

Islamophobia in Indonesia

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Islamophobia in Indonesia: Fact or Assumption?

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ABSTRACT

Islamophobia is a phobia to Islam without any particular reason that causes Muslims to experience exclusion from economic, social, and public life. It is not just a problem for Muslims, but also for other religions. It rises potential horizontal conflict among followers of religions or groups. Islamophobia does occur in the West. In Indonesia, the hardline Islamic groups labelled critical thoughts or policies that do not in line with them as Islamophobia. However, religious leaders from Ambon, where there were conflicts between Christian and Muslim, said there was no Islamophobia in Indonesia. The statement is also agreed upon by a leader from Kerjasama Antar-Umat Beragama (Jakatarub) Bandung. Both leaders are representatives from the so-called tolerant and intolerant cities, affirmed that there are no Islamophobia in Indonesia. Therefore, is it just an assumption from the hardline Islamic groups who accused those who do not agree with their opinion about Islamic state by sharia as Islamophobia? How do we understand several policies or acts that seem like Islamophobia? This paper argues that there is no Islamophobia in Indonesia by analyzing two cases that labelled as Islamophobia in Indonesia using the open and closed view of Islam (The Runnymede Trust, 1997).

Keywords: *Islamophobia, the hardline Islamic groups · the open and closed view of Islam*

INTRODUCTION

"Islamophobia is not simply a problem for Muslims; it is 'our' problem," John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin stated in "Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century".ⁱ They response toward the dangerous growth of Islamophobia in America and Europe that causes Muslims to experience exclusion from economic, social, and public life, besides also discrimination in blatant form of hate crimes and subtler forms of disparagement; and false presumptions or stereotypes. On the other hand, it rises anti-Americanism in the Muslim world.

As the largest Muslim country in the world, Indonesia cannot avoid the impact of this condition. Critical thoughts or policies that do not in line with certain Islamic groups will be easily labelled as Islamophobia. Hanafi Rais, the Vice Chairman of Commission I of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, accused the Indonesian government of practicing Islamophobia when the Ministry of

Communications and Information Technology took unilateral closure to a number of sites suspected of spreading the teaching of radicalism on March 2015.ⁱⁱ Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) stated in their website on May 2011, that the de-radicalization program is to create and instill a phobic attitude towards the vision of political Islam in the frame of the application of Islamic sharia state.ⁱⁱⁱ On January 2015, the spokesman of HTI, Muhammad Ismail Yusanto, gave a statement by referring to the instructions from the Regional Police Chief of Riau to delay policewomen wearing hijab in the rank of the Riau Police, "So, the police is really under pressure of secular groups Islamophobia..."^{iv}

On the other hand, the Co-founder of Peace Provocateurs Ambon, Jacky Manuputty said that there was no Islamophobia in Indonesia.^v It is undeniable that starting in 1999 and continued to more than four years, religious conflicts occurred in Ambon. This conflict was the most appalling in terms of the scale of death and destruction.^{vi} Nowadays, Ambon is ranked number seventh of the

most tolerant city in Indonesia based on Tolerant-City Index 2015 by Setara Institute.^{vii} The same opinion was also stated by the Coordinator of Jaringan Kerjasama Antar-Umat Beragama (Jakarta) in Bandung, Wawan Gunawan.^{viii} Bandung is ranked number sixth of intolerant city in Indonesia.^{ix} According to him, although there were conflicts between Christian and Muslim, they cannot be categorized as Islamophobia. It is apparent that both representatives from the tolerant and intolerant cities, affirmed that there are no Islamophobia in Indonesia.

Therefore, is Islamophobia real in Indonesia? Or, is it just an assumption from the radical groups who accused those who do not agree with their opinion about Islamic state? How do we understand several policies or acts that seem like Islamophobia? This paper will answer these questions by analyzing two cases that labelled as Islamophobia in Indonesia.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Literature review is used as a method research. The primary source is collected from the organization's website and they official social media. Secondary sources use credible news from internet resources. Discourse analysis is used as a method analysis.

Definitions of Islamophobia

Islamophobia has long and deep historical roots.^x It was first used in France by Étienne Dinet (the French painter and Muslim convert) and his Algerian colleague, Sliman Ben Ibrahim.^{xi} They used it regularly over a period of two decades, first in their 1918 biography of the Prophet Muhammad, then in 1925 when they wrote, 'accès de délire Islamophobe'. In that work, Dinet and Ibrahim used "Islamophobie" to describe the intentional misrepresentation of Islam "in the hope of bringing Islam down once and for all"^{xii} in the context of Western colonization of Africa.^{xiii} During the Iranian revolution, it was used by the Mullahs to describe Iranian Women who refused to wear the hijab and less so, Muslim feminists and liberals.^{xiv} Therefore, Islamophobia does not use only for non-Muslims, but also for Muslims who refuse to follow the Islamic law according to certain interpreters.

Islamophobia in the contemporary setting is recognized as a new word for a new reality. Contemporary Islamophobia has been primarily shaped by the British context. In 1997 publication

of the report "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All" by the Runnymede Trust, the British race relations NGO.^{xv} In the report, Islamophobia is defined as the dread, hatred, and hostility toward Islam and Muslims perpetrated by a series of close views that imply and attribute negative and derogatory stereotypes and beliefs to Muslims.^{xvi} They contrasted "open" and "closed" views of Islam.^{xvii}

Figure 1		
The contrasted of Closed and Open Views of Islam		
Distinctions	Closed views of Islam	Open views of Islam
1. Monolithic /diverse	Islam seen as a single monolithic bloc, static, and unresponsive to new realities.	Islam seen as diverse and progressive with internal differences, debates and development.
2. Separate/ interacting	Islam seen as separate and other – (a) not having any aims or values in common with other cultures (b) not affected by them (c) not influencing them.	Islam seen as interdependent with other faiths and cultures – (a) having certain shared values and aims (b) affected by them (c) enriching them
3. Inferior/ different	Islam seen as inferior to the West – barbaric, irrational, primitive, sexist.	Islam seen as distinctively different, but not deficient, and as equally worthy of respect.
4. Enemy/ partner	Islam seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, engaged in 'a clash of civilizations.'	Islam seen as an actual or potential partner in joint cooperative enterprises and in the solution of shared problems.
5. Manipulative / sincere	Islam seen as a political ideology, used for political or military advantage	Islam seen as a genuine religious faith, practiced sincerely by its adherents.
6. Criticism of West rejected/ considered	Criticisms made by Islam of 'the West' rejected out of hand.	Criticisms of 'the West' and other cultures are considered and debated.
7. Discrimination defended/ criticized	Hostility towards Islam used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream	Debates and disagreements with Islam do not diminish efforts to combat discrimination and exclusion.

	society.	
8. Islamophobia seen as natural/ problematic	Anti-Muslim hostility accepted as natural and 'normal'.	Critical views of Islam are themselves subjected to critique, lest they be inaccurate and unfair.

An explanation of the concepts of the “closed” and “open” views is set out as follows:^{xviii}

1. Islam is seen as monolithic and static rather than diverse and dynamic

The closed views see Islam as a single monolithic bloc. The views generalize that the negative attributes and characteristics of a few and projected into all Muslims without any differentiation. Muslims are also seen static and unresponsive to new realities and challenges.

Meanwhile, the open views see Islam as diverse and progressive where internal differences, debates and development are acknowledged. The differences and diversity include the expression of Islam across different geographical locations, interpretations of the Qur'an, and experiences of men and women as well as between young and old.

2. Islam is seen as the other and separated rather than similar and interdependent

Closed views assume Islam is isolated from other cultures and religion neither influencing nor affecting them in any way. Islam is seen as the bi-polar opposite, differential strongly from the West or other cultures.

Open views see Islam as being interdependent with other cultures and faiths especially those from the Abrahamic tradition.

3. Islam seen as inferior not different

Closed views understand Islam inherently inferior expressing of bi-polar differentials Islam and the West. Islam is primitive, irrational, violent, misogynist, sexist, scheming, disorganized, oppressive and barbaric. Islam culture mistreats women, justifies political and military projects, and insists solely literalist interpretation of the Qur'an. All of these is opposite with Western norms that civilized, reasonable, generous, efficient, sophisticated, enlightened, non-sexist.

Open views see Islam as distinctively different, but not deficient, and is equally worthy of respect.

4. Islam is seen as an enemy not as a partner

Closed views see Islam as being largely

violent, aggressive and is firmly committed to terrorism against the West.

Open views suggest Islam as an actual or potential partner at international, regional, or national levels where it should be encouraged to engage in co-operative and shared processes to solving problems.

5. Muslims are seen as manipulative not sincere

Closed views understand Islam is used for strategic, political, and military advantage as opposed to it being a sincere and honest religion. Muslims are seen to be instrumental in using Islam as a political or ideological weapon.

Open views see Muslims practicing their faith with conviction and sincerity, while their traditions and adherences are seen to be genuine.

6. 'Racial' discrimination against Muslims is defended rather than challenged.

Closed views give legitimacy to racist sentiments caused by overlapping understanding of Islam and race. Islam is identified as the other forms of race.

Open views prefer that debates and disagreements with Islam should neither hinder nor diminish attempt to combat wider forms of discrimination and exclusion.

7. Muslims' criticisms of 'the West' are rejected not considered

Closed views exclude Muslims from being invited or encouraged to take a full part on society's moral deliberations and debates where Muslims or those from the Islamic world criticize the West, against liberalism, modernity, and secularism.

Open views suggest that criticisms to the West put forward by Muslims and the Islamic world should be both considered and debated instead of just being 'dismissed out of hand.'

8. Anti-Muslim's discourse is seen as natural not problematic

Closed views see anti-Muslim expression as increasingly 'a natural, taken-for-granted ingredient of the commonsense world of millions of people every day.

Open views see the critical views of Islam are themselves subjected to critique, lest they be inaccurate and unfair.

Since then, Islamophobia has been regularly used by the media, citizens, and NGOs, particularly in Britain, France, and the United States^{xix} and has gained a far greater prevalence across both the public and political spaces.^{xx} Islamophobia has become a topic of increasing sociological and political importance. After 9/11, it is especially used

ICSEAS2017, Vol. (by editor), Number (by editor) more intensively as a modern and secular anti-Islamic discourse and practice that appear in the public sphere with the integration of Muslim immigrant communities.^{xxi}

Does Islamophobia really occur in the British context? On April 2016, The Runnymede Trust posted "Islamophobia-20 years on, still a challenge for us all".^{xxii} They identified four ways in

which Islamophobia still takes place in the British society, namely exclusion (from government, employment, management and responsibility), violence (physical assaults, vandalism of property, verbal abuse), prejudice (in the media, in everyday conversation), and discrimination (in employment practices, and in provision of services, notably health and education). On their report, British Muslim women have the highest rates of employment. Hate crimes against Muslim have undoubtedly risen in the past twenty years.

Also, it is rare indeed to see British Muslims in positions of power and influence.^{xxiii} But the Runnymede did not mention about several terrors took place in the name of Islam that occurred in London.^{xxiv} The terrorism caused hatred in the society, especially among those who do not know Islam and its adherents. With this situation in the background, Sadiq Khan was elected as the first Muslim mayor of London.^{xxv} Meanwhile, Moazzam Malik, has been elected as the first Muslim British Ambassador to Indonesia, Asean, and Timor-Leste.^{xxvi}

Although the term Islamophobia has become relatively common, there is little agreement about Islamophobia's precise meaning.^{xxvii} Academics are still debating the legitimacy of the term and questioning how it differs from other terms such as *racism*, *anti-Islamism*, *anti-Muslimness*, and *anti-Semitism*.^{xxviii} Ellen argued that "since Islamophobia has broadly entered the social and political lexicon, arguments about the appropriateness of the term now seem outdated."^{xxix} The Prime Minister of France, Manuel Valls, following the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks,^{xxx} refuses to use the term 'Islamophobia' to describe the phenomenon of anti-Muslim prejudice, because the accusation of Islamophobia is often used as a weapon by Islamism's apologists to silence their critics. However, Valls is not denying the existence of anti-Muslim sentiment which is strong across much of France.^{xxxi} On the other side, the Bridge Initiative Team from Georgetown University stated, "If we, in pluralistic societies, want to break down prejudice and end discrimination against Muslims, the first — and

perhaps most important — step is agreeing on its name. 'Islamophobia' is the right choice."^{xxxii} The Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan addressed the international scope of Islamophobia, called a 2004 UN conference, "Confronting Islamophobia: Education for Tolerance and Understanding." Annan underscored the global need to acknowledge and address this new form of increasing bigotry.^{xxxiii} From this various opinions, it is clear that there is still no final agreement on the usage of the term "Islamophobia". It means, its usage can still be thought-out, especially in Indonesia context.

Erich Bleich, a professor of political science at Middlebury College, on his article "What Is Islamophobia and How Much is There? Theorizing and Measuring an Emerging Comparative Concept" using Gary Goertz's concept that developed an analysis of social scientific concepts, writes about basic, secondary, and indicators of Islamophobia.^{xxxiv} The basic level is the thing itself, while the secondary level consists of the key constitutive elements that are most useful for causal analysis.

He explains three central aspect following the definition. There are *indiscriminate* means that differentiated attitudes or emotions do not constitute Islamophobia. Questioning or even criticizing aspects of Islamic doctrine or practices of specific subgroups of Muslims is not automatically Islamophobia. However, if people concludes from what they think that Islam or Muslims as a whole are worthy of condemnation, it becomes an indiscriminate attitude that constitutes Islamophobia. Second, *negative attitudes or emotions* encompass a range of evaluations and affects. A phobia is defined as "a persistent and irrational fear of a specific object, activity, or situation that is excessive and unreasonable, given the reality of the threat" by the American Psychological Association, however, Islamophobia is not a clinical psychological term. As with parallel concepts such as homophobia or xenophobia, Islamophobia connotes a broader set of negative attitudes and emotions directed at individuals or groups because of their perceived membership in a defined category. The scale begins with aversion, moves through threat-based fears, and at the extreme involves the hostility of those who advocate denying fundamental civil rights and imposing segregation. Aversion, jealousy, suspicion, disdain, anxiety, rejection, contempt, fear, disgust, anger, and hostility give a sense of the range of negative attitudes and emotions that may constitute Islamophobia. Third, negative attitudes directed at *Islam or Muslims* suggest that the target may be the

religious doctrine or the people who follow it (or those ancestors have followed it or who are believed to follow it). This recognizes the multidimensional nature of Islamophobia and the fact that Islam and Muslims are often inextricably intertwined in individual and public perceptions. It may be possible in some circumstances to identify differences between anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim attitudes or emotions, and even to explore whether there are causal relationships between those two subcategories of Islamophobia.^{xxxv}

“Islamophobia” in Indonesia

Can Islamophobia happen in majority Muslim countries? Ustadz Adnin Armas, the young cleric of the Indonesian Intellectual and Young Ulama Council (Majelis Intelektual dan Ulama Muda Indonesia - MIUMI), said that Islamophobia is not happening just in Europe and America, but also in Indonesia. He stated, “...the indications appeared. The people who want to contribute and love this religion can be accused of being conservative, fundamentalist, radical, anti-progress, anti-Western, anti-NKRI, and similar slanders.” This statement was delivered in “Tabligh Akbar” of the Indonesian Intellectual and Young Ulama at the Mosque Pondok Indah, Jakarta in 2015.^{xxxvi} At present, he becomes the chairman of the Justice for All Foundation (Yayasan Keadilan untuk Semua) and is also involved in the National Movement of the Fatwa Guards of the Indonesian Ulama Council (Gerakan Nasional Pengawal Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia – GNPf MUI). The GNPf MUI supported Islamic defensive action on November 4, and December 2, 2016 known as “414 and 212 actions”.^{xxxvii} Can the experiencing of HTI be considered as Islamophobia?

The Secretary General of International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS), KH. Hasyim Muzadi gave a speech on ICIS fourth meeting in Malang. He asked all parties to stop Islamophobia campaign. According to him, Islamophobia and terrorism are like eggs and chicken. The parties were therefore asked to unravel the root the problem terrorism. For him, Indonesia can be at he forefront of a peaceful Islam campaign.^{xxxviii}

The next question is whether government’s policies can do adjust to religious practices according to the Indonesian law included as an Islamophobia. Do the fear caused by violence in the name of Islam can also be categorized as an Islamophobia?

On March 2015, the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology took

a unilateral closure of 19 sites suspected of spreading the teaching of radicalism, namely arrahman.com, voa-islam.com, ghur4ba.blogspot.com, panjimas.com, thoriquna.com, dakwatuna.com, kafilahmujahid.com, an-najah.net, muslimdaily.net, hidayatullah.com, salam-online.com, aqlislamiccenter.com, kiblata.net, dakwahmedia.com, muqawomah.com, lasdipo.com, gemaislam.com, eramuslim.com, daulahislam.com.^{xxxix} For example, the site of arrahman.com was seen as not only disseminating information related to the implementation of syariah law, but also of spreading hatred against Shia groups.¹ Furthermore, the foundation of the unitary state of Indonesia (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia - NKRI*), is Pancasila, not any particular religion.

A spokesperson for the Ministry of Communications and Informatics, Ismail Cawaidu, said the reason to block these sites was due to their its radically indicated content. The request for a closure came from the National Agency for Counter-Terrorism (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme - BNPT).^{xl} The Head of BNPT Commissioner General Saud Usman Nasution explained in a discussion of Radical Site Closure Controversy at the Office of Alliance of Independent Journalists, that their job is to investigate radically indicated Islamic sites. The blocking itself is the authority of the Ministry of Communication and Information. Saud explained that the criteria of a blocked site is the one with anarchist writings and radicalism, and kafiri. Allegedly the site was associated with ISIS.^{xli} Based on them the reason them, there are four criteria of a media website that can be considered radical, namely^{xlii}:

1. Want to make changes quickly using violence in the name of religion
2. Takfiri or disbelieve in others
3. Support, deploy, and invite others to join ISIS/IS
4. Limited understanding of jihad

For example, the site of arrahman.com was seen as not only disseminating information related to the implementation of syariah law, but also of spreading hatred against Shia groups. Furthermore, the foundation of the unitary state of Indonesia (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia - NKRI*), is Pancasila, not any particular religion.^{xliii}

According to Rudiantara, the Minister of Communications and Informatics, it has two ways to block illegal sites. He stated, “we block in two ways: First wait for reporting and the second can be from the system.”^{xliv} The system is called DNS Nawala. It

can be used by internet users. It is a free DNS filtering service. It filters or filters out negative content in the form of pornographic, violent or internet crime content.^{xlv} He also has signed a special panel team to filter the problem of blocking negative content on the internet. The panel is

referred to as the Negotiated Negotiable Website Handling Forum (Forum Penanganan Situs Internet Bermuatan Negatif - FPSIBN), regulated in Ministerial Decree No. 90 of 2015. The establishment of the forum is a refinement of the government's governance handling negatively charged sites. Includes in it are contents of pornography, terrorism, racial intolerance, hatred, deception, gambling, drugs and food, to intellectual property rights.

In 2017, the Indonesia government, through the Ministry of Communications and Informatics in cooperation with Press Council (Dewan Press), had blocked again eleven sites, namely: voa-islam.com, nahimunkar.com, kiblat.net, bisyarah.com, dakwahtangerang.com, islampos.com, suaranews.com, izzamedia.com, gensyiah.com, muqawamah.com, abuzubair.com. the nine first site were blocked because of negative content, such as the speech of hatred, slander, provocation, racism, or insulting the state symbols. The other two for containing phishing and malware.^{xlvi}

Many reactions arise due to the blockage.

Owner of the Arrahmah.com, Muhammad Jibriel Abdul Rahman said there is a sense of fear of Islam. He admitted that the first content they provide was a bit harsh, but it has changed and is no longer emotional.^{xlvii} Meanwhile, a priest in New York, Shamsi Ali called the government as being authoritarian in implementing the sites' blocking, because there is no criteria which to base the action. He stated that there should be criteria or else the act can be considered a violation to freedom of speech and the citizen's human right. He argued that even in the United States, the government is not able to block Islamic sites if it does not engage in negative things such as invitation to destruction and killing.^{xlviii} The other protest came from Indonesia Ulema Council expressed his objection to the action. On the other hand, General Chairman of Nadhatul Ulama asked the government to act firmly against the radical sites that can still be accessed in Indonesia. According to him, sites containing radicalism should be blocked.^{xlix}

Can this blocking be categorized of Islamophobia? Based on Runnymede's concept of the "Closed Views" and "Open views," the

government has no monolithic views of Islam. The government recognizes Islam as diverse and progressive. Nadhatul Ulama as the biggest Islam organization in Indonesia (even in the world), supports the government's attempts to block the sites that content radicalism, as also stated by Said Aqil, General Chairman of Nadhatul Ulama. The government has responsibility to protect the country from the HTI's intention to change the basic philosophy of Indonesia, from Pancasila to khilafah.

Another case is based on the information from Wawan Gunawan of Jakatarub- Bandung.² He told the experience of Asima Rohana Panjaitan, the daughter of Revd. Palti Panjaitan-the pastor of HKBP Filadelfia Bekasi.³ The church is banned due the protest of Muslims although they are legitimated by the law. On December 2012, the mob attacked the church when they were about to hold a Christmas celebration. They pelted the congregation with mud, buffalo dung, urine, rotten eggs. Asima remembered her father's body was filled with the dirt. The stacks of the holy books, the Bible, were also destroyed, dirty, and smelly. She saw the women wearing hijab angrily hit the fence of the church. After that occasion, she was traumatized and was fearful when seeing who wear hijab. No matter how hard she was trying, she still felt uncomfortable whenever she saw the women in hijab. She was scared with Muslim groups because they have condemned her father and said that her father will die. Her Muslim friends do not longer want to be her friend without apparent reason.

Her case of experiencing religious intolerance made her afraid of Muslims. She admitted that sometimes she was distempered by Muslims, because Muslim make her father stressed. She could not bear his father treated that way. However, she does not stigmatize all Muslims as evil. She still believes that there are some groups of Muslims who are good.

In Asima's case, her fear of the Muslims is due to her traumatic experience with Muslim intolerance. Phobia means fear without any apparent reason. Therefore, in Asima's case, her fear toward Muslims cannot be categorized as Islamophobia because it has a reason.

CONCLUSION

² Gunawan, *op.cit.* This story also written in the book: Rio R. Tuasikal (et.al.) 2014. *Melangkah Luka: 12 Kisah Perjalanan Menuju Damai*. Bandung: untukharmoni.com & Jakatarub.

Islamophobia is a phobia to Islam without any particular reasons that causes Muslims to experience exclusion from economic, social, and public. Islamophobia occurs in the west or and particularly in Europe. It was caused by ignorance of Islam as it is seen as a violent religion. Violence in the name of Islam will very easily be considered as Islam itself. The political and economic interests can exacerbate interreligious relations. It makes the picture of Islam gets worse.

What is happening in the West and Europe is not the same as the conditions in Indonesia. The term Islamophobia is used by Muslim Leaders to accuse anyone who do not agree with their concept of radical Islam. But, the facts give evidence that the disagreement or the fear cannot be categorized as Islamophobia. The disagreement and the fear have a clear reasons.

The picture of Islam as a religion of peace can be found in everyday life. Even though prejudice occurs, it does not only happen to Muslims. It can happen to anyone, from any religious background. If the level is still prejudice, it cannot be categorized as Islamophobia. Even though there were violent incidents done in the name of Islam that raised fear, they cannot be categorized as Islamophobia. The emotion ensued is more a normal fear caused by traumatic experienced. Criticism of certain Islamic views cannot be categorized as an Islamophobia as in social life. It is common to disagree of certain concepts and society are still open to discuss it.

Therefore, Islam of Indonesia can impact to the world by showing different portrait of Islam as a peace religion such as "Islam Nusantara" as promoted by Nadlatul Ulama (NU). "Nusantara Islam is a distinctive Islam resulting from vivid, intense and vibrant interaction, contextualization, indigenization and vernacularization of universal Islam with Indonesian social, cultural and religious realities."⁴

As the conclusion, Islamophobia as alleged by certain parties has not occurred in Indonesia. However, there needed efforts to continue mutual understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims to eliminate prejudice and improve ability to work together and build interreligious understanding.

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Rev. Jacky Manuputty, the Co-founder of Peace Provocateurs, Jakarta, Juni 14, 2016.

Wawan Gunawan, the Coordinator of Jakatarub, Bandung, July 2, 2016.

ENDNOTES

ⁱ John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin (eds.). *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. xxxiii.

ⁱⁱ <http://www.gatra.com/nusantara-1/nasional-1/140624-blokir-19-situs-hanafi-rais-pemerintah-kok-seperti-islamophobia.html>. On March 2015, The Ministry of Communication has blocked 19 websites that reported by the National Agency for Combating Terrorism – Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) as websites that propagate the ideology or sympathizers of radicalism.

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2011/05/04/monsterisasi-teror-nii-kuatkan-islamophobia/>

^{iv} <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2015/01/24/polri-di-bawah-tekanan-sekuler-islamophobia/>.

bawah-tekanan-sekuler-islamophobia/. According to the Regional Police Chief of Riau, Brigjen. Pol. Drs. Dolly Bambang Hermawan, he never issued a moratorium or ban on using hijab. He just followed the regulations that set by the Police Headquarters concerning police uniform that still waiting the regulation how to use hijab (http://www.rri.co.id/pekanbaru/post/berita/133992/daerah/kapolda_riau_bantah_rumor_pelarangan_polisi_wanita_gunakan_hijab.html).

^v Conversation with the Rev. Jacky Manuputty, the Co-founder of Peace Provocateurs, Jakarta, Juni 14, 2016. Peace Provocateurs is a community-based movement whose main objectives are to provoke peace, reinforce amity, and reduce tensions and the escalation of violence in Ambon city (Sumanto Al Qurtuby. *Peacebuilding in Indonesia: Christian-Muslim Alliances in Ambon Island, Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, DOI: 10.1080/09596410.2013.785091, 2013), p.10.

^{vi} Al-Qurtuby, *ibid.*, p.3

^{vii} <http://setara-institute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Tolerant-City-Index-Edited.pdf>

^{viii} Conversation with Wawan Gunawan, the Coordinator of Jakatarub, Bandung, July 2, 2016. Jakatarub is a network of people from various religious backgrounds whose aim is to bring tolerance and interreligious harmony with deep understanding among each other (<http://jakatarub.org/tentang-kami/>).

^{ix} Setara, *op.cit.*

^x Esposito, *op.cit.*, p. xxii.

^{xi} Chris Allen. *Islamophobia*. (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), p.5; Bridge Initiative Team, <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/islamophobia-the-right-word-for-a-real-problem/> (accessed 12 July 2016).

^{xii} Allen, *Ibid.*

^{xiii} Bridge, *op.cit.*

^{xiv} Allen, *op.cit.*

^{xv} Erik Bleich. "Defining and Researching Islamophobia" in *Review of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2. (Middle East Studies Association of North America, 2012), p. 180.

^{xvi} Esposito and Kalin, *op.cit.*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

^{xvii} The Runnymede Trust. 1997. *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All* <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/islamophobia.pdf> - (accessed 12 July 2016)

^{xviii} Chris Allen. 2010. *Islamophobia*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.69-73

^{xix} *Ibid.*

- ^{xx} Allen, Chris. "Islamophobia" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e1178> (accessed 12 Juli 2016)
- ^{xxi} Jocelyne Cesari. "Islamophobia in the West: A Comparison between Europe and the United States" in John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin (eds.). *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 21.
- ^{xxii} <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/blog/islamophobia-20-years-on-still-a-challenge-for-us-all> (accessed 14 July 2016)
- ^{xxiii} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxiv} Kompas, *op.cit.*
- ^{xxv} <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-36140479> (accessed 14 July 2016). <http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2016/05/08/07541321/Islamophobia.dan.Kemenangan.Sadiq.Khan> (accessed 14 July 2016)
- ^{xxvi} <https://www.gov.uk/government/people/moazzam-malik> (accessed 14 July 2016); Kompas., *ibid.*
- ^{xxvii} Bleich, *op.cit.*, pp. 180-181.
- ^{xxviii} Cesari, *op.cit.*
- ^{xxix} Allen. "Islamophobia", *op.cit.*
- ^{xxx} On the first week of 2015, the French satirical weekly Charlie Hebdo was attacked by two Islamic gunmen who killed 12 people including journalists, staff and a Muslim police officer Ahmend Merabet. This attack was allegedly staged by Al Qaeda to teach Charlie Hebdo a lesson fro drawing blasphemous cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed. (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30708237> [accessed 14 July 2016]).
- ^{xxxi} <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/01/french-prime-minister-manuel-valls-on-islamophobia/384592/> (accessed 13 July 2016).
- ^{xxxii} <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/islamophobia-the-right-word-for-a-real-problem/>
- ^{xxxiii} Esposito and Kalin, *op.cit.*, p. xxiii.
- ^{xxxiv} Bleich., E. (2012). "Defining and Researching Islamophobia" in *Review of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2. (Middle East Studies Association of North America, p. 1585.
- ^{xxxv} *Idem.*, p. 1586-1587.
- ^{xxxvi} [islam/islamophobia-bisa-muncul-di-indonesia/](http://persisalaman.com/dunia-islam/islamophobia-bisa-muncul-di-indonesia/)
- ^{xxxvii} <https://www.arammah.com/2017/02/11/polisi-geledah-rumah-kerabat-dekat-ketua-gnpf-mui-ustad-bachtiar-nasir/>
- ^{xxxviii} <http://kemenag.go.id/index.php?a=berita&id=308605> (accessed 13 July 2016)
- ^{xxxix} <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2015/03/31/090654239/ini-daftar-19-situs-yang-diblokir-kominfo>
- ^{xl} *Idem*
- ^{xli} https://kominfo.go.id/index.php/content/detail/4653/BNPT+lempar+kesalahan+ke+Kominfo+soal+pemblokiran+situs+islam/0/sorotan_media
- ^{xlii} <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20150401093434-185-43429/kriteria-situs-islam-radikal-versi-bnpt/>
- ^{xliii} <https://www.arammah.com/kajian-islam/kitab-anwarul-wilayat-siapa-yang-minum-kencing-darah-dan-makan-tinja-imam-syiah-maka-haram-masuk-neraka-dan-wajib-masuk-surga.html> (accessed 15 July 2016).
- ^{xliv} https://kominfo.go.id/content/detail/5957/begini-cara-kominfo-blokir-situs-terlarang/0/sorotan_media
- ^{xlvi} *Idem.*
- ^{xlvii} <https://www.google.co.id/amp/amp.kompas.com/teknologi/read/2017/01/04/10150067/ini.dia.11.situs.yang.terbaru.diblokir.pemerintah>
- ^{xlviii} <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20150401093434-185-43429/kriteria-situs-islam-radikal-versi-bnpt/>
- ^{xlix} <https://www.nahimunkar.com/imam-new-york-amerika-saja-tidak-blokir-situs-islam/&ei=hVAn6AZs&lc=en-ID&s=1&m=779&host>
- ^{xlvi} <http://m.liputan6.com/tekno/read/2866861/ketua-umum-pbnu-blokir-situs-situs-radikalm>

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