



Religious Populism in Pancasila Democracy Based on Citizen's Education Perspective

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Abstract. The purpose of this study is to analyze the phenomenon of religious populism that develops in the dynamics of general elections in Indonesia based on Pancasila democracy in the perspective of Citizenship Education. As we know, Citizenship Education has a role as a vehicle capable of optimizing citizen involvement in building democratic governance. This research uses a literature review study approach by using selection criteria from the Google Scholar, Science Direct and Taylor and Francis Online databases for the 2018–2022 time range and the types of relevant research articles. Based on the results of a literature review of 10 journal articles spanning the years 2018–2022 with the keywords religious populism, Pancasila democracy and Citizenship Education, the results show three important points. First, Post truth has become a global trend, one of which is marked by the symptoms of religious populism. There are similarities between populism and religious identity politics in Indonesia. This similarity makes religious identity politics into the category of populism. This means that religious identity politics is one of the faces of populism. Second, facing this phenomenon, Indonesia has established Pancasila as the foundation for building brotherhood and unity. Pancasila was born from the hope that the Indonesian people could be brothers to each other even though they were different. Third, religious populism with democratic, responsible and participatory elements built is part of the concept of Citizenship Education. Facing the phenomenon of religious populism, Indonesia has established Pancasila as the foundation for building brotherhood and unity. Pancasila was born from the hope that the Indonesian people could be brothers to each other even though they were different.

Keywords: Citizenship Education · Pancasila Democracy · Religious Populism

1 Introduction

The discourse on the populism movement has gained relevant momentum for Donald Trump's success in serving as president of the United States, which is certainly surprising to many. As we know, Trump is someone who has been labeled a demagogue of democracy in his career [1]. The labeling of the demagogue of democracy can be seen in his attention from white workers who felt they did not get adequate attention during the administration of President Barack Obama [2]. This dimension of inequality is not uncommon to have affiliation with Anglo Saxon Protestants who are infiltrated

into propaganda during political campaigns [3]. Apart from that, a relevant phenomenon can also be seen in the unanimous decision of the British parliament to exempt from EU regulation, because it has the right of the British populist support led by Nigel Farage. Empirically, populist movements can have implications for the simultaneous increase in party votes that bring sentiment issues as a populist maneuver to 7% this decade with seat increases of around 9% in European countries [4].

In Indonesia, the movement from religious populism or Islamic populism gained a crucial momentum in 2016 until the 2019 presidential election, culminating in the development of the Jakarta Regional Head General Election [5]. It is possible that the rise of Islamic populism as a resonance phase of the global situation has been adopted by a number of countries in Asia [6]. It is stated that in its development, the Indonesian state is one of the countries that has a majority of Muslim groups, so at its peak phase of Islamic populism since the reformation period occurred where the space for the public became a means to disseminate various conservative ideas.

The populist movement gets a full legality in a democracy. One form of legality of the existence of the populist movement is seen in the pattern of guaranteeing human rights. Based on a report from the Economist Intelligence Unit, it is stated that the configuration of democratic norms is starting to erode completely with restrictions on the space for freedom of expression, low public trust in government institutions, a decline in the popularity of political parties and even a decrease in civil liberties. Therefore, the populist movement does not necessarily qualify as a threat to democracy, only because it provides a form of refusal to always submit and be critical of the authorities. The label of threats to democracy carelessly, actually gives an indication that the democratic process has been a structure of layers of significance that looks hierarchical, while the deepest structure is the cohesiveness of an oligarchic unit, which only uses popular support as an excuse to maintain power and control resistance by silencing discordant voices.

It is stated that in political discourse the institutional realm not only gains legitimacy related to government policies, but is also able to accommodate differences in views that may be seen in contrast. In a certain degree of significance, the populist movement is like the opposition moving quickly in analyzing the weakness of the polarized government's concentration of attention [7]. In line with this, that it is very difficult to develop a more moderate repositioning [8]. With various visible spectrums, populism can be transformed into an opposition discourse that makes an epic contribution to the government by emphasizing the causality of various social issues that the government has neglected [9, 10]. However, the measured populism movement which has become a natural part of the development of Indonesian democracy is currently being interpreted brutally with flawed rationality.

In the debate of theoretical studies, until now the conceptual dimension of populism is still in ambiguous meaning. This has a rational implication that there is no standard argument for the significance of populism, especially in the analytical structure of a comparative study of global cases in a differential perspective [11]. To date, there is not a single study that provides a study of how religious populism is a major threat to democracy through a prime path analysis of several indicators of democracy. As a reflection of defending the state, the design of this research conducts a holistic study related to comprehensive analysis and efforts to reinterpret the Islamic populist movement within

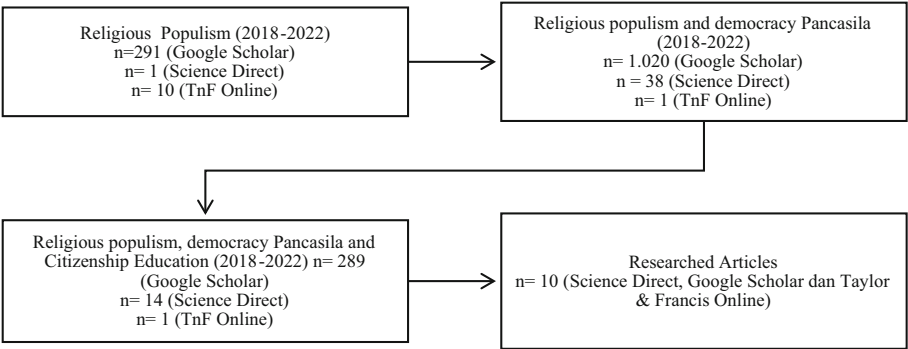


Fig. 1. Article Search Results

the framework of Citizenship Education as an effort to maintain and strengthen civilized democracy in a pluralistic Indonesian society.

2 Research Methodology

The method used in writing this article uses a systematic literature review from various reputable international journals and national journals, especially those downloaded from 3 data bases Science Direct, Google Scholar and Taylor & Francis Online from the range of 2018–2022. The use of this method aims to identify, select and critically evaluate the results of studies in a planned review to answer research questions. The criteria for selecting articles using several search stages from research articles are 1) searching using the keyword religious populism in (2018–2022) so that the study is still relevant to use, 2) then searching using keyword limitations to become religious populism and Pancasila democracy in years (2018–2022), 3) a search using three variable keywords of religious populism, Pancasila democracy and Citizenship Education in (2018–2022). The results of the selection of articles to be studied can be seen in Fig. 1.

3 Result of Research

Based on the results of the selection of articles above, there are 10 articles that have the same study as this study by discussing religious populism in the context of Pancasila democracy based on the perspective of Citizenship Education. The results of the main article findings can be seen in the Table 1.

Table 1. List of Primary Literature

No	Author's Identity	Research Topic	Research Result
1	Herianto & Wijanarko (2022)	Populism Faces religious identity politics in Indonesia	There are similarities between populism and religious identity politics that occur in Indonesia. This similarity makes religious identity politics pass the category of populism. This means that religious identity politics is one of the faces of populism [12].
2	Welak (2022)	Populism in Indonesia: a threat to community integrity and the reactualization of Pancasila	Populist identity is contrary to the spirit of Pancasila and Indonesianness. Realizing Pancasila is urgently needed to stem the phenomenon of populism in order to maintain the integrity of the community [13].
3.	Imron & Dewi (2021)	Strengthening democracy in identity politics and populism in Indonesia	The obstacle to strengthening democracy is that the government is too indifferent to the heterogeneity of society, in this heterogeneity, during elections and other democratic parties, it creates a "gap" between people. This is very dangerous when applied in Indonesia, which consists of various races, religions, races and beliefs [14].
4.	Mofferz (2020)	Hacking Post-Truth meaning: contextual analysis of hoaxes social emotions and religious populism	Post-Truth is becoming a global trend. This phenomenon brings with it three symptoms, namely hoaxes, social emotions and religious populism. The actors use the facilities of democracy for the purposes of their group interests. Often anti-democratic. This movement destabilizes democratic countries with a strategy of disinformation through social media to bypass procedures. The hallmark of political communication is demagogy [15].

(continued)

Table 1. *(continued)*

No	Author's Identity	Research Topic	Research Result
5.	Adon (2022)	Fostering the spirit of Pancasila as the basis of national unity and unity as an effort to fight the populism movement in Indonesia	Faced with this phenomenon, Indonesia sets its sights on Pancasila as the foundation in building brotherhood and unity. Pancasila was born from the hope that the Indonesian nation could be siblings to one another despite their diversity [16].
6.	Khakim (2022)	Populist Islam in the Islamic Ormas Movement	The implications of populist Islam in the state can be seen from the relationship between Islamic political movement with the state. The Islamic political movement developed from the community also needs to be classified, because of differences in understanding society will give rise to possible forms of movement that different too [17].
7.	Nurgiansah (2021)	Advice on citizenship education in political contest	Political contestation required a democratic, responsible, and participatory attitude, which all exist in the concept of citizenship education [18].
8.	Syarif & Hannan (2022)	Islamic disruption: how digital platform changes religious pattern of muslim society in contemporary Indonesia	Religious disruption affects the religious culture of Muslim netizens through three elements; speed, surprise, and finally a sudden shift [19].
9.	Moghadam & Kaftan (2022)	Right wing populism north and south: varieties and gender dynamics	Populist and nationalist movements have long histories and ideologically may appear as left-wing or right-wing. Feminist scholars have explored the gender dynamics of conservative nationalist movements or national-identity projects, revealing the social-reproductive burdens placed on women as well as the reasons why such movements resonate with some women, but gendered populism remains largely unexplored outside Europe [20].

(continued)

Table 1. *(continued)*

No	Author's Identity	Research Topic	Research Result
10.	Arifin (2019)	Islam, populism and the future of democracy in Indonesia	The dynamics of the 2017 DKI Jakarta election and the 2019 presidential election which states that there is a division of voters between citizens who have the right to vote and those who have not, because they have been contaminated with ethnic and religious sentiments in the speech delivered by Ahok regarding QS. Al-Maidah

4 Discussion

4.1 The Reality of Religious Populism in Indonesia

Many experts define populism, populism as a form of anti-elite politics which elevates the 'people' and mobilizes them to fight against certain economic or political orders that are considered strong [21]. Populism as something related to a belief in the creation of people who are faced with elites, in addition to the style of confronting the people with corrupt political elites, populism is also interpreted as an ideological view [22]. Populism as a form of politics whose purpose is to defend those who are marginalized (pleib) [23]. While the main conception of Islamic populism is to use the people as proxies for the 'people' which in the connotation of Islamic populism is as pious people against elites who are described as immoral and greedy [24].

Populist phenomena in a global context occur in several countries and for different purposes. The phenomenon of populist movements also occurs from Western Europe, Syriza, America, Latin America, Argentina, Venezuela and Indonesia [25]. The turning point of populism in Indonesia occurred in the 2014 presidential election, which was marked by the presence of Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo figures as populist figures [26]. The populist rhetoric brought by Jokowi is indicative of the rhetoric of nationalism, anti-foreign and anti-establishment claims. Meanwhile, Prabowo's populist rhetoric is oriented towards the discourse of the people's interests by opposing corruption cases that occur in the political elite. Populism that developed in the dynamics of the 2014 presidential election is based on populism as communication.

The phenomenon of religious populism in Indonesia has a crucial momentum point in the dynamics of the 2017 DKI Jakarta general election and in the 2019 presidential election with ethnic and religious sentiments in Ahok's statement that alludes to QS. Al-Maidah verse 5 as a tool of lies for Muslims which has an impact on the emergence of the Islamic Defense Action movement with various issues [6]. One of the issues raised in the movement was rejecting Ahok to be governor of DKI Jakarta and demanding the blasphemy process carried out by Ahok [27]. Throughout the dynamics in democracy, populism will always be present and move quickly in analyzing the weakness of the concentration of polarized government attention [7]. The easy factor for the rise of

populism can be seen in aspects of the existence of a new political style, dissatisfaction with the performance of the previous government, voter doubts about the electoral system and public distrust of the party system [26].

Concrete evidence of identity politics is the politicization of religion which is manifested in the dynamics of elections. The political identity of the religious base is very relevant to the populist movement [12]. This relevance can be seen in the work carried out. The way populism works in religion-based identity politics in Indonesia can be seen from two characteristics. First, for politicians who are fond of religious identity politics, dividing society into 2 entities between the majority and the minority. Second, populists divide society into two, namely the people and the elite/rulers. The people accused the government of being authoritarian and tending to side with minorities. In fact, the elite wants to get political support. In this case, it is also found in Rizieq Shihab's statement which condemned the government and accused the government of criminalizing religion and giving priority to minorities. However, in the end, Rizieq Shihab also claimed to be a figure of change.

Looking at this phenomenon, it contributes to the approach model proposed by Laclau and Mudde. In the discursive approach, politicians try to unify the aspirations of the Muslim ummah regarding the figure of leadership. Thus making a generalization that all Muslims reject non-Muslim leaders. While in the ideational approach, politicians try to show the separation between the Muslim community and the government. In this view, the narrative that emerges is that the government prioritizes minorities and does not accommodate the interests of Muslims) [1].

4.2 Religious Populism in the Perspective of Citizenship Education

Theory of Populism and Democratic Theory which states that the core element of populism is not anti-democracy, democracy in particular requires populist encouragement [28]. In line with this view, the idea that populism is an element of democracy in contemporary representative systems [23]. So, at this time, populism is a way of democracy to be able to voice the interests of common groups, even though citizens may not be policy experts, but these populists move to be able to give voice to the social life of the people who have been neglected. Why are these populists facing off against the political elite? Because populism arises when the voice is not accommodated by the political elite.

Pancasila democracy is democracy based on people led by wisdom in deliberation/representation, which contains the spirit of God Almighty, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity and social justice [29]. There are several elements of democracy that are implemented by having five clusters of characteristics in a democratic country [30]. The five clusters include the rule of law, a government under the control of the people, the holding of free elections, the principle of majority and the guarantee of democratic rights. In another view, the characteristics of the state by applying the principles of democracy include holding general elections, implementing open political recruitment [31], responsible government and an independent judiciary, political organizations, the press and mass media [32].

Pancasila democracy has three unique features which lie in the meaning of political democracy, strengthening religious and humanist spirits, and upholding modern democracy. In this view, the main requirements for citizens to be part of participation

in national and state activities include having emotional involvement, having a sense of volunteerism and benefiting both directly and indirectly from the involvement process that has been carried out. States that the character of a democratic citizen in the perspective of Pancasila democracy has a pattern of respect for pluralism, is religious and is not [33].

In essence, civics is interpreted as citizenship or citizens. The American Psychologist Association (2012) defines civic engagement as individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern. Civic engagement and its relation to democratic governance, which emphasizes citizen participation in various aspects of life to develop a combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation that make things different [34].

Karliani provides an overview of the importance of civic engagement in building democratic engagement as shown in Fig. 2 [34].:

From the scheme above, it can be understood that civic engagement will be formed from civic awareness (citizenship awareness) and civic participation (citizen participation). Citizen awareness is based on awareness that is sincere, initiative without any coercion from third parties or other people. Thus, in state affairs, this participation is based on the encouragement of individuals to always involve themselves in solving problems that exist in their environment. One form of civic engagement indicators that can be implemented, one of which is participation in solving existing community problems. From some of the views above, it can be concluded that civic engagement is defined as an element of citizen action in state participation both individually and collectively to develop government policies in various aspects of people's lives.

From the phenomenon of religious populism that was formed in the Islamic Defense Action movement, in addition to the form of a social movement, it is also interpreted as a form of community. One form of community that is formed spontaneously or intentionally depending on the process of formation and intervention of the organization [35]. So, if you look at the background, one form of religious populism from the Action to Defend Islam movement was formed on the basis of the formation process due to the blasphemy

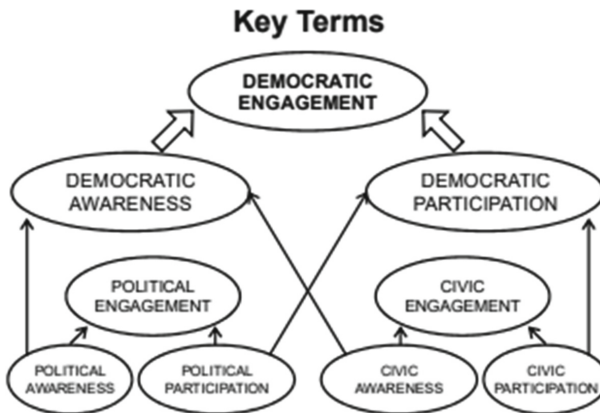


Fig. 2. Democratic Engagement

narrative by Basuki Tjahya Purnama [36]. The reality of community involvement in organizations in the phenomenon of religious populism appears in organizations as a form of community involvement in social and national issues. Several social organizations involved have focused on voices that support the values of human rights, politics, and religious pluralism for the sake of virtue that is oriented to the public interest, thus becoming a reinforcement in civic engagement in the public sphere [37].

When viewed in the paradigm of democratic education or democratic education. The context of the scientific structure of Citizenship Education is a vehicle for democratic education that contains three interactive conceptual dimensions, namely scientific studies of citizenship, citizenship curricular programs and socio-cultural activities of citizenship [38]. Therefore, Citizenship Education should be developed as an Indonesian constitutional democracy education that is religious and educates the nation in accordance with the mandate of the 1945 Constitution and Law Number 20 of 2003. So, by examining in depth the phenomenon of religious populism as an academic effort in the socio-political approach of Citizenship Education in optimizing the strengthening of citizen intelligence (civic intelligence) and becoming a vehicle for learning about democracy (learning about democracy) as one of the prerequisites for democratic development in and the growth of a democratic state [38].

Citizenship education is closely related to the development of the character of citizens. Terminologically, Civic Education is oriented towards political democracy, with other knowledge being expanded, namely the positive influence of collaboration with one of the goals of building critical thinking, analytically acting democratically [39]. The idea of citizenship often raises problems related to awareness and knowledge of rights and obligations, especially in religious populism. So the reflection of Citizenship Education is how to build awareness and knowledge about rights and obligations that are built by reviving citizenship values such as democracy and human rights, participation, equality, social cohesion, solidarity, social justice and tolerance for diversity. Thus, the socio-pedagogical mission of Citizenship Education can facilitate the realization of the ideals of a belief/value system, concept, principle and practice of democracy in the context of the development of Indonesian society through the development of intelligent and responsible citizen participation in accordance with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution [40].

5 Conclusion

From the results of the review of research articles relevant to the topic of the study of religious populism and democracy, several important points are shown. Populism and democracy are two entities that cannot be separated, they both go hand in hand. There are various types of populism that develop in every dynamic in various countries, one of which is populism that uses religious identity. In Indonesia, the phenomenon of populism with religious identity is one part of the reality of the visible phenomenon. The phenomenon of religious populism that has become a crucial moment includes the dynamics of the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional head election and the 2019 presidential election using populism as a populist rhetorical style. In the context of Pancasila democracy, populism does not always exist as an extreme movement, but is also represented as a

movement to voice the rights of citizens. Populism in the context of the Pancasila democracy fence is able to prove in the realization of wisdom in deliberation/representation, which contains the spirit of God Almighty, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity and social justice. In addition, religious populism is also a strengthening of Pancasila democracy which lies in the meaning of political democracy, strengthening the religious and humanist spirit, and upholding democracy based on citizen awareness and participation in accordance with the Pancasila constitution and the 1945 Constitution.

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