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Negotiating Religious Identity In Religious Moderation: A Case Of Islamic University

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ABSTRACT

Religious Moderation has been an important program in Islamic Higher Education since 2019. This program contributes to the spread of moderate religious views among Islamic higher education stakeholders. This research is qualitative research conducted at UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta. The results of this study indicate that there were variations of religious identities in responding to religious moderation as can be seen from various extra-campus affiliated with mass organizations. Some extra-campus organizations were not inclined toward religious moderation values. These religious identities can be seen from the extra-campus at UIN Surakarta, including IMAMTA, HMI, PMII, IMM, and KAMMI which have various perspectives, perceptions, receptions, acceptance patterns, interactions, and relations of each mass organization concerning religious moderation. This study indicated that religious identities that have metamorphosed into extra-campus organizations have an opportunity to be explored to propose a more nuanced religious moderation at the university level.

KEYWORDS

Religious Identity, Religious Moderation, Islamic University



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Introduction

The 1998 reform was hailed as a way of opening up freedom and being the right time to open egalitarian participatory spaces for the public or interest groups to voice their group's interests and desires (David, 2004). Without the 1998 reforms, hardline mass organizations whose presence is troubling the general public would certainly not appear and their existence would not be visible due to political repression and threats from the authorities (Hilmy, 2013). From time to time, the government has been anticipating, such as during the Suharto era. At that time, Indonesia implemented the anti-subversion law, even though in practice it was misused for repressive purposes. This policy was stipulated in the Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 11 of 1963 concerning the Eradication of Subversion Activities (Thoolen, 1987).

So far, the deradicalization program has not contributed much to minimizing the existing phenomenon of radicalism. Then the voice of moderation as an alternative amidst deradicalization which has not been functioning optimally appears (Hashim Kamali, 2015). Even the deradicalization program that has been promoted and implemented by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) is suspected of producing new radicalism in a new form (Nashir, 2019). Islamic moderation (Wasathiyah Islam) has recently become an interesting discourse among academics and researchers amid the emergence of extreme views from some groups in understanding and interpreting Islamic teachings. The impact of this reading is the practice of intolerance and acts of radicalism in everyday life.

The path of education is one of the most effective instruments in moderating one's religious way. Intolerance, radicalism, and terrorism cannot be stopped only through repressive efforts, but preventive efforts are important before the outbreak of violence and mistrust becomes more massive (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2016). Islamic educational institutions such as Islamic Boarding Schools, Madrasahs, and Universities can play a central role in stemming the spread of increasingly globalized transnational ideology (T. Suharto, 2020). The direction of Indonesian education is to produce a nation's generation of children who are mystical-immanent. There it is seen that religion is to answer the challenges of reality, not for itself. Thus, religion is not separate from reality where it is for itself (mystical-transcendent) (Susetyo, 2005).

The factual reality that has spread to intolerance, discrimination, and radicalism in Indonesia has recently become a joint responsibility of the community and the government. The Ministry of Religion takes part in the discussion to minimize the symptoms that divide and threaten the diversity of the Indonesian people by offering the concept of religious moderation as an alternative way amidst the strengthening of conservative views and the development of liberal ideas. The Ministry of Religion makes religious moderation a basis for thinking and behaving and as a basis for formulating policies and programs in the Ministry of Religion.

Religious higher education is the most relevant media in producing a virus of religious moderation. Higher education institutions can become embryos of national

ideas, and nationalist values, uphold democracy, and can be a place to train the younger generation to live and socialize peacefully amidst existing differences (Suharto, 2019). Islamic religious higher education as a center for contemporary Islamic studies is currently being faced with various new challenges and is dealing with very dynamic social change with the development of science and the very rapid telecommunications revolution (Hasbiyallah et al., 2019). The challenges of religious higher education are increasingly complex. One of the threats that are quite worrying is the infiltration of exclusive religious understanding amidst a higher religious education environment (B. Suharto, 2019). This social fact that is developing in Islamic tertiary institutions must be wisely addressed by all parties so as not to cause anxiety and the latest threat to social stability in the future.

The State Islamic Religious University which is an integral part of the Ministry of Religion took part in promoting religious moderation through the Director General of Islamic Education by issuing Circular Letter Number B-3663.1/Dj.I/BA.02/10/2019 on October 29 2019 concerning Circular House of Moderation Religious. In this circular, the Director General of Islamic Education instructed the importance of religious moderation in the campus environment by ordering the establishment of a moderation house in each State Islamic Religious University. Then the big question for State Islamic Religious University academics is how to realize the concept of religious moderation in the campus environment. The increasingly massive threat of religious identity within tertiary institutions is a difficult problem to unravel. Finally, strategies and models for implementing religious moderation in religious universities are needed to be one of the solutions to existing academic anxiety.

Studies and research on religious moderation and religious identity are not the first. Research on this theme has been carried out by many previous researchers both domestically and abroad. However, there are still gaps that bother researchers to carry out this research so that these gaps can be closed with this research. In addition, a literature review was carried out to distinguish and position the research to be carried out.

First, a research work written by Yasmin Salem discussed how transnationalism could affect the moderation of Islamists in Egypt and Morocco. It is entitled "Transnational Islamism And Political Moderation: A Comparative Analysis of Egypt and Morocco (Salem, 2015). In this dissertation, Yasmin conducted an in-depth comparative case study analysis to assess the prospects for the moderation of two Islamic political entities, namely the Muslim Brotherhood as a transnational social movement and the Moroccan Justice and Development Party (PJD). The Muslim Brotherhood and the PJD came to power after the Arab uprisings in 2011. They were key players in the transition to democracy in both countries, but they are unrelated entities. Furthermore, this dissertation explored the moderate level of the Muslim Brotherhood and the PJD. The findings of this dissertation summarized current literature on Islamists and moderation theory focusing on political inclusion, political learning, and repression as factors that

would influence the moderation of Islamist groups. Viewing Islam as a transnational social movement was a new aspect of the study of Islamism (Salem, 2015).⁵

Second, the second literature review is research conducted by Eid AL Yahya. It is entitled "Moderation in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: An Analysis of 'Pragmatist' and 'Puritanical' Discourses" This dissertation investigated the rise of moderation in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The investigation consisted of an analysis of two trends of thought that reformulated the ideas and projects of previous generations of dissent (AL Yahya, 2011). Trends that have adopted this clear discourse were more accommodating to dissent, peaceful coexistence, political competition, equality, pluralism, and gender inclusion. They have adapted themselves to the new context of social revolution. This social revolution was the result of expanding relations with the outside world. It has been deepened through a process of rein-intellectualization. This term was used by Muslim political scholars such as Dale Eickelman in his dissertation to contextualize the emergence of moderation discourse. Specifically, this intellectualization is related to two processes that gradually shift the culture towards greater public debate, participation, and acceptance of the values of dialogue and diversity in general. The first was the media revolution which increased the flow of information and the other was the massification of university education abroad.

Third, research was conducted by Rachel Anne McCarthy entitled *The Controversial Moderate: Tariq Ramadan's Vision for Muslim Political Participation in Europe* (Anne McCarthy, 2011). This dissertation reviewed how Tariq Ramadan's actions were. Tariq Ramadan has been an important figure in the debate about the presence of Muslim populations in Europe since the 1990s. His academic writings addressed the themes of Muslim integration belonging, and participation in the West, and particularly Europe. Rachel in her dissertation concluded that Tariq Ramadan did not advocate for dropping Western secularism or inflaming jihad against the West, but she argued for active Muslim citizenship. She claimed that this was not against Islamic values. Tariq Ramadan was a controversial but moderate Muslim voice about creating a viable space for European Muslims to participate as full citizens in their societies. He had faced intense criticism from academics, neoliberal journalists, and the Muslim community with many claiming that he was hiding a more ambitious form of Islam under a term of moderation and tolerance. Political participation was a path that according to him would make it possible.⁴

Research Method

This study is qualitative research by conducting interviews and analyzing the policies of religious moderation concerning religious identity from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. This study is important to examine because religious identity which has metamorphosed into extra-campus organizations has a great chance of adding the moderation model of religion in tertiary institutions. This study also attempts to capture the role of the Islamic Religious University in translating religious moderation at the

technical level to obtain an ideal implementation model of religious moderation in tertiary institutions.

Results and Discussions

Religious Identity

Indonesia is the fourth largest country with the largest population in the world. In addition, Indonesia is the third largest country that implements a democratic system after America and India. From this fact, we can see how diverse Indonesian society is which includes ethnicity, race, customs, class, group, social strata, and religion. The colors of diversity that Indonesia has are a distinct advantage for the nation and become a weakness and a "time bomb" if the existing diversity is not addressed wisely. When the existing differences surface and give mutual emphasis to other groups, social conflicts that threaten the harmony of life will emerge. If this issue is not managed properly, it will become a hereditary problem and will exacerbate the disharmony of the nation's generations. One of the efforts that the State authorities (Government) can make is to issue public policies as a preventive effort to prevent social friction that leads to criminal and radical acts (BPS, 2019).

Identity politics is not interpreted as politics in a simple and traditional sense. The focus of the study of identity politics is covering identity differences, namely ethnicity, religion, culture, even race, and other things that can be used as a tool to coordinate based on their similarities. Identity politics began to be discussed in the 1960s as a sub-discipline of empirical political science (Suryana & Rusdiana, 2015). Politics itself is defined as politics being all about power. This is something related to power and accommodates the power itself (exercise of power) (Crick, 2010).

Regardless of the authority of power, politics is closely related to individual and group interests. Umar Suryadi Bakrie said that politics was an arena of interests that entered in several ways and would be handled through processes and produce an outcome, policy, or output (Suryadi Bakry, 2020). Andrew Heywood said that politics as a process could be interpreted as an effort to find reconciliation and conflict resolution that had arisen (Heywood, 2013). Politics as a process could be defined as a particular method for resolving conflicts or is often known as a middle way to unravel a problem (Suryadi Bakry, 2020). It can be formulated that conflict of all kinds is not human hope. Conflicts that are motivated by interests and difficult to accommodate over time will become conflicts that are getting bigger in scale. So this is when politics plays a role in the process of bridging developing interests to find mutually beneficial common ground.

Bernard Crick emphasized that politics was a way of finding solutions to the tensions of interests surrounding social life by prioritizing conciliation for the sake of creating order by setting aside violence or coercion (Crick, 2010). Agreements between individuals and groups are products and the political process itself which becomes rules

and levels that are mutually agreed upon in state and social processes. Of course, some consequences must be borne if some groups or individuals violate the agreement.

Politics becomes a public activity that occurs in the public sphere (public sphere). Politics becomes a shared and exclusive activity that is open to the public and becomes dynamic and dialogic (Heywood, 2013). In simple terms, politics can be interpreted as a joint activity that arises between us through individual interactions with one another and through ways of action and individual perspectives that are aggregated into collectivity and togetherness (Suryadi Bakry, 2020).

Meanwhile, the word "identity" has many meanings and definitions. One of them is that identity can be interpreted as a social construction. This means that identity is constructed by society and this process is closely related to the distinction between who I am and who you are, who we are, and who they are (Bowie, 2001). Identity can also be understood as a social construction of ethnicity which is an expression of past products, the revival of common origins, social relations, and similarities in cultural values and features such as language and religion (King & D. Wilder, 2003). In general, according to Montserrat Guibernau, identity provides characteristics about identity, namely about who the person is, who the group of people is, and the nature of immortality (permanence) (Guibernau, 2007). As an example, if we want to know someone's identity, we have to examine the background of that individual and his group. If he is a Christian, Christianity is his identity. If he is a Muslim, Islam is his identity. It can be developed into a larger scope.

In a broader scope, Indonesia is a collection of various identities. These various identities then merged into a manifesto into the politics of the youth oath. Therefore, the value of the youth oath is a manifestation and acknowledgment of sons and daughters to live together in the shade of Indonesianness and become the identity of Indonesian citizens (Afala, 2018). However, in its development, the clustering of identities can be mapped into two major parts, namely personal or individual identity, and group identity or collective identity. Both are manifestations of various identities that have something in common and form a pattern of community based on the identity similarities of each individual.

According to Eric Olson, as quoted by Umar Suryadi, (Suryadi Bakry, 2020) personal identity usually refers to certain properties attached to a person that make a person feel attached to these properties. This identification of personal identity is taken from the inherent features of a person which is taken to define as a person or can even be used as a means of identifying identity for other people as a personal identity. Personal identity orientation raises individual sensitivity in a person and reflects more internal emphasis based on self-evaluation and self-knowledge.

Meanwhile, collective identity is a sense of belonging or togetherness in a community. More precisely, collective identity is the shared feeling of belonging to a group. This is conceptualized as individual identification as identified with a particular

group (Suryadi Bakry, 2020). The identity of a group is full of struggles of interests and negotiating similarities and differences and influences situations and conditions (Hall, 1990). So it becomes natural that collective identity does not have to be in the same degree of perfection or similarity. The existence of individual negotiations in accommodating various variants of identity in uniting goals and interests is a priority in collective identity.

Collective identity can be analyzed through various primordial, structural, or constructionist perspectives. Whereas empirically collective identity can surface in various situations and conditions, although many studies on this matter narrow the studies on gender, nationalism, race, religion, and social movements (Ozolina, 2005). Collective identity is an accumulation of individual identities or at least in part of individual identities. The sense of belonging that animates a person in an organization is an important element in the formation of a collective identity. One way is to follow and participate in social activities. One can develop and grow a sense of belonging which directly or indirectly accumulates into common interests.

The identity attached to a person greatly influences his attitude and behavior towards other people, both with the same identity and with a different identity. This is corroborated by various studies including LSN (National Survey Institute). The identity of voters in elections greatly influences who and what will be elected, which is adjusted to the similarity of voter identity, in terms of religious identity, culture, race, and so on. Identity becomes a reference and the main factor in determining one's political attitudes and choices.

Identity politics can be interpreted as a strategy and contestation of primordial cultural symbols (race, ethnicity, and group) in fighting for who gets what, and in what way. (Laswel, 1936) In simple terms, identity politics is interpreted as a political strategy that focuses on primordial ties. Patterns like this not only can sometimes foster freedom, but also give rise to intolerance, verbal and physical violence, and conflict among interest groups.¹ Identity politics is not a new thing in the world of politics because there is always an element of identity surrounding all politics. Identity politics here shows a political orientation built in the ongoing political contestation (Suryadi Bakry, 2020).

Identity politics is related to efforts such as simply channeling aspirations to influence policies, mastery over the distribution of values that are seen as valuable, and the most fundamental demand, namely self-determination on the principle of primordiality (Suryana & Rusdiana, 2015). Identity politics can be interpreted as a political movement that wants to involve groups or individuals, people who have the same ethnicity, characteristics, ethnicity, gender, and orientation (Astuti Buchari, 2014). This encouragement is motivated by elements of identity attached to group identities such as the similarity of religion, ethnicity, tribe, or culture in which primordial sentiments are hidden (Afala, 2018). The strategies used in identity politics are used to

frame political claims, promote ideology, and orient social action to assert group power and gain power and recognition from the general public.

In the ethnic format, identity politics is reflected in efforts to include the values of the characteristics of the identity they have. This can be related to religious values, customs, and the community's perspective in responding to something in a policy product so that they have the desire to implement special autonomy in the resulting policy product (Suryana & Rusdiana, 2015). Identity politics tends to emphasize the conflict between interest groups that have a more dominant influence through the developing negotiation space, both cultural and political. (Thomton, 1995). This expression appears as a portrait of a response from a sense of national political injustice to its existence and views other identities as having a 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. This is more interpreted in terms of similarities and differences. This categorization is explicitly articulated. This articulation raises conditions where some need to be excluded (relations of exclusion) (Biddle, 2016). From this identification, an in-depth and careful study is needed to conclude 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.

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 patterns of identity politics. Second, injustice triggers the formation of identity politics to affirm the existence of individual identity and group identity through various actions and narratives. Third, there is the resistance between interest groups. The resistance was carried out publicly and openly affiliated with certain groups, racial, religious, and political groups

Religious Moderation in Higher Education

Religious moderation is the program from the Ministry of Religion in various activities and work programs that are formulated. The importance of religious moderation promoted by the Ministry of Religion received a positive response and support from the Ministry National Development Planning Agency which is embodied in the National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020-2024. Based on the historical side, the word "moderation" has long been known as a living principle in human history. In ancient Greek mythology, the principle of moderation is well known and carved in the inscription on the statue of Apollo at Delphi with the inscription *Meden Agan* which means moderation (RPJMN, 2019). Whereas linguistically, the word *wasathiyah* (moderation) in Yusuf al-Qaradawi's view has various meanings such as in the middle, between the two ends, fair, in the middle, simple, or mediocre (al-Qardhawi, 2009). It can also be interpreted more broadly, such as being chosen as the best,

security, strength, and unity (Hilmy, 2013). 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 and extreme (centrifugal) sides.

The basic idea of moderation is to look for similarities and not to sharpen differences (R. Hidayat, 2019). Moderation means choosing a middle path that is rationally acceptable (Salik, 2019). "Moderate is defined as an attitude or action that is carried out in proportions that are not excessive and not lacking. Humans who can be moderate can indirectly put aside their egos. He is not only concerned with one side but considers the overall advantages and disadvantages, dangers and harms. This position allows for fairness to all parties (Salik, 2020). This spirit of finding common ground between differences is one of the characteristics of religious moderation.

In understanding the meaning of moderation in various fields and its aspects, it can be concluded that judging from the meaning taken from the meaning of the language, moderation is the existence of a pulling relationship between the middle and the two ends (Shihab, 2020). In Biyanto's view which was conveyed in his professorial inauguration, Wasathiyyah from an Islamic perspective considers the term "religious moderation" commonly used in Muslim minority countries to refer to a middle position between the two extremities (Biyanto.2020). Moderate Islam has the mission of maintaining a balance between two kinds of extremities, namely fundamental Islamic thoughts, understandings, experiences, and movements, and liberal Islam as two poles of extremities that are difficult to combine (Qomar, 2021).

"Moderation" means middle, but etymologically the word wasatha is not interpreted that simply. In the word wasatha, there is the meaning of al-'adl (justice), al-haqq (truth), and al-sharafah (glory) (Kemenag, 2019). If the word wasatha is combined with the word ummat, then it means "middle people", or "people who have just characteristics leaning neither to the right nor to the left" (Azra, 2015). Likewise, when the word wasatha is combined with the word Islam (Islam Washatiyyah) then it means "middleline Islam", "moderate Islam", "balanced Islam", or "wise Islam" (A. Hidayat, 2019).

Some groups reject the use of the word "moderation" in matters of religion because they use the perspective of language basis. Referring to the word "moderation" means "Moderate are those who live their lives as anyone else. Dress as others, party as others, eat and drink as others, marry as others". This misunderstanding gives an understanding that if we are called "moderates", we have to do whatever other people do (Nizar, 2020). Moderation is a commendable, special deed, and is the most fundamental teaching in any religion, especially in Islam from the perspective of shari'a, aqidah, culture, and politics. Moderation here becomes a manifestation of the characteristics of balance and leaning towards the extreme right and the extreme left (Arif, 2020).

For Kamali, Moderation concerns benevolence, usefulness, and moral goodness, which is not only related to a person but also integrates with the integrity and self-image of the community and nation (Hashim Kamali, 2015). Religious moderation is an effort to care for tradition and sow friendly religious ideas. In other terms, religious moderation is an option for caring for Indonesia's diversity without leaving existing traditions and culture (Mujahidin, 2020). It can be concluded that religious moderation is a perspective, attitude, and behavior that always takes a position in the middle, always acts fairly, and is not extreme in religion (kemenag, 2019). The perspective and attitude of moderation referred to in religious moderation here still seem blurry and difficult to understand. Therefore, a moderate attitude must have an indicator as a measure. As a mapping of which attitudes are considered extreme and which attitudes are moderate, this indicator can be mapped based on authoritative religious sources such as holy books religions, state constitutions, consensus, local wisdom, and mutual agreements.

Religious moderation is one of the main pillars in realizing national social harmony. Religious moderation emerges from the reality of the existence of extreme views of religious adherents that mutually negate one group against another. This reality raises concerns about the disharmony of national life in the present and the future. The existence of religious moderation is crucial in creating peace and minimizing class conflict. Religious moderation will not survive and simply disappear if it is not based on the principles that underlie the concept of religious moderation.

The fundamental principles must come to the fore in religious moderation; in this case, include Islamic moderation because religious moderation is not only popularized by Islam but other religions outside of Islam. It makes religious moderation a way of life to establish social harmonization and diversity harmonization in the reality of individual and group life, or other human beings. According to Hasan Kamali (Hashim Kamali, 2015) the principles that must be met in Islamic moderation include balance and justice. Kamali emphasized that in his concept, moderation should not be extreme or absolute with his views. On the contrary, it must find a middle point and meeting point to find the best way to every difference that exists.

In Islam, there are at least three basic principles that must exist to realize a moderate and tolerant attitude, namely the attitude of *tawasuth*, *tawazun*, and *i'tidal* (Muhajir, 2018). Moderation and religious tolerance are a discourse and a practice needed in a pluralistic society like Indonesia. This means that where there is diversity, there are two values that must be present and become a connecting link between members of the community (Subhi, 2019).

Religious moderation is an alternative to deradicalization to deal with all forms of radicalism moderately. According to Haidar Nashir, the process of Indonesian moderation must position Pancasila as a solid fulcrum so that it remains amid all 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 (Nashir, 2019).

In the context of plural and multicultural Indonesian society, moderation must be understood as a shared commitment to maintaining a perfect balance, where every member of society, regardless of ethnicity, tribe, culture, religion, and political choices, must be willing to listen to one another and learn from each other and try to manage and overcome the differences that arise between them (Mujahidin, 2020). In the Islamic context, religious moderation also plays a major role in the dialogue between Islam and modernity. Against modernity, Islam is not in a position to reject or accept it as a whole, but it still puts forward a critical attitude so modernity grows into a positive rather than a negative value (Qostulani, 2019).

The principle of fair and balanced religious moderation will be easy to obtain if a person, community, or institution has three main characteristics within them, namely wisdom, sincerity, and courage (Kemenag, 2019). These three characteristics will bring out several other characteristics such as harmony, group cooperation, tolerance, and mutual respect for the differences that arise (Hilmy, 2013). In the view of Quraish Shihab, justice is an active attitude in placing everything according to its proportions, and not just being passive in dealing with everything that exists. This fair attitude in addressing and positioning oneself in all circumstances is the main principle in religious moderation.

Equality and equity are highly valued in a multicultural and multiethnic society. This is an absolute requirement to create an ideal social climate. The majority religion is one of the benchmarks for religious ways and the parameters of the diversity of society. The diversity that arises from various religious expressions will become a “stumbling block” in creating a harmonious life because if diversity is not balanced with a sense of equality, an attitude of discrimination will arise. On the contrary, if diversity is accompanied by an attitude of equality, peace, creativity, and harmony in life will be created.

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Public Policy and Religious Moderation

Harold Laswell and Abraham Kaplan defined public policy as a projected program of goals, values, and practices. They explained that public policy is a projected program with specific targets and goals and uses certain practices or strategies (Laswell & Kaplan, 1970,). This is a strategy of taking action or not taking action that the state authorities

(government) want to do or don't want to do. Whatever government chooses to do or not to do in the dynamics of the state is of course to weigh the pros and cons of the actions it takes (Diye, 1981).

The presence of a policy of religious moderation which has become a public policy gives understanding to the public that this policy is one of the interventions of the authorities (the State) in the socio-religious field so that this policy can direct the socio-religious atmosphere and condition of the community following the wishes of the authorities. Thus, the core of public policy in any dimension and any field is intervention. Although in a fundamental sense, public policy is everything that is chosen to be done or not done by state authorities. However, in policy analysis, the focus point of public policy is what the government does while they are in power.

The principle of fair and balanced religious moderation will be easy to obtain if a person, community, or institution has three main characters within them, namely wisdom, purity, and courage (Kemenag, 2019). These three characteristics will bring out several other characteristics such as harmony, group cooperation, tolerance, and mutual respect for the differences that arise (Hilmy, 2013). Moderation is an alternative to deradicalization to deal with all forms of radicalism moderately. According to Haidar Nashir, the process of Indonesian moderation must position Pancasila as a solid fulcrum so that it remains amid all extreme tug-of-war, both to the right and to the left, so there is no radicalization or extremization of the country's foundations and ideology (Nashir, 2019, p. 51).

In terms of public policy, the policy of religious moderation is included in the field of regulatory policy because this policy product regulates in detail the techniques, strategies to be carried out, and who will carry them out. As Anderson stated, the regulatory policy covers the dimensions of an organization, government agency, or ministry that is responsible for implementing a regulation related to the duties and functions they have and translating policies and detailing processes or requirements and stages in detailing the responsibilities they have.

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Religious Identity as Capital and Threat in Internalizing Religious Moderation

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From interview data and observations, the researcher found several extra-campus mass organizations' responses to the policy of religious moderation as follows:

1. Is there a policy in your Islamic Student Association (HMI) organization in supporting religious moderation?

"Yes, there are. The HMI cadres establish a back-to-the-mosque program so the students and members visit the mosque not only for worship but also do activities such as discussions and meetings at the campus mosque. Besides that, other policies are through how HMI cadres understand and implement Islamic values that must be applied on campus."

2. Are there organizational program plans that support religious moderation? What are the programs?

"Of course, religious moderation is included in the work program priority in the future. We will fully support how we display or practice the values of religious moderation on campus so that HMI can implement the ideology that exists in HMI itself."

3. How do you apply the values of religious moderation as a member of the Extra-Campus Organization?

Based on the previous management period, there was a "nganan" (routine study) activity program. In addition, the management and members carried out *tahlilan* every Friday night. When they did this routine activity or study, they were expected to be able to apply Islamic values in the community, commissariat, and the environment.

1. How do the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM) activists respond to the Ministry of Religious's policy regarding religious moderation?

IMM members respond it well because IMM is a part of an autonomous organization from Muhammadiyah in which Muhammadiyah has long proclaimed a narrative of religious moderation which Mr. Din Syamsudin called *Wasathiyah Islam* (middle Islam). We are not extreme right and extreme left. That's why we receive scientific input from various parties and directions. It is related to the vision of IMM, namely building a civilized and progressive IMM Branch Manager Ahmad Dahlan Surakarta.

1. Is there a policy in your Indonesian Muslim Student Movement (PMII) organization in supporting religious moderation?

"Not only policies, but we also strongly support the teaching of moderation. According to the general chairman of PMII, PMII teaches *aswaja* values such as *tawasuth*, *tawazun*, *tasamuh*, and *i'tidal*. In the basic values of struggle and movement, there is a relationship between *hablu minallah* (relationship with Allah SWT) and *hablu minnannas* (relationship with humans)."

2. Has the program in education and regeneration of members already supported religious moderation? Can you explain it?

"At the cadre orientation levels, coaching is carried out to instill beliefs that these values must be believed by the cadres accompanied as a group in the form of mentoring. They are broken down one by one and it is instilled in the cadres before reaching the basic level. There are lots of activities to support religious moderation, including formal and non-formal discussions that PMII UIN RMS Surakarta members did. The levels in PMII are Mapaba, Basic Cadre Training (PKD), and Advanced Cadre Training (PKL)."

3. Are there organizational program plans that support religious moderation? What are the programs?

"In the next year, we will continue to make breakthroughs in innovation as we have done. Currently, we have implemented basic schools that draw from the values that were there when members first entered PMII, for example, *aswaja* schools and faculty schools that also apply Islamic thoughts."

4. How do you apply the values of religious moderation as a member of the Extra-Campus Organization?

"I personally, wherever I am, can't deny that currently UINs are also diverse, such as right Islam, left Islam, middle Islam, upper Islam, lower Islam, and many more. I position myself to respect their beliefs. If they feel they are right, it's okay for me, as long as it doesn't cause discord or uproar and hostility. If I feel it is tolerable, I let it."

The reasons why religious moderation is important and must be carried out are: First, one of the essences of the presence of religion is to maintain human dignity as a noble creature created by God.(R. Hidayat, 2019) Religious moderation essentially maintains and upholds human values. With religious moderation, the name of the scale of priorities that must be carried out and which must be prioritized arises. These human values animate humans in religion, mutual respect, and love as the basis for social and community human beings.

Second, religious moderation serves as an indicator point for a shared understanding of two opposing currents. This point of understanding mutually provides opportunities for the truth of each group without any desire to negate the other groups. This point of understanding can be achieved by a mutual understanding of the positions and conditions of other groups by respecting and upholding the differences that arise and not giving rise to truth claims of the group they belong to.

The third is the Indonesian context. The existence of religious moderation is needed as a form of cultural strategy in caring for a peaceful and prosperous Indonesia.(R. Hidayat, 2019) Indonesia has a priceless heritage. With the existence of a consensus, a mutual agreement on the unity and integrity of the nation through the presence of Pancasila as a unifier of existing differences. Therefore, religious moderation is present to strengthen the importance of unity and oneness amid existing differences.

Conclusion

The principle of fair and balanced religious moderation will be easy to obtain if a person, community, or institution has three main characters within them, namely wisdom, purity, and courage. These three characteristics will bring out several other characteristics such as harmony, group cooperation, tolerance, and mutual respect for the differences that arise (Hilmy, 2013). According to Haidar Nashir, the process of Indonesian moderation must position Pancasila as a solid fulcrum so that it remains amid all extreme tug-of-war, both to the right and to the left, so there is no radicalization or extremism of the country's foundations and ideology.

Equality and equity are highly valued in a multicultural and multiethnic society. This is an absolute requirement to create an ideal social climate. The majority religion is one of the benchmarks for religious ways and the parameters of the diversity of society.

The diversity that arises from various religious expressions will become a “stumbling block” in creating a harmonious life because if diversity is not balanced with a sense of equality, an attitude of discrimination will arise. On the contrary, if diversity is accompanied by an attitude of equality, peace, creativity, and harmony in life will be created.

The fundamental principles must come to the fore in religious moderation; in this case, include Islamic moderation because religious moderation is not only popularized by Islam but other religions outside of Islam. It makes religious moderation a way of life to establish social harmonization and diversity harmonization in the reality of individual and group life, or other human beings. According to Hasan Kamali, (Hashim Kamali, 2015) the principles that must be met in Islamic moderation include balance and justice. Kamali emphasized that in his concept, moderation should not be extreme or absolute with his views. On the contrary, it must find a middle point and meeting point to find the best way to every difference that exists.

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