all levels of society. *Second*, the institutionalization of religious moderation into binding programs and policies. *third*, integration of the formulation of religious moderation in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020-2024 (Akhmad, 2014).

In launching the strengthening of religious moderation, there are three things that serve as benchmarks for religious moderation in Indonesia; *First*, back to the main core of religious teachings, namely human values. Every religion, the core of its teachings, invites to respect and protect the dignity and dignity of humanity. If there are religious teachings that are contrary to the core teachings of the religion, then this is excessive and extreme. *Second*, mutual agreement. Humans still have limitations. That is why God presents diversity, so that one another can perfect each other. Diversity is God's will and diverse people need agreement. In the teachings of Islam, which is known as a very strong bond. The main essence of religious teachings is how each of us submit to and obey collective agreements. *Third*, public order. The main core of religious teachings, how humans who have diverse backgrounds, can live together in an orderly manner. The purpose of religion is presented in order to create public order in the midst of a variety of shared life (Huda, 2015).

The government is multiplying activities with nuances of moderation and trying to avoid negative terms in religious issues, for example the words of radicalism, intolerance, majority, and minority. What is important now is to increase and strengthen harmony, religious moderation, and others. Head of Research and Development Center for Religious Guidance and Religious Services of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, Muharam, at Erian Hotel, Central Jakarta. In this case, there are two values that the government wants in religious moderation, namely acting fairly and maintaining balance (Nafi, 2019).

Recently, Menristekdikti has encouraged Islamic campus to apply the principle of rahmatan lilalamin, upholding the values of humanity, justice and peace (Menristekdikti, 2017). The Directorate General of Islamic Education in the Ministry of Religion invites the anti-radicalism movement to

mainstream religious moderation in Islamic tertiary institutions (Died, 2018). Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) encourages institutions education builds national values and tolerance through education (LIPI, 2017). All elements agreed, universities become the vanguard of eradicating intolerance, radicalism, terrorism so that the face of Islam is tolerant, moderate, and does not bring up Islamophobia (Bareno, 2018).

With religious moderation, it will bring out true and positive understanding, openness of vision and clarity of life attitudes and mental qualities in accepting the existence of other groups will help each group in the community. If all that has been done then it is not impossible that Indonesia will become stronger and more dignified in the eyes of the world.

With religious moderation, it can be understood that it aims to understand and practice the teachings of religion with no extreme, both extreme right and extreme left. Extremism, radicalism, utterances of hate (hate speech), to the breaking of relations between religious believers, are the problems faced by the Indonesian people today. Thus, the existence of this program of mainstreaming religious moderation is considered important and finds momentum. Because of the importance of moderate religion for us religious people, as well as disseminating this movement. Do not let Indonesia become an earth filled with hostility, hatred and dissension. Harmony in both religious communities and between religious believers is the nation's basic capital to be conducive and advanced (Narkowicz, 2017).

The declaration of religious moderation by the government, it can be seen that as an effort to build harmony more based on doctrinal and cultural awareness, that is, in addition to the doctrine of every religion that teaches on the values of tolerance, also on the same desire to live in harmony in peace. This essence is desired by religious moderation because in fact moderate religion has become a characteristic of religious communities in Indonesia and is more suitable for the contours of our plural society. Moderate religion is a religious model that has long been practiced and is still needed in the current era.

For this reason, the movement to implement religious moderation, as a form of Islamophobia's sense of the government towards radical Islamic groups. So that the government not only promotes, but also insists on joint actions and movements of all components of the nation both the government and religious groups so that extremism and violence are based on hatred of different religions and tribes. This movement, supported by Muslims in Indonesia in order to succeed the movement for religious moderation and religious tolerance within the framework of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

The religious moderation movement launched by the government, based on the author's analysis, is a specific strategy carried out by Islamophobic politicians. Because Islamophobic politics assumes and has the idea that radical Muslims threaten the way of life, the basic values of the Pancasila State. One way to minimize this is by religious moderation in Indonesia.

## 5. Conclusion

The fear of the post-reformation towards the application of Sharia in every aspect of life in Indonesia is evident in every policy that discredits Islam. Political eloquent fear of Islam is primarily a fear of its position as an ideology replacing Pancasila. So, in the form of a ban on lecture content that is considered to contain radical and intolerant elements, even the clerics and scholars who preach ideological Islam (khilafah) are banned. For this reason, the movement to implement religious moderation in our homeland, as a form of a sense of Islamophobia the government towards radical Islamic groups. So that the government conducts joint actions and movements of all components of the nation both the government and religious groups so that extremism and violence are based on hatred of different religions. Thus, Islamophobia is form of fear in the form of anxiety experienced by a person or social group towards Islam and Muslim people which comes from a closed view about Islam and accompanied by the prejudice that Islam is an "inferior" religion it is not appropriate to influence the values that already exist in society.



Thus, this research can be concluded are First, limiting the scope of the Islamic community organization movement, namely forcing them to accept the single principle of Pancasila, and if they do not accept this principle, then all Islamic community organization will be disbanded. Second, the government's fear of the issue of a caliphate-shaped government whose position as an ideology will replace Pancasila and the application of sharia in every aspect of life in Indonesia can be seen in every policy that discredits Islam. Third, the government has launched religious moderation in Indonesia, as a form of the government's political elite's sense of Islamophobia towards radical Islamic groups. So the government takes action and movements to prevent extremism and violence based on hatred against different religions.

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