Responding to Western Islamophobia through Religious Moderation in Indonesia: Fairclough and Wodak's Critical Discourse Perspectives

Umar Fauzan

Abstract
This study is a critical discourse analysis aimed at examining the forms of ideology reflected in Western media coverage and the development of religious moderation policy in Indonesia. The data in this research consists of vocabulary, sentences, and text structures containing ideologies from news texts about Islamophobia in Western media and religious moderation in Indonesia. The data sources used are television and newspaper news in America and Europe as well as television and newspaper news in Indonesia. The process of data collection is carried out by searching and selecting relevant news texts on the research topic from predetermined data sources. Then, the selected news texts are used as data in this research. The data analysis employs the critical discourse analysis technique by Fairclough and Wodak. The results show that the extensive coverage of terrorist activities by the media has resulted in Islamophobia in the West. Similarly, biased policies and discrimination against Muslims have also contributed to acts of terror. It is crucial to utilize media in a positive manner to promote unity and tolerance among different religious communities. The agenda of religious moderation should begin with individuals showing respect and appreciation for differing opinions and beliefs. Keywords: critical discourse analysis, Islamophobia, Religious Moderation

1. Introduction
Islam is a rahmatan lil 'alamin religion. Islam is a merciful religion for the whole world (Arif, 2021; Hefni, 2017; Mucharomah, 2017; Rasyid, 2016). Islam is a peaceful religion that teaches its followers to love peace and spread the values of tolerance (Abror, 2020; Alabdulhadi, 2019; Djollong & Akbar, 2019; Islam, 2020; Mustaqim, 2019; Rosyidi, 2019), to appreciate differences, and to cooperate both among Muslims and with followers of other religions. The concept of "rahmatan lil 'alamin" in Islam teaches high values of humanity and

1 Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Aji Muhammad Idris Samarinda, drumarfaz@gmail.com
compassion and serves as a foundation for interacting with all of Allah SWT's creation.

With this concept, Islam was formed, even since its inception in the Arabian Peninsula. Islam originated in the 7th century in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, was brought by Prophet Muhammad, and developed in Medina. After the death of Prophet Muhammad, the leadership of Islam was continued by the caliphs, who led the expansion of Islam outside of the Arabian Peninsula to territories such as Egypt, Persia, Cordoba, and others. During this period, Islam grew rapidly and became the second-largest religion in the world (Haif, 2015). In subsequent history, Islam became a center of culture, science, and prosperous trade in the world, and made significant contributions to human civilization (Al Anang, 2019; Jailani, 2018). With its rapid development, Islam also entered the Western world, Europe and America.

Islam first entered Europe in the 7th century when Muslim soldiers defeated the Byzantine forces in North Africa and Spain. After that, Muslims established caliphates in Spain (Watt & Cachia, 2007). In the 15th century, the Ottoman Empire based in Turkey began to expand its influence in Southeastern Europe and the Middle East, and in the 16th century, they established a very large and powerful Ottoman Empire. Muslim immigration to Europe also significantly increased in the 20th century (Lestari, 2022), especially after World War II. Most Muslim immigrants came to Europe from countries such as Turkey, Morocco, Pakistan, and Tunisia, and settled in countries such as France, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain.

The history of Islam in America began in the 17th century and became a significant religion in the United States in the 20th century when Muslim immigration from countries such as Syria, Lebanon, and the Balkan countries occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Smith, 1999). They generally migrated to America to seek a better life and to avoid wars in their home countries. Since then, the Muslim community in the United States has continued to grow and develop rapidly. They have mosques and Islamic cultural centers.

Despite its rapid growth, Islam faces challenges in Europe and America, such as discrimination and negative stereotypes. Moreover, the September 11, 2001 attacks in America have triggered tension and distrust towards Muslims in America and Europe. Islamophobia occurs in Europe (Bayrakli & Hafez, 2017; Ogan et al., 2014) and America (GhaneaBassiri, 2013; Kaplan, 2006). Negative stereotypes are often addressed towards Muslims. Muslims in America and Europe are often misunderstood and identified with terrorism or extremism, which results in negative stereotypes about Islam and Muslims. Islamophobia in the West has become stronger after various acts of terrorism not
only in America and Europe but also in other countries, including Indonesia.

Islamophobia and terrorism also have an impact on Indonesia. Some radical groups emerge and grow, which also affect the political climate in Indonesia. Responding the potential division of the nation, the government came up with an agenda to counter the polarization in society through an agenda of religious moderation. Religious moderation encourages religious followers to become agents of peace and harmony in society, rather than sources of conflict and misunderstanding. This is done by promoting agreement and tolerance among different religious followers. In the midst of increasing polarization and extremism in religious practices in various parts of the world, religious moderation becomes an important way as an alternative that promotes harmony and peace.

Some researchers have conducted studies on religious moderation, including: the urgency of religious moderation (Arifinsyah et al., 2020), religious moderation in educational institutions (Afwadzi & Miski, 2021; Naim et al., 2022; Parhan et al., 2022; Supriyanto & Amrin, 2022; Syatar, 2020; Tolchah et al., 2021; Zakariyah et al., 2022), religious moderation in classroom learning (Husna & Thohir, 2020; Manshur & Husni, 2020; Nirwana & Darmadali, 2021; Pamessangi, 2022). In addition, the research on religious moderation related to the curriculum (Ardiansyah & Erihadiana, 2022), as well as government policies and national character development (Sudrajat et al., 2021), have also been conducted.

However, research on religious moderation related to Islamophobia is rarely found. To gain a clearer understanding of the issues surrounding Islamophobia and religious moderation, this research is conducted with the aim of capturing the forms of ideology reflected in the news of Western media and the development of religious moderation policies in Indonesia.

2. Research Methodology
2.1 Research Design

This research is a qualitative descriptive study using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) model (Fairclough, 1995). Qualitative research does not rely on theory and concepts as the main foundation in the initial stage. It is called a descriptive qualitative study because the data analyzed does not accept or reject hypotheses. The method used in this research is a descriptive form with the aim of describing or solving problems by portraying or depicting the current state of the research object based on what is visible or as it should be. According
to Ary et al. (2009), descriptive research is designed to obtain information related to the phenomena that occur. Descriptive research is directed towards exploring the natural situation that is happening during the research.

This study is a CDA aimed at examining the forms of ideology reflected in Western media and the development of religious moderation policy in Indonesia. CDA views language use as a social practice (Fairclough, 1995). In CDA, social practices are seen as causing a dialectical relationship between specific discursive events and social situations, institutions, and structures. Fairclough and Wodak (Fairclough et al., 2011) suggest that discursive practices can have ideological effects, meaning that discourse can produce unequal power relations between social classes, men and women, and majority and minority groups, where these differences are represented in social practices. The purpose of CDA is to understand how language use creates social groups that fight and present their own ideologies (Fairclough et al., 2011).

2.2 Data and Data Sources

The data of this research consists of vocabulary, sentences, and text structures containing ideologies from news texts about Islamophobia in Western media and about religious moderation in Indonesia. The data sources used are television and newspaper news in America and Europe as well as television and newspaper news in Indonesia. The process of data collection is carried out by searching and selecting relevant news texts on the research topic from predetermined data sources. Then, the selected news texts are used as data in this research.

2.3 Data Analysis Techniques

The data analysis technique used in this research is in accordance with the characteristics of qualitative research (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998). The data analysis process involves activities such as synthesis, pattern-seeking, and meaning-making. The data analysis in this research employs the CDA of Fairclough and Wodak (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The reason for choosing the Fairclough model in this research is that, according to the researcher’s opinion, the Fairclough and Wodak approach provides a comprehensive analytical tool in conducting analysis and is appropriate for the research purposes.

Both Wodak and Fairclough developed comprehensive frameworks for CDA. Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) involves a three-dimensional procedure: (1) determining the specific content or topic of a discourse, (2) investigating discursive strategies (including argumentative strategies), and (3) analyzing the realization of specific linguistic meanings and intertextual meanings in a particular context.
On the other hand, Fairclough’s framework consists of three dimensions: text analysis, discourse practice analysis (both production and consumption), and sociocultural practice analysis.

3. Results and Discussion
3.1 Text Analysis

After the 9/11 attacks, President Bush campaigned for the war on terror as a "crusade," a holy war. One of his most famous statements was:

"This crusade, this war on terrorism, is going to take a while."

The statement suggests that the war against terrorism is a battle between good and evil. Bush's propaganda referred to the "crusades" to describe his war against terrorism, recalling the wars waged by the Christian West against Arabs and Muslims. Bush's statement was reported in various media outlets in America, some of which are:

- The Christian Science (September 19, 2001) wrote a headline: “Europe cringes at Bush 'crusade' against terrorists”
- The Wall Street Journal (September 21, 2001) published an article: 'Crusade' Reference Reinforces Fears War on Terrorism Is Against Muslims”
- The Nation (September 2, 2004) circulated an article: “The Bush Crusade: Sacred violence, again unleashed in 2001, could prove as destructive as in 1096.”

After the 9/11 attacks, the Western media was filled with news about terrorism and the war on terror. The news became the headline in Western media and triggered a strong reaction from the US government and its allies. News about other terrorist attacks in America and Europe also became the main topic in the media. These terrorist attacks caused panic in society and sparked debates about how to tackle terrorism and secure national security.

Terrorist attacks other than 9/11 have also been reported in the West. Various terrorist attacks have occurred in several countries. In America and Europe, most attacks occur in large cities and capitals - including London, Paris, Nice, Berlin, Brussels, and Orlando. Terrorist attacks include the Madrid bombing, Bali bombing, November 2015 Paris attacks, and London bombing, among others.
The table above shows that various actions that are labeled as terrorism have emerged in various countries. Later, the attacks are not only in America and Europe, but also in countries with majority Muslim populations, such as Iraq, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Syria, and Pakistan. These terrorist attacks were then reported in various media outlets in the West:

- BBC NEWS, “Islamist extremism”, 21 December 2021
- ABC NEWS, “20 years after 9/11, Islamophobia continues to haunt Muslims: Anti-Muslim hate crimes spiked after 9/11 and during the Trump administration”, September 12, 2021
- NEWS European Parliament: “Jihadist terrorism in the EU since 2015”, 21-09-2021

It was found that media in the West circulated some words identifying Muslims or Islam are more frequently placed alongside some words below:


The extensive news of terror and terrorism in Western media has led to the emergence of Islamophobia, which is often exaggerated.
Negative stereotypes are often propagated towards Muslims, leading to various forms of disrespect such as the insult of Prophet Muhammad in the form of cartoons. In addition, negative images also appear in various popular Western cultures, such as in Hollywood movies that often portray Islam as the antagonist. Various reactions to Islamophobia have also emerged, such as discrimination against Muslims and a ban on immigration from Muslim countries to America.

3.2 Interpretation

The emergence of discrimination by the West against Muslims, coupled with a narrow understanding of the meaning of jihad, has created negative perceptions and even hatred towards the West. For some people of Indonesian Muslim society, the continuous news of injustice and discrimination against Muslims in the West has risen to radicalism and a struggle in the name of religion.

While some Western media produce news texts related to counter-terrorism that are often seen as unjust and exhibiting double standards, some groups as consumers of these texts view them as oppression and arbitrary actions against Muslims, leading to the emergence of "solidarity" in defense of their religion.

The increase in violence in the Middle East and acts of terrorism in various countries around the world are not the only factors that have led to Islamophobia. Another factor is the homogeneity of America and Europe, which is disturbed by the arrival of immigrants from the Middle East. The Muslim population in Europe and America has increased rapidly. It is shown from the report of PEW Research Center below.
3.3 Explanation

Social influence in the context of Indonesia related to global terrorism has led to various acts of terror in Indonesia. Some groups with radical beliefs have acted and attacked various targets, some of which are:


2. There were bomb attacks in Bali in 2002 that killed 202 people, most of whom were foreign tourists. The attack was carried out by the Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist group, which held radical beliefs and wanted to fight for Islam through violence.

3. In 2004, there was a bomb attack at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta. The attack was also carried out by Jemaah Islamiyah in retaliation for Australia’s involvement in helping the United States government fight terrorism.

4. There were also bomb attacks at the Jakarta Marriott Hotel in 2003 and 2009 and the Ritz Carlton Jakarta Hotel in 2009. These terrorist attacks were also carried out by groups who wanted to fight for Islam through violence.

After several acts of terrorism in Indonesia were subdued, polarization emerged in Indonesian society due to differences in political choices in the 2017 Jakarta governor election and the 2019 presidential election, with identity politics in the name of religion. The polarization in Indonesian society increased due to differences in political choices among the candidates. This was caused by differences in views and interests between candidates and their supporters, resulting in debates and conflicts between different groups. The polarizations in Indonesian society due to political differences based on identity politics have caused deep divisions and social conflicts among different groups.

Certainly, this is a concern for the government that is responsible for maintaining the unity of the people and the integrity of the nation. Therefore, a policy of religious moderation has been issued. Religious moderation has been a part of the government policy. When President Joko Widodo gave a virtual speech from the State Palace for the inauguration of the national working conference and national conference as reported by KOMPAS, April 8, 2021, he said:

"The government is committed to promoting religious moderation among the people. One of which is by promoting tolerance among people of different religions. Tolerance is a very important part of
religious moderation. Therefore, exclusivity and closed-mindedness are clearly not in line with Bhinneka Tunggal Ika."

The agenda of religious moderation is one of the flagship programs of President Jokowi. This program is being implemented through the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The Minister of Religious Affairs is serious and fully responsible in carrying out the agenda of religious moderation. Minister Yaqut Cholil emphasized his seriousness in implementing the program to strengthen religious moderation. During a discussion with religious moderation task force of Ministry of Religious Affairs at the Widya Chandra Official Residence on April 30, 2021, he stated:

"Religious Moderation is a program from the President Jokowi when I was called to lead the Ministry of Religious Affairs. I am very serious about the Religious Moderation program."

The policy of religious moderation in President Jokowi's administration is supported by the people of Indonesia. This is evidenced by the fact that the agenda of religious moderation is supported by the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. The supports from them represents the Indonesian people's support for the agenda.

The chairman of the central board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU), Yahya Cholil, gave a strong message at the focus group discussion held at the Grand Empire Place Hotel on April 25, 2022:

"The community can create equality of rights and dignity behind the diversity of religious backgrounds in order to create harmony and peace among religious communities."

Similarly to Yahya Cholil, the secretary general of PP Muhammadiyah, Abdul Mu'ti, said in the reflection of the 109th anniversary of Muhammadiyah on November 17, 2021:

"This (religious moderation) term is indeed very popular, in addition to other well-known terms such as deradicalization as a counter to violent extremism, and Muhammadiyah has been consistent in using the term religious moderation from the beginning."

Religious moderation promotes a peaceful and tolerant interpretation of Islam, which can serve as a powerful counter-narrative against extremist ideology that fuels radicalization. By promoting religious moderation, Indonesia can provide a model for countering extremist narratives and ideologies that can be replicated in other countries. It fosters a culture of respect and tolerance towards people of different religions and beliefs, which can help build social cohesion and reduce the potential for conflict and violence. This can be particularly
important in areas where there are existing tensions between different religious groups.

For lectures and students, campus can be a place to promote religious moderation by implementing some ways, such as campus can organize events, seminars, or discussion forums that bring together students from different faiths to promote dialogue and understanding, campus can offer courses on religion, ethics, and diversity that teach students about different religious traditions and foster respect for diversity, campus should encourage critical thinking and intellectual inquiry as part of the learning process, campus can encourage students to engage in community service projects that promote interfaith cooperation and address social issues in a constructive way, and campus should ensure that all students feel safe and included regardless of their religion, ethnicity, or background (Ali, 2021; Anwar & Muhayati, 2021; Aziz & Najmudin, 2020; Hefni, 2020; Muhammad, 2022; Salamah et al., 2020; Waseso & Sekarinasih, 2021). By implementing these strategies, campuses can help create a culture of religious moderation that promotes tolerance, diversity, and understanding among students, and contribute to building a more peaceful and harmonious society.

4. Conclusion

The conclusion of this study is that language is used to spread ideologies by text producers (mass media, television or newspaper, that produce news texts) with the intention of encouraging text consumers (viewers and readers of news) to follow the political direction and ideologies of the text producers. Massive news coverage of terrorist acts has created Islamophobia in the West. Similarly, double standards and discrimination against Muslims have also fueled acts of terror. It is important to use the media positively to maintain unity and tolerance among religious communities. The agenda of religious moderation in Indonesia needs to be supported by starting with each individual showing respect and appreciation for the opinions and beliefs of others who differ from them. In addition, the mass media can be used to spread this positive agenda to create peace and tolerance in Indonesia and the world.

Bibliography


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