ICEMS PROCEEDING

THE 2nd INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION IN MUSLIM SOCIETY

Faculty of Education and Teacher Training,
UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta
11-12 November 2015

Building Network and Sharing Best Practices for Strengthening Quality of Education in Muslim Society
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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON EDUCATION IN MUSLIM SOCIETY
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PREVENTING TERRORISM AT SCHOOL: AN EVALUATION OF THE
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CONCERNING TERRORISM, RADICAL RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN
CURRICULUM CONTENT AND PEDAGOGY OF SECONDARY
EDUCATION

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Abstract: The purpose of this study is to evaluate the Indonesian government policies on
curriculum and pedagogy that responds to the global phenomenon of radical and violent forms
of Islam. Specifically, I investigate whether the Ministry of Religious Affairs has designed a
curriculum content in Islamic Religious Studies for secondary education that discusses key
concepts such as radicalism, jihadi-takfiri movements, religious violence, and intolerance
towards other faiths. These issues are a central concern to Muslims in Indonesia. They have
witnessed acts of terrorism taken place in their country and saw many of their own citizens
joining global jihadi groups such as ISII and al-Qaida. However, despite the fact that
government rhetoric has taken a strong stance against extremism, the curriculum content of
the present 2013 Curriculum for Islamic Religious Studies features no discussion directly
related radicalism and jihadi movements. The curriculum touches only indirectly on these
issues, through modules that discuss values such as tolerance, nationalism and general ethical
precepts. The only contemporary issue that the curriculum teaches is the problem of student
vigilantism (tawuran). My research attempts to answer why the Ministry of Religious Affairs
has not included curriculum content that deals with contemporary issues of violent Islamic
movements. In order to do this, I will interview a number of officials of the Ministry who
oversees Religious Islamic Studies in the secondary level. I will also interview education
experts and practitioners in the field, such as teachers and headmasters, many of whom have
offered their own material that deals directly on these issues. My research thus examines the
nature of state-approved religious studies in a majority Muslim country, whether it is well-
equipped to deal with contemporary moral problems rather than just inculcating traditional
values of good conduct and ritual adherence. The result of my study will be a
recommendation to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Culture and Primary
and Secondary Education for developing curriculum content deals with the question of
radicalism and religious violence in a direct and honest way.
Background of the Study

The recent rise of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) in the Middle East has brought the issue of religious radicalism to the forefront of the public consciousness in Indonesia. There has been a wide belief that the group has found widespread support among Indonesians.¹ Many consider that the development of radical religious ideologies in Indonesia during the past decade as an affront to the nationalist vision of a united and diversified cultural Indonesia.²

Whatever the true scale of radical ideologies being 'imported' into Indonesia, and how much of the perceived threat to the material well being of Indonesians are actually real and how much of these are imagined are not issues that we will deal in this paper.³ The main premise that we will deal with is Indonesia's position as the largest Muslim populated country in the world and that will-theilly it has become grounds for the contestation of religious authority and ideology of various Muslim groups, notwithstanding those commonly described as radical religious groups such as ISIL, al-Qaeda and others.⁴ Furthermore, religious radicalism, as referring to violence done under the name of religion, is not something new in Indonesia.⁵ The recent manifestations have been the vigilantism of groups such as the FPI (Front for the Defence of Islam)⁶ to the suicide bombings of the JW Mariott and Ritz-Carlton

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⁴ From Indonesia to Singapore to Malaysia, ISIL spreads its web of evil", The National, Joanna Tan Correspondent June 23, 2015 Updated: June 25, 2015 01:18 PM. Accessed at August 22 2015, 10:37 PM.


hotel in the Mega Kuningan are of South Jakarta (July 17, 2009). A number of riots targeting minority Islamic sects such as the Shi'ites and Ahmadiyah in a number of religious in Indonesia that have led to the death, injury and internal displacements of these communities are also expressions of hardline interpretations of Islamic law. However, despite the fact that the phenomena of religious violence is one of the major issues facing Muslims in recent years, the government has chosen to focus on the legal and ideological aspects of the 'war on terror', by toughening laws to criminalize radicalist tendencies and acts and denouncing it as an exclusively external or alien threat to national unity. The Indonesian government has not yet acknowledged that the contestation of religious ideology also take place in the field of education as an internal issue of Indonesian Muslims. If as the government claim extreme and violent form of Islam is a misinterpretation of Islam itself, what has the government done to educate and not just warn the public that this is the case? This question is particularly relevant in Indonesia's case, since the government through the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Religious Affairs has taken upon itself to provide religious instruction in the form of Islamic Religious Studies (PAI) from the elementary to post-secondary level. Our paper attempts to evaluate the content of PAI education in the secondary level, whether it deals with the contemporary issue of religious radicalism in Indonesia and abroad and if so how.

Our research focuses on the curriculum content of PAI education in the secondary level from the KTSP Curriculum of 2006 to its revision in 2013 that are published by the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. We also examine revisions made by ministerial direction in 2011 that included material that specifically dealt with the issue of religious exclusivism, radicalism, and terrorism with concrete examples in Indonesia and beyond. As we will discuss later, this material was no longer included in the 2013 Curriculum. Furthermore, we also conducted interviews with educators and students in two high schools, the State Public High School V South Tangerang and Triguna High School, located at the city of Ciputat, the province of Banten. We have chosen these schools

8 The Violence case of Ahmadiyah Congregation is a violence of humanity: International Community should take action, Kontras. http://www.kontras.org/index.php?hal=siaran_pers&id=1232
because their thorough implementation of the relatively new 2013 Curriculum. These interviews are meant to examine how teachers understand the concepts of religious radicalism and terrorism and whether (despite aforementioned changes in the curriculum) they discuss these issues in class. Finally we have conducted interviews with officials in charge of the PAI curriculum and academicians. We intend our research to contribute to the future revision of the current 2013 Curriculum within the purview of the larger question of what is the most effective and sensitive way of responding to radical religious ideologies in the contemporary Indonesian context.

Theoretical Framework of the Study: Religious Radicalism in Indonesia

We may identify radicalism with religion when members of a religious community marshal religious doctrines and principles to justify extreme action, especially through violence and coercion.11 Responding to the growth of extremist religious movements in Indonesia, the prominent Indonesian religious scholar, Said Aqil Siraj, wrote that religious radicalism is a generic term that can be used to refer to the various forms of violence justified by religious precepts, whether or not these lead to actual physical damage or just on the level of rhetoric.12 This occurs when narrow religious education combines with certain social and political realities.13 The causes of violence—in particular politically motivated violence—are society is never a simple thing to explain and cannot be reduced to pure ideology or belief. What is clear however is that in the case of radical religious movements, the issues of poverty, unemployment, political alienation and disenchantment combine with a substrate of religious doctrines, which gives a character of absolutism and uncompromising morality of their adherents.

According to Horace M. Kallen,14 the religious radicalism that results in social radicalism—a climate of inter-communal antagonism—has three main tendencies. The first is that radicalism is a response to an ongoing situation. This response is

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usually in the form of evaluation, rejection or opposition. The issues rejected are
diverse: they can take the form of an assumption, idea, institution, or values that they
consider as being responsible for the existence of the prevailing condition they reject.
Second, radicalism does not end with rejection, but follows it up with efforts to
inaugurate an alternative order. This shows that radical movements offer a program
of action and a worldview to back up their oppositional stance. Third, adherents of
radical movements often have deep convictions with respect to their beliefs and the
truth of their actions. This certainty is combined with the conviction of the falsity of
whatever condition or system they wish to replace.

According to Root Cause model, there are two stages of radicalization: the
first is an identity that arises from a concern regarding social conditions on a macro
level, such as participation of society (or the lack thereof), foreign policy, and
perceived problems in political, economic, and cultural development. The second is
the result of social interaction on a micro level, influenced by the media, friends,
leaders, and collegial or working environment that creates the disposition for
asserting to extreme belief systems and provides the motivation for acting them
out.\(^\text{15}\)

Among religious communities, radicalism centers on the following claims and
characteristics\(^\text{16}\):

1. Claim to truth. The adherents believe that their holy books and doctrines
   teach the pure and only truth, and that other sects, let alone other religions,
   are therefore false.

2. Blind and loyal adherence to the leadership of the group.

3. The goal to set up an idealized State or way of governance. The adherents
   believe in establishing God's rule on earth by inaugurating a morally upright
   and theologically correct society.

4. Vigilantism, in that these groups may opt to exercise coercive power outside
   those already wielded by the State.

Not all radical groups call for actual engagement in combat. However, it is a
central doctrine of many radical groups currently operative, though the bounds of
how this Holy War can be waged, against whom, to what goal are very diverse. What

\(^\text{15}\) Veldhuis, Tinka, & Strann, Jorgen (2009). Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model. Den
Haag: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael. p. 63-64.

\(^\text{16}\) Yusufani, Menambah Aksi Eksperimen Beriman. Amma (Disclosing the religious Color Violence).

28 | Copyright © 2018, IEIA. The World of Education and Training, BSN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta
they share in common is the purgative function of War, both for one's own salvation (martyrdom) and those thereby "liberated".

Nevertheless, as we have alluded to above, radicalism does not necessarily lead to acts of terrorism. In Parliamentary Act 15, 2003 regarding the 'elimination of criminal acts of terrorism', Part III, article 6, it is stated that a person can be guilty of terrorist acts if in full consciousness he commits or threatens to commit violent acts in order to create an atmosphere of fear and terror on a wide scale or inflicting harm upon people on a wide scale, by taking away a person's personal sovereignty, or murder, or theft, the result of which ends in the damage or destruction of vital objects of interest, living environment, public or international facilities.17 According to the Ansyar Mba, the head of the National Agency for the Prevention of Terrorism (BNNPT), terrorism is an expression of radical beliefs rather than being synonymous with each other.18 This shows that policy makers and those involved in combating terrorism in Indonesia are aware of the important distinction between an extreme belief and violent action.

The process by which an individual moves from the one to the other is a complex process and cannot be reduced to the mere fact of having extreme beliefs in the first place, though they constitute an important aspect thereof.19 A critique or analysis of literalistic hermeneutics—one of the hallmarks of Islamic fundamentalism—would be useless in explaining the phenomena of terrorism, unless we also consider the social, economic and political condition of the individuals involved.20 In our study, we therefore hold to the premise that acts of terrorism are one of the many characteristics of religious radicalism.21

As a transnational phenomenon, the networks of terrorist groups, especially those that have connections to radical groups in Indonesia are not a spontaneous movement, but are often systematic and well organized. They develop strategies to

17 Kasim Salenda (2009), Terorisme dan Jihad dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Terrorism and Jihad In Islamic Law Perspective). Jakarta: Depag RI, p. 82.
21 Interview with Muhammad Zuhdi, Ciputat, 10 March 2015. Muhammad Zuhdi is a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Education UIN Jakarta and a Ph.D in Education from McGill University, Montreal Canada. His academic research interests include curriculum studies, teaching and learning, multicultural education and religious education.
maintain, defend and develop the organization, collect funds, procure arms, and recruit members and train them in combat.  

With respect to recruitment, radical groups such as ISIL, has employed the following strategies to gain adherents among Indonesians:

1. Pedagogy. ISIL members in Indonesia hold religious study circles (pengajian) where they expound their doctrine. The pengajian is usually by invitation, and being the typical setting where the Indonesian Muslim layman gains religious knowledge, the ISIL led pengajian would focus on a few religious precepts that are the central premises of their cause: the importance of the caliphate, the necessity of the Holy War, the decadence of the modern State, etc.

2. High pay. The high rate of unemployment and poverty of many of Indonesian youth is one of the main factors that lead to recruitment into . Potential recruits can expect a steady income and some on the higher ups can expect to be paid above 50 million Rupiah for their services. Women are typically employed to manage domestic logistics such as food, while men are expected to be trained for combat.

3. Social Media is known for being very media savvy. Their strong social media presence allows them to construct an upbeat and positive image of their military campaigns, governance and social solidarity, and moral purity. All this are important to gain the sympathy of potential recruits.

If we consider from the ideological side of these recruitment tactics, without forgetting the socio-political factors, one of the reasons why radical groups have been successful in recruiting members in Indonesia is because of the lack of education in key areas such as social sciences and religious studies. A solid education in history and the ability to perform social analysis, combined with a sound religious education would prevent an individual’s receptivity to extreme ideas in the first place.

Research Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach and descriptive method. I gather data through interviews, observation, and documentation. I interview a number of

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24 Interview with Muhammad Zubairi, Gubernor, Senaru 10 May 2015
officials of the Ministry who oversees Religious Islamic Studies in the secondary level, i.e. Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Education. I also interview education experts and practitioners in the field, such as teachers and headmasters, many of whom have offered their own material that deals directly on these issues.

The interviewees are officials of the Ministry who oversees Religious Islamic Studies in the secondary level (Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Education). Activities that are observed are training environment, readiness of committee and participants, and other aspects related to the implementation of the training. The documents that I have gathered for this research are training schedule, learning materials, examination papers, evaluation forms for trainers and activities, profile of trainers and committee members, and other related documents. This research is carried out in general public and private secondary school in East Tangerang which have implemented 2013 curriculum. The technical aspects of analysing these data is based upon Miles and Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis; A Source Book of New Methods* and education evaluation data analysis.

**Efforts by the Government in Public Education: An Evaluation of the Curriculum Design and Pedagogical Model of Islamic Religious Education in Religious and non-Religious Schools**

As we have seen above, the development of radical movements in Indonesia owes much of their persistence to education. That is to say, one of the most effective means to convince individuals to join their cause is not to force them into, but to systematically inculcate the values and aspirations of the group. As a result, efforts of deradicalization cannot simply rely on forcing people to renounce radical beliefs, rather these efforts must include education, or rather reeducation, as a central aspect of the overall strategy. As a result, the government can play an important role in

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25This issue have been discussed on the Seminar of Deradicalisation Strategy in the Field of Education held in Novotel Hotel, Bandar Lampung, Wednesday (16/11/2011). This seminar invited the speakers from The National Body of Terrorist Prevention and education practitioners from a number of campuses, such as IAIN Raden Intan Lampung dan Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia Bandung, Ketua Lembaga Penelitian IAIN Raden Intan Lampung, that is Abdul Syukur mentioned that “recently university become a soft target of radical movement recruitment.” He says: “in it development, this radical movement more conducive in religious university”. S. Yunanto, the expert of the National Body of Terrorism Prevention, mentions that deradicalisation of the campus could be implemented with the change of teaching system to give more priority on dialog, analysis and comparison. The monolog system of teaching and doctrine should be eliminated. Yuliusman Harono, Prevent Terrorism with Education, http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/12/23/10050012/pencegahTerrorismwitheducation, accessed 23 April 2015.
offering a public education and cultural policy that offer an alternative worldview that of radical movements.

Public institutions of learning have an important role in minimizing religious radicalism. Such institutes are places where pedagogy is not only embodied in the actual content of the curriculum, but also in the values represented by the learning environment and the interactions between fellow students, and teachers. This is all the more relevant for Islamic Studies curriculum in public education (PAI) that are supposed to provide moral guidance based on religious/spiritual values. According to a standard exposition, the aims and methods of Islamic Studies in public education—from hereon referred to as PAI—are: 1) to increase faith and God-consciousness, 2) respect other religions, 3) maintain the multicultural character of Indonesia, 4) commit oneself toward national unity. Religious education in this context is focused more on moral action, and not only mere rote understanding. This means that the values just mentioned ought to become something the students take as their own and which they practice on a daily basis.

History of PAI Curriculum Content With Respect to Material Dealing with Religious Radicalism

In this section of the paper we will examine the contents of three PAI curriculum materials for the Secondary level, the Curriculum of 2006, revisions introduced by the Minister of Religious Affairs in 2011, and the newly implemented National Curriculum 2013, where PAI materials are also revised. In doing so, we attempt to chart out efforts of the Indonesian government to educate students about religious radicalism.

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26 Interview with Anas Shofwan Khalid, Jakarta, Kamis 12 Maret 2015.
The Curriculum of 2006 does not include material on religious radicalism. Instead it contains material dedicated to the values of tolerance, work ethic, the development of Islam in Indonesia, national unity and harmony. This was in many ways a continuation of the previous PAI curricula, in that the government chose to focus on the teaching of moral principles that, if properly understood by the student, would necessarily preclude the option of radicalism.

In 2009, the government of then president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono introduced changes to the national curriculum under the auspices of the Ministry of National Education. The Ministry of Religious Affairs was responsible for revision of material on religious studies, through the corresponding directorial branches of the Ministry, i.e. the directorates of Islamic, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucious education respectively—these being the so-called official religions of the State. One major change to the previous curriculum was emphasis on the multicultural character of the Indonesian nation. However, unlike previous curricula, the values of tolerance and mutual respect should then be given a religious basis by each of the official state religions. This was thought to be in line with the self-perception—a very Yudhoyono-era idea—that Indonesia was a religious nation.29 The parties involved in the revision of the PAI material were officials of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of National Education, university academics, educators and principals. The results of the committee were reviewed by another committee that consisted of academics, members of the pesantren education system—traditionalist Islamic schools, and educators.

The concrete result of Yudhoyono's policies came in 2011, when the Minister of Religious Affairs at the time, Suryadharma Ali, issued a KMA (Ministry of Religious Affairs Directive) regarding the National Education Standard, dated July 12, 2011. In it he stipulated that the material standard of the PAI must include a discussion of 'praiseworthy' acts such as kinship, respecting deferences, mutual cooperation, the practice of syar' (democratic decision making practices), etc.30 The directive also includes analysis of the root causes of "blameworthy" acts such as doctrinal exclusivism, radicalism, and terrorism and how to avoid them.31 However,

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29 Nasional.kompas.com/read/2011/20/5, Lima Tujuan Genakan Pendidikan Karakter (Five Aims of Character Education Movement).
30 Lampiran KMA (Keputusan Menteri Agama) Republik Indonesia tentang Pedoman Pengembangan Standar Nasional Pendidikan Agama Islam pada sekolah [Appendix of Minister of Religious Affairs' Decision on Guidance of National Standard Development of Islamic Religious Education at Schools], July 12, 2011
31 Lampiran KMA, July 2011 and interview with Mustofa, Deputy Ministry of Religious Affairs, February 10, 2015
when in 2012, this guideline was considered for the 2013 Curriculum, the Committee for Curriculum Development in 2012, of which I was a member, decided by majority decision to not include this material in the new curriculum. One of the reasons that were given for this exclusion was that many members of the committee felt that to openly talk about such "blameworthy" acts as radicalism and terrorism to students would incite them to imitate or actually commit them. Teaching about these acts in class may be taken as actually teaching them. The majority of the members of the committee decided that on this account the issue was too controversial to be included in the new curriculum. The KMA guidelines that mandated the inclusion of sociological analysis of the root causes of religious exclusivism, radicalism and violence was replaced by a general discussion on the importance of tolerance, peace and principles of non-violent action from the Islamic perspective. As a result, these guidelines never saw the light of day.

Thus what ended up in the final draft of the PAI Curriculum 2013 was no different than what it was prior to the supplemental KMA guidelines. The section concerned did not explicitly the contemporary issues of religious radicalism. Instead, it discussed the concept of brotherhood (sekhuwah) in Islam, both between Muslims, who are bound together by a common creed, and between Muslims and non-Muslims, who are bound together by the common status as God's creation. As examples the curriculum cited the policy of the prophet Muhammad who brought together the emigrants of Mecca (al-muhajirin) and the Helpers of Medina (al-anṣār), the latter of which fled from persecution at their home city.

A number of other examples were laid out as actualizations of sekhuwah in the PAI curriculum of 2013. These are:

1. To visit, assist, and pray for a friend who falls ill or who experiences a difficult moment in life.
2. To make peace between parties in conflict.
3. To not limit friendship by tribe, language, culture, or religion of others.
4. To resist from committing acts that result in physical conflict, tawuran (miq school gang rivalries), or other actions that causes hardship to others.

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32 Meeting with the Curriculum Development Committee (from university/academician, teachers, bureaucrats from the Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Religious Affairs), March 2011
33 Interview with Halfian Lubis and Buchori Ismail, Office of Ministry of Religious Affairs, Jakarta: Kantor Kementerian Agama, Jakarta, February 10, 2015
34 Nasrul Azhar: Interview, SMA Negeri 83, Jakarta, November 16, 2011
35 http://book.kemdikbud.go.id, b. 188
5. To respect differences of tribe, nation, religion, and culture of others.

What is clear from these changes is that the PAI content above was, inspite of an attempt to avoid the issue of religious terrorism, nothing but, albeit in a general and indirect way.

Reception of the PAI Material by Teachers and Students

In order to find out whether the new curriculum of 2013 is effective in inculcating the values of tolerance and multiculturalism, we conducted interviews and surveys of a number of high schools. We asked teachers regarding what they think are the indicators of a successful PAI education, and inquired regarding their knowledge of the concepts taught in the curriculum that deals with the issue of violence and tolerance in society and what method they used in teaching this material in class. We also interviewed government officials responsible for the curriculum to verify what the government has done to ensure that the material are taught properly to students and that teachers are taught properly how to teach it. Finally, we surveyed students to find out what they believe are the lessons and central concepts of the curriculum section on tolerance and multiculturalism. We do this in order to find out how far the students are able to understand the material in its ideal form in the curriculum and whether there are major discrepancies and if so why? By obtaining insight on the reception of the curriculum on the field allows us to make better suggestions for improvement.

According to the PAI teachers in Triguna High School, the main indicators for success in PAI subject are if students are able to perform the injunctions and leave the prohibitions of religion. Simply put, this is measured on whether they perform the five daily prayers. Furthermore, one teacher put things this way: "basically the teaching of Islamic Studies in the high school level, especially in Triguna High School, is to teach students how to perform the devotional ritual properly and consistently. They do not need a more complex education in this regard. It is enough that they perform the obligatory rites. The same idea was expressed by the PAI teacher in South Tangerang State High School III, who said that non-religious based schools do not need to present difficult material in religious studies. What's important is that they do the basics required by the religion. It seems that for PAI teachers, the main indicator of their success as teachers is whether they can guide them to regularly perform the devotional rituals of Islam."

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36 Result of Survey at SMA Triguna dan Tangerang, Ciputat, 6 dan 9 March 2015
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With respect to the concept of tolerance as included in the 2013 Curriculum, PAI teachers of Triguna High School said that the material is meant to teach students to respect people of different faiths. They understand toleration as a form of "Living Peacefully with Others of Different Religions" ("Kerukunan antar Umat Beragama"). One teacher cites an expression of tolerance that during PAI classes, Christian students have the "freedom" to choose to skip the period. As for State High School III, a teacher appointed by local church authorities is assigned to teach Christian students their own religious studies material. According to the PAI teacher, this shows that the school maintains a tolerant environment between students of different religious commitments. Furthermore, he mentions that he is in friendly terms with his counterpart of the Christian community. From this we find that for many PAI teachers, tolerance is really shorthand for peaceful interreligious cohabitation. The more universal aspects of tolerance such as human rights, freedom of belief, and the moral dimensions of mutual respect and personal integrity are not explored, and perhaps not known.

We also found that the local government, represented in this case by the Educational Office, has never conducted training or workshops on the issue of religious radicalism and terrorism, whether for students or teachers. In comparison the Office has held anti-drug campaigns for students. Amin Haedari, Director of Islamic Religious Education, in the Ministry of Religious Affairs, mentioned one effort initiated by the Ministry to deal with the problem of radicalism: they invited representatives of local student religious societies (Rohis) for a national workshop that contained material on human rights, religious radicalism, nationalism, tolerance, and openness. He presented this event as an example of the Ministry's seriousness in preventing radicalism among the youth.

Towards the question whether the contemporary problem of religious radicalism should be included in the PAI curriculum at the high school level, the teachers of Triguna and South Tangerang State High School III, expressed different points of view. Some are reluctant to recommend it because they are worried that if they talk about it, students will be curious and want to do it. They also feel that if this material is included, there will emerge the impression that Islam is a violent religion, which for them is not the case. However, other teachers expressed that they

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37 Result of survey at SMA Triguna, Ciputat, Jumat 6 Maret 2015.
38 Survey result of Education District (Dinas Pendidikan), Jakarta, Monday, March 16, 2015.
are not opposed to the idea, but only if the intention is to show the kinds of actions that must be avoided and to help students to reject recruitment attempts.

According to the teacher of the Christian religious studies in State High School III, teaching students specifically about religious radicalism is important. How can they understand theoretically the issue of intolerance if they do not understand an important and current manifestation of it? As a result, he says that it is important to include a discussion on current forms of religious radicalism in the curriculum.

Based on the survey conducted on students of the Triguna High School and South Tangerang State High School, we identified the following prevalent attitudes with respect to the material on tolerance and multiculturalism in the Curriculum. Like their teachers, the students understand tolerance as peacefully living together with adherents of different religious groups. Their example of this is typically to be good friends with minority groups, Christians for example. Students admitted that they are not well informed about terrorism and radicalism. They find about radical groups and their beliefs from the television, not from school. When asked the question whether the Bali bombings were justified or not, many students responded with the expression "I'm confused." Some say that on the one hand they do not condone the morally loose culture of that part of Bali, with its drugs and free sex. However, on the other they feel the need to affirm that the struggle against this is a worthy cause. Many students who initially declared themselves against suicide bombings and mass killings suddenly become less convinced when confronted by this "defence for the sake of Islam" argument. This shows a deep confusion in the pedagogy of the section on tolerance in the Curriculum, as students often are unable to identify which moral or ethical premises are primary and which are contingent to context.

Evaluation of PAI Material on Religious Radicalism

In the previous sections we have discussed the history of PAI curriculum material pertaining to the issues of religious radicalism and the values of tolerance and multiculturalism. We have also presented results of our interviews with educators and students to gauge the effectiveness of the 2013 PAI curriculum. We now present a critique of the PAI curricula based on the results of the interviews and analysis of the content of the PAI material on the aforementioned issues. Our discussion centers on two major areas of contention, whether it is appropriate to include material

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40 Survey result at SMA Triguna Ciputat and SMAN South Tangerang, 5 and 9 March, 2015
relating to religious radicalism in the PAI curriculum, and second whether the real problem lies in larger issue affecting not only PAI content but the rest of the national curriculum, namely the question of pedagogy and teacher's competency in delivering the material.

At its inception, the 2013 Curriculum was expected to contribute efforts at preventing radicalism among the youth. One major section presented the specific issue of "Tolerance as a Means for Unity".41 In this section, the editors include a discussion on the concept of tolerance towards differences, whether these are religious, ethnic or cultural group. They wrote that these differences should be the cause for conflict or opposition, but should be understood as an asset that must be sustained through mutual tolerance. Forcing another person to believe in something they don't believe in is wrong, especially if it is done through physical coercion. Nevertheless, even though in outline the content of this section is adequate, it focused more on toleration between adherents of religions, and the phenomena of organized religious radicalism and how to deal with that within the religious community in question was not discussed.

As we have discussed above this material in the PAI section of the 2013 Curriculum was a revision of the 2011 KMA guidelines for future PAI material, which included material that specifically discussed the phenomena of religious radicalism in an attempt to educate students about why these acts are considered wrong. The committee responsible for this revision felt that to teach explicitly about radical and violent acts was liable to incite students to do it. From this we see how the material of the 2013 Curriculum, which was meant as a response to the phenomena of religious radicalism, conveys ethical norms and expectations in a very general way. The material is decontextualized from the everyday reality of the students who will easily find on the Internet and television instances of vigilantism and violence committed in the name of Islam. The idealized examples of 'praiseworthy' action also do not inform students about the subtleties of moral choice and the complex sociological conditions that lead to acts of violence. Further, the material does not concretely discuss how to identify extremist ideologies and how to avoid it. Is this a regress from the KMA material of 2011, which mandated the

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41 See example, Mustahdi & Mustakim, Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Budi Pekerti [Islamic Religious and Character Education], SMA/MA/SMK/MAK. Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. 2014, Bab II, h 184-196.
inclusion of concrete examples of radical religious movements and identification of the main tenets of their beliefs.⁴²

The position of the committee that decided against integrating the KMA guidelines is echoed by a number of other scholars and researchers in the field. According to Ahmad Shodiq⁴³, "directly discussing the issue of terrorism and religious radicalism is to "vulgar" become PAI curriculum material. According to him, there is nothing wrong with dealing with these phenomena head on, but for the purposes of secondary education, the discussion must be softened and focus on general principles. If there should be a discussion on religious radicalism and terrorism, it should be placed in general ethics and citizenship classes instead of religious studies."

The same opinion is echoed by Muhammad Zuhdi. Since the phenomena of religious radicalism and violence is caused not only by religious doctrine, but also by social, economic and political factors, there should be no need to include material dealing with these phenomena in religious education. To do by doing so would already fall into a "bias" of classification, giving the impression that religion is solely responsible for the violence committed in its name. We have mentioned above the inclusion of a section in the 2013 Curriculum that discusses the issue of tolerance and multiculturalism. According to Zuhdi, this is should be regarded as a positive move on the part of the government, though it would mean nothing if the values taught are put into practice.⁴⁴ However, according to him, the issue of tolerance should be part of a larger category of character building, and therefore should also be present in all subject classes and not just religion.⁴⁵

Among educators, curriculum designers and academics, there is the fear of a number of misunderstandings. The first is the misunderstanding on the part of the students: that if they are taught directly about concrete examples of religious radicalism and violence they may influence to actually commit such acts. The second is the misunderstanding that conflates religion with violent expressions of its teachings. The latter concern is a valid one, as it responds to the constant demands upon Muslims to apologize for acts of violence committed in the name of their religion. However, though this concern is understandable, we should also take into

⁴² Naskah dan Lampiran KMA [Document and Appendix of the Standard of National Education no. 211, July 2011 and Interview with Halfan Lubis, Jakarta, 10 February 2015.
⁴³ Ahmad Shodiq is a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Education UIN Jakarta who was a MoRA consultant for developing curriculum of the teaching Islamic religious education in madrasah. His academic research interests include sufistic, character and religious education.
⁴⁴ Interview with Muhammad Zuhdi.
⁴⁵ Interview with Muhammad Zuhdi, Ciputat, Tuesday, 10 March 2015
consideration three things: the first is that even though it is clear that religious radicalism and violence are also caused by factors external to the religion itself, such acts are justified through religious discourse and text. Secondly, those who fall victim to these acts are Muslims themselves, many of whom, including scholars and the public, are already publicly talking about the legal dan moral validity of extremist doctrines and acts. If PAI material discussing these issues occurs within the framework of internal and participatory discourse among believers, then does this not do away with the charge of apologetism? Furthermore what is the vulgarity of talking about issues that the most prominent Indonesian (and non-Indonesian) religious scholars are already talking about in the public, through the internet, television, and radio?

On the other side of the spectrum is Anas Shofwan, a member of the Ministry of Religious Affairs' research team on Radicalism, who argues that the PAI material on tolerance must be supplied with concrete contemporary examples of religious radicalism. Teaching the characteristics and history of violence done in the name of religion does not automatically incite people to do it. If taught within a framework of the importance of multiculturalism, respecting other people's beliefs, and tolerance, then the issue of religious radicalism, which students already witness on the news and the internet, would be a good example to begin fruitful class discussions. However, this inclusion must be preceded by comprehensive training of the PAI teachers on every level of government.

Granted, however, much of Shodiq and Zuhdi's concern is based on their larger skepticism regarding the current pedagogical approaches in PAI teaching and the quality of teachers themselves. With respect to the PAI curriculum of 2006, which does not differ in substance from that of 2013 with respect to its content about the values of tolerance and multiculturalism, Muhaimin has identified the following pedagogical problems. 46

1. The PAI is unable to turn cognitive content of religious knowledge into values and meaning that are embodied internally rather than just understood or memorized.

2. The PAI is not implemented in view of and in synchrony with other subjects taught at school.

3. The PAI fails to stay relevant in the face of social change. It ignores history and presents a static presentation of the religion and its teachings. As a result,

46 Muhaimin, Nasrun, Restoring Indonesia: New Trends of Islamic Education] (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo, 2006), h 37
the content of the PAI are often regarded as being separate from everyday life.

The various criticisms of the PAI curriculum focused on its methodology and orientation that were considered to be normative rather than critical, with an overemphasis on the cognitive and theoretical aspects of learning. As a result, the curriculum fails to respond in a relevant way to the social change currently taking place. It is as though the values taught in the curriculum exist in a static and separate universe of ideal behaviour and beliefs, without history and without change. This has led to the common misconception among students that religious teachings are something separate from daily moral choices they have to make, and that they exist only in certain ritual contexts. Furthermore, the method of teaching still relies on monologal presentation, which can border on indoctrination. However, teaching on moral and spiritual values should emphasize more on dialogical approaches that includes participatory learning and role-playing, which involves the cognitive, affective and psycho-motoric development of students. Furthermore, according to Anas Shofwan Khalid, teachers are not well equipped with an adequate theoretical understanding of such values as multiculturalism and tolerance. With respect to such a sensitive and current issue such as these, the quality and range of knowledge of those teaching the material is crucial for the message to get across.

The existing material on tolerance and multiculturalism is also found lacking. According to Shodiq, the material only includes tolerance between religions and nothing about tolerance between different sects of Islam. Furthermore, the material is often taught only for one or two classes within the semester. As a result, both the teacher and the students' understanding of tolerance is limited to generalities and does not go to details such as the history of the various social movements that struggled for equality and freedom. If generalized education this is not followed by a teaching method and a school environment that values and practices toleration of other faiths, ethnic groups, and language, then the curriculum material would be useless. Given the varying quality of schools in Indonesia’s many regions, some learning environment would be more conducive than others.

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67 Muhaimin, Nuansa Baru Pendidikan Islam, h.184.
69 Interview with Muhammad Zahli, Ciputat, Tuesday, 10 March 2015.
I agree with Zuhdi and Shodiq's concern that religious radicalism is not just a doctrinal issue and should therefore be dealt with on a larger framework and not just religious. I agree therefore that the same material should also be discussed in citizenship and general ethics classes. However, I think that there is space to talk about religious radicalism and violence as an internal issue of Muslims. After all, the victims of terrorist acts are overwhelmingly Muslims, their actors are Muslims and those speaking up in support and against them are also Muslims.  

The fear of being perceived of conflating Islam with terrorism is the fear of being indicted by some external party. But this should not be an issue for Muslims if what is at stake are the well-being of Muslims themselves and the arguments used are those from an Islamic perspective and sources.

Recommendations and Conclusion

When we compare the results of our interviews of teachers and students in Triguna High School and South Tangerang State High School III with the evaluation of the PAI curriculum by the aforementioned academicians and observers, we find that their overall criticism of the PAI material, in particular regarding religious radicalism and violence is warranted. Teachers and students conceptualize tolerance in a very limited way. One teacher cites that fact that a Christian student does not have to participate in Islamic studies as an instance of such tolerance. Friendliness or good social relations with others of religious faith is also cited as a prime example of toleration. Although these are important aspects of living in a multicultural society, the concept of toleration as a corollary of freedom of expression and belief of an individual does not seem to be part of the conceptual understanding. Furthermore, the overwhelming emphasis has been on tolerating others of different faith or ethnic origin, where the fact of difference is already assumed. But what about differences that arises within a religious community, such as sectarian debates and conflicts? The curriculum as it stands now is not equipped to deal with this issue.

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The lack of conceptual precision is also seen in how students admit that they are 'confused' when pressed about the issue of the Bali bombings. Most of their knowledge of thorny issues such as this derives from television and the internet. It is very unlikely that they would receive nuanced views from either of these mediums.

With respect to this problem of content, I recommend that the KMA guidelines, which stipulate that PAI material must include a discussion of modern forms of religious radicalism and violence, should be reconsidered for future PAI material. The content on the values of multiculturalism and tolerance should discuss the issue of violent acts perpetrated against members of the same religious community and between religious traditions. This should be done in an open and transparent way. Sensitive terms such as radicalism, exclusivism, violence, terrorism, tolerance, respect, should be defined and concretely described. The material should also contain reasons how and why acts of vigilantism and violence based on religious faith is wrong from an Islamic perspective. Many prominent religious scholars, such as Nurcholish Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) and Quraish Shihab, have been writing on this issue for a long time, and so this hermeneutical framework is already in wide currency. The idea however is not to engage in a refutation, but to also place the material within the larger framework of ethical conduct (akhlâq) and highlight the positive aspect of multiculturalism and openness to doctrinal and methodological differences within religious communities.

As for the issue of pedagogy, we recommend that in the teaching of the issues of tolerance and multiculturalism, teachers should be trained in delivering the material in a dialogical method. As Azra points out, when teaching the ethical dimensions of these topics, teachers should be trained to use a creative and participative pedagogy. This is because ethics is not a matter of cognitive understanding but of action and habit.

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