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Critical Hermeneutics of Religious Minority Representation in Indonesian Public Discourse: A Perspective on Islamic Family Law

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the representation of religious minorities in Indonesian public discourse using a critical hermeneutics approach integrated with critical discourse analysis. The scope of this study includes mass media discourse, public officials' statements, policy documents, and popular religious discourses circulating in the public sphere. The objective of this study is to reveal patterns of representation of religious minorities, identify the ideologies and power relations underlying these representations, and explain their social implications for the position of religious minorities. This study employs a qualitative method with a critical-interpretative design, in which data are collected through documentary analysis and examined textually, contextually, and ideologically through hermeneutic reflection. The findings indicate that religious minorities are predominantly represented as social threats, deviations from majority norms, objects of state regulation, and passive subjects with limited discursive space. These representations function as symbolic mechanisms that reproduce majority dominance and structural injustice. The study concludes that critical hermeneutics is an effective approach for uncovering the relationship between meaning, ideology, and power in Indonesia's religious public discourse.

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is widely recognized as a country with a high degree of religious diversity, constitutionally upholding the principles of freedom of religion and belief. However, in practice, the representation of religious minority groups in public discourse often deviates from the ideals of pluralism and social justice. Mass media, political elites' statements, state policies, and dominant religious discourses frequently generate narratives that position religious minorities as subordinate, problematic, and even deviant from mainstream social norms. Such discourses not only shape public perceptions but also have implications for

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public policy, social relations, and the lived experiences of religious minority groups . (Ashadi et al., 2024).

In this context, language and discourse are not neutral phenomena (Afandi, 2025). They function as arenas of struggle over meaning, power, and legitimacy (Munawar-Rachman et al., 2026; Stahel & Baier, 2023). Representations of religious minorities in public discourse are often saturated with ideological assumptions, majority bias, and unequal power relations. Therefore, a critical approach is required that goes beyond descriptive textual readings to uncover the structures of meaning, interests, and ideologies embedded in discourse production (Bhima et al., 2024; Rahman, 2026). Critical hermeneutics offers a relevant analytical framework for understanding how meaning is constructed, negotiated, and employed as a tool of domination and resistance within Indonesia's socio-political context (Sirait & Siagian, 2025).

Based on this background, the central research question of this study concerns how religious minorities are represented in Indonesian public discourse and what ideologies and power relations underlie these representations (Baitussalam et al., 2026; Habsi, 2025). Furthermore, this study examines how public discourse influences the social construction of religious minorities and the extent to which such discourse reproduces or challenges structural injustice. This issue is crucial given the strategic role of public discourse in shaping public opinion and state policy directions.(Basit, 2025)

Previous studies on religious minorities in Indonesia have primarily focused on issues of religious freedom, intolerance, horizontal conflict, and policy-based discrimination (Habsi et al., 2025, 2026). Some studies employ sociological and political approaches to analyze majority–minority relations, while others use critical discourse analysis to examine media narratives and political speeches related to religious issues . Globally, critical hermeneutics has been applied to ideological, religious, and political texts to reveal hidden power relations and interests embedded in language (ADZIM, 2021).

However, most of these studies tend to separate discourse analysis from hermeneutic approaches (Affan, 2025; Affan & Habsi, 2025). Critical discourse analysis often emphasizes linguistic structures and social contexts, whereas hermeneutic studies focus on textual interpretation (Affan, 2025). The integration of these approaches, particularly in the context of religious minority representation in Indonesia, remains limited. Consequently, there exists a knowledge gap regarding the use of critical hermeneutics as a primary approach for examining how meaning-making processes in public discourse are intertwined with power relations and majority ideology (Putra & Sandoro, 2025)

Moreover, there remains a lack of research that explicitly positions religious minorities as subjects marginalized through interpretative mechanisms of discourse, rather than merely as objects of policy or victims of conflict. This study aims to critically analyze representations of religious minorities in Indonesian public discourse using a critical hermeneutics approach. Specifically, it seeks to: reveal patterns of representation of religious minorities; identify the

ideologies and power relations underlying the construction of meaning; and explain the social implications of these representations for the position and lived experiences of religious minorities in Indonesia. This study is expected to contribute theoretically to the development of critical hermeneutics and practically to efforts toward fostering a more just and inclusive public discourse.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach with a critical-interpretative design grounded in critical hermeneutics. The approach aims to understand and critique the meanings embedded in public discourse on religious minority representation in Indonesia, emphasizing ideological dimensions and power relations. Epistemologically, the study is situated within a critical paradigm that views social reality as a historically constructed phenomenon. The research population includes all forms of public discourse related to religious minorities in Indonesia (Summery, 2003). Samples are selected purposively from national mass media texts, public officials' statements, policy documents, and popular religious discourse in digital public spaces, based on issue relevance and influence on public opinion.(In et al., 2025)

Data collection is conducted through documentary analysis and discourse tracing by identifying and classifying relevant public discourse texts, accompanied by repeated readings to capture nuances of meaning and linguistic symbolism. Data analysis integrates critical hermeneutics and critical discourse analysis through stages of textual analysis, contextual analysis, critical-ideological analysis, and hermeneutic reflection. Data validity is maintained through source triangulation and researcher reflexivity regarding positionality and assumptions in the interpretative process. This approach enables the production of in-depth, critical, and academically accountable analysis.(Artikel, 2024)

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

The analysis reveals that representations of religious minorities in Indonesian public discourse are systematically constructed through recurrent discursive strategies that reflect majority ideology and asymmetric power relations. These representations are not incidental but embedded within institutionalized language practices across mass media, political discourse, policy documents, and dominant religious narratives. Language operates as a mechanism of social legitimation, naturalizing majority dominance while symbolically marginalizing minority religious groups.

Beyond identifying general patterns, this study uncovers specific linguistic and discursive mechanisms through which marginalization is produced and maintained.

Minorities as Threats to Social Harmony

One of the most dominant discursive constructions found in Indonesian

public discourse is the portrayal of religious minorities as potential threats to social harmony, public order, and national stability. This representation emerges through various channels, including mass media coverage, political rhetoric, religious narratives, and public discussions on social media. Rather than being recognized as equal citizens with constitutionally protected rights, minority religious communities are frequently positioned as sources of tension that may disrupt the social equilibrium of the majority population. The language employed in public discourse often reflects a securitization framework, where minority religious practices are framed using terms such as "potential conflict," "social unrest," "public disturbance," "threat to unity," and "risk to communal harmony." Through such terminology, minority groups become associated with instability and insecurity, even when there is little or no empirical evidence indicating that they have caused social disruption. Consequently, the existence of these groups is often perceived not as a manifestation of religious diversity but as a challenge requiring regulation, supervision, or restriction by authorities.

Media representations play a significant role in reinforcing this discourse. News reports frequently emphasize tensions surrounding minority religious activities while paying less attention to broader structural issues such as discrimination, unequal access to legal protection, or the role of intolerant actors in generating conflict. Headlines and news narratives often focus on controversies related to the construction of places of worship, religious gatherings, or doctrinal differences, thereby creating a public perception that minorities are inherently linked to social friction. Repeated exposure to such narratives contributes to the normalization of negative stereotypes and strengthens societal suspicion toward minority communities.

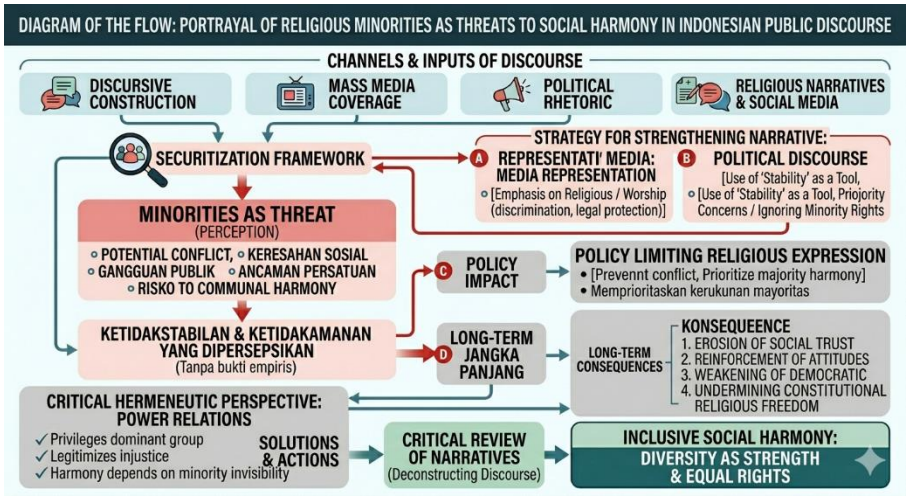
Political discourse further amplifies this pattern. Public officials and political actors sometimes invoke the language of stability and social cohesion when discussing minority religious issues. In many cases, restrictions imposed on minority groups are justified as necessary measures to maintain public order or prevent conflict. This rhetoric shifts attention away from the rights of minority citizens and instead prioritizes the concerns of the majority. As a result, policies that limit religious expression can be presented as reasonable and even beneficial for preserving harmony, despite their discriminatory implications. From a critical hermeneutic perspective, these representations reveal underlying power relations embedded within public discourse. The portrayal of minorities as threats does not merely describe social reality; it actively constructs a particular understanding of reality that privileges dominant groups while marginalizing others. Such discourse functions ideologically by legitimizing unequal treatment and reinforcing existing hierarchies of religious authority. It frames social harmony as a condition that depends on the compliance or invisibility of minority groups rather than on the protection of pluralism, justice, and equal citizenship.

Furthermore, this discourse obscures the structural roots of conflict. Instead of examining how prejudice, exclusion, and institutional discrimination

contribute to social tensions, public narratives often attribute conflict to the mere presence of religious difference. Consequently, responsibility for maintaining harmony is disproportionately placed on minority communities, while acts of intolerance by dominant groups receive less scrutiny. This dynamic perpetuates a cycle in which minorities are expected to limit their visibility and religious expression to avoid provoking negative reactions from the majority.

The long-term consequences of such representations are significant. By continuously associating minorities with instability and social disorder, public discourse contributes to the erosion of social trust, the reinforcement of exclusionary attitudes, and the weakening of democratic principles. It also undermines Indonesia's constitutional commitment to religious freedom and pluralism. Therefore, a critical examination of these narratives is essential for promoting a more inclusive understanding of social harmony—one that recognizes diversity as a source of strength rather than a threat and affirms the equal rights and dignity of all religious communities within society.

Image 1: Portrayal of religious minorites



Minorities as Deviations from Dominant Norms

Another significant discursive pattern identified in Indonesian public discourse is the representation of religious minorities as deviations from dominant religious and cultural norms. Within many religious and social narratives, minority groups are frequently characterized using labels such as "deviant," "misguided," "heterodox," or "in need of correction." These descriptions are not merely theological judgments but also function as mechanisms of social categorization that distinguish between what is considered legitimate and illegitimate religious identity. By positioning the beliefs and practices of the majority as the unquestioned standard of religious authenticity, public discourse establishes a normative framework in which minority communities are viewed as departures from accepted social and religious values. Consequently, minority identities are often assessed not on their own terms but according to standards defined by dominant groups, creating a discursive

environment that privileges conformity while marginalizing difference.

This pattern is reinforced through multiple channels, including religious sermons, educational materials, religious publications, and digital religious platforms, where minority beliefs are frequently portrayed as challenges to doctrinal purity and communal unity. The continuous use of evaluative and moralizing language contributes to the construction of a symbolic hierarchy that places majority religious interpretations at the center of legitimacy while relegating minority perspectives to the margins. From a critical hermeneutic perspective, such representations reveal how language operates as a tool of power, shaping public perceptions and influencing social relations. The repeated portrayal of minorities as religious deviations not only delegitimizes their identities and beliefs but also normalizes exclusionary attitudes, social discrimination, and unequal treatment within religious communities. As these narratives become embedded in public consciousness, they contribute to the reproduction of social boundaries that limit the recognition of religious diversity and weaken the principles of inclusivity, pluralism, and equal citizenship.

Minorities as Objects of State Regulation

Policy documents and administrative texts frequently depict religious minorities as objects of regulation rather than rights-bearing citizens. Bureaucratic language emphasizes compliance, registration, and supervision, framing minority religious existence as conditional upon state approval.

This regulatory discourse obscures power asymmetries by presenting control mechanisms as neutral administrative procedures. However, textual analysis reveals that such policies disproportionately target minority groups, reinforcing their subordinate position within the legal and political structure.

Minorities as Passive and Voiceless Subjects

Across all discourse types, religious minorities are rarely afforded space to articulate their own experiences or perspectives. Instead, they are spoken about rather than with. Media narratives rely heavily on official sources, religious authorities, or majority representatives, marginalizing minority voices. consistently across various discourses, albeit with varying intensity. In mass media coverage, religious minorities are often associated with conflict and controversy, while in policy documents they are positioned as objects of regulation required to conform to majority norms.

This absence of minority agency contributes to their symbolic silencing and reinforces interpretative domination by majority actors.

Table 1 : Minorities as Passive and Voiceless Subjects

No	Representation Pattern	Discursive Characteristics	Dominant Sources
1	Social Threat	Stigmatization, security framing, disorder	Mass media, political speeches
2	Deviation	Normative labeling, moral judgment	Religious discourse

3	Regulatory Object	Administrative language, surveillance	Policy documents
4	Passive Subject	Absence of minority voice	All discourse types

Discussion

Critical ideological analysis affirms that representations of religious minorities in Indonesian public discourse are not neutral mirrors of social reality but are actively produced within a dominant ideological framework that elevates the majority religion as the normative reference point (Sari et al., n.d.) This ideological positioning naturalizes majority beliefs and practices while rendering minority identities as "other," deviant, or problematic. Through repeated discursive practices, majority norms become embedded as common sense, making exclusion appear legitimate and inevitable rather than politically constructed. From the perspective of critical hermeneutics, public discourse operates as an interpretative field in which meanings are continuously constructed, stabilized, and authorized. Following Ricoeur's conception of interpretation as inherently ideological, meaning-making is never innocent but always mediated by interests, historical contexts, and power relations. In this study, the meanings attached to religious minorities are stabilized through repetitive interpretative acts media framing, religious narratives, and policy language that privilege majority perspectives while foreclosing alternative interpretations offered by minority groups. Over time, these dominant interpretations become sedimented as socially accepted truths.(Nurdin, 2022)

This interpretative closure limits the possibility of counter-narratives and reinforces what Ricoeur describes as the "hermeneutics of suspicion," in which interpretation must uncover concealed relations of domination behind apparently neutral meanings. In the Indonesian context, suspicion reveals that representations of religious minorities function less as descriptions and more as ideological tools that maintain symbolic boundaries between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" religious expressions.(Artikel, 2024) From a Habermasian standpoint, such discursive conditions undermine the ideal of communicative rationality. Public discourse fails to function as an inclusive space of deliberation where all participants can engage as equals. Religious minorities are systematically excluded from meaning-making processes, either through silencing or through the framing of their voices as irrational, dangerous, or illegitimate. This exclusion violates the normative ideal of the public sphere, where legitimacy should emerge from undistorted communication rather than from asymmetrical power relations.(Politik, 1907).

Moreover, the dominance of administrative and securitizing language reflects what Habermas terms the colonization of the lifeworld, in which bureaucratic and instrumental rationality overrides communicative understanding. When minority religious practices are discussed primarily through regulatory and security frames, their lived experiences and moral claims are marginalized, reducing complex social realities to technical problems

requiring control.(Supartiningsih, 2007) Fairclough's critical discourse analysis further clarifies how language operates as social practice embedded within structures of power. The persistent framing of religious minorities as threats, deviations, or objects of regulation is not merely linguistic but reflects broader socio-political arrangements that sustain inequality. Discourse both shapes and is shaped by institutional practices, meaning that symbolic marginalization in language often precedes or legitimizes material exclusion in policy and social relations.(Suhardi1, 2025)

The discursive construction of minorities as passive subjects rarely quoted, rarely consulted, and rarely recognized as authoritative speakers reinforces their marginal social position. This exclusion from discursive agency denies minorities the capacity to define their own identities and experiences, thereby consolidating majority interpretative dominance. This hegemonic interpretative process reproduces meanings favorable to majority groups while marginalizing minority perspectives, ultimately reinforcing structural inequality. Importantly, marginalization does not operate solely through explicit acts of discrimination or formal policy enforcement but through subtle, routinized interpretative mechanisms embedded in everyday language, media narratives, and institutional discourse. These mechanisms are often invisible precisely because they are normalized and perceived as objective or reasonable.(Nurdin, 2022)

Compared to earlier studies that emphasize intolerance, conflict, or legal discrimination, this research advances existing scholarship by demonstrating that interpretative meaning-making itself constitutes a form of symbolic domination. By foregrounding interpretation as a site of power, this study reveals how domination operates not only at the level of institutions but also at the level of meaning production and social cognition.(Arifin, 2026) The integration of critical hermeneutics with critical discourse analysis allows this study to bridge a theoretical gap between structural analysis and interpretative critique. While critical discourse analysis elucidates how language reproduces power relations, critical hermeneutics explains how these meanings are internalized, normalized, and rendered socially legitimate. This integrative framework provides a more comprehensive understanding of socio-religious marginalization in plural societies.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the development of critical hermeneutics in the analysis of religion and public discourse, particularly within multicultural and post-authoritarian contexts such as Indonesia. It demonstrates that religious pluralism cannot be adequately understood without interrogating the interpretative frameworks through which difference is represented and evaluated. Practically, the findings highlight the responsibility of policymakers, media practitioners, and educators including those engaged in Islamic Education Management to critically examine the discursive assumptions embedded in their practices. Media narratives, policy formulations, and educational curricula play a decisive role in shaping public understandings of religious difference and can

either reinforce or challenge hegemonic interpretations.

Education, in particular, emerges as a strategic site for cultivating critical consciousness. By fostering reflexive engagement with language, ideology, and power, educational institutions can challenge dominant narratives and promote more inclusive forms of meaning-making. Critical literacy and dialogical pedagogies may enable learners to recognize how discourse shapes social hierarchies and to imagine alternative, more just representations. Nevertheless, this study is limited by its primary focus on textual analysis and does not directly engage with the lived experiences of religious minorities. While discourse analysis reveals how meanings are constructed, it cannot fully capture how these meanings are negotiated, resisted, or internalized in everyday life. Future research may therefore integrate critical hermeneutics with in-depth interviews, participatory research, or ethnographic approaches to explore how religious minorities experience, contest, and reinterpret dominant discourses. Such approaches would enrich understanding of the material and emotional consequences of symbolic marginalization.

Beyond textual production, hegemonic interpretations also operate through processes of reception and circulation, where dominant meanings are reiterated, affirmed, and rarely contested in everyday interactions. Media consumers, educators, and religious authorities often reproduce dominant narratives unconsciously, reinforcing ideological closure at the level of social cognition. This process aligns with Fairclough's notion of discourse internalization, in which repeated exposure to dominant representations shapes taken-for-granted assumptions about normality, legitimacy, and belonging. Consequently, symbolic marginalization persists not only because of elite discourse production but also due to its routinized reproduction within ordinary communicative practices. Furthermore, the absence of minority interpretative agency highlights a deeper epistemic injustice within public discourse. Minority knowledge, experiences, and interpretative frameworks are systematically excluded from authoritative meaning-making processes, resulting in what can be understood as hermeneutic marginalization. This condition deprives religious minorities of the conceptual resources needed to articulate their experiences within dominant public narratives. From a critical hermeneutic standpoint, such exclusion perpetuates asymmetrical interpretative power, where the majority not only defines social reality but also determines the limits of intelligibility itself.

Finally, addressing interpretative domination requires more than policy reform or legal recognition; it demands a transformation of discursive ethics within the public sphere. Drawing on Habermas, the restoration of communicative rationality necessitates institutional and cultural conditions that enable genuine dialogical engagement across religious differences. This includes expanding access to discursive platforms, legitimizing minority voices as rational interlocutors, and cultivating interpretative openness within educational and media institutions. Only by challenging hegemonic meaning-making at both structural and interpretative levels can plural societies move toward more just,

inclusive, and dialogically grounded forms of coexistence.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that representations of religious minorities in Indonesian public discourse are constructed through interpretative processes shaped by majority ideology and unequal power relations. The integration of critical hermeneutics and critical discourse analysis reveals that religious minorities are commonly represented as social threats, normative deviations, regulatory objects, and passive subjects. Consequently, language and discourse function as symbolic mechanisms that normalize majority dominance and reproduce structural injustice.

Conceptually, these findings affirm the relevance of critical hermeneutics in uncovering the relationship between meaning, ideology, and power in religious public discourse. This study contributes to discourse and religious studies by positioning interpretative processes as central to the analysis of symbolic marginalization. Future research is encouraged to complement discourse analysis with explorations of religious minorities' subjective experiences through other qualitative approaches to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the social impacts of public discourse.

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