



LEGAL POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION AND STATE DEFENSE POLICY AT PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

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Abstract: This study aims to discuss the policy of the Ministry of Religious Affairs through the Sub Directorate of Islamic Religious Education at Public Universities (PTU) in forming Griya Moderasi Beragama dan Bela Negara (MBBN) to strengthen the understanding of religious moderation and eliminate religiousness that often legitimizes violence as a manifestation of religious teachings during the rise of groups that claim to be the most correct. This study uses doctrinal law, political law, and critical analysis approaches. Data analysis was conducted by exploring moderation policy documents and legislation products. This study found that the legal politics of Religious Moderation and State Defence at PTU is a strategic government policy to strengthen the nation's life amid legal and religious plurality in the face of confrontation with radicalism groups. The government's strategic policy is synergized with national development, accelerating the realization of justice and welfare. The policy is also a firm step by the Indonesian government in contributing to the world according to the demands and developments of diversity in the era of globalization, especially in counteracting the massive movement of radicalism and intolerance in Indonesia.

Keywords: legal policy; religious moderation; griya moderasi; MBBN.

Abstrak: Kajian ini bertujuan membahas kebijakan Kementerian Agama melalui Sub Direktorat Pendidikan Agama Islam pada Perguruan Tinggi Umum (PTU) dalam membentuk Griya Moderasi Beragama dan Bela Negara (MBBN) guna memperkuat paham moderasi beragama serta mengeliminir keberagamaan yang sering melegitimasi kekerasan sebagai manifestasi ajaran agama di tengah maraknya kelompok yang mengklaim paling benar. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan hukum doktrinal, politik hukum, dan analisis kritis. Analisis data dilakukan dengan mengeksplorasi dokumen kebijakan moderasi dan produk perundang-undangan. Penelitian ini menghasilkan temuan, bahwa politik hukum Griya Moderasi Beragama dan Bela Negara pada PTU merupakan kebijakan

strategis pemerintah untuk menguatkan kehidupan berbangsa bernegara di tengah pluralitas hukum dan agama dalam menghadapi konfrontasi kelompok radikalisme. Kebijakan strategis pemerintah tersebut disinergikan pembangunan nasional, mempercepat terwujudnya keadilan dan kesejahteraan. Kebijakan tersebut juga sebagai langkah tegas pemerintah Indonesia dalam memberikan kontribusi pada dunia sesuai tuntutan dan perkembangan keberagaman di era globalisasi, terutama dalam menangkal masifnya gerakan radikalisme dan intoleransi di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: politik hukum; moderasi beragama; griya moderasi; MBBN.



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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a pluralistic country¹, with numerous religious groups and values growing and developing following their beliefs.² On the one hand, the Indonesian nation's plurality represents a potential to become a great country acknowledged by the world. Still, it also threatens the nation's dissolution and division.³ In response to this, the government, through the Ministry of Religion through the Sub-Directorate of Islamic Religious Education at Public Universities (PTU), formed the Religious Moderation House and National Defense (MBBN) to strengthen understanding of religious moderation and eliminate religiosity, which often legitimizes violence as a manifestation of religious teachings amidst the rise of religious groups who claim to be correct and tend to blame groups with different views and teachings.⁴ The Religious Moderation House and National Defense (MBBN) strategy in Public Universities (PTU) is unquestionably acceptable to all parties, given that the primary source of religious conflict is a lack of awareness of religion and religious issues.⁵ The history of the nation's variety is

¹ Madakir Madakir et al., "Multicultural Islamic Education of Nurcholis Madjid Perspective: A Literature Review," *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding* 9, no. 5 (2022): 191-201.

² Noorhaidi Hasan, "Religious Diversity and Blasphemy Law: Understanding Growing Religious Conflict and Intolerance in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 55, no. 1 (2017): 105-26.

³ Apriaman Wau, Stevanus Parinussa, and Royek J Raming, "Potensi Disintegrasi Antar Umat Beragama Dalam Masyarakat Plural," 2021.

⁴ I Gede Yusa, Bagus Hermanto, and Ni Ketut Ardani, "Law Reform as the Part of National Resilience: Discovering Hindu and Pancasila Values in Indonesia's Legal Development Plan," in *International Conference For Democracy and National Resilience (ICDNR 2021)* (Atlantis Press, 2021), 1-10.

⁵ Mukhamad Ilyasin and M Tohet, "Multicultural Education in a Religious Life: Developing Harmony among Religions in Southeast Asia," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Industrial Engineering and Operations Management, August 2020*, 3791-3801.

inextricably linked to the creation and occurrence of wars, the causes of which are often thought to be religious influences and their derivatives.⁶

The Religious Moderation House and National Defense (MBBN) is also concerned with religion and religion in Indonesia, which is an intriguing subject due to the variety of laws in it, which are invariably linked to every war and humanitarian disaster.⁷ Such a viewpoint is undoubtedly appropriate because data and facts demonstrate that religious groups in Indonesia all claim to be the correct group and hence blame other groups that disagree.⁸ Such conditions impede this nation's efforts to establish Indonesia as a just, successful, and prosperous country. Instead of being a thriving society, it has become a country embroiled in a long-running cycle of religious war, which devotees of each religion oddly enjoy.⁹

This situation is quite concerning, particularly for the government in realizing and accelerating state goal implementation.¹⁰ In the context of Indonesian religion, a term emerged in a religion called Islam wasathiyah (balanced Islam), which does not prioritize religious ego-centricity but rather a religion that always prioritizes harmony and humanism. This became generally known as religious moderation as an endeavor by the government to accomplish the nation's aspirations for a just, prosperous, and mature country in dealing with religion and religious matters.¹¹

During President Joko Widodo's administration, the Policy of Religious Moderation House and National Defense (MBBN), which continued the work of Minister of Religion Lukman Hakim Saifudin, openly produced a slogan based on religious moderation. According to Lukman Hakim Saifudin, religious moderation promotes the human spirit and ideals that evolve within the religious community, allowing them to be accepted collectively.¹² However, Lukman Hakim's concepts

⁶ M Alfazri, "Moderasi Agama Nahdlatul 'Ulama Di Era Global," *ORASI: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 12, no. 1 (2021): 41-58.

⁷ Zakiyuddin Baidhawiy, "Building Harmony and Peace through Multiculturalist Theology-Based Religious Education: An Alternative for Contemporary Indonesia," in *Peace Education and Religious Plurality* (Routledge, 2013), 1-16.

⁸ Lidea Francisca et al., "Kebhinekaan Dan Keberagaman: Integrasi Agama Ditengah Pluralitas," *ALSYS* 2, no. 2 (2022): 233-44.

⁹ Askar Nur and Zulkifli Makmur, "Implementasi Gagasan Keindonesiaan Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam; Mewujudkan Konsep Masyarakat Madani Indonesian Discourse Implementation of Islamic Student Association; Realizing Civil Society Concept," *Jurnal Khitah* 1, no. 1 (2020).

¹⁰ Dian Dian et al., "Optimizing Islamic Religious Colleges In Facing The Era of Globalization," *Tafkir: Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Education* 4, no. 1 (2023): 58-77.

¹¹ Khalid Rahman and Aditia Muhammad Noor, *Moderasi Beragama Di Tengah Pergumulan Ideologi Ekstremisme* (Universitas Brawijaya Press, 2020).

¹² Muhammad Aminulloh and Abraham Zakky Zulhazmi, "Wacana Moderasi Beragama Dalam Nuswa Channel (Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough)" (FUD/KPI, 2022).

were not instantly accepted or widely adopted in society, particularly in the ministry of religion. Many organizations and sects criticize religious moderation as a new sect and ideology in the nation and state backed by the government.¹³ There was also the belief that religious moderation would soon end, coupled with the closure and resignation of Lukman Hakim Saifudin as Minister of Religion at the time.¹⁴

In the subsequent political journey, Minister Yaqut Cholil Qoumas took over as Minister of Religion, but the movement for religious moderation remained strong and developed; even Lukman Hakim Saifudin, who was no longer Minister of Religion, had the opportunity and presentation event to explain religious moderation from various perspectives. Religious moderation was also strengthened during the Joko Widodo government, with Yaqut Cholil Qoumas serving as Minister of Religion.¹⁵ This fact strengthens the notion that religious moderation, as exemplified by the House of Moderation at Islamic religious colleges (PTKIN) and public universities (PTU), is a government program aimed at transforming Indonesia into a Muslim-majority country.¹⁶

Based on the dynamics of Indonesian religion on the one hand and the portrait of Moderation House on the other, as previously stated, politically and legally, it is the government's responsibility to implement specific policies and strategies to ensure that the dynamics of Indonesian religion and nationality run in harmony with the synergy of the nation's ideals towards a just, prosperous, and prosperous life.¹⁷ Among the government's policies in responding to religious dynamics is the policy of the Ministry of Religion through the Sub-Directorate of Islamic Religious Education at Public Universities (PTU) in establishing the Religious Moderation and National Defense Group (MBBN) to strengthen the understanding of religious moderation and eliminate religious practices that frequently legitimize violence as a manifestation of religion teachings amidst the

¹³ Madiyono Madiyono and Mochamad Ziaul Haq, "Integritas Terbuka Sebagai Pendekatan Baru Dialog Antariman Dalam Penguatan Moderasi Beragama," *Integritas Terbuka: Peace and Interfaith Studies* 2, no. 1 (April 29, 2023): 1-16, <https://doi.org/10.59029/int.v2i1.11>.

¹⁴ Khaeron Sirin and Badrus Sholeh, *Ormas Islam Dan Gerakan Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2021).

¹⁵ Waryani Fajar Riyanto and Rudi Ahmad Suryadi, "20 Tahun Pusat Kerukunan Umat Beragama Kiprah Dalam Penguatan Kerukunan Dan Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia" (Pusat Kerukunan Umat Beragama (PKUB), 2021).

¹⁶ Luh Riniti Rahayu and Putu Surya Wedra Lesmana, "Potensi Peran Perempuan Dalam Mewujudkan Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia," *Pustaka* 20, no. 1 (2020): 31-37.

¹⁷ Eko Siswanto and Athoillah Islamy, "Meninjau Ulang Polemik Formalisasi Hukum Islam Di Indonesia Perspektif Demokrasi Pancasila: Analisis SWOT," *MIYAH: Jurnal Studi Islam* 18, no. 1 (2022): 19-40.

rise of groups that claim to be truly radical.¹⁸ The government's steps or policies through the Moderation House are political steps that have many consequences. It is essential to explain this policy, which can be called legal politics, so that all components of this nation accept and understand religious moderation as a normal entity in the context of the legal system in Indonesia¹⁹ in responding to massive religious information that is prone to differences.²⁰

This research includes conceptual legal research, which collects data through library data collection or research to solve a problem, mainly by collecting data obtained from a critical and in-depth study of relevant library materials. This study uses doctrinal law, political law, and critical analysis approaches that concentrate on religious moderation in Indonesia. In addition, this research uses primary and secondary data as the basis for analysis. Primary and secondary data collection is followed by in-depth critical analysis using a variety of relevant literature.

LEGAL POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN INDONESIA

Legal politics is a collection of concepts, principles, basic policies, and assertions of state authorities' intent that incorporate politics and interests. Legal politics include the formation of laws, the politics of determining laws, and the politics of implementing and enforcing laws²¹ regarding the function of institutions and the guidance of law enforcers such as the Ministry of Law and Human Rights to determine the direction, form, and content of the laws to be formed, the laws that apply in their territory, and the direction of legal development that is built to achieve state goals²² such as in the Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Research and Technology, Ministry of the Environment, and others. Legal politics is a government policy dealing with specific problems in certain conditions to realize justice and order in society and the nation, as is the step taken by the Indonesian government with its halal vaccination policy through the Indonesian Ulema

¹⁸ Iwan Ridwan and Abdurrahim Abdurrahim, "Persepsi Dan Pengamalan Moderasi Beragamat Dalam Mengembangkan Sikap Sosio-Religius Dan Toleransi Beragama Di Perguruan Tinggi Umum," *Jurnal Pendidikan Karakter JAWARA (Jujur, Adil, Wibawa, Amanah, Religius, Akuntabel)* 9, no. 1 (2023).

¹⁹ Dudung Abdul Rohman, *Moderasi Beragama Dalam Bingkai Keislaman Di Indonesia* (Lekkas, 2021).

²⁰ Amin Nurbaedi, "Implementasi Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Pada Pendidikan Islam Di Era Digital," *Dirasatuna: Kajian Ilmu Dan Pemikiran Tentang Pendidikan* 1, no. 2 (2022): 1-10.

²¹ Bambang Santoso, "Politik Hukum" (Tangerang Selatan: UNPAM PRESS, 2021).

²² Adityadarma Bagus Priasmoro Suryono, "Analisis Perkembangan Lembaga Negara Pasca Reformasi Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Politik Hukum," *Jurnal Hukum Lex Generalis* 1, no. 7 (2020): 20-39.

Council.²³ Legal politics also risks all smaller possibilities to gain greater certainty.²⁴

Several legal specialists closely monitoring the evolution of the political and legal discipline have developed a legal, political discourse that includes: 1) In his book *Introduction to Law*, LJ Van Apeldoorn used "political legislation." Legal politics entails setting the aims and content of legislative rules. This idea applies not only to written laws but also to unwritten ones.²⁵ 2) Teuku Muhammad Radhie conceptualizes legal politics as a statement of the will of state authorities regarding the laws that apply in the territory of a country and the direction in which the law will be developed.²⁶ 3) Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara stated that legal politics is the same as the politics of legal development that a particular country's government wishes to implement or carry out.²⁷ 4) Sunaryati Hartono does not define legal politics explicitly. Still, she sees legal politics as a tool or means and steps the government can use to create the desired national legal system. With this national legal system, the ideals of the Indonesian nation will be realized.²⁸

Meanwhile, Moh. Mahfud MD defined legal politics as legal policy or an official stance (policy) about the law that will be enforced through new laws or replacing old laws to fulfill state objectives.²⁹

According to the explanations of legal, and political experts, legal politics is a specific step or policy taken by the government in response to certain conditions that require immediate solutions to resolve various societal problems, particularly in the national context. In a nutshell, legal politics is a legal policy or an official stance (policy) about the law that will be enforced by enacting new laws or replacing old ones to achieve state aims.³⁰

²³ Muhammad Shohibul Itmam, "Kehalalan Vaksinasi Perspektif Politik Hukum," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 16, no. 1 (2022): 1-14.

²⁴ Itmam.

²⁵ Frenki Frenki, "Politik Hukum Dan Perannya Dalam Pembangunan Hukum Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi," *ASAS* 3, no. 2 (2011).

²⁶ Ruslan Abdul Rasyid, "Politik Hukum Pembentukan Peraturan Daerah Nomor 5 Tahun 2006 Tentang Investasi Infrastruktur Jalan Dan Landing Site Eks Jalan Pertamina Oleh Pemerintah Kabupaten Barito Timur," *Arena Hukum* 6, no. 3 (2013): 290-307.

²⁷ Septa Chandra, "Politik Hukum Pengadopsian Restorative Justice Dalam Pembaharuan Hukum Pidana," *Fiat Justitia Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 8, no. 2 (2014): 255-77.

²⁸ Agista Yuwandhana, "Peran Politik Hukum Dalam Pembentukan Peraturan Perundangan-Undangan Terhadap Penyelenggaraan Negara," *Jurnal Education and Development* 10, no. 3 (2022): 104-10.

²⁹ Danggur Konradus, "Politik Hukum Berdasarkan Konstitusi," *Masalah-Masalah Hukum* 45, no. 3 (2016): 198-206.

³⁰ Derita Prapti Rahayu, "Aktualisasi Pancasila Sebagai Landasan Politik Hukum Indonesia," *Yustisia Jurnal Hukum* 4, no. 1 (2015): 190-202.

Memang, strategi ini tidak menjamin kepastian, namun ini merupakan upaya pemerintah untuk percaya diri akan kemampuannya dalam mengatasi kesulitan yang ada. Hal ini menuntut keberanian aparat dan ketegasan pemerintah dalam menghadapi kritik dan tuduhan terselubung dari dalam masyarakat. Politik hukum adalah tindakan strategis yang dilakukan oleh pemerintah dalam situasi tertentu dengan menggunakan perangkat tertentu untuk kepentingan masyarakat, atau diyakini bahwa politik hukum sebagai suatu disiplin ilmu hukum berfungsi pada tataran etika dan taktik bagi kegiatan perumusan hukum dan penemuan hukum. Namun politik hukum dapat menjadi legitimasi tindakan atau kebijakan tertentu yang dibuat oleh pemerintah dalam kondisi tertentu untuk memastikan bahwa hukum atau tujuan negara tercapai dengan cara tertentu. Misalnya dalam kasus Vaksin Covid-19 lalu, terkait kehalalan vaksin yang ditetapkan oleh Majelis Ulama Indonesia telah mendapatkan legitimasi pemerintah, diperkuat dengan aturan yang mewajibkan setiap warga negara untuk melakukan vaksinasi.³¹ Demikian juga kebijakan moderasi beragama menjadi alat legitimasi untuk diterapkan dalam berbagai sektor kelembagaan, tidak terkecuali di lembaga pendidikan tinggi umum.³²

EXPLORATION OF THE RELIGIOUS MODERATION HOUSE AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

The Religious Moderation House and National Defense at Public Universities (PTU) can be interpreted as part of the government's policy of supporting and strengthening religious matters³³ by the conditions of the pluralist and humanist Indonesian nation in the face of the rise of radical Islam and fundamental Islam.³⁴

³¹ Oskar Arifandi Ginting, M Yamin Lubis, and Ibnu Affan, "Analisis Kebijakan Kewajiban Vaksinasi COVID-19 Oleh Pemerintah Terhadap Setiap Warga Masyarakat Dalam Perspektif Hak Asasi Manusia Dan Hak Konstitusional Warga Negara," *Jurnal Ilmiah Metadata* 3, no. 2 (2021): 508-24.

³² Benny Afwadzi and Miski Miski, "Religious Moderation In Indonesian Higher Educations: Literature Review," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam* 22, no. 2 (December 31, 2021): 203-31, <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v22i2.13446>; Fauzan Fauzan, "State Policy Towards Religious Moderation: A Review Of The Strategy For Strengthening Religious Moderation In Indonesia," *Nusantara: Journal of Law Studies* 2, no. 1 (March 31, 2023): 70-78.

³³ Mukhibat Mukhibat, "Memutus Mata Rantai Radikalisme Dan Terorisme Berbasis Studi Etnopedagogi Di PTNU Dalam Membentuk Keberagaman Inklusif Dan Pluralis," *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 10, no. 1 (2015): 222-47; Zaenal Mustakim, Fachri Ali, and Rahmat Kamal, "Empowering Students as Agents of Religious Moderation in Islamic Higher Education Institutions," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 1 (June 30, 2021): 65-76, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v7i1.12333>.

³⁴ Arhanuddin Salim et al., "Moderasi Beragama: Implementasi Dalam Pendidikan, Agama Dan Budaya Lokal," 2023; Choiriyah Muchtar, Dwi Noviani, and Manna Dey, "Religious Moderation in the Framework of Life," *International Journal of Islamic Education, Research and Multiculturalism (IJIERM)* 4, no. 2 (2022): 135-49.

The Religious Moderation House and National Defense also serve as a bridge between right-wing and left-wing Islam, which have traditionally claimed their respective truths and cultural diversity to foster religious harmony in multicultural Indonesian society,³⁵ both in the natural and digital worlds.³⁶

Aside from that, the Religious Moderation House and National Defense refer to the massive amount of religious information, both analog and digital, as a natural event³⁷ caused by the meeting of various cultural differences; each ethnic group has its cultural behavior and way of life.³⁸ The Religious Moderation House is also associated with the multicultural notion, which differs from the cross-cultural concept, as is the experience of the American people, who are culturally diverse due to numerous cultures and their grouping in one country. Indonesia differs from America because it has diverse laws and religious practices.³⁹ In this context, the Religious Moderation House is a philosophy and government endeavor to address and sustain multicultural individual differences, encompassing various interpretations and cross-cultural conceptions of ethnic and socioeconomic distinctions. Aside from that, the Religious Moderation House represents diversity, which can be comprehended linguistically through an understanding of several cultures.⁴⁰ Culture is both an ideology and a method for reaching the pinnacle of humanity. As a result, it is critical to examine culture

³⁵ Agus Akhmadi, "Moderasi Beragama Dalam Keragaman Indonesia," *Inovasi-Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan* 13, no. 2 (2019): 45-55; Suhadi Cholil, "Freedom of Religion amid Polarization and Religious Moderation Policy," *Interreligious Studies and Intercultural Theology* 6, no. 2 (2022): 196-204, <https://doi.org/10.1558/isit.24603>.

³⁶ Muhammad Alhada Fuadilah Habib, "Dinamika Pengarusutamaan Moderasi Beragama Dalam Perkembangan Masyarakat Digital," *Asketik: Jurnal Agama Dan Perubahan Sosial* 6, no. 1 (2022): 1-15; Melisa Diah Maharani Melisa, "Kontestasi Narasi Moderasi Beragama Di Ruang Digital: Studi Analisis Diseminasi Konten Di Platform TikTok," *Al-Wasatiyah: Journal of Religious Moderation* 2, no. 1 (June 30, 2023): 26-45.

³⁷ David Efendi et al., "Mainstreaming Religious Moderation in Preventing Radicalisms in Contemporary Indonesia: A Case of Muhammadiyah" (International Joint Conference on Arts and Humanities 2022 (IJCAH 2022), Atlantis Press, 2023), 364-80, https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-008-4_41; Tatang Sudrajat, Supiana Supiana, and Qiqi Yuliati Zakiah, "Higher Education, Nation Character, and Religious Moderation Program: A Public Policy Perspective," *Journal of Asian Social Science Research* 3, no. 1 (October 23, 2021): 73-92, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jassr.v3i1.35>.

³⁸ Elly Yuliawati and Ispawati Asri, "Religious Moderation: An Analysis of Understanding, Internet and Social Media Exposure and Social Interaction Systems," *Jurnal The Messenger* 14, no. 2 (April 12, 2024): 158-79, <https://doi.org/10.26623/themessenger.v14i2.2812>.

³⁹ Rahmadi Rahmadi and Hamdan Hamdan, "Religious Moderation In The Context of Islamic Education: A Multidisciplinary Perspective and Its Application in Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora* 21, no. 1 (July 31, 2023): 59-82, <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v21i1.8487>.

⁴⁰ Shilmi Kaaffah et al., "Menumbuhkan Sikap Toleransi Antar Agama Di Lingkungan Multikultural Kepada Anak Sesuai Ajaran Agama Islam," *JPG: Jurnal Pendidikan Guru* 3, no. 4 (2022): 289-314.

functionally and operationally in social institutions in light of evolving dynamics.⁴¹ The multicultural paradigm of religious moderation, which is an exclusive religious attitude that accepts truth and salvation unilaterally, can undoubtedly produce conflict between religious groups.⁴² Thus, religious conflicts in Indonesia are typically triggered by exclusive religious attitudes and competition between religious groups for support from people who do not hold a tolerant attitude. Each uses its strength to win, resulting in conflict. The social tensions and catalysts for societal disharmony in the past were caused by extreme left-wing groups (communism) and extreme right-wing organizations (Islamism), each of which believed they had their justification.⁴³

Meanwhile, in religious fundamentalism, the Religious Moderation House seeks to minimize conflict by promoting a moderate approach to religion, an inclusive manner of practicing Islam, or an open religious attitude, known as a religious moderation mindset.⁴⁴ In viewing and resolving a problem, moderate Islam tries to compromise and be in the middle. Regarding problem-solving, moderate Islam aims to be the middle ground and take a compromise approach. When responding to differences in religion or school of thought, moderate Islam prioritizes mutual respect and tolerance while maintaining the validity of each religion's and school of thought's teachings. This allows everyone to accept decisions with composure and avoid actions that harm humanity.⁴⁵ Based on humanitarian principles, the text of the Holy Book is comprehended and then applied without considering the context; disagreements do not obstruct collaboration. It is not necessary to disparage other people's religions if you think

⁴¹ Sutrisna Sutrisna, "Local Wisdom as the Basis for Religious Moderation in Pluralistic Indonesian Society to Realize Islamic Values Rahmatan lil 'Alamin," *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 6, no. 2 (December 28, 2021): 243–56, <https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v6i2.6581>.

⁴² Jamaluddin Jamaluddin, "Implementasi Moderasi Beragama Di Tengah Multikulturalitas Indonesia," *As-Salam: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 7, no. 1 (2022): 1–13.

⁴³ Agus Purnomo and Kardi Kardi, "The Implementation of Deradicalization Regulation Through Religious Moderation Program: Study at State Islamic Higher Education," *Justicia Islamica* 20, no. 1 (June 25, 2023): 59–78, <https://doi.org/10.21154/justicia.v20i1.6338>.

⁴⁴ Sue Bloxham, Clair Hughes, and Lenore Adie, "What's the Point of Moderation? A Discussion of the Purposes Achieved through Contemporary Moderation Practices," *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education* 41, no. 4 (May 18, 2016): 638–53, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02602938.2015.1039932>; Muhammad Wildan and Ahmad Muttaqin, "Mainstreaming Moderation in Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) in Pesantrens in Central Java," *QIJS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 10, no. 1 (August 19, 2022): 37–74, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v10i1.8102>.

⁴⁵ Agus Akhmadi, "Moderasi Beragama Dalam Keragaman Indonesia," *Inovasi-Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan* 13, no. 2 (April 23, 2019): 45.

Islam is the only authentic religion.⁴⁶ According to Shihab, the idea of inclusive Islam in the framework of the Religious Moderation House must be actualized through active participation in society's plurality rather than merely acknowledging it. Inclusivism creates room for Islamic understanding, perception, and diversity in Islamic thought.⁴⁷ This perspective differs from the idea that the lessons of redemption are found in almost every religion. The difference between one religion a prophet carries from generation to generation is only the Sharia.⁴⁸

Simplified, the Religious Moderation House is directly associated with preserving unity via adopting a tolerant mindset and ancestry that teaches us to accept and understand others who are different. All Indonesian residents and humankind are concerned about always promoting moderation or adopting the middle path through words and deeds. This obligation extends beyond state servants such as religious teachers or staff of the Ministry of Religion.⁴⁹

Establishing the Religious Moderation House at Public Universities (PTU) is a political and legal step and a commitment by the Ministry of Religion to continue promoting religious moderation, especially in the fast-paced digital era in receiving and providing religious information.⁵⁰ Religious moderation makes religion a guide to life and a fair middle path solution in dealing with life and social problems, and religion becomes a balanced perspective and guidance between world affairs and the hereafter, reason and heart, ratio and norms, idealism and facts, individual and society.⁵¹

RELIGIOUS MODERATION HOUSE AND NATIONAL DEFENSE AT PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES (PTU) AS A STATE ALTERNATIVE

The policy of the Religious Moderation House and State Defense at the PTU in the Indonesian context could be an alternative to resolving the religious deadlock

⁴⁶ Putri Syam and Sahyul Pahmi, "The Urgency of Tolerance-Based Education: Integration of Religious Moderation and Social Science," *IJELR: International Journal of Education, Language, and Religion* 4, no. 2 (December 1, 2022): 123–31, <https://doi.org/10.35308/ijelr.v4i2.8231>.

⁴⁷ Babun Suharto, *Moderasi Beragama; Dari Indonesia Untuk Dunia* (Lkis Pelangi Aksara, 2021).

⁴⁸ Edy Sutrisno, "Aktualisasi Moderasi Beragama Di Lembaga Pendidikan," *Jurnal Bimas Islam* 12, no. 2 (2019): 323–48.

⁴⁹ Jamaluddin Jamaluddin, "Implementasi Moderasi Beragama Di Tengah Multikulturalitas Indonesia," *As-Salam: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 7, no. 1 (February 28, 2022): 1–13.

⁵⁰ Wildani Hefni, "Moderasi Beragama Dalam Ruang Digital: Studi Pengarusutamaan Moderasi Beragama Di Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri," *Jurnal Bimas Islam* 13, no. 1 (July 21, 2020): 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.37302/jbi.v13i1.182>; Melisa, "KONTESTASI NARASI MODERASI BERAGAMA DI RUANG DIGITAL."

⁵¹ Zainal Abidin Bagir and Jimmy M. I. Sormin, eds., *Politik Moderasi Dan Kebebasan Beragama: Suatu Tinjauan Kritis*, Cetakan pertama (Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo, 2022).

between radical, fundamental, and liberalist groups, especially in the midst of the massive information era of the digital era.⁵² The Religious Moderation Center could be an alternative to a state that can be implemented more effectively by empowering religious instructors,⁵³ as is done by the Ministry of Religion through State Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIN) or Public Universities (PTU), Indonesian National Military (TNI), Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and other educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, among others.

Implementing the Religious Moderation and National Defense strategy at PTU might engage all academic communities and religious teachers who hold one of the functional roles in the Republic of Indonesia's Ministry of Religion. Religion educators are the government's primary means of disseminating religion and government program teachings.⁵⁴ The function of religious teachers in society is critical because some people still value ideal figures as figures or patrons in communal life so that religious instructors can be positioned as religious figures or leaders in society. According to structuration theory, religious educators can be viewed as agents who can shape structures in digital age society. Religious instructors' activities, when repeated, will become examples or actors.⁵⁵ In the Religious Moderation and National Defense Group context, religious instructors will develop daily habits that give actors a sense of security and allow them to face their social lives efficiently to foster motivation and carry out actions to raise awareness and attitudes. Religious moderation.⁵⁶ Portrait of the Religious Moderation House as an alternative to statehood by optimally maximizing the role of religious instructors by the academic text of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2015, which states the main capabilities required, namely first, the ability to identify and monitor variables and issues essential for community vitality as these functions are carried out, for example demographic, economic, human services,

⁵² Suharto, *Moderasi Beragama; Dari Indonesia Untuk Dunia*; Sri Lumatus Sa'adah et al., "Liberalism and Religious Moderation: The Dilemma in Indonesia," *Wisdom* 26, no. 2 (June 25, 2023): 132-42, <https://doi.org/10.24234/wisdom.v26i2.1014>.

⁵³ Muhamad Beni Kurniawan, "Politik Hukum Pemerintah Dalam Penanganan Pandemi Covid-19 Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Hak Asasi Atas Kesehatan," *Jurnal HAM* 12, no. 1 (April 22, 2021): 37, <https://doi.org/10.30641/ham.2021.12.37-56>.

⁵⁴ Duwi Oktaviana and Pradna Lagatama, "Penyuluh Agama Hindu Sebagai Pemberi Edukasi Dan Motivasi Bagi Umat," *Maha Widya Duta: Jurnal Penerangan Agama, Pariwisata Budaya, Dan Ilmu Komunikasi* 5, no. 2 (2021): 101-9.

⁵⁵ Tim Penulis, *Literasi Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia* (Bengkulu: CV Zigie Utama, 2019).

⁵⁶ Firman Nugraha, *Penyuluhan Agama Dalam Kemodernan Dan Kebhinekaan* (BKI UIN Bandung, 2021).

environmental issues, etc. to use and apply variables in prioritizing programs, planning and delivery or called the process of social action.⁵⁷

Second, awareness, commitment, and ability, including a sense of belonging to various cultures, assumptions, norms, multicultural beliefs and values, or cultural diversity. Third, the ability to plan, design, implement, evaluate, calculate, and sell extension programs to improve the quality of life of extension targets or programming in the extension field. Fourth, the ability to recognize, understand, and facilitate opportunities and resources needed as the best response to the needs of individuals and the built community. Fifth, developing communication skills vocally and in writing, applying technology and extension approaches to support extension programs in leading changes in the behavior of extended target groups, and delivering education and information in the digital era.⁵⁸

Sixth, the ability to effectively engage with varied individuals and groups to achieve cooperation, create dynamic networks and systems, and foster interpersonal relationships. Seventh, comprehension of history, philosophy, extensional features, and organizational knowledge. Eighth, the ability to positively influence different individuals and groups or to manage extension organizations. Ninth, leadership is the ability to form structure, organize procedures, develop and oversee resources, and lead change to achieve effective and efficient extension results. Tenth, the ability to demonstrate behavior that reflects a high level of instructor performance, a strong work ethic, and a commitment to continuous education following the vision, mission, and extension goals to improve the effectiveness of professional individuals and organizations.⁵⁹

RELIGIOUS MODERATION AS A SOCIAL REALITY

It is popular among world scientists that Indonesia is a pluralist country, culturally diverse, and pluralistic.⁶⁰ Indonesia's Ministry of Religion collaborates with other institutions, including TNI, POLRI, and Islamic boarding schools, to promote religious moderation in education.⁶¹ In short, the Religious Moderation House and

⁵⁷ Madiyono and Haq, "Integritas Terbuka Sebagai Pendekatan Baru Dialog Antariman Dalam Penguatan Moderasi Beragama."

⁵⁸ Nugraha, *Penyuluhan Agama Dalam Kemodernan Dan Kebhinekaan*.

⁵⁹ Fauzan, "State Policy Towards Religious Moderation."

⁶⁰ Al Makin, "Islamic Acehese Identity, Sharia, and Christianization Rumor: A Study of the Narratives of the Attack on the Bethel Church in Penauyong Banda Aceh," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 10, no. 1 (2016): 1-36.

⁶¹ Ari Pratama Putra, "Model Implementasi Nilai-Nilai Kontra Radikalisme Dan Intoleransi Melalui Pendidikan Pondok Pesantren (Studi Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Karimiyah Sawangan Depok)" (Master

National Defense is a social reality that needs to be addressed in a pattern appropriate to the growing culture in Indonesia.⁶²

As a social reality, religious moderation in Indonesia, which is associated with peaceful and harmonious living, does not always occur, and multicultural society in Indonesia does not always coexist as expected.⁶³ Tensions and disputes frequently emerge in Indonesian society, which is diverse in terms of cultures, religions, languages, ethnicities, and customs, and multiculturalism can become a significant issue for national cohesion and even existence. As a result, ongoing effort is required to achieve this goal.⁶⁴ The various tragedies of disharmony in multicultural society that have occurred in Indonesia can be attributed to a lack of multicultural awareness, a lack of religious moderation, and a lack of wisdom in managing societal diversity, which causes horizontal friction and leads to divisions, all of which are painful experiences for the Indonesian people. To anticipate stress and conflict in society, a cultural strategy is required that strengthens local philosophy or wisdom with noble messages about peace. However, solutions based on this method are not always successful unless backed by proper and knowledgeable religious understanding, as Indonesian society is religious. Religious messages are fundamental as a basis for people's behavior.⁶⁵

In the context of moderation as a social reality, each person has beliefs independent of belief or religion, which we must respect and appreciate; therefore, we must continue to act and be religious in a moderate manner. Moderation in Islam has been shown by our forefathers, beginning with our Prophet, friends, and ulama, including our ulama, who treated everyone decently regardless of religious, racial, ethnic, or linguistic background.⁶⁶ Every religion has a primary group that believes their group is the most correct. Aside from partner religions' fundamentalist attitudes, it must be realized that there is a severe difficulty in the

Thesis, Jakarta, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah), accessed June 23, 2024, <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/58546>.

⁶² Rahman and Noor, *Moderasi Beragama Di Tengah Pergumulan Ideologi Ekstremisme*; Wildan and Muttaqin, "Mainstreaming Moderation in Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) in Pesantrens in Central Java."

⁶³ Muchtar, Noviani, and Dey, "Religious Moderation in the Framework of Life."

⁶⁴ Jamaluddin, "Implementasi Moderasi Beragama Di Tengah Multikulturalitas Indonesia," February 28, 2022; Madiyono and Haq, "Integritas Terbuka Sebagai Pendekatan Baru Dialog Antariman Dalam Penguatan Moderasi Beragama."

⁶⁵ St Marhamah, "Moderasi Beragama Melalui Pendekatan Multikulturalisme Di Indonesia," *Honai* 4, no. 2 (2022): 159–69.

⁶⁶ Abdul Manap, "Moderasi Beragama Dalam Bingkai Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia," *Widya Genitri: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan, Agama Dan Kebudayaan Hindu* 13, no. 3 (2022): 229–42.

lives of various religions, namely when members of religious groups come into touch with groups outside their community. Almost all religions regard other parties as inferior and even dishonored when discussing groups other than their own. If this happens, tension will arise.⁶⁷

Religious moderation is an evolving social reality; each has a shared culture, language, practices, and obligations that must be honored. This notion will encourage an attitude of openness, tolerance, and flexibility. The Islamic religion that came to Indonesia did not arrive in a vacuum; instead, it arrived to interact with Indonesian culture. The face of Indonesian Islam, as it is today, is a reflection of the results of Islam's interaction with Indonesian culture, which gave birth to Islam with the traditions of NU and Muhammadiyah. Thus, efforts must be made to raise multicultural awareness in our country, which will develop a more moderate approach toward religion. This needs to be done for all Indonesian citizens, both by the government, national figures, and religious counselors tasked with providing religious counseling.⁶⁸

The Jakarta Minutes agreed that conservatism is popular in religion because religious adherents must maintain their religious beliefs and practices, such as moderation and continually keeping balance, as defined by *al wasathiyah*. In the Indonesian context, *al wasathiyah* necessitates a balance between religion based on the content of the Holy Bible and its cultural application. Consideration of context in religion contradicts the notion of *maqashid* or the goal of establishing Islamic law (*Shari'ah*). Islamic moderation is an Islamic theological worldview that embodies Islam's most fundamental precepts. Teachings that emphasize not just healthy relationships with God, but also good relationships with all other humans. It applies not only to brothers of the same faith but also to brothers of other religions.⁶⁹

This moderation prioritizes an openness towards existing differences, which is believed to be *sunnatullah* and mercy for humans. Apart from that, Islamic moderation is reflected in an attitude that is not easy to blame, let alone disbelieve

⁶⁷ Francisca et al., "Kebhinekaan Dan Keberagaman: Integrasi Agama Ditengah Pluralitas."

⁶⁸ Solahuddin Nasution et al., "Analisis Moderasi Antar Umat Beragama Dalam Toleransi Di Kecamatan Simangumban Jae Kabupaten Tapanuli Utara Tahun 2021," *Wahana* 73, no. 2 (2021): 173-86; Muhammad Miftah, Sutrisno Sutrisno, and Hamdan Daulay, "Religious Moderation: Identity Politics, Policy, and Social Change in Islamic Religious Colleges," *Addin* 17, no. 1 (September 25, 2023): 47-78, <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v17i1.16470>.

⁶⁹ Faisal S. Kamaludin, Tata Septayuda Purnama, and Zirmansyah Zirmansyah, "Religious Moderation Strategy in The Virtual Era and Its Implication in Improving the Quality of Education," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 2 (December 31, 2021): 205-16, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v7i2.14944>.

people or groups who have different views. Islamic moderation prioritizes brotherhood based on humanitarian principles, not just on principles of faith or nationality. Such an understanding finds momentum in the Islamic world in general, which is being hit by a humanitarian crisis, and Indonesia in particular, which also still has several humanitarian problems resulting from less moderate attitudes towards religion.⁷⁰

LEGAL POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES (PTU)

The legal politics of the Religious Moderation House at public universities (PTU) is a government step or policy in countering radicalism and intolerant movements in Indonesia. This stage is a process carried out under specific conditions to achieve specific aims and meet the government's legal objectives. In this context, the Religious Moderation House at Public Universities (PTU) is a government-determined method for coping with changes in religious diversity in society as a whole, and students in particular, due to the significant growth in radicalization.

Several recent research studies indicate that extremism and intolerance pose a severe threat to the Indonesian government's long-term viability. Efforts to improve awareness of Pancasila militancy, the 1945 Constitution, the Republic of Indonesia, and diversity are essential. This research poll deserves the attention of all parties so that they can develop steps and tactics to combat extremism and intolerance. Religious moderation or moderation houses in public colleges and improving state defense play critical roles in averting widespread radicalism and intolerance. This is significant given that the Ministry of Religion at State Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIN) established a House of Moderation. Religious Moderation at PTKIN stresses a mindset of acceptance of existing differences, which is regarded as *sunnatullah* (God's decree to lay down His law) and mercy for humanity. Aside from that, the Moderation House at PTKIN underlines that Islam as a religion is mirrored in an attitude that is difficult to blame let alone to the extent of dismissing persons or groups with opposing viewpoints. As a result, the Religious Moderation House at PTU stresses brotherhood based on humanitarian

⁷⁰ Muhammad Nasir and Muhammad Khairul Rijal, "Keeping the Middle Path: Mainstreaming Religious Moderation through Islamic Higher Education Institutions in Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 11, no. 2 (December 8, 2021): 213–41, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i2.213-241>; Umi Musyarrofah and Zulhannan Zulhannan, "Religious Moderation in the Discourse of Nahdlatul Ulama's Dakwah in the Era of Industry 4.0," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, August 28, 2023, 409–34, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol22.iss2.art5>.

principles rather than creed or ethnicity.⁷¹ In the framework of moderation and national defense institutions in public universities, they play a significant role in developing students' thinking, particularly their understanding of religion. Religious awareness among ordinary university students is typically restricted, emphasizing practical practices. The result is that many public university students appear to be socially devout despite their harmful thinking and theology. Shallow and strict religious knowledge leads to radical attitudes, which are easily triggered by puritanical religious understanding with shallow religious sources and references.

Thus, the government's policy of strengthening the Religious Moderation House, launched through the Ministry of Religion at the PTU, has gained traction in the Islamic world in general, which is experiencing a humanitarian crisis, and in Indonesia in particular, which continues to face several humanitarian issues as a result of less moderate attitudes toward religion. The Religious Moderation House at PTU has established the awareness and belief that Islamic law is dynamic and relevant to the times. Aside from that, politically and legally, the Religious Moderation House is an active response to the language of local knowledge and the discourse of change, modernization, and its significance to openness, balance, and justice in Islam.

In the political and legal environment of the PTU's Religious Moderation House, the government's policy is to respond to local wisdom with unique cultural expressions in geographical and cultural situations, which are always required to respond to social changes quickly and adequately.

In short, legal politics is an effort or policy carried out by the government through religious moderation in PTKIN becoming a House of Moderation and PTU becoming a House of Moderation is a severe invitation in the religious sector to develop multicultural insight in all elements and levels of society, as well as increasing internal dialogue and cooperation and dialogue in religion with the government in fostering religious harmony. Thus, the Religious Moderation House at PTU is the appropriate approach, given the inevitability of differences in Indonesia and the country's pluralist social reality. Several ministries, including the Ministry of Religion and Research and Technology, work closely with the TNI and POLRI to build Indonesia's Religious Moderation Center. The Religious Moderation House at PTU is a positive tool for accelerating the religious

⁷¹ Agus Purnomo and Kardi Kardi, "The Implementation of Deradicalization Regulation Through Religious Moderation Program: Study at State Islamic Higher Education," *Justicia Islamica* 20, no. 1 (2023): 59-78.

moderation program, ensuring that the government's current political and legal actions are in line with global needs in dealing with religious issues such as terrorism and religious radicalization, liberal Islam and fundamental Islam.

Based on the preceding discussion, it is possible to infer that the Religious Moderation House's political law in Indonesia was a step taken by the government of President Joko Widodo during a period of extensive societal strife, the source of which was believed to be religious and religious issues. The development of the Moderation Houses at PTKIN and PTU transformed the campus into a prototype government project for thinking and learning. By echoing the Religious Moderation House and providing explanations that are appropriate to the Indonesian context, religious moderation has become a large embryo that is believed to be capable of solving national problems on the one hand while also catalyzing to accelerate the government's program in response to global world developments toward humans with prosperous humanity. Moderation and state defense organizations in public universities play a significant role in educating and strengthening students' understanding of religion and being required for Pancasila and citizenship courses. This competency aims to produce students and graduates who are not only technologists and scientists in a specific field but also graduates who maintain religious understanding following the Indonesian nation's socio-religious culture by upholding *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. From a political-legal perspective, it is possible to conclude that the home of moderation and state defense is a synergistic step taken by the Ministry of Religion and executed at Public Universities (PTU), also known as religious moderation in Islamic religious universities (PTKIN). Both the House of Moderation and Religious Moderation are political steps taken by the government through the Ministry of Religion to ensure the long-term viability of universities as places to produce national cadres who will lead the country's future so that they do not deviate from the state's vision and mission, particularly Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Diversity and the Republic of Indonesia.⁷²

The Ministry of Religion's legal politics through religious moderation, moderation houses, and state defense in both PTU and PTKIN are significant measures that will require the assistance of various parties, particularly academics, to develop the program. Collaboration among academics, the community, stakeholders, and students plays a vital role in implementing this policy. In

⁷² Bagir and Sormin, *Politik Moderasi Dan Kebebasan Beragama*.

addition, campus steps and policies are needed that are more than just lecture ceremonies, and lecturers must be given a particular budget to support these policies in guarding and carrying out student activities that strengthen students' understanding of linking religious values to dispel and counter the massive movements of radicalism and intolerance that are rampant on various campuses, both public and private campuses.

CONCLUSION

Politically, the Religious Moderation House and National Defense (MBBN) at Public Universities (PTU) is a strategic government initiative to strengthen national life in the face of legal and religious diversity and attacks by extreme groups. The religious moderation policy of PTU is aligned with national development, hastening the accomplishment of justice and prosperity. Aside from that, the Religious Moderation and National Defense Group at PTU is a government strategy to strengthen the nation and state's life amongst legal and religious heterogeneity in the face of Islamic world realities and globalization. The government's synergistic Religious Moderation Policy has become a political policy as a firm action by the Indonesian government in contributing to the world through the demands and development of religion in the era of globalization.

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