Indonesian Policy on Muslim Friendly Tourism: A Geopolitical Overview

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Abstract

This article attempts to analyze Indonesia's geopolitical policies in accommodating sharia-based economic and tourism policies. The object of this research is the policy around Muslim-Friendly Tourism (MFT). The tourism sector as one of the largest foreign exchange earners for Indonesia accommodates tourism trends in Muslim-populated countries. This study attempts to analyze the relationship between tourism and Indonesia's international geopolitical policies that involve religious elements, both in macro and micro level. In this study, the researchers found that at the macro level, the government at the national and regional levels provides policies and regulations related to the management and development of MFT. This is driven by phenomena at the micro level related to economic and socio-political aspects. The economic aspect which is dominated by the trend of consumerism of halal products and the socio-political aspect which is dominated by the spirit of Islamic populism in some areas needs to be accommodated by government regulations as a strategy to strengthen the integrity and sovereignty of the nation.

Keywords: Geopolitics, Indonesia, Muslim Friendly Tourism, Populism, Economic goals

Introduction

The tourism sector is one of the largest foreign exchange earners for the Indonesian economy. In 2019, this sector contributed a total of USD 16.9 billion as well as being the second highest foreign exchange contributor after the palm oil industry. When the Covid-19 pandemic hit the world, this industry was affected by a decline of up to 81% in 2020, which is around only USD 3.2 billion (Ramadhan, 2021). Therefore, after the Covid-19 pandemic, this sector is expected to return to being one of the largest foreign exchange contributors to the country. BI Governor Perry Warjiyo targets this sector to donate around USD 17.6 billion and is balanced with a target of 20 million tourists (Nurhadi, 2022). This is what makes this sector improve and develop various strategies to increase the attractiveness of domestic and foreign tourists.

One of the trends in tourism is the development of what is known as halal tourism or also known as Muslim friendly tourism (MFT). This idea is actually an issue that has developed for a long time among Muslim-majority countries. In 1994, countries that were members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) discussed an action plan around the issue of halal tourism which was prepared by the Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (COMCEC). However, this sector has only emerged in the last two decades. In 2014, world spending related to MFT grew from USD 145 billion in 2014 and is targeted to reach USD 200 billion by 2020 (Komalasari, 2017).

The Muslim countries that are at the forefront of MFT development and dominate the world MFT market are Malaysia, Turkey, and the United Arab Emirates. However, the potential of MFT in Indonesia is also not inferior when compared to these countries. Among the achievements that have been achieved by Indonesia are the selection of Lombok as The World Best Halal Tourism Destination at the World Halal Travel Awards in Abu Dhabi in 2015, Aceh received the World's Best Halal Cultural Destination award from the World Halal Tourism Award in 2016, and West Sumatra won 3 awards at the World Halal Tourism Award (Rahmadi, 2022).

In 2019, Indonesia was in 1st rank of 20 countries in the list of the best halal tourism in the world based on the Global Moslem Travel Index (GMTI) report. This trend is an increase from previous years which were only in sixth (2016), third (2017), and second (2018). GMTI also predicts an increase in the number of Muslim tourists globally to reach 230 million Muslim tourists in 2026. This potential will continue to increase as predicted by the Global Islamic Economy Report from USD 177 billion in 2018 to USD 274 billion in 2023 (Rahmadi, 2022). Although this potential has dimmed due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, Indonesia is still trying to make various improvements. One of them is proven that Indonesia is ranked 4th in the world in terms of the number of people who have received the 1st and 2nd doses of the Covid-19 vaccine (Prihatini, 2022). This is certainly a good potential for Indonesia in welcoming the arrival of domestic and foreign tourists after the pandemic.

Various positive trends in this sector are getting more attention from the government. In 2018, the government has determined the tourism sector as one of the 3 leading sectors of development, even becoming the leading sector (Thaib, 2018). This attention shows that this sector has become one of the geopolitical policies of the Indonesian government, especially in the regional area. The emergence of the MFT trend has made religious factors one of the considerations that influence government policies in making this

sector a geopolitical instrument, namely as an instrument of public diplomacy and nation branding (D. Hall, 2017). Therefore, it is necessary to look at the policy from a geopolitical perspective to find the relevance of implementing policies regarding MFT and their influence on Indonesia's positioning in the international relations arena.

Geopolitical studies are one of the essential studies because they are related to the everyday life of a country. Various issues related to place which include borders, resources, flows, territories, and identities are analyzed in an interconnected manner and using a space perspective. It becomes important to understand how to interpret the world from a geographical and political perspective (Dodds, 2007; Flint, 2006). A solid geopolitical analysis is expected to provide discourse and representation of an area. The effects of the struggle for hegemony on place and space as well as representation can give rise to an unequal impact (differential impact) for different actors (Dodds, 2007). In this case, the tourism sector in Indonesia, when a policy is implemented in the form of support for the MFT, will have a varied impact on the representation of tourism in Indonesia and also the positioning of the country on global relations. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct a geopolitical study and its relationship to MFT policy in Indonesia.

The study of the relationship between tourism and geopolitics is not something new. Various studies between the two have been studied by various experts. Hall and friends have conducted joint research on issues and concepts around tourism and geopolitical policy by taking research objects in countries in Central and Eastern Europe (D. Hall, 2017). In this study, they looked at tourism issues from various geopolitical perspectives, such as transnational issues, borderlands, identity and image, and human mobility (mobilities). In addition, studies on these two topics have also been studied in relation to nation-building (Werry, 2011) and war perspective (Lisle, 2013) and also border security (Timothy, 1995). Gillen and Mostafanezhad (2019) tries to complete the study by making a conceptual approach in formulating the meeting relationship between geopolitics and tourism (tourism encounter) which is analyzed with 3 encounters, namely temporal encounters, physical encounters, and identity encounters.

However, these various studies have not explicitly highlighted the trend of MFT as a form of tourism that involves religious elements and its relation to a country's geopolitical policies. This study aims to try to highlight the policies taken by the Indonesian government in dealing with MFT and their influence on Indonesia's geopolitical policies. The results of this study are expected to strengthen or evaluate the involvement of religious elements in tourism policy in Indonesia as a tourism development strategy, as well

as strengthen Indonesia's geopolitical position in the international arena.

Tourism and Geopolitics

The study of tourism and geopolitics is actually an interdisciplinary study, because it is a blend of two major topics. However, over time, the two have a wedge that has the potential to influence each other. Especially international-scale tourism, it is unavoidable to avoid relations between other countries so that tourism activities are indirectly a geopolitical activity (D. Hall, 2017). In practice, international tourism requires administrative relations between countries, blocks and regions. The mobility and movement of people from various countries to various destinations give rise to complex relationships with capital, commodities, and other actors (D. Hall, 2017).

In addition, tourism activities are also linked to other geopolitical activities. Spatial consequences, as a result of geopolitical policies between countries will have implications at the national and supranational levels related to tourist destinations and international boundaries (D. Hall, 2017). Conflicts and blockades in an area will close tourist destinations and provide international restrictions for tourists to travel to that area. Violation of these international boundaries does not only have a single implication for tourism actors, but also has the potential to lead to an escalation of conflict between these countries.

Several decades ago, some experts argued that the study of tourism would not embrace the political aspects (Turner & Ash, 1975). However, several decades later, this statement seems to need to be evaluated, especially when various perspectives in geopolitics have emerged, such as critical geopolitics. Critical geopolitics is a development of traditional geopolitics that focuses on the power and territory of a country with a single actor, namely the state. This study tries to look at the geopolitics of many actors who give birth to multiple representatives in the struggle for territory and territory within a country (Flint, 2006).

Some critical geopolitics experts see this representation in three dimensions, namely the formal geopolitical dimension (academics, strategic institutions, and think tanks), the practical geopolitical dimension (bureaucracy, foreign policy, and political institutions), and the popular geopolitical dimension (mass media and social media, cultural product) (Dodds, 2007). From these three dimensions, the researcher tries to capture a complete picture of the spatial analysis of the boundaries and risks that will arise. This spatial analysis will show the geopolitical representation between that country (or actor) and other countries (Dodds, 2007).

Therefore, tourism is often operated as a geopolitical instrument. This can be seen from the perspective that tourism is one of the attributes of soft-power, which focuses on the promotion of a place (place branding) which is often used as a form of public diplomacy in representing a country (nation-branding). Therefore, in this case, tourism is considered to contain elements of propaganda as an attempt to attract interest from tourists (CM Hall & Page, 1999; D. Hall, 2017). This view creates tourism as an effort to increase the value of the nation in front of other countries in addition to reaping profits from these activities. In addition, this method is also used by 'weak' countries or minority groups in attracting the sympathy of the global world (Chevalier, 2021) by presenting a positive face as did the Kurds and Kosovo (D. Hall, 2017).

Geopolitical issues are closely related to the issue of space struggles in the global economy. The relationship between tourism and geopolitics can be seen as an activity between countries that allows for mobility and connectivity which has implications for improving relations between countries, especially countries that are in alliance or at odds (D. Hall, 2017). These tourism activities actually reflect the influence of power and hegemonic at various levels, both macro and micro levels (Chevalier, 2021). This is what makes the study of tourism has a fairly deep wedge with geopolitics.

In the context of globalization, the boundaries between countries are no longer borderless. Therefore, various local and micro-scale tourism activities can have a broad impact on the regional and international level (Chevalier, 2021). As mentioned earlier, in this case, the context of tourism is closely related to geopolitical issues and global economic issues. These tourism activities also give birth to meetings and encounters between actors in it, both between visitors and tourism managers, between visitors, as well as visitors with place-based and multi-scalar geopolitical values and cultures (Gillen & Mostafanezhad, 2019). Gillen and Mostafanezhad try to provide 3 encounters that can be a perspective in seeing the relationship, namely meeting time (time), physical meeting (body), and meeting identity (Gillen & Mostafanezhad, 2019). These three micro things, in the context of an increasingly narrow world, will have a wider impact on the image of the country and the relationship between countries.

In addition, among the factors that influence travel planning is the choice of place and space. In simple terms, the planning is closely related to land use zoning, site development, regulation of development and accommodation, tourist density, presentation of natural, cultural, and historical tourism features as well as supporting infrastructure in the area

(CM Hall & Page, 1999). These various issues are closely related to policy makers, both at the regional and state levels. This section is referred to as the macro level in critical geopolitical analysis. Meanwhile, at the micro level, the analysis will talk about the displacement of people due to development (displacement), hospitality, mobility, and the crossing between imaginary political boundaries about territory, space, and tourism (D. Hall, 2017). These two aspects will help researchers in analyzing MFT policies in Indonesia to get an interpretation that includes experiences, mechanisms, and events as offered by Bhaskar (Bhaskar, 1975). The relationship between the three layers (experiences, mechanisms, and events will present a more complete picture of MFT policy in Indonesia and its relevance at the macro and micro levels.

Potential of MFT in Indonesia

Muslim-Friendly Tourism (MFT) is a new concept developed in the global tourism industry. As mentioned above, this idea has actually been rolled out since 1994 at the annual meeting of OIC member countries. In some literature, this concept is equated with different designations such as halal tourism, Islamic tourism, Muslim-friendly tourism, and Islamic travel (Bogan & Sariisik, 2017), although not a few experts who distinguish the concept of each of these terms.

These various terms have one common point, which is closely related to the teachings of Islam. As raised in the discussion of OIC member countries, Islamic teachings have complex concerns and rules in the context of the lives of their adherents, ranging from mindset, attitude, to behavior (Bogan & Sariisik, 2017). This principle necessitates the need of Muslims for halal needs in various life practices, including the need for halal guarantees in tourist trips.

Battour and Ismail (Battour & Ismail, 2016) explained the significant difference between halal tourism and Islamic tourism. In their discussion, they mentioned that the concept of "halal tourism" is a concept that refers to all practices and activities in tourism that are allowed in accordance with Islamic law. The definition of "Islamic tourism" is tourism whose target consumers are Muslims and these activities occur in Muslim countries. Therefore, they prefer the concept of "halal tourism" because it refers to a broader concept and is not limited to Muslim countries. According to them, the most important point in the concept is that the various facilities available in the tour can be consumed by Muslims because they are in line with Islamic law (Battour & Ismail, 2016). In line with this statement, Bogan

and Sariisik mention that the concept of "Islamic Tourism" makes it limited to Muslim countries and Muslim trips that are religious in nature. The trip is limited to travel that is a religious ritual or for religious purposes such as pilgrimage and hajj (Bogan & Sariisik, 2017).

Jaelani (Jaelani, 2017b) strengthen this definition. According to him, Islamic tourism can be defined as a Muslim travel activity characterized by moving from one place to another outside their place of residence in less than one year to engage in activities with Islamic religious motivation. This concept in Malaysia, Brunei, and Indonesia is also known as sharia tourism.

The term Muslim-Friendly Tourism (MFT) refers to the term used by Crescentrating as one of the authorities in halal travel. They use the term MFT to refer to the concept of tourism that provides facilities that meet the religious needs of Muslims. The needs of Muslims are very religious and varied, therefore, this concept does not require the fulfillment of all aspects of Muslim needs, but focuses on basic needs that are used and consumed daily (Staff, 2016). This term is also used by the Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (COMCEC) in promoting the concept of tourism that meets the needs of Muslims (COMCEC, 2016).

From the offer of this concept, it can be understood that this concept is not limited to tourism activities in Muslim-majority countries, but in various places and countries as long as they meet the indicators of halalness according to Islamic teachings. Jaelani (2017) mentioned that the things that must be ensured are halal and in accordance with Islamic teachings include place, product (place to live, food, and drink), dimensions (economic, cultural, and religious) and service process management (ethical). According to Yan et al (Yan et al., 2017), halalness that needs to be guaranteed includes the purpose of travel, hospitality, food and beverages, worship facilities, and services provided during these tourist activities.

Junaidi (Junaidi, 2020) tried to determine the indicators of halal tourism into 4 factors, namely the halal food factor, the general Islamic values factor, the Muslim friendly holiday package factor, and other Islamic values factors. Halal food factors indicate its availability, ease of access, quality, halal certification, and hygiene. General Islamic values indicate the clothes used, the concept of room sharing, the provision of alcohol and other beverages, the omission of music, and gender-appropriate services. The Muslim-friendly tourism package factor shows 6 indicators, namely halal activities, worship facilities, religious reflection facilities, Islamic culture, use of Islamic symbols and attributes, and sharia-compliant residences. Another factor is the separation of tourist facilities, the prohibition of

activities that allow the gathering of men and women, and the provision of Islamic entertainment. At least these factors make Muslim tourists feel comfortable with a tourism destination.

Explicitly, Djakfar (Djakfar, 2017) distinguished 8 aspects that can be seen with the naked eye between Muslim-friendly tourism and those that are not. These aspects include aspects of objects (destinations) that provide worship facilities, aspects of accommodation facilities that are strict in the application of room sharing, aspects of the availability of bars and cafes, culinary aspects, aspects of certification, aspects of supporting sectors such as honest tour guides, HR aspects. , and aspects of cleanliness. As for Liu, et al (Liu et al., 2018) provided 3 important aspects that were born from the MFT concept, namely the image of a tourist destination (destination image), tourist behavior (tourist attitude), and travel intention. With the implementation of MFT in these tourist destinations, it will give birth to a domino effect on these three aspects. The image of these tourist attractions will be built positively because they are friendly to Muslims. This will also fortify the tourists to behave politely and well while in the environment so as to make other tourists feel comfortable and have a good experience so as to make them plan a return trip to that destination.(Liu et al., 2018).

From the various explanations above, it can be seen that MFT has broad dimensions, which include socio-cultural, economic, and religious dimensions. Among the obvious religious dimensions in MFT are the spread of Islamic values, economic improvement among Islamic countries, and strengthening the identity of Muslim communities and eliminating inferiority from other cultural identities (Al-Harmaneh & Steiner, 2004). In addition, the impact that emerges from the MFT concept in addition to the economic impact is the impact on issues between countries, namely improving the country's image, strengthening patriotism, strengthening the identity of the nation and state, and strengthening cooperation between countries (Jaelani, 2017a).

Because of the various positive impacts it has, recently MFT has begun to rise and be promoted by countries that do not have a Muslim majority population. In 2016, data from the World Islamic Economic Forum stated that expenditure related to Muslim travel reached USD 145 billion. This figure is expected to increase to USD 200 billion in 2020 (Komalasari, 2017). In 2018/2019, the Global Islamic Economy Indicator reported that this sector contributed 10.40% to GDP at the global level (KNEKS, 2020). Therefore, countries such as Thailand, New Zealand, and Japan are also projecting the development of the MFT concept in their countries (Yan et al., 2017).

In 2014, the movement of Muslim tourists to MFT was recorded at 116 million people. This number increased in 2018 to reach 140 million people (Wahyudi, 2019). In 2019, around 20% of the 14.92 million foreign tourists who came to Indonesia were Muslim tourists (Kemenparekraf RI, 2021). This makes the government pay serious attention to the development of MFT in Indonesia. In 2015, the Indonesian Ministry of Tourism formed a team to accelerate the development of halal tourism to build the concept of developing halal tourism. 4 concepts that must exist in halal tourism in Indonesia are the availability of halal food and beverages, the availability of appropriate facilities for purification, the availability of worship facilities, and products and services that are conducive to a halal lifestyle (Sayekti, 2019). This is standardized through the Indonesia Muslim Travel Index (IMTI), which is a collaboration with Crescent Rating Mastercard to achieve an assessment and meet the criteria for the Global Muslim Travel Index (GMTI).

In terms of destination development, there are 10 best MFT destinations in Indonesia that meet GMTI standards with indicators of accessibility, communication, environment, and service. The 10 destinations are Lombok, Aceh, Riau Islands, DKI Jakarta, West Sumatra, West Java, Yogyakarta, Central Java, Malang, and Makassar. The strengthening included 6 regencies and cities in the 10 priority MFT destinations, namely Tanjung Pinang City, Pekanbaru City, Bandung City, Bandung Regency, West Bandung Regency, and Cianjur Regency (Sayekti, 2019). In total, there are 16 priority MFT destinations that have the potential to develop halal tourism in Indonesia.

The various MFT destinations are equipped with various supporting facilities around accommodation. In 2018, there were 730 sharia hotels recorded on the Traveloka website as of May 2018. Of this number, there are 75 hotels whose restaurants have halal certification (Sayekti, 2019). Lombok ranks first as a priority MFT destination. Until now, Lombok has more complete facilities when compared to other cities/regencies. In the city, there are 25 Islamic heritage sites, 98 of 161 Muslim friendly attractions, 7 Islamic events, and 11 halal tour packages. It is equipped with 60 halal-certified restaurants, 60 halal-certified hotels, and 8,456 mosques (Kemenparekraf RI, 2021). As of 2019, 644 halal certificates have been issued to hotel restaurants, non-hotel restaurants, restaurants, and MSMEs in Lombok (Sayekti, 2019).

Aceh also has various MFT destinations and supporting facilities. The province has 14 Islamic heritages, 89 cultural attractions, and 123 local attractions that are easily accessible. In 2019, the province had 7 hotels with

halal kitchen certificates, 2 hotels with sharia certificates, 34 hotels that did not serve alcohol, 13 halal-certified restaurants, and 12 halal-certified food and beverage outlets. In addition, at least 1,448 restaurants have declared themselves as halal restaurants (self-claimed) (KNEKS, 2020).

The two examples above illustrate the potential of Indonesia's MFT. This potential is also supported by various regulations from the government. In order to develop priority tourism destinations and strategic national tourism areas, the government has prepared a fund of Rp. 500 trillion. The funds come from tourism investment of Rp. 205 trillion and tourism financing of Rp. 295 trillion (Thaib, 2018). In her speech, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, conveyed Indonesia's foreign policy priorities for 2019-2024. One of the points conveyed was the target and hope for Indonesia to become a major player in the halal industry (Marsudi, 2019).

The government's seriousness is also seen in the direction of the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, KH. Ma'ruf Amin to prepare the Master Plan for the Indonesian Halal Products Industry (MPIPHI) 2022-2029 to complete the 2019-2024 Indonesian Islamic Economics Master Plan which has drawn up strategic steps for the development of halal tourism (Deputy for Economic Affairs, 2018). In that master plan, there are 13 main programs of the National Committee for Islamic Economy and Finance as the focus of sharia economic development. The MPIPHI has been discussed by the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas and is included in the Government Work Plan (RKP) 2022. This is the first step so that MPIPHI can be included in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2024-2029 and subsequently included in the Long-Term Development Plan. The next National Long Term (RPJPN) (Binsar AH, 2021).

Factors Behind State Policy on MFT

Since the vice president's direction on strengthening the sharia economic sector, the MFT issue has not only become the focus of the attention of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy. These issues spread to the work areas of other ministries because these issues are interrelated with one another. This is also confirmed by various legal instruments and products regarding MFT that have been discussed and developed in order to strengthen various aspects of supporting MFT.

In simple terms, the timeline for planning and launching MFT in Indonesia can be seen in the range of 2012 to 2019. In 2012, MUI carried out a soft launch of a sharia tourism guide book. Furthermore, in 2013, the MFT was launched in the Global Halal Forum entitled "Wonderful Indonesia

as Muslim Friendly Destination". This movement was strengthened by Law Number 33 of 2014 concerning Guaranteed Halal Products, followed by Regulation of the Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy Number 2 of 2014 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of Sharia Hotel Businesses. Since then, the Ministry of Tourism has begun to identify MFT destinations in Indonesia. In 2015 and 2016, Indonesia began to receive awards in several categories at the World Halal Travel Award. Therefore, in 2017 the government established the Halal Product Assurance Agency (BPJPH) as an agency that focuses on certification and assurance of various halal products. In order to improve the quality of MFT in Indonesia, the government in collaboration with GMTI launched the Indonesia Muslim Travel Index (IMTI) in 2018 and 2019 (Nugroho et al., 2021).

In 2016, the National Sharia Council of the Indonesian Ulema Council (DSN-MUI) also issued fatwa number 108/DSN-MUI/X/2016 which contains guidelines for organizing tourism based on sharia principles. The fatwa comprehensively regulates the implementation of sharia tourism, both in terms of tourists, tourist destinations, tour operators, facilities and services, as well as parties who are responsible as travel agents and guides. According to various parties, the issuance of this fatwa is the right step in protecting the MFT concept which will become a trend in Indonesian tourism (Nurjaya et al., 2021).

In addition to the two national legal products, several regions also have regional regulations related to MFT. West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) is the first province to explicitly regulate halal tourism as stipulated in Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2016 concerning halal tourism. Indeed, Aceh Province has regulated the concept of tourism in accordance with Islamic law in Aceh Qanun Number 8 of 2013. However, the qanun (regional law) has not explicitly stated the concept of halal tourism or MFT as stated in the MUI fatwa. Furthermore, Riau Province has followed suit with Governor Regulation Number 18 of 2019 and West Sumatra with Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2020. These regional regulations further emphasize that halal tourism or MFT is one of the focuses of national development.

The involvement of religion-based interests in policy making, especially in foreign policy is actually a new thing in Indonesian geopolitics. Although Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world, Islam is not the primary factor underlying Indonesia's foreign policy. Islam is only a secondary factor. According to Rizal Sukma, this is due to the dualism of the identity of the Indonesian state which is a secular country and the strong socio-cultural Islamic factor (Sukma, 2003). Indonesian society demands the implementation of Islamic values in various policies, including

foreign policy. But on the other hand, the government has other priorities and interests that are not accommodating to the wishes of the majority community (Sukma, 2003).

In the Sukarno era, the Islamic factor in geopolitical and foreign policy was marginalized, it could even be said that it did not appear at all. Sukarno's slogan "Nationalist, Communist, and Religious" in fact prioritized religious factors after nationalist and communist considerations and foundations. This continued during Suharto's reign. These two presidents did not provide sufficient space for the involvement of Islamic factors in state policy. However, in the final period of his reign, Suharto gave some considerable attention to Islam in the domestic sphere. This is done to attract the sympathy of the Muslim community in Indonesia. Various pro-Islamic policies were established such as the establishment of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI), allowing the use of the headscarf in schools, and also the establishment of the first Islamic bank in Indonesia (Sukma, 2003).

A favorable atmosphere for groups demanding the implementation of Islam emerged after the Suharto era. The next president was BJ Habibie who was an ICMI figure. At that time, Islam began to influence domestic politics as much as it did at the end of the Suharto era. However, in foreign policy, Habibie did not use the Islamic factor as the basis for his policy. Instead of showing a religious identity, Habibie focused on cooperation that contributed to economic recovery in the face of the monetary crisis and other national priorities. Therefore, Habibie actually cooperates more with Western countries than with Arab-Islamic countries (Sukma, 2003).

In the next era, the victory of the Islamic affiliated Party, the National Awakening Party (PKB) in the 1999 elections. This made it even more certain that Islam would become an important factor in the policies of the Indonesian government. Moreover, the figure of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) is a Muslim intellectual figure from Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), the largest Muslim community organization in Indonesia. However, the various Islamic parties that emerged in the election were in fact divided into two major groups, namely groups that adhered to Islam formally and groups that were more inclusive or informal. The National Mandate Party (PAN) and PKB are Islamic party groups in the second group (Sukma, 2003). This is what then underlies various presidential policies that focus on territorial integrity, national sovereignty in the eyes of the international community, and economic recovery after the monetary crisis in 1999 (Sukma, 2003). Moreover, Gus Dur is also committed to making Indonesia a "friend of all countries" so that he intends to cooperate with Israel and establish an Asian coalition to compete with European and American countries (Sukma, 2003).

Megawati Soekarnoputri, tha next president, also experienced the same thing, where Islamic factors played an important role in domestic politics, but in foreign policy, the priority interests were not related to religious interests. (Sukma, 2003). This is what is called the dual identity dilemma because it places Indonesia between a secular-nationalist state and an Islamic state (Sukma, 2003). This foundation influenced much of Indonesia's foreign policy and geopolitics in the next presidential administration.

Umar (Umar, 2016) tries to analyze the dynamics of Islamic factors in Indonesia's foreign policy. During the Sukarno and Suharto eras, the discourse on Islam that strengthened in political policy was Islam as a religious identity. This began to change during the reign of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, who initiated the moderate Islamic discourse as a political project based on the Islamic intellectual tradition. In the next period, the Islamic factor became a political project in the global project of the war against terrorism, namely during the Megawati and SBY administrations. This was chosen because after the Black September in New York, the Bali Bombing tragedy also occurred in 2002, which gave a dark color to the religious life of the Indonesian people. Therefore,

However, after a decade of the reform era, the Islamic factor began to experience strengthening in the public and political spheres. This has more or less influenced religious sentiments and strengthened their influence on Indonesian foreign policy. In some cases, this religious sentiment also seems to be legalized and gives influence as a basis for decision making. As the majority religion, Islam is often used as a benchmark in giving color to regulations and legal products, such as the Halal Product Guarantee Act, Zakat Law, and Hajj Management Law. The three products are considered too giving an Islamic style in government policy. The same thing can also be found in the Anti-Pornography and Pornoaction Law, the Marriage Law and the Law on Inter-Religious Harmony (CRCS UGM, 2012).

In relation to the government's policy regarding the MFT and its implementation as the country's geopolitical direction, it is necessary to look at several aspects and spaces that may be the factors behind it. In this study, the author provides views on two main aspects, namely the economic aspect and the socio-political aspect. From these two aspects, it is hoped that the position of the MFT in Indonesian geopolitics and its vulnerability in relations between nations can be seen.

From the economic aspect, the selection of MFT as one of the leading programs in tourism is due to the global economic effects it causes. In the State for Global Economy 2020/2021 report, expenditures issued by Muslims globally in the consumption of halal food and beverages, pharmaceuticals

and cosmetics, lifestyle, and halal tourism in 2019 reached USD 2.02 trillion (Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021). With the potential for 24% of the world's population to be Muslim, this figure is one of the potential economic growth in Indonesia. In the context of Indonesia, the consumption of Indonesian halal products in 2019 reached USD 144 billion, making Indonesia the largest consumer in this sector. In 2020, the market share of the halal sector also increases to GDP to 24.86% (Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021).

The increase in the turnover of Muslims' money is influenced by external and internal factors. These external factors relate to foreign tourists from Middle Eastern countries. Those who come from gulf countries in the Middle East such as Saudi, UAE, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Oman make countries that promote halal tourism as their tourist destinations. This can be seen from the number of tourists from the Middle East who came to Indonesia which reached 222,000 in 2017 and increased to 250 thousand in 2018. Although this number is still less than tourists from Malaysia, their spending while in Indonesia far exceeds tourists from Malaysia. Tourists from Saudi Arabia, during their vacation in Indonesia, spend an average of USD 2,226, 18 per person (Rosana, 2018).

In the implementation of MFT, the actors involved are not single. The larger the MFT market share, the more actors involved will also be. These actors include tour managers, tour guides, culinary entrepreneurs, accommodation and transportation facilities providers, infrastructure managers, service providers, industry to creative economy players and MSMEs. This is what makes tourism play an important role in economic growth and improvement.

In addition, another influencing factor is the growing trend of Islamic consumption in Indonesian Muslim society (Husna, 2019). This trend shows that Islamic and syar'i values and symbols are an important factor in the consumerism culture of Indonesian Muslim society. In this case, religion not only experienced a spiritual awakening, but also aroused the enthusiasm of industry managers to meet the needs of these consumers (Husna, 2019). In fact, this trend is thought to have prompted the government to establish the National Sharia Finance Committee (KNKS) through Government Regulation No. 91 of 2006 (Adam, 2019). This is one of the "gongs" in developing the potential of the Islamic economy so that it can become a player at the global level.

This phenomenon is then referred to as a form of religious commodification or religious commercialization (Fealy & White, 2008). Business practices have also experienced a shift and transformation, from

what used to be at the rational marketing level (marketing 1.0) to emotional marketing (marketing 2.0). With this trend, there is also a shift from emotional marketing to spiritual marketing (marketing 3.0) (Yuswohadi, 2014). Here, the consumers consume something not only considering functional and emotional aspects, but also involving spiritual aspects in a product as an identity (Husna, 2019) or in the extreme expression, consumption by society focuses on the symbolic value of the product (Dase, 2021).

This then gave birth to a new segmentation known as the Muslim middle class consumer. This segmentation is important in bridging the relationship between the upper and lower classes in Muslim society, so that it is dynamic and flexible. This segment is projected to dominate the world market, especially the halal market in the next few years because it is supported by an adequate economy and good technological mastery. In consumption, they will focus on the spiritual side and the value offered by producers. Various things labeled as Islam, sharia, and halal will be the main preferences of this community group, including halal tourism or MFT (Husna, 2019).

This model of consumerism does not occur because of a single factor. In addition to the need for religious ideology, strengthening religious sentiments in consumer culture also arises because of political entrepreneurs who take advantage of religious sentiments and target the spiritual side of these consumers to gain economic or political benefits (Ultimate et al., 2020). The involvement of various religious figures and public figures in promoting the halal lifestyle also makes the atmosphere of Islamic consumption trends strengthen in the Indonesian Muslim community. This then shifts tourism consumption due to religious encouragement and strengthening (or confirmation) of self-identity as Muslims who choose halal products (Dase, 2021).

In the context of MFT, the two potentials are tried to be accommodated in a Muslim-friendly tourism development policy. The target is not limited to foreign tourists, but also facilitates domestic tourists who are Muslim middle class consumers. For high-end consumers, they are used to doing halal tourism abroad. As for middle class consumers, these various domestic destinations can be a profitable choice for consumers and other parties involved.

This step is one of the steps in strengthening Indonesia's position in various international economic cooperation, one of which is the Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle (The Growth Triangle). In various previous studies, the cooperation was analyzed with the relationship between capital (capital) - land (SDA) - labor (HR) as an indicator of

economic progress. Sparke, et al said that this collaboration was very beneficial for Singapore as the largest capital owner supported by trained human resources. Meanwhile, Indonesia is considered less able to compete because it has undeveloped natural resources, untrained human resources, and minimal capital (Sparke et al., 2004). With the development of halal tourism, cultural capital and symbolic capital (Islam) can become two big capitals that encourage the development of tourist destinations (land) and attract tourists and investors from abroad.

Apart from the economic aspect, another aspect that needs to be studied is the socio-political aspect. Globally, the world today is hit by a trend of strengthening global populism sentiment which is based on religious sentiment. Among these examples are the cases of Hindu populism in India and Islamic populism in Turkey. Indonesia is also not spared from this issue. Especially during the election of regional heads and heads of state, populist actors are often found spreading Islamic populism (Muhtadi, 2021). In the 2014 elections, for example, populist groups have always echoed the narrative of the government and elites taking sides with foreign parties, especially China. So the offerings of these various narratives are in favor of the natives as well as the majority religion in Indonesia, namely Islam. This movement is one of the movements that makes democracy decline. In the context of Indonesia, the demands of populists are to establish an ideal state and various exclusive demands for a group of parties (Hilmy, 2020). These various potentials can be the cause of the disintegration of the nation.

The trend of increasing populism is not without reason. Populist movements have proven to be able to raise certain political actors and gain a lot of support by playing on "people's interest" issues. However, the strategy had a significant and lasting impact. In fact, the polarization and divisions that arise will continue after the general election period (Budiman, 2021). The potential for disintegration and conflict between these groups is also further sharpened by the use of the media as a propaganda tool for political interests. Therefore, this can have bad implications in the context of Indonesia which is multicultural and heterogeneous (Budiman, 2021).

In his two terms of leadership, President Jokowi has always been hit by anti-Islam and not pro-Muslim issues. Some of these issues are strengthened by the narrative of the criminalization of ulama, the disbandment of Islamic organizations, the embedding of radical labels on activists and scholars (Rahadian, 2017), and tend to mainstream one group of people compared to others (Astuti, 2020). These things are actually issues and narratives that were popularized during the general election. However, after becoming president-elect, in fact the various voices of the populists did not subside

(Blegur, 2021).

One form of strengthening the identity of populism in the regions of Indonesia is the application of sharia-based regional regulations. After the reformation from 1998 to 2014, there were 443 sharia regulations in various parts of Indonesia (Siregar, 2017). The decentralized government system was implemented effectively after the collapse of the New Order. This later became one of the areas used by politicians who needed mass mobilization in general elections. Most of the mobilized masses are Islamist activists who have an ideological basis in establishing a state (or at least a region) that has special attention to Muslims (Buehler, 2016).

Halal tourism or MFT is one of the branding introduced by the government in cooperating with these Islamist groups. This application indirectly shows that government policies, especially in the Joko Widodo era, pay great attention to the MFT sector while promoting it globally. The entry of MFT into the MPIPHI 2022-2029 as well as the priorities of Indonesia's foreign policy shows a greater portion of attention to Islamic religion-based tourism.

Various MFT tourist destinations launched by the government, including areas that have a high level of religiosity. This religiosity can be seen in the application of regional regulations with Islamic nuances. Regions that have these regional regulations include Aceh, West Sumatra, West Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta, East Java (Malang), and South Sulawesi (Siddiq, 2018). According to Buehler's analysis, the various regional regulations that accommodate Islamic teachings do not actually help the shared ideology of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, namely Pancasila. On the other hand, these local regulations are a threat to the Pancasila ideology (Siregar, 2017). Therefore, the government's attempt to select these areas as MFT destinations is a political policy to provide a policy umbrella for these areas. Sharia regulations in these areas, apart from being intended to accommodate the needs and locality of places, are furthermore than that in the context of the success of the national program, namely Muslim-friendly tourism. In addition, the state wants to continue to show its hegemony over these areas in terms of socio-political and religious identity.

The choice still carries risks. In the strategy that has been developed by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, there are 10 priority tourism destinations for 2019-2024. The destinations are Lake Toba in North Sumatra, Tanjung Kelayang in Belitung, Tanjung Lesung in Banten, the Thousand Islands in DKI Jakarta, Borobudur in Central Java, Bromo Tengger Semeru in East Java, Mandalika in NTB, Labuan Bajo in NTT, Wakatobi in Southeast Sulawesi, and Morotai in North Maluku. Only a few

areas have regional slices or similarities with the 10 priority halal tourism destinations as can be seen as follows:



Venn Diagram **of Priority Travel Destinations 2019-2024**

The difference in the concept of halal and conventional tourism which is the focus of Indonesia's tourism development makes these destinations more numerous. This amount will certainly affect the budget allocation and the determination of the priority scale. The government needs to anticipate overlapping policies between these regions so that there is no assumption that MFT is always prioritized over other sectors, or vice versa, MFT is a project that is not serious by the government and only follows global trends.

However, behind that, with the selection of these destinations, the parties involved in the management of halal tourism and the creative economy will get many benefits because they are priority destinations. One of the advantages is the opportunity to promote local culture, local wisdom and religious identity. This is an advantage in a typical Indonesian MFT because Indonesian tourism products consist of 60% cultural products, 35% nature tourism, and 5% man-made tourism (Thaib, 2018). MFT is a means to introduce and promote the identity of local wisdom in these areas and to popularize Islamic cultural heritage.

The government's support is expected to strengthen the integration and sovereignty of the state because it minimizes the emergence of rival ideologies that are born in the regions. The expressive spaces provided legally and formally are expected to reduce the various feelings of inequality that other ideologies want to find. This effort is a form of responding to populism that has emerged in Indonesian society. Because not all populism has a negative connotation and antipathy towards the government, it is necessary to accommodate populism that appears as input and counterweight to the government (Saputra, 2019).

Pancasila as the basic philosophy of the Indonesian state is a unique

ideology and has advantages. He is able to bind various national and cultural diversity in Indonesia with the value of universality which is conical to the divine value, as the basis of social and territorial relations. The geographical unity as described in the 1957 Djuanda Declaration called the Archipelago Insight is able to bind cultural pluralism into one identity. This single identity does not deny the identity of each ethnic group in it, but recognizes diversity and recognizes the universality values of each culture under the umbrella of national identity (Purwoko, 2020).

This is one of Indonesia's advantages over other OIC member countries. The diversity and plurality of the Indonesian population can be managed properly with a single identity, namely national identity. This is in contrast to countries with Muslim-majority populations in the Middle East region, for example, which are still often trapped in internal or external conflicts related to sectarian issues (Yahya, 2019). Although the majority are Arab and Muslim, in fact the management of diversity and identity in the Middle East still faces many obstacles. Conflicts in Syria, Lebanon, Sudan, Yemen, and Iraq are still struggling with various conflicts.

The application of MFT which is the embodiment of Islamic values in the practice of life can be a means of promoting friendly and good Islamic values. Various issues presented by the media and politicians in Europe and America, often portray Islam in an unbalanced, non-objective, and exclusive way. Islam and Muslim society are considered as "other" entities, which are always in conflict with Western values and culture, and are associated with violence and terrorism (Eid, 2014). This was reinforced by the tragedy of the twin tower bombings of the World Trade Center (WTC) on September 11, known as Black September. These various images were exacerbated by the presence of the Islamic State (IS) group which carried out many heinous acts against non-Muslims, including journalists from Europe.

With tourism that carries religious sentiments, the government tries to promote an Indonesian-style Islam that is moderate, tolerant, and contrary to the image that the media in Europe and America pose. The principle of moderate Islam that is echoed by the Indonesian government is a promotion to the Islamic world that the Islam adopted by Indonesia is not Islam that has the face of terror and violence. This is one of the potentials that Indonesia has, which is not owned by OIC member countries, especially those located in the Middle East region because these countries are often identified with terrorism, especially after the Black September incident and the establishment of the Islamic State (IS) (Ismail, 2019). This shows superiority in the security aspect in the relationship between tourism and geopolitics.

This potential is also supported by the figure of President Joko Widodo who has received appreciation as one of 500 influential Muslim figures in the world. Since 2015, President Joko Widodo has always been among the most influential Muslim figures in the world. In 2021, according to The Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Center (RISSC) based in Amman, Jordan, President Joko Widodo ranks 13th out of the top 50 world Muslim figures (Kusnandar, 2021). This certainly illustrates that the Islamic world also takes into account the position of Indonesia and its country's leaders in the geopolitics of Muslim countries, as well as a form of appreciation that Islam in Indonesia needs to be taken into account in various aspects of foreign policy, including tourism and MFT policies.

Indonesia's hospitality and detachment from terror issues provided an advantage in developing the MFT. In addition, MFT is also a form of promoting identity (promoting identity) and nation branding of Indonesia as a country with an ideal democratic system among OIC member countries. The practice of the Indonesian state shows itself as a good model for harmony between Islam, modernity and democracy (Mardenis, 2012). It is hoped that with the intensification of MFT in Indonesia, the Indonesian Muslim community will also get the experience of meeting with different parties, both temporal meetings, physical meetings, and identity meetings to get to know each other (tourism encounters) (Gillen & Mostafanezhad, 2019). In the end, as stated by Nurcholish Madjid, openness and willingness to get along, understand each other, and respect each other so as to give birth to peaceful transnational and trans-cultural relations (Madjid, 2020).

The involvement of Islamic factors in foreign policy considerations is not a new thing. Countries such as the United States and Singapore have demonstrated similar policies. Singapore, although only 15% of the population is Muslim, places Islam as an important factor in domestic and foreign policy making. One of the factors behind it was its interest in maintaining domestic stability, which had been shaken by the issue of conflicts between ethnic groups of different religions (Chinese and Malay). In addition, Singapore's treatment of Muslims and foreign policy related to Islam will be considered and highlighted by its two neighboring countries, namely Malaysia and Indonesia. Therefore, Singapore takes an accommodative policy which is embodied in an Islamic-friendly policy (Riyanto et al., 2018).

The United States, especially during the Donald Trump administration, used the issue of Islamophobia as a campaign instrument and later realized it as an instrument of foreign policy. Three popular policies taken by Donald Trump related to this issue are the prohibition of Muslims from entering the

United States, the prohibition of visas for several Muslim-majority countries, and the re-registration of Muslim citizens in America. These various policies are steps taken to resolve domestic issues such as illegal immigrants, refugees, crime, terrorism, job offshoring, and state debt (Zulian, 2020).

Therefore, as already mentioned by Rizal Sukma (Sukma, 2003), Islam in Indonesia has always had a distinctive position in domestic and foreign politics. If in the past Islam was an important consideration in domestic affairs, but not in foreign policy, now there is a shift. The spirit of populism and the economic cycle around the Muslim world has made Indonesia's foreign policy policy inseparable from Islamic factors

Conclusion

Tourism and geopolitics have a mutually influencing relationship. The same is true for the growing trend of Muslim-friendly Tourism (MFT) globally. The Indonesian government's policy to determine the MFT as a policy and one of its foreign policy priorities is also motivated by various factors. The study above shows how at the macro level, the government on a national and regional scale, as well as the MUI provide various policies and regulations that support the realization of the targets set for the management of the MFT. Policies at the macro level are influenced by various aspects at the micro level, particularly the economic and socio-political aspects. Economic aspects and trends in consumerism of halal products are increasing globally and also nationally among middle-class Muslims. This is what tourism industry players and the government want to take advantage of. On the other hand, the socio-political aspects related to Islamic populism and religious sentiments in various regions in Indonesia need to be accommodated and protected by the government. The appointment of these areas as MFT destinations is one of the strategies in strengthening the integrity and sovereignty of the nation. In addition, other micro aspects such as hospitality, security, and tourism encounters are also involved in supporting the promotion of Indonesian identity and nation branding as a model in managing diversity. The appointment of these areas as MFT destinations is one of the strategies in strengthening the integrity and sovereignty of the nation. In addition, other micro aspects such as hospitality, security, and tourism encounters are also involved in supporting the promotion of Indonesian identity and nation branding as a model in managing diversity. The appointment of these areas as MFT destinations is one of the strategies in strengthening the integrity and sovereignty of the nation. In addition, other micro aspects such as hospitality, security,

and tourism encounters are also involved in supporting the promotion of Indonesian identity and nation branding as a model in managing diversity.

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