

RELIGIOUS MODERATION AND NATIONAL POLITICS: SIYASAH DUSTURIYYAH'S ANALYSIS OF POLICIES TO STRENGTHEN RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN INDONESIA

Ngimaddudin, Muftih Makarimal Akhlaq, Syaiful Anwar, Ifansyah Putra

STAI Bumi Silampari Lubuklinggau, Indonesia, UIN Fatmawati Sukarno

Bengkulu, Indonesia, UIN Fatmawati Sukarno Bengkulu, Indonesia

ngimadudin@staibslg.ac.id, makarimalahlaq@gmail.com,

syaifuldanrekan@gmail.com, ifansyahpasker31@gmail.com

Abstract

Article History

Received :10-12-2025

Revised :18-01-2026

Accepted :26-02-2026

Keywords:

Religious Moderation,

National Politics,

Siyasah Dusturiyyah,

Policy Strengthening,

Indonesia,

Indonesia is a very pluralistic country in terms of religion, culture, and ethnicity, so a religious paradigm is needed that is able to maintain social harmony and prevent the emergence of extremism and intolerance.

Religious moderation then became the state's strategic policy to maintain harmony, as emphasized through Presidential Regulation Number 58 of 2023. This article aims to analyze the policy of strengthening religious moderation from the perspective of siyasah dusturiyyah, which is a branch of fiqh siyasah that discusses the constitution, justice, and public benefit in the Islamic political tradition. This study uses a literature review method with a qualitative-descriptive approach through analysis of religious moderation literature, national politics, and fundamental concepts in siyasah dusturiyyah and the rules of fiqh siyasah. The results of the discussion show that religious moderation as a state policy is in line with the basic principles of siyasah dusturiyyah, such as justice (al-'adalah), equality (al-musawah), religious protection (hifz ad-din), public benefit (al-maslahah al-'ammah), and prevention of damage (dar' al-mafasid). State policies in strengthening religious moderation also meet the rules of fiqh such as tasarruf al-imam manuthun bi al-maslahah and al-'adah muhakkamah, so that they have normative legitimacy from an Islamic perspective. the implementation of religious moderation still faces structural, cultural, and interpretive challenges, especially related to inter-institutional coordination, resistance from extreme groups, and concerns about policy politicization. Overall, religious moderation is a harmonious combination of Islamic values, national political needs, and Indonesia's constitutional framework in maintaining national harmony and resilience.

Introduction

Indonesia is a country built on the foundation of pluralism, both in terms of ethnicity, culture, language, customs, and religion. With more than 1,300 ethnic groups, hundreds of regional languages, and six major state-recognized religions, Indonesia's social structure is inherently plural and multireligious. In this context, interreligious relations are not only a theological issue, but also closely intertwined with national socio-political dynamics. This diversity is the wealth of the nation, but at the same time it holds the potential for conflict if it is not managed through values, principles, and political instruments that guarantee harmony. History shows how differences in religious interpretations, exclusivism, radicalism, and extremism, often give rise to tensions that threaten the integrity of the nation, such as conflicts with religious nuances in Ambon, Poso, and various other cases of intolerance that emerged after the reform.

It is in this context that Religious Moderation becomes important. Religious moderation is not just a moral discourse or administrative term, but is a cultural strategy and state policy to maintain harmony within the national framework. The Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia formulated religious moderation as a way of view and practice of religion that is oriented towards the middle way, rejecting extremism, and respecting diversity. Strengthening religious moderation is then institutionalized through various national policies, including included in the 2020–2024 RPJMN and emphasized through Presidential Regulation Number 58 of 2023 concerning Strengthening Religious Moderation. Thus, religious moderation is not only a sectoral agenda, but also a state policy that has strategic value for national resilience.

However, state policies related to religious life cannot be separated from the study of Islamic constitutionality, especially the perspective of *Siyasah Dusturiyyah*, which is an Islamic political discipline that discusses the relationship between religion and the state, the order of government, the protection of citizens' rights, and the formulation of public policies that are oriented towards benefits. In Islamic treasures, the state has the responsibility to maintain *hifz ad-din* (religious protection) which is not interpreted as the dominance of a particular religion, but rather creates a safe space for all citizens to practice their beliefs peacefully. The perspective of *siyasah dusturiyyah* also teaches the importance of justice, equality of citizens, deliberation, and public benefit (*maslahah 'ammah*) as basic principles in regulating religious life. Therefore, the policy of religious moderation in Indonesia can be seen as the implementation of the values of *siyasah dusturiyyah* in the context of the modern nation-state. The policy emphasizes that the role of the state is to be a judge of *al-wasath*—a keeper of balance—not a partisan of certain religious groups, and to ensure that religious practices do not become a source of conflict that threatens public order and the integrity of the state. The state is present as a facilitator of harmony, not an arbiter of theological doctrine. Thus, the strengthening of religious moderation is a concrete example of synchronization between the universal values of Islamic teachings about the middle way (*wasathiyah*) and the Indonesian constitutional framework.

Nevertheless, the concept of religious moderation cannot be separated from criticism. Some people consider that religious moderation has the potential to limit the expression of certain religions; Others see it as a jargon that has not touched the root of the problem of intolerance. Therefore, a more in-depth

academic study is needed to connect religious moderation with national politics and assess how the policy resonates with the principles of *siyasah dusturiyyah* as an ethical perspective of Islamic law. Based on this background, this article aims to analyze religious moderation in the context of Indonesian national politics through the *siyasah dusturiyyah* approach. This analysis places religious moderation not only as an administrative policy, but also as an ethical-theological and political construction relevant to the design of Indonesian nationality. Thus, this article is expected to be able to contribute integrative thinking between Islamic constitutional science, public policy, and contemporary religious dynamics. This article departs from academic anxiety about the increasingly complex dynamics of religion in Indonesia, especially when religious life intersects with national political interests. Although the state has mainstreamed religious moderation as a strategic policy through various regulations, including Presidential Regulation Number 58 of 2023, there are still various challenges that show that its implementation is not always in line with its original purpose. On the one hand, religious moderation is positioned as an urgent need to maintain harmony and prevent extremism; But on the other hand, there are groups that view this policy as a form of state intervention in the religious realm. This condition raises a fundamental question: to what extent can the policy of strengthening religious moderation really answer the problem of religion in Indonesia?

The problem becomes even more interesting when the concept of religious moderation is analyzed through the perspective of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, which is a branch of Islamic political science that talks about the constitution, justice, equality, public welfare, and the relationship between religion and state authorities. This perspective provides a normative framework to assess whether the policy of managing religious life in Indonesia is in line with the basic principles taught by Islam in the context of constitutional law. By combining the framework of the perspective of religious moderation and *siyasah dusturiyyah*, a further question arises: whether the religious moderation policy adopted by the government has reflected the principles of justice, benefit, and protection of religious rights as emphasized in *siyasah dusturiyyah*.

In addition, there are theoretical problems regarding the relationship between religious moderation and national politics. Is religious moderation just a moral discourse placed in the spiritual space of the *ummah*, or is it also a national political strategy to strengthen the country's ideology and maintain national integrity? How is religious moderation positioned in the state structure of Pancasila which is not a religious state but also not purely secular? These questions need to be answered so that religious moderation is not only understood as policy jargon, but also as an epistemic and praxis approach that is rooted in Islamic scientific treasures and relevant to the framework of the modern nation-state.

Thus, this article tries to answer the effort to identify and analyze the concept of religious moderation in the context of Indonesian national policy, examine its relationship with national politics, and explore the extent to which *siyasah dusturiyyah* values become the normative foundation that strengthens and legitimizes the policy. This analysis is expected to provide a comprehensive overview of the position of religious moderation in the dynamics of Indonesian

governance as well as answer critical questions about the effectiveness and direction of policies to strengthen religious moderation at the national level.

Research Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with the type of library research. The main sources of data include books, journal articles, state policy documents such as Presidential Regulation Number 58 of 2023, RPJMN 2020–2024, as well as literature on religious moderation, national politics, fiqh siyasah, and the concept of siyasah dusturiyyah. The data was analyzed using content analysis to examine key concepts, the principles of fiqh siyasah, and their relevance to religious moderation policies. The analysis technique is carried out through data reduction, categorization, interpretation, and interpretation extraction, thus producing a comprehensive conclusion regarding the harmony between religious moderation and the principle of siyasah dusturiyyah in the context of Indonesian public policy.

Discussion

Religious moderation is a term put forward by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia which is interpreted as an attitude, perspective and behavior that always takes the middle, acts fairly, and is not extreme in religion. In accordance with the Qur'an which reads :

وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَاكُمْ أُمَّةً وَسَطًا لِتَكُونُوا شُهَدَاءَ عَلَى النَّاسِ وَيَكُونَ الرَّسُولُ عَلَيْكُمْ شَهِيدًا

Meaning: Likewise, We have made you (Muslims) the middle ummah (ummatan wasathan) so that you may be witnesses of human beings and so that the Messenger (Prophet Muhammad) may be a witness of your (deeds).

Meanwhile, according to Nasaruddin Umar, religious moderation is an attitude that leads to a pattern of coexistence in plurality and diversity in religion and state. This is also in line with the opinion of Ali Muhammad Ash-Shallabi, where he interprets religious moderation as wasathiyyah is an inherent relationship between the meaning of khairiyah and baniyah, both sensual and meaningful.

As for the meaning of wasathiyyah in Islamic terminology, Yusuf Al-Qardawi explained in detail as an attitude that contains the meaning of fairness, which has the consequence that the quality of testimony is acceptable. Yusuf Al-Qardhawi also explained that the attitude of wasathiyyah is the same as al-tawāzun, which is an effort to maintain a balance between two opposite or opposite sides/edges, so that one does not dominate and negate the other. (Yusuf, 1983:127)

Judging from a general understanding, religious moderation means prioritizing balance in terms of beliefs, morals, and disposition as an expression of the religious attitudes of certain individuals or groups. Religious behavior based on the values of balance is consistent in recognizing and understanding different individuals and groups. Thus, religious moderation has a balanced understanding in understanding religious teachings, where the balanced attitude is expressed consistently in holding the principles of its religious teachings by acknowledging the existence of other parties. Religious moderation behavior shows tolerance, respect for every difference of opinion, respect for pluralism, and does not impose one's will on behalf of religious beliefs by violent means. (Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia)

Islam in the context of religious moderation can be done by developing a balanced and broad understanding of Islamic teachings, as well as considering the current social, cultural, and political context. In this context, Islamic researchers can examine themes such as hadith that are relevant to social and political issues, the relationship between sharia and state law, and the role of religion in shaping people's identity and culturality. In conducting the study, researchers must also pay attention to issues related to religious freedom, discrimination, and intolerance, and strive to find solutions that are in accordance with Islamic values and the principles of justice and society. (Edi Nurhidin, 2021:115)

In the context of the discussion of religious moderation, it is also important to understand that the issue of moderation cannot be separated from the political construction of Indonesian nationality. Religious moderation is not just a theological issue or a matter of religious practice, but is also closely related to how the state manages diversity within the framework of nationality. This is because the religious diversity of Indonesian society always intersects with political dynamics, power relations, and public interests. Therefore, the discussion of religious moderation does not only require a normative-religious approach, but also needs to be analyzed from a national political perspective as well as reviewed through the treasures of *fiqh siyasah*, especially within the framework of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, to see the extent to which the policy of religious moderation is in line with the principles of justice and public benefit taught in the Islamic tradition.

National politics is the main foundation in state life in Indonesia. Historically, this concept was born as a response of the nation's founders to the complex reality of Indonesia's pluralism. With hundreds of ethnicities, cultures, and religions, national politics is understood as a strategy to build a common consensus that can be the foundation of state life. This consensus is manifested in four pillars of nationality: Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. The four pillars are not only the construction of law and statehood, but also ethical and moral guidelines for citizens in social, state, and religious life.

In this context, religious life cannot be separated from national politics. Religion is not only a spiritual issue, but also part of the public dynamics that affect political attitudes, social relations, and national stability. The various events of intolerance, radicalism, and extremism that emerged after the reform are proof that religious understanding can influence the political direction of the nation. Therefore, the state has a strategic interest in ensuring that religion runs in harmony with the national goal, which is to maintain harmony, justice, and national unity. Religious moderation then emerged as a national political strategy to reaffirm Indonesian values in the midst of increasing polarization and religious radicalization.

In the treasures of Islam, the idea of the relationship between religion and the state has long been discussed in the discipline of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, which is a branch of *fiqh siyasah* that discusses state governance, the system of government, and the relationship between the ruler and the people based on the principles of justice and benefit. *Siyasah dusturiyyah* emphasizes that the state has a mandate to realize the common good (*al-maslahah al-'ammah*) and protect the basic rights of society, including the right to religion. The function of the state in this perspective is not to be a theological judge or the sole interpreter of religious

teachings, but to be the guardian of balance and justice so that all citizens can coexist without threatening each other.

The main principles of *siyasah dusturiyyah* are very relevant to the policy of religious moderation. The principle of *al-'is* (justice), for example, requires the state not to take sides with certain religious groups and ensures that every citizen is treated equally before the law. The principle of *al-musawah* (equality) requires the state to maintain equality of religious rights and reject discrimination based on differences in beliefs. Meanwhile, the principle of *shura* (deliberation) emphasizes the need for public participation and dialogue in the resolution of religious conflicts. Another most important principle is *hifz ad-din*, which in *siyasah dusturiyyah* is not interpreted as "protecting certain religious doctrines", but rather protecting socio-political conditions so that every religious believer can carry out his worship freely and peacefully.

Viewed from this perspective, the religious moderation policy implemented by the Indonesian government can be understood as the implementation of the values of *siyasah dusturiyyah* in the context of the modern nation-state. Presidential Regulation Number 58 of 2023, for example, places the state as a facilitator of harmony, mediator of religious conflicts, and a reinforcer of the values of tolerance. This is in line with the concepts of *al-sulh* (peaceful settlement) and *dar' al-mafasid* (preventing damage) which are important principles in *siyasah dusturiyyah*. The government is here not to standardize religious interpretations, but to maintain order and prevent exclusivism that can cause division. (Abd. Rahmad, 2016:4-5)

In the perspective of national politics, religious moderation functions as the "guardian of Indonesia's big house," while in the perspective of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, religious moderation is the implementation of the values of public benefit and social justice. These two concepts meet at one point: that religious life must be managed wisely, fairly, and proportionately, in order to maintain the sustainability of the nation's life. Thus, the relationship between religious moderation, national politics, and *siyasah dusturiyyah* is not only compatible, but mutually reinforcing theoretically and practically.

After understanding how religious moderation is closely related to national politics and how the principles of *siyasah dusturiyyah* provide a normative foundation for the management of religious life, the next step is to look at the position of religious moderation within the framework of state policy. Religious moderation cannot be understood only as a moral discourse or theological idea, but as a public policy that is systematically designed to respond to Indonesia's contemporary social and political challenges. The state needs an instrument that is able to manage the religious diversity of the community constructively so that it does not become a source of conflict, polarization, or radicalization. It is in this context that religious moderation is then institutionalized by the government as a strategic policy through various national programs. As such, it is important to investigate how the state places religious moderation within the framework of public policy and what its implications are for religious life and national resilience.

Religious moderation has become one of the priority agendas of the Indonesian government, especially since it was included in the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). This policy was

emphasized through the birth of Presidential Regulation Number 58 of 2023 concerning the Strengthening of Religious Moderation, which made it a national program across ministries and institutions. This indicates that religious moderation is no longer just a sectoral program of the Ministry of Religion, but has become a constitutional mandate in the management of religious harmony and national resilience.

As a state policy, religious moderation has two main foundations. First, the historical foundation, namely Indonesia's long experience of facing conflicts with religious nuances, identity polarization, and increasing post-reform radicalism. Second, the philosophical foundation, namely the awareness that Pancasila as the basis of the state contains the values of tolerance, justice, and unity that are compatible with the principle of moderation. From the state's point of view, religious moderation serves as an instrument to ensure that the practice of religious diversity is in line with national interests, namely maintaining social harmony, guaranteeing religious freedom, and avoiding extremism that can threaten the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. Presidential Decree 58/2023 stipulates four main directions for strengthening religious moderation:

1. Strengthening the capacity of the apparatus,
2. Strengthening the capacity of the apparatus,
3. Strengthening a culture of tolerance and harmony,
4. Improvement of harmony governance.

These four aspects not only show the presence of the state as a regulator, but also as a facilitator, mediator, and security guarantee for all citizens. This policy shows that the state views religious harmony as an integral part of national development and national security.

If studied from the perspective of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, the policy of religious moderation contains very strong basic principles of *fiqh siyasah*. *Siyasah dusturiyyah* places the state as the guardian of the public good (*al-maslahah al-'ammah*) and as an institution responsible for maintaining justice and peace in a pluralistic society. In this perspective, religion is not separated from the state, but it is also not used as an authoritarian instrument. The state has a managerial function over public life, not as a sole interpreter of religious doctrine.

The principle of *al-'is* (justice) is relevant to religious moderation because the state is obliged to be fair to all religious believers, including minority groups. Discriminatory policies can create *mafsadah* (social damage) that is contrary to the *sharia maqashid*. Religious moderation in the form of state policy is an effort to ensure that all groups have a safe space to practice their religion.

The principle of *al-musawah* (equality) requires the state to guarantee the equality of rights and obligations of citizens regardless of religion. The protection of the right to worship, the establishment of houses of worship, and the freedom to carry out religious rituals are part of the implementation of the value of equality taught in *siyasah dusturiyyah*.

The principle of *al-shura* (deliberation) is relevant to the state's approach to resolving religious issues through interfaith dialogue, harmony forums, and deliberative mechanisms. The deliberative resolution of religious conflicts is a direct implementation of the basic principles of Islamic governance.

The principle of *hifz ad-din* (protection of religion) is the most important principle in the discussion of religious moderation. In *fiqh siyasah*, *hifz ad-din*

does not mean imposing the teachings of a religion, but creating a socio-political situation that allows all religions to be carried out without threats or interference. This is in line with the task of the modern state in ensuring freedom of religion and maintaining social order.

Thus, religious moderation as a state policy can be seen as the actualization of the values of *siyasah dusturiyyah* in the context of modern Indonesia. (Djazuli, 2018:32) The state is present to prevent extremism, protect citizens, and maintain public stability, all of which are goals that are in line with the *maqashid* of sharia and the ethics of governance in Islam.

To strengthen the analysis of religious moderation policies in the perspective of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, it is important to include the rules of *fiqh* that have been ethical principles in Islamic governance. These rules are not only theoretical, but also practical guidelines for how the ruler manages the public interest, resolves conflicts, and protects the religious diversity of the community. With this framework, religious moderation is not just an administrative program, but is part of the Islamic *manhaj siyasah* which is oriented towards *maslahat* and justice.

1. Rules: تَصَرُّفُ الْإِمَامِ عَلَى الرَّعِيَّةِ مَنُوطٌ بِالْمَصْلَحَةِ
(Government policies towards the people must be based on benefits)

This rule is one of the main pillars of *fiqh siyasah*. Every state policy must be based on efforts to present the public benefit and reject damage. In the context of religious moderation, Presidential Decree 58/2023 can be understood as an implementation of this rule because the state seeks to prevent social damage in the form of intolerance, radicalism, and conflicts with religious nuances. Strengthening religious moderation is directed to maintain social harmony, provide a sense of security to all religious believers, and create a conducive space for national integration. Thus, religious moderation is not an ideological policy, but a *maslahah* strategy that is justified by the principle of *siyasah dusturiyyah*.

2. Rules: دَرْءُ الْمَفَاسِدِ مُقَدَّمٌ عَلَى جَلْبِ الْمَصَالِحِ

(Preventing damage takes precedence over attracting benefits) Kaidah ini affirming the government's priority in preventing greater potential evil. Radicalism, extremism, hate speech, and intolerance are real *mafsadah* that can threaten the order and stability of the country. The policy of religious moderation emerged not because the state wanted to standardize religious interpretations, but because the state was obliged to prevent damage that threatened collective life. The implementation of religious moderation in the form of increasing literacy, empowering religious leaders, and strengthening national insight are preventive measures that are in line with this rule. States act to prevent conflict before it occurs, not wait until it escalates.

3. Rules: الْمَشَقَّةُ تَجْلِبُ التَّيْسِيرَ
(That difficulty brings convenience)

This rule is an important guideline in the governance of social life, including in interreligious relations. In the context of Indonesia's plurality, differences in interpretation, tradition, and religious practices often cause difficulties in social interaction. Religious moderation here is a form of *taysir* (convenience) that facilitates harmonious relations between people and between groups. Religious moderation invites all parties to understand differences proportionately, not rigid to the diversity of religious practices, and prioritize openness. Thus, religious

moderation is in line with the spirit of taysir which is highly upheld in Islamic fiqh.

4. Rules: تَحْمُلُ الضَّرَرُ الْخَاصَّ لِدَفْعِ الضَّرَرِ الْعَامِ
(Bear small harm to prevent big harm)

In public policy practice, the state sometimes needs to take unpopular action to avoid greater damage. The prohibition of extreme organizations, restrictions on intolerant activities, or the regulation of houses of worship that have the potential to trigger conflict are part of the implementation of this rule. Religious moderation encourages the state to take the necessary steps to safeguard the public interest (darar 'amm), although some groups are uncomfortable with such interventions (darar khasa). This is a logical consequence of the state's responsibility according to siyasah dusturiyyah.

5. Rule: الْعَادَةُ مُحْكَمَةٌ
(Local customs/wisdom can be used as a legal basis)

One of the indicators of religious moderation is an accommodating attitude towards local culture. This rule shows that local traditions can be considered in formulating policies as long as they do not conflict with religious principles. Thus, religious moderation that respects the traditions of mutual cooperation, earth alms, feasts, or tahlilan, is not only culturally relevant, but also fiqhiyyah valid. This rule reinforces the legitimacy that religion is not present to eliminate culture, but to harmonize it.

6. Rule: الْحُكْمُ يَذُورُ مَعَ الْمَصْلَحَةِ وَجُودًا وَعَدَمًا
(Laws and policies change according to the existence of benefits)

Religious moderation as a state policy is a historical necessity that arises due to the increasing dynamics of intolerance. This policy is a response to the contemporary Indonesian socio-political context. This rule explains that flexibility is at the heart of Islamic siyasah: policies should not be rigid, but should change according to the needs, conditions, and challenges of the times. Thus, religious moderation as a state policy is not an innovation that is contrary to religion, but a form of sharia adaptation to modern social needs.

From the integration of the various principles of fiqh siyasah that have been analyzed, it can be concluded that religious moderation is not only in line with the concept of siyasah dusturiyyah, but is even the most obvious form of implementation of the principles of Islamic governance in the context of modern nation-states. The policy of religious moderation reflects an orientation to benefits (al-maslahah), which is the state's efforts to ensure harmony, order, and safety in the midst of diversity. The value of justice (al-'is) is seen in the state's commitment to provide equal treatment for all religious believers without discrimination. The principle of deliberation (al-sura) is present through a dialogical and deliberative approach in resolving conflicts and strengthening harmony between religious communities.

In addition, religious moderation is also in line with the principle of preventing damage (dar' al-mafasid), which requires the state to take preventive measures against potential extremism and intolerance that can threaten national stability. Legal flexibility (al-murunah) is reflected in policy adjustments according to the needs of the times, as allowed in the principles of siyasah that prioritize the social context and public benefit. On the other hand, the protection of religion and social life (hifz ad-din wal-nafs wal-ijtima') is the main goal of

religious moderation, where the state is present to provide a safe space for religious practices while maintaining social harmony in a sustainable manner.

Thus, religious moderation adopted as a state policy does not conflict with Islamic values. On the contrary, this policy reflects the ethical framework of Islamic government as taught in *fiqh siyasah*, so as to provide a strong normative foundation for the strengthening of religious and national life in Indonesia.

Although normatively religious moderation has a strong theological, philosophical, and political basis, the implementation of Presidential Regulation 58/2023 faces a number of challenges. These challenges arise from structural, cultural, and interpretive aspects. First, structurally, coordination across ministries and institutions often runs suboptimally. Religious moderation requires collaboration between the Ministry of Religion, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the TNI-Polri, and local governments. However, in practice, implementation depends a lot on the capacity and commitment of local officials. This bureaucratic fragmentation has the potential to make religious moderation only strong at the center but weak at the regions.

Second, cultural challenges arise from the heterogeneity of religious understanding in society. Religious moderation is considered not uniformly accepted by various groups. Some extremists reject moderation because it is considered to obscure religious identity and threaten the purity of teaching. On the other hand, liberals view moderation as something that is not progressive enough. This two-pole tension hinders the internalization of religious moderation at the grassroots. Third, interpretively, there is criticism that religious moderation has the potential to be used as an instrument of depoliticization of certain groups or as a tool of state legitimacy to control religious expression. If not managed properly, this policy can be accused of trying to "forcibly moderate" citizens and standardize certain religious interpretations, which is certainly contrary to the principle of religious freedom. Fourth, in the context of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, the implementation of religious moderation will be successful if the state prioritizes substantive justice, not just formal policies. This means that the state must ensure that moderation policies do not stop at slogans or training, but really touch the root of problems such as intolerance, discrimination, marginalization of minorities, and politicization of religion.

However, despite its shortcomings, Presidential Regulation 58/2023 remains a step forward because it provides a clearer regulatory framework, ensures the division of duties between institutions, and places religious moderation as part of national resilience. By strengthening the implementation and supervision aspects, this policy can run more inclusive and effective.

Based on the description that has been explained, it can be concluded that religious moderation is a strategic need of the Indonesian nation in maintaining national harmony, social stability, and resilience in the midst of the complexity of religious, cultural, and identity diversity. As a country built on the foundation of diversity, Indonesia needs a religious paradigm that is inclusive, fair, and balance-oriented, as reflected in the concept of the *wasathan ummah*. Religious moderation not only functions as a moral discourse, but has become an institutionalized state policy through the RPJMN and Presidential Regulation

Number 58 of 2023, which places it as an important instrument in managing religious life.

From the perspective of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, the policy of religious moderation shows a strong alignment with the basic principles of *fiqh siyasah*, namely justice (*al-'adalah*), equality (*al-musawah*), deliberation (*al-syura*), religious protection (*hifz ad-din*), and the public good (*al-maslahah al-'ammah*). The state, in this perspective, does not play the role of an interpreter of religious doctrine, but rather as a guardian of balance and public order so that every religious believer can practice his or her beliefs safely. This is further emphasized through the application of various rules of *fiqh siyasah* such as *tasarruf al-imam manuthun bi al-maslahah*, *dar' al-mafasid*, *al-masyaqqah tajlib al-taysir*, and *al-'adah muhakkamah*, which shows that the policy of religious moderation has *shari'i* legitimacy as an effort of the state in preventing damage, maintaining benefits, and managing religion fairly.

However, the implementation of religious moderation, especially through Presidential Regulation 58/2023, still faces structural, cultural, and interpretive challenges. Bureaucratic fragmentation, resistance from extreme and liberal groups, and concerns that religious moderation is used as a tool of state control over religious expression, are factors that can hinder the effectiveness of this policy. In addition, the success of religious moderation policies is highly determined by the state's ability to realize substantive justice, not just procedural justice, and the seriousness to deal with the root problems of religious intolerance and politicization in a serious and sustainable manner.

Thus, religious moderation in the Indonesian context must be understood as a meeting between three dimensions: *wasathiyah*-oriented Islamic values, the need for national politics to maintain unity, and a constitutional framework that guarantees religious freedom. These three form a solid foundation for strengthening religious moderation as a national policy. If the state is able to strengthen implementation, improve governance, and ensure an inclusive approach, religious moderation can be a visionary approach in caring for diversity, strengthening national character, and maintaining the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia in the present and future.

Conclusion

Religious moderation is a strategic need of the Indonesian nation in maintaining harmony, social stability, and national resilience in the midst of religious and cultural diversity. The policy of strengthening religious moderation regulated through Presidential Regulation Number 58 of 2023 shows that the state views moderation as an important instrument to prevent extremism, intolerance, and potential religious conflicts. From the perspective of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, this policy is in line with the basic principles of Islamic governance, such as justice (*al-'adalah*), equality (*al-musawah*), religious protection (*hifz ad-din*), deliberation (*al-syura*), and the public good (*al-maslahah al-'ammah*). The integration of the rules of *fiqh siyasah* shows that religious moderation has normative and ethical legitimacy in the Islamic tradition as an effort by the state to maintain social harmony.

However, the implementation of religious moderation policies still faces challenges, both structural, cultural, and interpretive. Obstacles such as inter-

institutional coordination, resistance from extreme groups, and concerns about the politicization of religion can reduce the effectiveness of policies. Therefore, the success of religious moderation requires the state's commitment to implementing substantive justice, increasing religious literacy, strengthening dialogue, and improving governance of harmony in a sustainable manner. With an inclusive and benefit-oriented approach, religious moderation has the potential to be an important foundation in strengthening national unity and maintaining peaceful religious life in Indonesia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Gunawan, I., & Argadinata, H. 2020. Dampak Pembelajaran Berkarakter Terhadap Penguatan Karakter Siswa Generasi Milenial. In *Jamp: Jurnal Adminitrasi Dan Manajemen* core.ac.uk.
- Islam, M. H., & Maskuri, M. 2020. Pembentukan Kepribadian Multikultural Melalui Pendidikan Diversitas. *Pendidikan Multikultural*, 4(1), 23–44.
- Kemdiknas, P. K. 2009. Pengembangan dan Pendidikan Budaya dan Karakter Bangsa: Pedoman Sekolah. In *Pusat Kurikulum Balitbang Kemdiknas*.
- Latief, Muahemin and ERwin Hafid. 2020. Multicultural attitudes in an Islamic Boarding School Of South Sulawesi-Indonesia, *Cogent Education Journal*.
- Lestariningsih, W. A., & Jayusman, A. P. 2018. Penanaman Nilai-Nilai Multikultural dalam Pembelajaran Sejarah di SMA Negeri 1 Rembang Tahun Pelajaran 2017/2018. *Indonesian Journal of History Education*, 6(2), 123–131.
- Mastuhu. 1999. *Memberdayakan Sistem Pendidikan Islam* (cet. 2). Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- Muadin, A. 2022. Kepemimpinan Transformatif Di Lingkungan Pendidikan Multikultural Dalam Tinjauan Sosial Keagamaan. *Al Mabhats: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial*, 7(2), 133–148.
- Mufidah, E., Aguspratiwi, C. R., & Meilina, F. 2010. *Pendekatan Pembelajaran Multikultural untuk Mencegah Isu Eksklusivisme Mahasiswa Universitas Islam Negeri Malang*.
- Munir, moh badrul, & Herianto, H. 2020. *Tingkat Pemahaman Moderasi Beragama Serta Korelasinya Terhadap Pengaruh Kesehatan Mental, Keaktifan Berorganisasi Dan Prestasi Akademik*. 137–150.
- Purwanto, Y., Qowaid, Q., & Fauzi, R. 2019. Internalisasi Nilai Moderasi Melalui Pendidikan Agama Islam di Perpendidikan Tinggi Umum. *Edukasi*, 17(2), 110–124. <https://www.neliti.com/publications/294708/internalisasi-nilai-moderasi-melalui-pendidikan-agama-islam-di-perpendidikan-tinggi>
- Rasimin, R. 2016. Pengembangan Karakter Multikultural Mahasiswa dalam Pembelajaran Civic Education (Studi pada Mahasiswa Jurusan Kpi Fakultas Dakwah Iain Salatiga). *Injct (Interdisciplinary Journal of* <https://www.ijtihead.iainsalatiga.ac.id/index.php/Inject/article/view/645>
- Rofi'i, A. halim. 2017. *Pendidikan Karakter Adalah Sebuah Keharusan*. Universitas Brawijaya.
- Winarni Retno dkk. 2020. Development of Indonesian Language Text Books with Multiculturalism and Character Education to Improve Traditional Poetry Writing Skills. *European Journal Of Education Research Vol 10 Issue 1* 455-46.
- Yulianti, A., & Marlianti, C. 2021. Analisis Karakter Generasi Milenial dari Sudut Pandang Buya Hamka. *Jurnal Fakultas Ilmu Keislaman Kuningan*. <http://jurnal.unisa.ac.id/index.php/jfik/article/view/73>
- Zuriah, N. 2010. Model pengembangan pendidikan kewarganegaraan multikultural berbasis kearifan lokal dalam fenomena sosial pasca reformasi di perpendidikan tinggi. *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan*, 13(1), 75–76.