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## Exclusivity in the Name of Inclusivity: Religious Moderation in Indonesia from Utopia to Oxymora

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#### Abstrak:

Penelitian ini mencoba untuk menjelaskan pemikiran Jeremy Bentham Moderasi beragama adalah harapan bersama umat manusia di dunia ini; oleh karena itu, kita harus membenci segala bentuk kekerasan atas nama apa pun, baik agama maupun kemanusiaan. Kita harus menghormati, menerima, menghargai, dan menjunjung tinggi nilai-nilai kemanusiaan. Artikel ini mengeksplorasi bagaimana moderasi beragama sebagai ide utopis berubah menjadi praktik yang sarat dengan oksimoron. Oksimoron di sini merujuk pada konsep-konsep yang tampak saling bertentangan atau berlawanan satu sama lain, tetapi jika ditelaah lebih dalam, dapat menghasilkan makna baru dengan nuansa ironi dan paradoks. Oksimoron ini terlihat dalam realitas sosial, politik, dan budaya di Indonesia, di mana muncul diksi "moderasi beragama" yang bercita-cita inklusif, namun dalam praktiknya justru memperkuat eksklusivitas atau dominasi tertentu. Dengan pendekatan kritis dari sudut pandang Habermas, kajian ini menyoroti bagaimana narasi moderasi sering kali diinstrumentalisasi untuk kepentingan tertentu, sehingga kehilangan esensi komunikatifnya yang seharusnya inklusif dan dialogis. Kajian ini juga menelaah peran tindakan komunikatif sebagaimana dirumuskan oleh Jürgen Habermas dalam menghadirkan moderasi beragama yang lebih otentik dan rasional. Dalam kerangka ini, moderasi beragama tidak hanya dipahami sebagai slogan normatif, tetapi sebagai proses dialog yang membangun konsensus berdasarkan rasionalitas, kejujuran, dan keterbukaan antara individu maupun kelompok. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kegagalan dalam menerapkan prinsip-prinsip tersebut sering kali berujung pada bentuk pseudo-moderasi yang justru memperdalam polarisasi dan dominasi kekuasaan dalam wacana keagamaan.

#### Abstract:

*Religious moderation is the common hope of mankind in this world; therefore, we must hate violence in any name, be it religion or humanity. We must respect, accept, respect, and uphold human values. This article explores how religious moderation as a utopian idea transformed into an oxymora-filled practice. Oxymora in the sense refers to concepts that seem to be contradictory or opposite to each other but, if examined more deeply, can produce new meanings with nuances of irony and paradox. This oxymoron can be seen in the social, political, and cultural realities in Indonesia by giving birth to the diction of "religious moderation" that aspires to inclusivity but, in reality, actually strengthens exclusivity or a certain domination. With a critical approach from Habermas' point of view, this study highlights how moderation narratives are often instrumentalized for specific interests, thus losing their communicative essence that should be inclusive and dialogical. This study also examines the role of communicative actions as formulated by Jürgen Habermas in presenting a more*

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*authentic and rational religious moderation. In this framework, religious moderation is not only understood as a normative slogan but as a dialogue process that builds consensus based on rationality, honesty, and openness between individuals and groups. The results of the study show that the failure to apply these principles often results in a form of pseudo-moderation that only deepens the polarization and dominance of power in religious discourse.*

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## Introduction

In religious discourse, the concept of moderation is often seen as an ideal solution to bridge sharp differences of views in a pluralistic society. Religious moderation comes with the promise of utopia: creating social harmony, suppressing potential conflicts, and prioritizing dialogue as the main method of resolving differences. However, in practical reality, moderation is often confronted with structural, ideological, and communicative challenges. Instead of being a single solution, moderation often turns into "as if moderation" which only represents symbolism without substantive essence. This phenomenon presents an irony in the form of oxymora, where moderation efforts actually create paradoxes, new conflicts, or even exclusion.

From the point of view of communicative action, moderation is often caught up in the contradiction between form and substance. In public communication, moderation narratives can be used as a tool of legitimacy to reinforce certain authorities, rather than encouraging genuine dialogue (Cooren, 2020). Communication practices that are supposed to be a medium for conveying ideas in an inclusive manner can actually produce new hierarchies, strengthen dominance, or even marginalize certain groups. In other words, moderation is no longer just a practice or value, but also a rhetorical strategy wrapped in ideological and political interests (Sicotte et al., 1998).

A critical approach to moderation through the perspective of communicative action allows for the elaboration of narrative constructions and their practices in the public sphere (Cukier et al., 2009). Does moderation really function as a medium for strengthening social cohesion, or does it become a tool of reframing that subtly strengthens polarization? In this analysis, religious moderation is examined not only as a normative concept, but also as a pragmatic reality full of irony and ambiguity.

Furthermore, the discourse "as if moderation" shows how moderation idealism often collides with pragmatic interests on the ground. In the context of communication, moderation is often presented through strong symbols and inclusive jargon. However, this kind of communication is often performative, where the core of the message does not really reflect the promised inclusivity. For example, moderation narratives used in mass media campaigns or public forums often highlight the interests of dominant actors rather than creating an equal space for dialogue (Fast, 2013).

This phenomenon can be analysed through the concept of oxymora in communication, that is, the internal contradiction between the form and content of the message. In practice, religious moderation that is supposed to be inclusive can turn into an exclusivity when it is used to maintain the status quo, set boundaries of the "moderate" versus the "extreme," or even label certain groups as threats to social harmony. In such a situation, moderation loses its true meaning as a bridge of dialogue and instead becomes a more subtle tool of polarization (Samra-Fredericks, 2003).

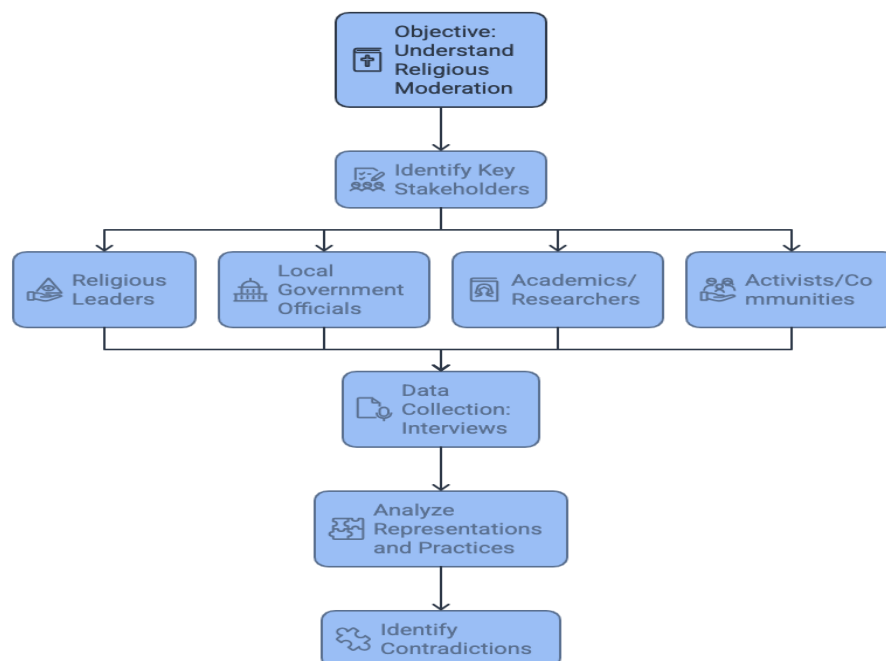
The perspective of communicative action proposed by Jürgen Habermas can provide a relevant analytical framework for understanding this paradox. Habermas emphasized the importance of communication that is free from domination, where each participant

can convey ideas without pressure or inequality of power. In the context of religious moderation, does the narrative of moderation provide space for all voices, or does it create a new domination structure that is contrary to the spirit of inclusivity (Niemann, 2004).

In addition, the challenge of moderation can also be seen in the context of digital globalization, where social media platforms are the main arena for the distribution of religious narratives. In the digital space, moderation often competes with other narratives that are more polaristic and provocative. Social media algorithms that tend to promote controversial content often hamper moderation efforts to gain public attention. As a result, religious moderation faces not only ideological challenges but also technological challenges, where the digital space encourages more amplification of conflicts than resolution.

This study uses a qualitative method with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to analyses the discourse of religious moderation in Eastern Indonesia (Fairclough, 2013). CDA is used to uncover how religious moderation is understood, represented, and practiced in social reality, as well as the contradictions that arise in its implementation (Hart, 2010). The resource persons who will be interviewed; religious leaders (Islamic, Christian, Hindu,) in Eastern Indonesia. Local government officials involved in religious moderation programs. Academics or researchers who focus on the issue of pluralism in Eastern Indonesia. Activists or communities involved in the tolerance movement. There are several that are the focus of the interview, related to their understanding of the concept of religious moderation. Perception of the implementation of moderation policies. Experience in facing contradictions in diversity issues.

Critical Discourse Analysis Process



The following is an explanation of the chart above, which focuses on text as a product of discourse, both in the form of policies, speeches, media articles, and narratives circulating in the community. Identify key terms such as moderation, harmony, tolerance, utopia, or radicalism that often appear in texts. These words indicate a dominant ideological focus and meaning. In addition, here are some important notes that concern the author; (1). Narrative structure, by examining how moderation discourse is structured in a narrative, whether it emphasizes utopian expectations or ambiguous reality. Analyse the rhetorical techniques used, such as the use of metaphors, generalizations, or contradictory statements to build or influence public opinion. (2). Discursive practice at this level is directed at the process of production, distribution, and consumption of religious moderation discourse. Furthermore, in the aspect of discourse distribution, how is the discourse disseminated? This includes the use of mass media, social media, public forums, or formal events. Then the consumption of discourse, how do people understand, accept, or even reject the discourse? This process shows the diversity of interpretations in society. (3). Social context, this aims to connect the discourse with social, cultural, and political conditions in Eastern Indonesia related to power structures: how is power, both by the central and local governments, in shaping the discourse of moderation? Who benefits or is harmed? Not only that, identity dynamics are also important in exploring the dynamics of local religious and cultural identities, especially in the context of pluralism in Eastern Indonesia. Does the moderation discourse accommodate diversity or homogenization? Furthermore, related to social contradictions in exposing the contradiction between the concept of ideals (utopia) and inconsistent implementations (oxymora), for example, moderation policies that are exclusive to certain groups (Janks, 1997).

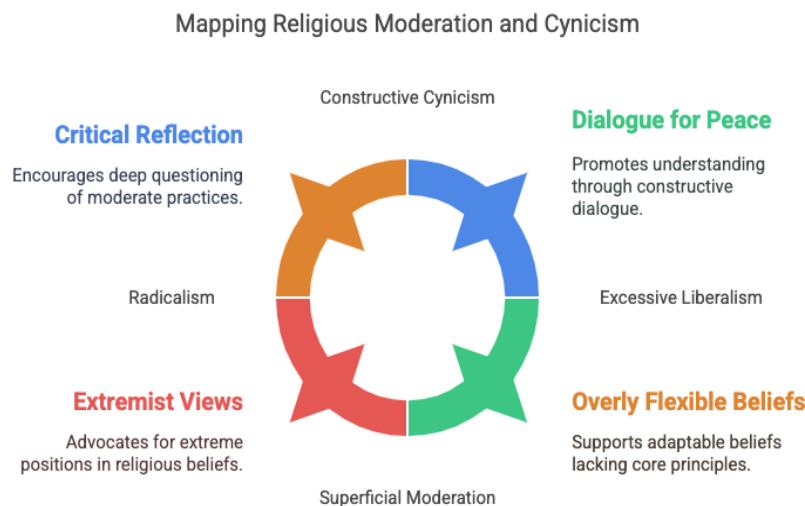
## **Discussions**

### **Starting Religious Moderation Cynically**

Starting with a moderate attitude is everyone's expectation, but from that expectation we face facticity's; facts that are not in accordance with expectations, because moderation involves religious views, attitudes, and practices that prioritize balance and tolerance in practicing beliefs, without tending to extremes both in the form of radicalism (extreme right) and excessive liberalism (extreme left). This attitude is indeed not easy to apply because it seems utopian. On the other hand, the ideal hope that religious moderation must rest on the principles of justice, balance (*wasathiyyah*), and respect for diversity as a form of harmony in the life of society and the state. All of these words are very beautiful because they are in an abstract fictional world and always carry ideas full of opium

For the author perhaps this narrative is a little provocative, as it blends two seemingly contradictory concepts: Religious moderation, which is synonymous with balance and tolerance, and Cynicism, which is often understood as a skeptical, critical, and even sarcastic attitude towards certain values. However, the author's intention is to use the term as an approach in starting religious moderation so that it can be a reflective step

to criticize moderation practices that tend to be symbolic, superficial, or manipulative. Starting religious moderation cynically is not a contradiction, but rather a critical step to ensure that moderation really brings real benefits to society. Constructive cynicism can be a tool to clean up illusions and bring out substance, so that religious moderation can become the coveted pillar of peace.



In the Indonesian context, religious moderation emphasizes the importance of maintaining harmony between religious communities, building awareness that differences are part of the divine will, and avoiding potential conflicts caused by religious exclusivity (Kasim, 2023). This moderation does not mean abandoning the beliefs of each religion, but managing those beliefs in a way that is adaptive to social reality without losing the essence of faith (Anna, 2022). The Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia defines religious moderation as attitudes and behaviors that avoid excessive attitudes in religion, both in terms of understanding, practice, and social interaction. The following are the indicators of religious moderation of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia:

1. National commitment

The relationship between the community and the State is a relationship that always adheres to rights and obligations so that the dialogical process takes place fairly, democratically and harmoniously by following the norms required by the constitution. Religious moderation supports a strong sense of nation and state, where religious values are in harmony with the ideology of Pancasila, the Constitution, and the laws that apply in Indonesia.

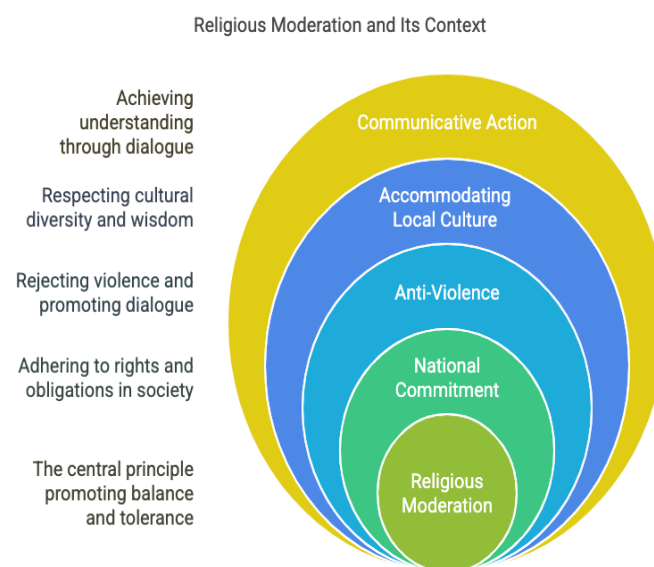
2. Anti-violence

Religious moderation rejects all forms of violence, both physical and symbolic, by prioritizing a dialogical approach to resolve differences. Humanly, all religious communities are required to love each other without looking at existing differences, such as loving others as much as oneself. Conflict arises when people direct their gaze horizontally, while if people are able to direct their gaze vertically, only to God, then conflict

does not have to occur because everyone can find their own way without being hindered by the diversity of others. Islam has principles in maintaining harmony between religious communities. The principle as mentioned in the Qur'an is the verse “lakum dinukum wa liyadin”, so that with this principle religious people should not interfere with each other, because the rights and freedoms are the same, which are appropriate in carrying out the teachings of their respective religions.

### 3. Accommodating to local culture

Religious moderation respects local wisdom and cultural diversity as an integral part of contextual and dynamic religious practices. Islam and local traditions meet the community individually or collectively, without being able to clearly classify which is Islam and which is a local product. Finally, the tradition developed, inherited and transmitted from the past to the present (Wildan, 2022).



From the three aspects above, and the author starts the view of religious moderation somewhat cynically, but tries to dialectic with the concept of Habermas' communicative action (Friedland, 2001). The communicative act introduced by Jürgen Habermas refers to the process of social interaction in which individuals seek to reach a common understanding through rational dialogue and free from domination. Habermas distinguishes communicative actions from other types of actions, such as instrumental actions oriented to a specific goal and strategic actions oriented to personal success (Bohman, 1990). In communicative action, the main goal is to reach a consensus or agreement based on three validities, namely—First, truth; the statements made must be in accordance with reality. Second, normative accuracy; Actions and words must be in accordance with mutually agreed norms and values. Third, honesty; participants must be sincere and not manipulative in communicating. In looking at communicative actions, of course, they have characteristics where the goal is to understand each other, not just to achieve practical goals. All participants have the same right to speak and give their opinions.

Furthermore, communication must take place in ideal conditions, without pressure or dominance of certain parties. Furthermore, communicative action is at the core of Habermas' theory of public space, in which he describes discursive spaces in society where ideas are tested and consensus is reached through rational argumentation. This model has also become an important cornerstone in various studies on deliberative democracy and ethical communication (Knoblauch, 2013).

### **As If Religious Moderation**

This article contains a deep criticism of the implementation of religious moderation, which is often more symbolic than substantial. Religious moderation, ideally, is a religious perspective and practice that prioritizes balance, tolerance, and inclusivity. However, in social reality, this concept often turns into a rhetorical, manipulative, or even counterproductive discourse that in the end the author refers to it in terms as if (Cohen, 2013). This diction is to see the gap between declaration and reality. Religious moderation in this context is questionable in its authenticity and effectiveness. Instead of being a concrete solution, it often simply becomes: (a) A symbol of legitimacy—that is, moderation is used as a political or diplomatic tool to show a positive image, both at the national and international levels. In many cases, moderation narratives are used by elites to gain political support or secure the legitimacy of power without actually resolving fundamental issues such as intolerance, discrimination, or religious-based violence. (b) Commodification of religious values—where moderation is often packaged as a product promoted through jargon, slogans, or mass media campaigns, but without in-depth implementation. This makes moderation more of a marketing rhetoric than a meaningful practice of social transformation. (c) Creation of a new hierarchy—that moderation is often used to define who is "moderate" and who is "not moderate," thus creating a new division that is not inclusive. In this context, moderation can turn into a tool of exclusion that is contrary to the essence of moderation itself (Walker & Lovat, 2016).

Not only that, because it seems as if it is, then it gives birth to a paradox in religious moderation. Where ideal moderation aims to create harmony, but the practice often gives birth to paradoxes, such as: (1) Exclusivity in the name of inclusivity. Attempts to create moderation often end up marginalizing certain groups, for example by labelling them as "radical" or "intolerant," without providing a fair space for dialogue. (2) Strengthening polarization. Instead of defusing conflict, the moderated narrative can give rise to new polarizations, especially if it is perceived only to benefit a certain majority group or elite. (3) Focus on rhetoric, not action. Moderation is often used as a symbolic strong campaign material, but is not supported by real policies that promote tolerance, interfaith dialogue, and social justice (Astiana, 2024).

From this, of course, the author provides criticism, which departs from several cases of moderation that only involve dominant groups without paying attention to minority groups, both religiously and culturally. This makes moderation exclusive, contrary to its basic spirit. In practice,

moderation often does not touch on the root of problems such as inequality in access to religious education, stereotypes against certain groups, or discriminatory policies. Moderation narratives are often controlled by religious elites, governments, or certain institutions that have political or economic agendas. This raises the question of whether moderation is really aimed at the benefit of the wider community or only as a tool of hegemony. Although this article leads the reader to the paradoxical diction of religious moderation, the author offers an "authentic dialogue". Where moderation should open up a space for true dialogue, where all groups have an equal opportunity to voice their views without fear of being judged or marginalized as the offer from Habermas above about communicative action refers to the process of social interaction in which individuals seek to reach a common understanding through rational dialogue and free from domination.

### **Utopia of Religious Moderation to Oxymora**

The journey of religious moderation from utopian to oxymora reflects the challenges of translating ideal ideas into real practice. Religious moderation, although full of potential, requires constructive criticism so as not to be trapped in empty symbolism. By identifying existing contradictions and taking steps to address them, moderation can return to its original path as a bridge of authentic dialogue, harmony, and inclusive social transformation (Hardiman, 2021).

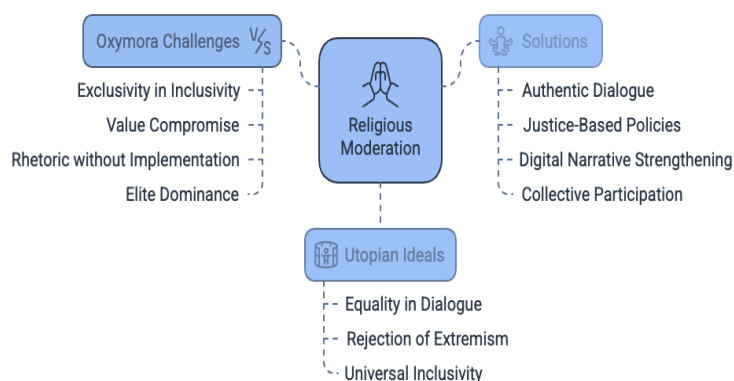
Religious moderation is often seen as an ideal middle ground in responding to the challenges of plurality, extremism, and intolerance in modern society. As a utopia, religious moderation offers the promise of harmony, balance, and openness in practicing faith. It is a collective ideal that projects a world where religious differences are no longer a source of conflict, but a wealth that strengthens social cohesion. However, in the reality of praxis, the concept of moderation does not always run in harmony with its ideal expectations. Religious moderation, which is supposed to be an instrument of conflict resolution and dialogue building, often turns into "oxymora"; a paradox that presents internal contradictions. Instead of addressing polarization, moderation is sometimes used as a rhetorical tool that actually strengthens dominance, normalizes inequality, or marginalizes certain groups (Goodman & Arenas, 2015).

The utopia of religious moderation rests on the idea that balance and tolerance can be the foundation for creating a peaceful and harmonious society. Some of the key elements of this utopia include: First, equality in dialogue, in which religious moderation offers space for all religions to dialogue with each other without domination. He departed from the assumption that all human beings have the same right to practice their beliefs. Second, the rejection of extremism, namely utopia, emphasizes the importance of avoiding extremes, both in the form of radicalism and liberalism that go beyond the boundaries, by promoting balance as a universal solution. Third, universal inclusivity with moderation imagines a world where differences become bridges, not dividing walls, and diversity is seen as a collective force. Because religious moderation is a utopia, this

utopia is often only a normative narrative that is difficult to translate into social policies and practices (Walseth & Schei, 2011).

In the aspect of religious moderation as an oxymoron, it always gives birth to a contradictory reality when applied in a socio-political context. Religious moderation often loses its substance and presents contradictions (Hoesterey, 2022). The following are some of the forms of oxymora that appear in religious moderation, for example: (1). Exclusivity in the name of inclusivity; Moderation aimed at creating openness is often used to set boundaries on who is considered moderate and who is not. For example, groups that differ from the mainstream are often labeled as "extreme" or "intolerant," so moderation turns into a tool of exclusion. (2). Excessive value compromise; which in an effort to maintain balance, moderation sometimes sacrifices essential religious values. This creates tension among groups who feel that moderation is a form of moral relativism that erodes religious integrity. (3). Rhetoric without implementation; Moderation is often a political jargon or a tool of diplomacy that is symbolically strong but weak in implementation. Many policies in the name of moderation do not really touch the root of the problem of intolerance and discrimination. (4). The dominance of the elite over the moderation narrative; The narrative of moderation is often dictated by political or religious elites, who use this concept to perpetuate their power. In this context, moderation loses its meaning as a tool of social transformation and becomes an instrument of hegemony (Akhmadi, 2019).

Religious Moderation: Utopia to Oxymora



From utopian religious moderation to oxymora, for the author offers opium from the oxymora trap, by creating an authentic dialogue, which must open an equal space for dialogue, where all groups, including minorities, have equal voting rights without pressure or domination. Furthermore, offer policies that are based on justice, because moderation needs to be translated into real policies, such as protecting the rights of minority groups, eliminating discrimination, and providing inclusive religious education. In addition, because there has been a change in human life from a manual world to a digital system, there needs to be a strengthening of moderation narratives in the digital space, namely moderation narratives need to compete with more aggressive extremist narratives. Strengthening digital literacy and disseminating creative

moderation content can be a solution to face this challenge. And finally, of course, as a space for dialogue and equality without having to look at human artifacts, there needs to be collective participation, that moderation should not be a mere elite project. It must involve the participation of all elements of society, so that this concept becomes a common property, not a tool of a specific group.

## Conclusion

Religious moderation, proposed as a solution to the challenges of plurality and extremism, is often idealized as a utopia that promises harmony and balance. However, the journey of this concept from utopia to oxymora shows how the implementation of moderation often presents internal contradictions. It turns into moderation, an effort that is more at the level of rhetoric than substance, serving the interests of the elite more than the needs of the wider community. On the one hand, religious moderation is able to provide hope in building social cohesion in the midst of diversity. On the other hand, when abused or applied superficially, it creates a new exclusivity, strengthens the hierarchy of power, and ignores the values of justice that are its essence. This phenomenon reflects the disconnect between moderation idealism and socio-political realities that are often influenced by pragmatic interests. Therefore, it is important to re-reflect on the multi-perspective approach so that it does not stop at the symbolic level, but must be translated into concrete actions that empower all groups, especially those who are marginalized. True moderation is one rooted in dialogue, justice, and courage to confront structural injustices, not just a tool to maintain the status quo. It is as if moderation should be a reminder that ideas without implementation are just empty utopias, while practices without integrity will only give birth to oxymora that exacerbates divisions. Therefore, moderation needs to be redefined with a contextual and participatory approach, so that it is not just a slogan. Its implementation must emphasize concrete actions such as inclusive education, strengthening moderate religious literacy, and justice-oriented policies. It is important to eliminate the narrative of moderation being used as a tool to silence or stigmatize certain groups. Instead, moderation should be a space for equal dialogue, where all religious groups have the same right to be heard and respected. Moderation should not be monopolized by religious or political elites who use it to maintain hegemony.

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