



ADDIN

<https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/Addin>

ISSN: 0854-0594; E-ISSN: 2476-9479

Volume 17, Number 1, June 2023: 47-78

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/addin.v17i1.16470>

Religious Moderation: Identity Politics, Policy, and Social Change in Islamic Religious Colleges

Muhammad Miftah

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Kudus, Indonesia

muhammadmiftah@stainkudus.ac.id

Sutrisno

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

triso63@yahoo.com

Hamdan Dauly

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

hamdan.dly@uin-suka.ac.id

Abstract

Religious moderation is politically included in public policies that are integrated into the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional, RPJMN). Ministry of Religion as the leading sector for mainstreaming religious moderation in its environment has the responsibility to translate religious moderation from the narrative of religious moderation to the real action in its institutional units. This research is qualitative research conducted at State Islamic University (Universitas Islam Negeri, UIN) Walisongo Semarang which seriously promotes religious moderation in the institution. The results of this study are the problem of strengthening identity politics as one of the main causes of religious extremism and social change that exist, one of the efforts to minimize social turmoil in UIN Walisongo is by instilling the values of religious moderation through the tri dharma of university, namely teaching, research, and community service. The aspect of locality is the main capital in implementing religious moderation at UIN Walisongo.

Indigenous religiosity combines religion and locality with a theanthropocentric approach, exploring cultural values in order to strengthen religion in the implementation aspect. The impact of the implementation of the data religious moderation policy is seen from the realm of ideality of policy content in the religious moderation policy, which can be seen from the integration of relations or a harmonious relationship between individual elements and social elements in human interaction which is the main target in the religious moderation policy promoted by the Ministry of Religion.

Keywords: *Religious Moderation, Identity Politics, Policy, Social Change.*

A. Introduction

Religion-based conflicts can occur in various groups or *mazhab* (sect) within the same religion, or even that can also occur in various groups of different religions in society. The conflict between the elements of differences in truth in religion can have more serious consequences, considering that religious characters can touch the emotional state of the human soul.¹ The management of religious conflicts with a military approach has proven to be no longer effective in reducing conflicts that occur. The approach is “suspected” of causing a bigger problem and potentially creating new variants of religious conflict.

The military approach that emphasizes violence and repressive actions from government officials carried out by several countries in the world have so far been proven to be able to stop acts of extremism, but it does not mean that it can solve the root problem of these extremist acts. Stopping the actions of anarchism can be minimized with a military approach, but extreme and radical patterns and thoughts cannot be contained only with a military approach.

¹Rahmad Hidayat, *SINDANG JATI: Multikultural Dalam Bingkai Moderasi* (Bengkulu: Literasiologi, 2019), 17-20.

This requires an acceptable understanding approach so that the causes of extremism with various backgrounds can be rooted out.

One of the efforts to dismiss extremism, radicalism, and intolerance which has been a problem for the nation, the State as the ruling authority issues a religious moderation policy package as a supplement to deradicalization policies which have ineffectively been deemed to get the root of the problem of extremism and radicalism acts in the country. The religious moderation policy set out in the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional, RPJMN) was welcomed by the Ministry of Religion as the leading sector for mainstreaming religious moderation nationally. In this case, the Ministry of Religion has the responsibility to internalize the values of religious moderation into its work units, including its higher education institutions.

The implementation of religious moderation policies in Islamic higher education institutions is strongly influenced by social conditions, campus politics, academic culture, and the leader of authority that manages a university. This triggers multiple interpretations of a policy product.² In fostering religious moderation in Indonesia through the strategic role of Islamic religious higher education, various policies have been initiated to support the cultivation of moderation values in Islamic higher education. However, existing policies and programs encounter various obstacles and problems at the implementation level of the religious moderation program in Indonesian Islamic higher education. Some of the challenges and obstacles in developing religious moderation at Islamic

²Muhammad Miftah, "Islamic Education Politics Ambiguity of Policy Intepretation in Islamic Religious College: Between Negotiation and Institutional Authority," *ADDIN* 13, no. 2 (2019): 369–400, <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v13i2.7003>.

Religious Universities (Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam, PTKI) and state Islamic Religious Universities (Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri, PTKIN) include.

The first is the issue of human resources. The portrait of intolerance among students and Islamic religion teachers in schools specifically indicate that there are serious problems in the process of producing and coaching Islamic Religious Education teachers in Islamic universities. Research conducted by CISForm in 19 Islamic Religious Universities (PTKI) in 8 regions in Indonesia showed that there are fundamental problems in the “production” of educators in higher education. This condition is suspected to be the cause of the intolerance views of Islamic religion teachers who come from where they study related to their profession.³ The teachers’ “production” space here can be seen from various dimensions, both from knowledge management, management of the teaching and learning process, and the weakness of the curriculum in implementing moderate Islamic nuances in the field.

Second is the recruitment of students and lecturers. In its development, student enrollment at State Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIN) has indeed increased quite significantly. Even this curve has increased quite encouragingly in the last five years. However, there are other problems behind the increasing public interest in continuing religious colleges. The issue of the religious quality of these students is a concern

³The CISForm research in 19 Islamic Religious Colleges (PTKI) in eight regions in Indonesia found that there were several weak points in the Islamic Education (Pendidikan Agama Islam, PAI) Study Program in producing PAI teachers. Some things that need to be corrected include the input and recruitment of students, curriculum, lecturer competencies, the teaching and learning process, and the campus environment. All of these things contributed to the formation of religious knowledge and attitude of the Islamic Education (PAI) Study Program students. Muhammad Wildan, et al., *Menanam Benih Di Ladang Tandus Potret Sistem Produksi Guru Agama Islam Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: CISForm Center for the Study of Islam and Social Transformation Universitas Islam Negeri [UIN] Sunan Kalijaga, 2019), v.

because more than 30% of students come from Vocational High School (Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan, SMK)/Senior High School (Sekolah Menengah Atas, SMA) who have a weak religious base. Moreover, this will be a bigger problem when they choose to continue to the Islamic Education Study Program. It is because they will be dealing directly with students at various levels of education.

Based on a survey conducted for Islamic Education Study Program, that of 323 PAI Study Program students (32.9%) came from SMA. They are assumed to have insufficient basic knowledge of religion compared to students from Islamic Senior High School (Madrasah Aliyah, MA) or Islamic Boarding School-based high schools. In addition, the New Student Registration (Penerimaan Mahasiswa Baru, PMB) with the Selection of National Academic Achievement of State Islamic Religious Universities (Seleksi Prestasi Akademik Nasional Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri, SPAN-PTKIN) which “only” assesses report cards and the results of the National Examination (Ujian Nasional, UN) has provided more opportunities for prospective students from general SMA/SMK who have relatively higher UN scores. This selection does not give preference to MA and Islamic SMA/Islamic Boarding Schools alumni who have sufficient religious knowledge.⁴

In addition to student recruitment, the lecturer recruitment process also deserves attention because the lecturers in universities have a provides a very vital role in developing human resources. In the process of recruiting lecturers at PTKIN, the process of recruiting lecturers from the State Civil Apparatus (Aparatur Sipil Negara, ASN) needs to be concerned. The latest regulation is the Ministerial

⁴Muhammad Wildan, *Sistem Produksi Guru Agama Islam Dan Tantangan Keberagamaan di Indonesia*, in Wildan, et al., 14.

Regulation, namely Empowerment of State Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform of the Republic of Indonesia Number 23 of 2019, which provides a great opportunity for the available formations to be filled. However, there are drawbacks to this recruitment system. If in a formation in the selection process the Basic Ability Selection (Seleksi Kompetensi Dasar, SKD) only passes the number of existing formations, then the Field Ability Selection (Seleksi Kompetensi Bidang, SKB) only acts as a selection “formality”. This is because there is no limit value in the SKB. In addition, the participants who have passed the SKD selection and do not have competitors in the SKB process will automatically pass the ASN selection. This is a weakness of the ASN Lecturer selection system because it is possible that the quality of participants who pass the SKD with optimal scores may not necessarily master the competency fields expected by the university.

The third is the development of information technology. Recent massive information technology provides great opportunities in developing PTKI in all sectors. But on the other hand, the current development of information technology provides a gap in the spread and development of radical ideas and intolerance in this country. Internet media plays a significant role and contributes significantly to the development of knowledge to the younger generation. This dependence on cyberspace is well used by groups to spread their ideology. It can be concluded that PTKI/PTKIN currently faces a very dilemmatic reality. In the fast-paced millennial era, religious knowledge is not only obtained on campus but can be accessed in various online media sources, which are not surely authoritative and reliable. In a position like this, PTKI/PTKIN should be able to fill digital spaces as educational spaces, but that role has not been carried out optimally at this time. PTKIN (Universitas Islam Negeri

[UIN], Institut Agama Islam Negeri [IAIN], Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri [STAIN]) as part of the Work Unit of the Ministry of Religion has a heavy responsibility in exploring, translating, and disseminating religious moderation in the life of society, nation, and state. It can even be said that PTKIN is a stockade of moderate Islam.⁵ As a university that has existed for a long time in Indonesia, Islamic Religious Universities under the Ministry of Religion certainly have strong capital in developing the concept of Islamic moderation, although it must be admitted that it will have so many challenges as well.⁶

This study and research on the Politics of Higher Education and Islamic Moderation is not the first time, there has indeed been a lot of research on this theme carried out by previous researchers both at home and abroad. However, in the existing research there are still “gaps” that make it difficult for researchers to carry out this research in the hope that these “gaps” can be closed with this research. Apart from that, a literature review was carried out in order to distinguish “differentiation” as well as position “Positioning” in the research to be conducted.

Research conducted by Yasmin Salem discusses how transnationalism can influence the moderation of Islamists in Egypt and Morocco, with the title, “Transnational Islamism And Political Moderation: A Comparative Analysis Of Egypt And Morocco, in this research, Yasmin conducts an in-depth comparative case study analysis to assess prospects for moderation of two Islamist political entities, the Muslim Brotherhood as a transnational social movement and the Moroccan Justice and Development Party (PJD).

⁵Maimun Mohammad Kosim, *Moderasi Islam Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2019), 58.

⁶Mohammad Kosim, 109.

The second is research conducted by Eid A.L. Yahya, with the title “Moderation in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: An Analysis of ‘Pragmatist’ and ‘Puritanical’ Discourses”. This dissertation investigates the rise of moderation in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The investigation consists of an analysis of two trends of thought that reformulate the ideas and projects of previous generations of dissent. These trends, which have adopted discourses that are clearly more accommodating to dissent, peaceful coexistence, political competition, equality, pluralism, and gender inclusion, have adapted themselves to the new context of social revolution. This social revolution was the result of expanding relations with the outside world, and this was deepened through a process of ‘re-intellectualization’.

The Research Gap in this study when compared to previous studies conducted, namely from several aspects. *First*, there have been no previous studies that have specifically analyzed the policies of the ministry of religion regarding moderation programs from various dimensions, which have recently begun to be buzzed by stakeholders. policy at the State Islamic Religious College. *Second*, this research tries to portray the role of the ministry of religion in promoting religious moderation in the Higher Education environment and how it is implemented in the Higher Education scope.

B. Discussion

1. The Urgency of Religious Moderation in Higher Education

The word “moderation” is a word taken from the Latin, namely *moderatio* which means (not excessive and not

lacking, moderate).⁷ From a historical perspective, the word moderation has long been known as a principle of life in the history of mankind. In ancient Greek mythology, the principle of moderation is well known and is engraved on the inscription of the statue of Apollo at Delphi with the inscription *Meden Agan*, which means “medium”.⁸ Meanwhile, in language, the word *wasathiyah* (moderation) in Yusuf al-Qardhawi’s view has various meanings, including in the middle, being between two ends, fair, in the middle or simple or mediocre,⁹ or it also can be interpreted more broadly, such as being elected and best, security, strength, and unity.¹⁰ In an analogy, moderation can be likened to a peripheral movement that always tends towards the center or axis (centripetal), while extremism is a movement away from the axis or center of the outermost side and is extreme (centrifugal).¹¹

For Kamali, religious moderation concerns virtue, benefit, and moral goodness, which not only relates to a person but also integrates with the integrity and self-image of the community and nation.¹² Religious moderation is the government’s effort to maintain the stability of inter-religious and internal harmony in religion. Regarding the importance of moderate Islamic ideology or moderate character in all religions, Azyumardi Azra said the urgency of moderation

⁷Musawar, et al., “Moderate Islam as a Solution to Pluralism in the Islamic World: the Experience of Indonesia,” *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, (2019): 1–24.

⁸Ministry of Religion, *Tanya Jawab Moderasi Beragama* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), 22.

⁹Yusuf al-Qardhawi, *Fiqh al-Wasithiyah al-Islamiyah wa at-Tajdid* (Mesir: Markaz al-Tiba’ah li al-Qardhawi, 2009), 19–20.

¹⁰Masdar Hilmy, “Whiter Indonesia’s Islamic Moderatism? a Rexamination on the Moderate Vision of Muhammadiyah and NU,” *Journal Indonesian Islam* 7, no. 1 (2013): 29.

¹¹The Drafting Team of Ministry of Religion the Republic of Indonesia, *Moderasi Beragama* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), 19.

¹²Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *The Middle Path of Moderation in Islam: the Qur’anic Principel of Wasatiyyah* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2015).

in the order of life is urgent. Religious intolerance in any form will not be able to damage the tradition of religious harmony in Indonesia as long as moderation exists in religious understanding and praxis in any religion and it is strengthened into the order of daily life as a philosophical basis for interaction.

The national religious moderation policy reception was initiated by conducting outreach activities by the Directorate General of Islamic Education at the Education and Training Center of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia by holding the National Religious Moderation Instructor Education program (Pendidikan Instruktur Nasional Moderasi Beragama, PIN-MB). This program was carried out before the pandemic period, namely on 27-31 December 2019 which was attended by 56 PTKIN Lecturers in Indonesia. Ruchman Bashori as chairman of the committee said: "Education of national instructors for lecturers is expected to be able to produce moderators among academics who have big goals, targets and missions for the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia by fighting radical ideologies". This event was held to continue to carry out counter-religious radicalism programs that have emerged in recent years in Indonesia.¹³

The basic principles that must be raised in religious moderation (including Islamic moderation), because religious moderation is not only popularized by Islam but other religions (outside Islam) make religious moderation a way of life to establish social harmonization and harmonization of diversity in the real life of individual, group, or fellow human beings. In Hasan Kamali's view¹⁴ the principles that must

¹³Interview with Lutfi Rahman, S.Th.I., M.A. as the Secretary of the Religious Moderation House of UIN Walisongo on February 12, 2021.

¹⁴Hashim Kamali, *The Middle Path of Moderation in Islam: the Qur'anic Principle of Wasatiyyah*, 29.

be met in Islamic moderation include balance and justice. Kamali emphasized that in the concept of moderation, it is not allowed to be extreme with his views. Instead, we must find a middle point and a meeting point to find the best way in any differences that arise.

In Islam, there are at least three basic principles in realizing a moderate and tolerant attitude, namely attitude, *tawasuth*, *tawazun*, *i'tidal*.¹⁵ Moderation and religious tolerance become a discourse and practice that is needed in a pluralistic society like Indonesia. This means that where there is diversity, then these two values must be present and become the lifeblood of relations between members of the community.¹⁶ Religious moderation is an alternative to deradicalization to deal with all forms of radicalism moderately. According to Haidar Nasir, the Indonesian moderation process must position Pancasila as a solid fulcrum so that it remains amid extreme tug-of-war, both to the right and to the left, so that there is no radicalization or extremization of the country's foundations and ideology.¹⁷

2. Religious Moderation and Public Policy

Harold Laswell and Abraham Kaplan defined public policy as “a projected program of goals, values, and practices”. He explained that public policy is a projected program with certain targets and objectives, and it uses certain practices or strategies.¹⁸ Public policy is a strategy in taking action or not

¹⁵Afifudin Muhajir, *Membangun Nalar Islam Moderat: Kajian Metodologis* (Situbondo: Tanwirul Afkar, 2018), 7.

¹⁶Muhammad Subhi, *Promosi Toleransi dan Moderasi Beragama* (Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, 2019), 2.

¹⁷Haedar Nashir, “Moderasi Indonesia Dan Keindonesiaan: Perspektif Sosiologi,” *Inaugural Speech for Professor at University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta*, December 12, 2019, 51.

¹⁸Harold Laswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1970), 72.

taking actions that the State authorities (Government) want to do or don't want to do, whatever government chooses to do or not to do. The choice to take action in the dynamics of the state, of course, to consider the aspects of profit and loss in the actions.¹⁹

Public policy is the result of political dynamics managed by public institutions (government) funded from public or community finances as the main financial supporter taken collectively through several government regulations such as taxes, levies, or other retribution.²⁰ Public policy is managed and developed by the authorities of a country which is influenced by social, cultural conditions, and actors outside the authorities.²¹ In a broad sense, the State is a political entity that has a formal legal nature which has four supporting pillars in showing its existence;²² First, the components of the people as the pillar of the citizen. The people in the state order have rights and obligations as citizens. Citizenship rights include political, legal, economic, social, cultural, communitarian, and biological rights.

The issue of education or education policy today has become a public discourse in which every period of leadership election becomes one of the central issues in the debate. Education has proven to be a crucial entity in the changes and dynamics of development in a country. The field of education has become a magnet in attracting the sympathy of citizens in the performance of national and local political contests. According to H.A.R. Tilaar, the relationship between

¹⁹Thomas R. Diye, *Understanding Public Policy* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 2-4.

²⁰Riant Nugroho, *Metode Penelitian Kebijakan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2013), 8-12.

²¹Budi Winarno, *Teori Dan Kebijakan Publik* (Yogyakarta: Medpres, 2005), 17.

²²Riant Nugroho, *Public Policy* (Jakarta: Elex Media, 2009), 10-12.

public policy and education policy is a major concern in the development of a nation. This relationship can be defined as the relationship between education and the State in the power structure in society. This issue has attracted the attention of various scientific disciplines, especially political science, anthropology, sociology, and philosophy, especially critical education science which gives serious attention to education and power.²³ The policy of religious moderation is one of the policy products of the Ministry of Religion and one of the leading policies of the National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN).

The involvement of the authorities in education is not only for moral support but also for administrative, financial, and curriculum support. If education wants to get positions, services, and assistance, it must be in line with the politics of government stakeholders. When this happens, educational institutions and processes become the mouthpiece of the authorities. They legitimize power and use educational institutions as a campaign ground to maintain their power. The government is also automatically responsible for the progress of education.²⁴

3. The Dynamics of Identity Politics in Public

Identity politics is not defined as politics in a simple and traditional sense. The focus of the study of identity politics is identity differences that include ethnicity, religion, culture, ethnicity, and other things that can be used as a tool

²³This chapter discusses the relation between education and power in the public policy framework. The state uses its power by using its authority and power by issuing policies that are adjusted to the direction and wishes of the ruler. H.A.R. Tilaar, *Kekuasaan Dan Pendidikan* (Magelang: Tera, 2003), also see H.A.R. Tilaar and Riant Nugroho, *Kebijakan Pendidikan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012), 10.

²⁴Charle Tan, *Philosophical Reflection for Educator* (Singapore: Cengage Learning, 2008), 19–23.

to coordinate based on their similarities. Identity politics began to be discussed in the 1960s, which is a subdiscipline of empirical political science.²⁵ Politics itself is defined as all about power, something related to power, and accommodates power itself (exercise of power).²⁶

Apart from the authority of power, politics is closely related to interests, both individual and group interests. Umar Suryadi Bakrie said that politics is an arena of interests that enter in several ways and will be handled through a process, and produce an outcome, policy, or output.²⁷

Andrew Heywood said that politics is a process that can be interpreted as an attempt to find reconciliation and resolution of conflicts that arise.²⁸ Politics is a process that can be defined. It is a method for resolving certain conflicts or often known as the middle way to unravel a problem.²⁹ All kinds of conflicts can be formulated as things that are not human expectations. Conflicts that are motivated by interests that are difficult to accommodate will eventually become conflicts on a larger scale. So that, the role of politics to bridge the growing interests to find a mutually beneficial meeting point is needed here.

Identity politics can be interpreted as a strategy and constestation of primordial culture symbols (ethnicity, group) in fighting for who, getting what, and in what way.³⁰ In simple terms, identity politics is interpreted as a political strategy that

²⁵Yaya Suryana and A. Rusdiana, *Pendidikan Multikultural, Suatu Upaya Penguatan Jati Diri Bangsa: Konsep, Prinsip, Dan Implementasi* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2015), 166.

²⁶Bernard Crick, *In Defense of Politics* (New York: Continuum Publishing, 2010).

²⁷Umar Suryadi Bakry, *Multikulturalisme dan Politik Identitas Dalam Teori Dan Praktik* (Bandung: Rajawali Pres, 2020), 152.

²⁸Andrew Heywood, *Politics* (London: Palgrave Foundation, 2013).

²⁹Suryadi Bakry, *Multikulturalisme dan Politik Identitas Dalam Teori Dan Praktik*, 153.

³⁰Harold D. Laswel, *Politics: Who Gets What, When and How* (New York-London: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936).

focuses on primordial ties. This pattern can sometimes foster freedom, but it does not give rise to intolerance, verbal-visual violence, and also conflicts between interest groups.³¹ Identity politics is nothing new in the political world because honestly, all politics has an element of identity that always surrounds it. Identity politics here shows the political orientation that was built in the ongoing political contestation.³²

Identity politics is related to efforts ranging from simply channeling aspirations to influence policies, control over the distribution of values that are considered valuable to the most fundamental demand, namely self-determination on the principle of primordiality.³³ Identity politics can be interpreted as a political flow that wants to involve groups or individuals, people who have the same ethnicity, characteristics, ethnicity, gender, and orientation.³⁴ This encouragement is motivated by an element of identity attached to the identity of the group that houses it, such as the similarity of religion, ethnicity, or culture in which primordial sentiments are buried.³⁵ Strategies in identity politics are used to frame political claims, promote ideology, and orient social action by asserting group distinctiveness and gaining power and recognition from the public.³⁶

In the format of ethnicity, identity politics is reflected in the effort to include the values characteristic of the identity it has. This can be related to religious values, customs, or the

³¹Agnes Heller and Sonja P. Riekman, *Biopolitics: The Politics of The Body, Race, basically and Nature* (California: Avebury, 1996).

³²Suryadi Bakry, *Multikulturalisme dan Politik Identitas Dalam Teori Dan Praktik*, 158.

³³Suryana and Rusdiana, *Pendidikan Multikultural, Suatu Upaya Penguatan Jati Diri Bangsa: Konsep, Prinsip, Dan Implementasi*, 168.

³⁴Sri Astuti Buchari, *Kebangkitan Etnis Menuju Politik Identitas* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2014), 34.

³⁵Laode Machdani Afala, *Politik Identitas Di Indonesia* (Universitas Brawijaya Press, 2018), 5.

³⁶Mahmud, *Moderasi Karakter Asli Agama Islam* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2020), 72.

community's perspective in addressing things into policy products and having a desire to apply special autonomy in the resulting policy products.³⁷ Identity politics tends to emphasize the conflict between interest groups that have a more dominant influence, through the negotiation space, both developing culture and politics.³⁸ This expression appears as a response to the sense of injustice in national politics for its existence. It views other identities as having more established "space" in various existing social systems.

In the dynamics of its development, identity politics is not only in the context of ideology or resistance movements, but it is more defined in terms of similarities and differences in patterns. This categorization is articulated explicitly. This articulation raises conditions where there are relations of exclusion.³⁹ From this identification, in-depth study and caution are needed in concluding all social phenomena that develop in society. The politicization of identity requires us not to be careless in analyzing various movements or groups in society.⁴⁰

From this, it can be concluded about the definition of identity politics and the elements surrounding identity politics. *First*, identity politics is always based on the expression of similarities and differences. These similarities and differences become parameters for the formation of identity politics patterns. *Second*, injustice is the trigger for the formation of a pattern of identity politics as an effort to affirm the existence of individual identity and group identity

³⁷Suryana and Rusdiana, *Pendidikan Multikultural, Suatu Upaya Penguatan Jati Diri Bangsa: Konsep, Prinsip, Dan Implementasi*, 167.

³⁸Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subculture Capital* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 13–47.

³⁹Ian Biddle, *Music and Identity Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2016), xi.

⁴⁰Syamsu Rijal, *Kekuasaan Agama Dan Identitas* (Yogyakarta: Lintas Nalar, 2019),

through various actions and narratives. *Third*, there is the resistance between interest groups. The resistance is carried out in general and is openly affiliated with certain groups, including certain racial, religious, and political groups.

4. Religious Moderation and Social Change

Educational institutions are an important and strategic instrument to re-moderate the way of religion in Indonesia. This path is important because fighting extremism in religion will be more effective through education. In this case, Maysoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock concluded that “education is a powerful weapon in countering radicalism”.⁴¹ Elements of education is a strategy that is quite effective in suppressing the spread of religious extremist perspectives. Approaches in education at least not only provide knowledge of religious perspectives but also provide varied references so that understanding of religion does not always judge those outsiders of our understanding.

Islamic education is one of the keys to stopping, or at least slowing down the spread of extremist-radical ideology by using a cultural approach to counter radicalism. Islamic educational institutions, such as Islamic schools, *madrasahs*, and Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, can play this central role, especially amid the global spread of transnational Islamic understanding and ideology⁴² including Islamic higher education institutions as the direction and direction of Islamic education. Therefore, Islamic higher education institutions as role models as well as educational “production spaces” have a

⁴¹Maysoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock, “The Deradicalisation of Education: Terror, Youth, and the Assault on Learning,” *Race and Class* 57, no. 4 (2016): 30–32.

⁴²Toto Suharto, “Remoderasi Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia: Tantangan Ideologis,” *Inaugural Speech for Professor of Islamic Education Philosophy of IAIN Surakarta*, February 20, 2020, 5–9.

role and authority in shaping and directing Islamic education models following what is expected.

The existence of a house of religious moderation within PTKIN is important in translating the vision and mission of the Ministry of Religion which makes religious moderation a spirit in building diversity. In addition, the Ministry of Religion has included a policy of religious moderation as the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan.

The relationship between religion and culture is an elementary aspect of human civilization from classical to modern times. Therefore, the discussion between religion and culture resonates among philosophers, scientists, and theologians.⁴³ In the Politics of Education, the relationship between religion and social reality is a relation that is taken into account in educational politics. Educational politics is the study of the relationship between the emergence of various educational goals and how they are achieved. The study of educational politics provides a better understanding of the relationship between the various political needs of the State and the benefit of the nation through education.⁴⁴

According to Michel Foucault, in this contemporary era, the power of something can have implications for the discourse that develops in society. Ideas and knowledge can be packed with power determination.⁴⁵ Foucault assumed that knowledge is the power to dominate others. Knowledge is no longer liberating. It has become a model of supervision, regulation, regulation, and discipline.⁴⁶ In the context of

⁴³Frans Magnis Suseno, *Pemikiran Karl Marx: Dari Sosialisme Utopis Ke Perselisihan Revisionis* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1999), 48.

⁴⁴M. Sirozi, *Politik Pendidikan Dinamika Hubungan Antara Kepentingan Kekuasaan Dan Praktek Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005), IX.

⁴⁵Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 8.

⁴⁶Serhat Kologlugil, "Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Knowledge and Economic Discourse," *Erasmus Journal for Philosophy and Economics* 3, no. 2 (2010): 3-5.

education in Indonesia, power, and knowledge always go hand in hand. The government has the power to regulate and determine the development of the civilization of the Indonesian nation. In other words, the transfer of knowledge, transfer of culture, and transfer of value are the responsibility of the government for the welfare of the people.⁴⁷

Another threat in disseminating religious moderation programs in Islamic Religious Higher Education is faced with external challenges.⁴⁸ PTKI institutionally and its programs can make the religious moderation program a goal and perspective in carrying out institutional activities, but challenges that come from outside the PTKI are a challenge in developing religious moderation in PTKI. With the development of technology and existing sources of information, character and knowledge can no longer be dammed without filtering.

The implementation model of religious moderation at Islamic State University (Universitas Islam Negeri, UIN) Walisongo Semarang in disseminating religious moderation programs in the institutions in the field of teaching. The pattern chosen is to design a course that focuses on issues of multiculturalism and religious moderation. This pattern was chosen by UIN Walisongo because it is considered more measurable, clear, and effective. In addition, this pattern will be more effective because the inputs, outputs, and outcomes of this course have standards that must be met in the implementation of learning.

While the strategy used in disseminating the values of religious moderation is to choose role models who are used

⁴⁷Evi Fatimatur Rusydiyah, "Analisis Historis Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama Ri Masa K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim," *Al-Ibrah* 2, no. 1 (2017): 3.

⁴⁸ Working Group on the Implementation of Religious Moderation at the Directorate General of Islamic Education, *Implementasi Moderasi Beragama Dalam Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Kementerian Agama, 2019), 123.

as role models who have moderate characteristics. This strategy is considered the most practical strategy in providing understanding to the public. The development strategy in disseminating the values of religious moderation at UIN Walisongo through the example of figures who are considered influential and charismatic among the community can be seen as follow.

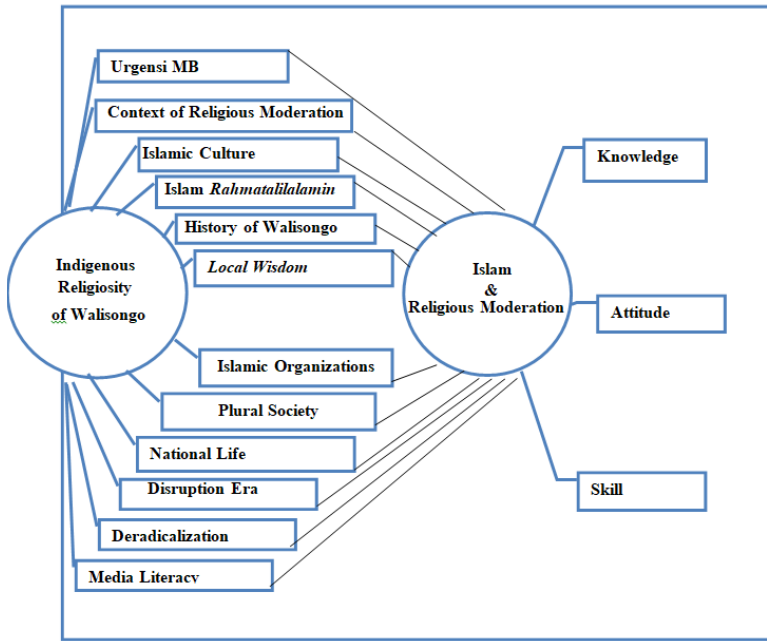


Figure 1.1 Teaching Model of Religious Moderation with Character Model Approach

The locality aspect is the main capital in the implementation of religious moderation at UIN Walisongo. Indigenous religiosity combined religion and locality with an anthropocentric theo approach, explores cultural values to strengthen religion in the implementation aspect.⁴⁹ Walisongo's religious values become the

⁴⁹Speech of UIN Walisongo Rector, Prof. Dr. Imam Taufiq, M.Ag. in the national webinar on Religious Moderation based on Indigenous Religiosity Caring for Walisongo's Religious Traditions in the Framework of religious Moderation which was held by the

spirit and spirit in the dissemination of religious moderation values at UIN Walisongo.

UIN Walisongo chose a pattern of implementing the value of religious moderation by designing a course that focuses on issues of religious moderation. The Islamic and Religious Moderation Course is a university characterizing course that must be taken by students. This course aims to make students as academics have an understanding of religious moderation, be able to implement an understanding of religious moderation in a plural and multicultural Indonesian and global society, and show an understanding of Islam based on local wisdom and the values of Walisongo's teachings that are adaptive to the times.⁵⁰

The subject of Islam and Religious Moderation has clear indicators in the expected outcomes. At least the Islamic and Religious Moderation courses have three expected Course Learning Outcomes (Capaian Pembelajaran Mata Kuliah, CPMK), namely aspects of knowledge, attitudes, and skills. In terms of knowledge, it is hoped that this course can make students understand the concept and implementation of religious moderation as a form of Islam *rahmatan li al-'alamin* which adapts the values of Walisongo's teachings and can understand the dynamics of religion and religious issues of Islamic society in Indonesia and globally. In the aspect of attitude, students are expected to be able to uphold human values based on religion, tradition, and ethics, as a tangible manifestation of the implementation of Islam *rahmatan li al-'alamin*; respecting the diversity of religions, beliefs, culture, and local wisdom; and have an inclusive and moderate religious attitude and character in the life of religion, nation, and state. Meanwhile, in terms of skills, students are expected to have digital skills and media literacy to build religious moderation among

Walisongo Religious Moderation House on July 20, 2020.

⁵⁰Interview with the chairman of the Walisongo Religious Moderation House, Dr. Imam Yahya, M.Ag. on April 12, 2021.

the millennial generation in the era of digital and post-truth disruption; and have the skills to shape and convey the Islamic values of *rahmatan li al-'alamin* through social media in the era of digital and post-truth disruption.⁵¹

This course is a compulsory university course that must be taken by every student. This course is expected to be able to produce students of UIN Walisongo who are moderate, tolerant, and spread Islam *rahmatan li al-'alamin*. In Mukhsin Jamil's view, the course "Islam and Religious Moderation is a new course at UIN Walisongo. This course is one of the efforts to spread a moderate attitude that imitates the polite da'wah of the Walisongo as the name of our campus".⁵² Meanwhile, the implementation of Islamic and Religious Moderation courses has begun to be delivered to new students (Semester 1) at UIN Walisongo. "After discussions with the team, we decided that this course should be given to first semester students. It likes as the function of a security guard in front of a housing estate that can prevent the entry of thieves in housing. This course is expected to be able to fortify students from an early age to avoid radicalism and dangerous ideas".⁵³

The Islamic and Religious Moderation Course is a university characterizing course that must be taken by students. This course aims so that students as academics have an understanding of religious moderation, can implement an understanding of religious moderation in a plural and multicultural Indonesian and global society, as well as display an understanding of Islam based on local wisdom and the values of Walisongo's teachings that are adaptive to the times.

⁵¹Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo Semarang, "Rencana Pembelajaran Semester Mata Kuliah Islam Dan Moderasi Beragama," 2020.

⁵²Interview with Dr. H.M. Mukhsin Jamil, M.Ag., Vice-Rector for Academics Affairs and Institutional Development of UIN Walisongo Semarang, on May 5, 2021.

⁵³Interview with Dr. Imam Yahya, M.Ag., Chairman of Religious Moderation House of UIN Walisongo Semarang, on April 12, 2021.

Religious moderation plays a major role in the dialogue between Islam and modernity. Islam is not in a position to reject or accept modernity as a whole, but Islam still puts forward a critical attitude so that modernity grows into a positive value rather than a negative one.⁵⁴ The field of research is the main guard in identifying and seeking formulations and solutions to existing problems that arise in the society in economic, social, cultural, educational, and religious issues.

The internalization of religious moderation at UIN Walisongo in the study places research studies on religious moderation as a separate cluster in the State University Operational Funds Research (Bantuan Operasional Perguruan Tinggi Negeri, BOPTN) for the 2021 fiscal year. This is based on the Circular issued by the Research and Community Service Institute of UIN Walisongo Number: B-0362/Un.10.0/L-1/PP.00.09/04/2021. Religious moderation is used as one of the focuses of the research cluster, as a form of seriousness in internalizing religious moderation in the field of research at UIN Walisongo. At the institutional strategic plan level, the direction of research and publication of UIN Walisongo is the realization of UIN Walisongo's vision as "The Leading Research Islamic University Based on the Unity of Science for Humanity and Civilization in 2038". At the implementation level, UIN Walisongo determines research themes by referring to priority themes that have been scheduled by the Ministry of Religion through the 2018-2028 National Religious Research Agenda (Agenda Riset Keagamaan Nasional, ARKAN).

Community service in the form of Community Service Program conducted by students by internalizing the values of religious moderation in detail is regulated in the Decree of the Director-General of Islamic Education Number 2974 of 2020 concerning Technical Instructions for Religious Moderation Community

⁵⁴Muhamad Qostulani, *Moderasi Beragama: Jihad Ulama Menyelamatkan Umat Dan Negeri Dari Bahaya Hoax* (Tangerang: PSP Nusantara, 2019), 100.

Service Program. This is one of the efforts made by the Ministry of Religion in strengthening religious moderation in Islamic higher education, by designing the Community Service Program-Religious Moderation (Kuliah Kerja Nyata Moderasi Beragama, KKN-MB). In its implementation, KKN-MB has several missions and goals. KKN-MB activities are expected to make students feel, appreciate, and actively participate in moderation-based social activities. This activity is expected to make the community maintain harmony, compatibility, and intimacy in inter-religious and among-religious adherents. This activity is also expected to make the community and students can be role models in knitting togetherness and diversity. Meanwhile, the benefits for supervisors and activity organizers are that KKN-MB becomes a research facility based on community service.⁵⁵

In its implementation, the KKN-MB program has at least 4 programs that will be achieved as in the pattern of strategies and programs in the picture below.



Figure 1.2. Priority Movement of Religious Moderation Community Service Program

⁵⁵Decree of the Director General of Islamic Education Number 2974 of 2020 concerning Technical Guidelines for Religious Moderation Community Service Program,” n.d.

The four programs carried out in the Religious Moderation Community Service Program as stated in the Decree of the Director-General of Islamic Education Number 2974 of 2020 have the following meanings.⁵⁶ *First*, the Nusantara National Movement is one of the parameters and indicators in the religious moderation program. This is the first step to measure the extent to which a person's perspective, attitudes and social practices, and religion have implications for loyalty to the basic national consensus, especially those related to the acceptance of Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian state. *Second*, the Nusantara Tolerance Movement is one of the priority programs in KKN-MB activities. This movement aims to provide the widest possible space for other people and does not interfere with the rights of others to believe, express their beliefs, and express opinions even though those opinions are different from ours. With a note that religious differences and expressions are not essential (*ushuliyah*) and do not damage the foundations of religious teachings. This movement is more inclined to openness to differences, mutual respect, and honor with diversity in expressing religious understanding that one believes in.

Third, the Nusantara Anti-Violence Movement in the context of KKN-MB can be defined as an ideology (ideas and opinions) that aims to change the paradigm so that the political and social system is not changed in ways that are not constitutionally justified, even tend to use violence that causes chaos and disruption of national security stability. The essence of violent activities carried out by individuals or groups who impose their will through violence in carrying out change through criminal and immoral acts is one of the characteristics of radical ideology. Fourth, the Nusantara Local Cultural Movement teaches to be able to accommodate local culture and traditions theoretically and practically, especially in religious practices. This does not mean that all cultures must

⁵⁶“Decree of the Director General of Islamic Education Number 2974 of 2020 concerning Technical Guidelines for Religious Moderation Community Service Program.”

be accommodated and legalized, but rather local culture and wisdom that have benefit values (in terms of economy, social, and education) and do not cause harm. The most important thing is that existing cultural traditions must not conflict with existing religious teachings.

C. Conclusion

Moderation of religion in the perspective of education politics can be seen from. *First*, a macro study of policy processes and products. This starts from how the religious moderation policy is formulated until it becomes a policy product. *Second*, a study at the mezzo level on the implementation of existing religious moderation policies in the field, namely how to implement religious moderation in the Islamic Religious Higher Education environment. *Third*, the micro-study is seen from the management and implementation of the education unit level, namely the role and optimization of the religious moderation house in each Islamic higher education institution which greatly determines the success of the religious moderation policy in the university environment.

Religious moderation is one of the products of public policy which is also an educational policy that has a target within a specified period. The targets and objectives of public policy or education policy in the world of politics have two dimensions that are fought for. The first is to maintain, the second is to build. Maintaining does not mean maintaining the status quo but as an effort to build the rule of law in a broad sense for the public, as a necessary basis for achieving the goals and expectations as desired by the State.

In the implementation of religious moderation, there are two types of dominant strategies in disseminating moderate values in Islamic universities. The first is a structural strategy by institutionalizing and making legal rules for the implementation of religious moderation at PTKIN. The two cultural strategies

are Initiation, Socialization, Internalization, Habituation, and Stabilization. Religious moderation in the State Islamic Religious Higher Education environment is implemented by optimizing the implementation of the Tri Dharma of Higher Education, namely teaching, research, and community service. In teaching, there are three models used. *First*, make religious moderation a worldview and make religious moderation a content of knowledge, attitudes, and knowledge that are integrated and internalized in various existing courses. *Second*, religious moderation is used as a course that focuses on teaching religious values, issues of multiculturalism, and religious moderation. *Third*, maximize the role of the religious moderation house as a unit or institution that is concerned with issues of religious moderation.

REFERENCES

- Afala, Laode Machdani. *Politik Identitas Di Indonesia*. Universitas Brawijaya Press, 2018.
- Astuti Buchari, Sri. *Kebangkitan Etnis Menuju Politik Identitas*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2014.
- Biddle, Ian. *Music and Identity Politics*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Crick, Bernard. *In Defense of Politics*. New York: Continuum Publishing, 2010.
- Diye, Thomas R. *Understanding Public Policy*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge and Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.
- Hashim Kamali, Mohammad. *The Middle Path of Moderation in Islam: The Qur'anic Principel of Wasatiyyah*. USA: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Heller, Agnes, and Sonja P. Riekmann. *Biopolitics: The Politics of The Body, Race and Nature*. California: Avebury, 1996.
- Heywood, Andrew. *Politics*. London: Palgrave Foundation, 2013.
- Hidayat, Rahmad. *SINDANG JATI: Multikultural Dalam Bingkai Moderasi*. Bengkulu: Literasiologi, 2019.
- Hilmy, Masdar. "Whiter Indonesia's Islamic Moderatism? A Rexamination on the Moderate Vision of Muhammadiyah and NU." *Journal Indonesian Islam* 7, no. 1 (2013).
- Kelompok Kerja Implementasi Moderasi Beragama Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam. *Implementasi Moderasi Beragama Dalam Pendidikan Islam*. Jakarta: Kementerian Agama, 2019.
- Kementerian Agama. *Tanya Jawab Moderasi Beragama*. Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2019.

- “Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Nomor 2974 Tahun 2020 Tentang Petunjuk Teknis Kuliah Kerja Nyata Moderasi Beragama,” n.d.
- Kologlugil, Serhat. “Michel Foucault’s Archaeology of Knowledge and Economic Discourse”. *Erasmus Journal for Philosophy and Economics* 3, no. 2 (2010).
- Laswel, Harold D. *Politics: Who Gets What, When and How*. New York-London: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936.
- Laswell, Harold, and Abraham Kaplan. *Power and Society*. New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1970.
- Magnis Suseno, Frans. *Pemikiran Karl Marx: Dari Sosialisme Utopis Ke Perselisihan Revisionis*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1999.
- Mahmud. *Moderasi Karakter Asli Agama Islam*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2020.
- Miftah, Muhammad. “Islamic Education Politics Ambiguity of Policy Intepretation in Islamic Religious College: Between Negotiation and Institutional Authority.” *ADDIN* 13, no. 2 (2019): 369-400. <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v13i2.7003>.
- Mohammad Kosim, Maimun. *Moderasi Islam Di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2019.
- Musawar, Mualimin Mochammad Sahid, Ahmad Nur Jihadi, and Setiyawan Gunardi. “Moderate Islam as a Solution to Pluralism in the Islamic World: The Experience of Indonesia.” *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, (2019): 1-24.
- Nugroho, Riant. *Metode Penelitian Kebijakan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2013.
- . *Public Policy*. Jakarta: Elex Media, 2009.
- al-Qardhawi, Yusuf. *Fiqh al-Wasthiyyah al-Islamiyah wa at-Tajdid*. Mesir: Markaz at-Tiba’ah li al-Qardhawi, 2009.

- Qostulani, Muhamad. *Moderasi Beragama: Jihad Ulama Menyelamatkan Umat Dan Negeri Dari Bahaya Hoax*. Tangerang: PSP Nusantara, 2019.
- Rijal, Syamsu. *Kekuasaan Agama Dan Identitas*. Yogyakarta: Lintas Nalar, 2019.
- Rohmat Rosyadi, Abdu. *Penguatan Regulasi Pendidikan Agama Dan Pendidikan Keagamaan: Jihad Regulasi Dalam Membangun Moderasi Islam*. Bandung: Pustaka Senja, 2020.
- Rusydiyah, Evi Fatimatur. "Analisis Historis Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama RI Masa K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim." *Al-Ibrah* 2, no. 1 (2017): 1–31.
- Sirozi, M. *Politik Pendidikan: Dinamika Hubungan Antara Kepentingan Kekuasaan Dan Praktek Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005.
- Suharto, Toto. "Remoderasi Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia: Tantangan Ideologis." *Pidato Pengukuhan Guru Besar Bidang Ilmu Filsafat Pendidikan Islam IAIN Surakarta*, February 20, 2020.
- Sukarieh, Maysoun, and Stuart Tannock. "The Deradicalisation of Education: Terror, Youth and the Assault on Learning." *Race and Class* 57, no. 4 (2016).
- Suryadi Bakry, Umar. *Multikulturalisme dan Politik Identitas Dalam Teori Dan Praktik*. Bandung: Rajawali Pres, 2020.
- Suryana, Yaya, and A. Rusdiana. *Pendidikan Multikultural, Suatu Upaya Penguatan Jati Diri Bangsa: Konsep, Prinsip, Dan Implementasi*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2015.
- Tan, Charle. *Philosophical Reflection for Educator*. Singapore: Cengage Learning, 2008.
- Thomton, Sarah. *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subculture Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- Tilaar, H.A.R., and Riant Nugroho. *Kebijakan Pendidikan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012.

Tim Penyusun Kementerian Agama RI. *Moderasi Beragama*. Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI Gedung Kementerian Agama RI, 2019.

Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo Semarang. "Rencana Pembelajaran Semester Mata Kuliah Islam Dan Moderasi Beragama," 2020.

Wildan, Muhammad, et al. *Menanam Benih Di Ladang Tandus: Potret Sistem Produksi Guru Agama Islam Di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: CISForm Center for the Study of Islam and Social Transformation Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga, 2019.

