

# **OSIS**

## **ROWING BETWEEN TWO REEFS: SCHOOL'S POLICY, RADICALISM AND NATIONALISTIC INCLUSIVISM**



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# OSIS

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## I. BACKGROUND

Ever since the reforms era, the spread of radicalism in Indonesia has grown intensively, eating away formal educational institutions, such as schools<sup>1</sup> and universities.<sup>2</sup> The radical movement has influenced and even dominated several educational institutions at high school level. It is believed that infiltration to high school is possible due to religious discourse which is rarely discussed in public school compared to religious school such as *pesantren* or *madrasah*. In most cases, high school student's understanding on Islamic teaching is far from complete. Meanwhile, students in *pesantren* are more likely to have better understanding on Islamic teaching, such as al-Qur'an studies and Islamic law and history.<sup>3</sup> Due to the infiltration of this radical movement, several cases arise in which public high schools has become the center of intolerant ideas, exclusivism, anti-unity, and even violence of any forms.<sup>4</sup>

This phenomenon has been confirmed through several researches in recent years. A survey from Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian (LaKIP) on 2010 illustrates that 48.9% of students in Jabodetabek (Greater Jakarta area) agrees with radical ideas. Meanwhile, a survey from Wahid Foundation (2016) shows that 60% of Rohis (student Islamic organization) activists (n: 1,626 respondents), are willing to commit *jihad* (crusade) into conflict areas such as Poso and Syria, while 10% supports Sarinah Bombing, and 6% supports ISIS.

During the mapping phase of this writing, there are at least three cases in which radicalization occur in high schools, especially public high school and madrasah aliyah (Islamic school at high school level, regulated by Ministry of Religion, not Education). *First*, through indoctrination by a sociology teacher in a school in Surakarta. The teacher in question socializes the idea of *jihad*.<sup>5</sup> A research by MAARIF Institute in 2011 has confirmed this finding, by capturing similar process done by a foreign language (German) teacher in a school in

- 1 See Muhd. Abdullah Darraz, "Radikalisme dan Lemahnya Peran Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan", Jurnal MAARIF: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial, Vol. 8, No. 1, July 2013, pp. 154-173.
- 2 See M. Zaki Mubarak, "Dari Semangat Islam Menuju Sikap Radikal: Pemikiran dan Perilaku Keberagamaan Mahasiswa UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta", Jurnal MAARIF: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial, Vol. 8, No. 1, July, 2013, pp. 192-217.
- 3 Dina Afrianty, "Indonesia's Islamic Educational Institution and Radicalism among Muslim Youth", paper presented in Asian Law Centre/Center for Islamic Law and Society seminar in the University of Melbourne.
- 4 See Farha Ciciek, Merawat Tradisi Moderat Kaum Muda, paper in-press, 2008; See also MAARIF Institute, Laporan Riset Pemetaan Radikalisme di SMU Negeri, 2011.
- 5 See Farha Ciciek, Merawat Tradisi Moderat Kaum Muda, 2008.

Cianjur, which is located near Education Offices of Cianjur District. The teacher in question socializes anti-nationalist ideas through *khilafah* (Islamic empire) and Islamic state doctrine to the students. It goes to the point that al-Islam bulletin was posted in school's walls.<sup>6</sup>

*Secondly*, through radical religious perspective socialized by radical groups in extracurricular activities. In this case, the student council (Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah/OSIS) becomes the main regeneration tool for radical groups to strengthen their influence in public high school, especially through Rohis extracurricular activity. The semi-military training called "*Jundullah*" in Cianjur, which justifies violence in the name of religion (Farha Ciciek: 2008), and mentoring activities such as *liqa* in Yogyakarta and Sukabumi utilizes a module with anti-Pancasila and anti-unity value in its content (MAARIF Institute: 2011, 2017), are the two examples of extremist-violent ideology penetration through extracurricular activity.

*Thirdly*, due to the weak implementation and articulation on unity-strengthening policy. This can be seen in three levels. On micro level, we have a school internal policy that not only devoid of unity-strengthening and does not contribute to limiting radical ideas in school, but instead preserving the radical ideas itself. For example, the school often invites radical groups to preach in monthly communal Qur'an reading (*pengajian*). Instead of strengthening unity in diversity, they are more likely to preach about things that are ideologically radical, exclusive, sectarian, anti-Pancasila, anti-democracy, and blatantly reject the existence of Indonesia on the basis that it is an infidel state. Such is what happened in public high schools. At the same time, it is also important to see how *madrasah aliyah* formulates the policy on student development in the school.

On medium level, we have a district government's policy that tends to be discriminative and anti-unity. In this era of regional autonomy, public high school are coordinated under district government, that is the education offices in provincial level. Many regions have implemented district regulation in the form of sharia law. However, these sharia laws are encouraging the school's stakeholder to formulate discriminative school regulation. For example, the City of Padang, Pandeglang and Banyuwangi has recently implemented discriminative policy that obliges all students (Muslim or non-Muslim) to wear hijab. In Banda Aceh, a public school refuses the enrollment of non-Muslim student.

On macro level, we have the central policy and/or regulation.

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6 See MAARIF Institute, Laporan Riset Pemetaan Persoalan Radikalisme di SMU Negeri, 2001.



Findings from MAARIF Institute research (2017) shows that central government's policy on the strengthening of unity and inclusivity (Minister of National Education's Regulation No. 39 Yr. 2008 on Student Development and Minister of Culture's Regulation No. 23 Yr. 2015 on Developing Ethics) cannot be articulated and implemented effectively in school level. If only that policy can be implemented and articulated effectively, it can potentially divert student's attention away from radical ideas.

Despite the ministry's effort to provide guidance for those two Minister's Regulation, the school has a privilege to articulate and implement that policy. As mentioned previously, this condition is exacerbated by the enactment of regional autonomy through Law No. 32 Yr. 2004 on District Government. The spirit of regional autonomy actually encourages regional education institution to embrace their own perspective in providing education.

Based on that contextual analysis, the effort to deter radicalization in high school and *madrasah aliyah* is made by strengthening policies that promote inclusive and pro-unity ideas in school, provincial education offices, provincial Ministry of Religion's offices, Ministry of Education and Culture as well as Ministry of Religion. Moreover, a better monitoring and evaluation mechanism for the implementation of those policies is also necessary.

The school's weak internal policy to deter radicalism has been one of the catalyst for the spread of radical ideas in school environment. Moreover, the role of teachers as an educator or as the giver of knowledge, especially teachers in Religion and Citizenship class, has been ineffective to preserve nationalism among students during their lesson.

The lack of religious knowledge received by students in school, combined with their great curiosity, has provided an opportunity for radical network to infiltrate students with religious teachings filled to the brim with radicalism and violence. Supposedly, the existence of OSIS should be able to deter radicalization in school by providing a space for student development and organizing positive activities that demystifies extremist violence and radicalism in school.

Through cooperation with Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat – Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta (PPIM – UIN Jakarta) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Indonesia, MAARIF Institute has conducted a research on the potential danger of radicalism and the capability of OSIS to resist it as well as assessing related policies on central and regional level.

## II. RESEARCH FOCUS, THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

This research focuses on policies regarding OSIS extracurricular activities which is the official student council that receives a mandate directly from Education Law to provide a space for student activity that will contribute in developing student's character. The policies in question are regulations that influences the perspective and management of OSIS in school. On operational level, policies can be indicated with four points as such: (1) central or local government's decree or regulation such as Keppres (Presidential Decree), Permen (Minister's Regulation), SK Dinas (District Offices Degree), Pergub (Governor's Regulation), and Perda (District Regulation); (2) Regulations made from school meetings; (3) Collective agreement on incidental things; and (4) Cultural habits.

This research aims to further see the dynamic between the ideas of unity in diversity and inclusivity in the school and the growing radical sentiments as well as school's vulnerability to it. Our main thesis is, radicalism can easily grow in school environment if the idea of inclusivity and unity in diversity is missing from school environment. On the other hand, if the idea of inclusivity and unity in diversity thrives, then radicalization process can be easily deterred in the school.

Conceptually, unity in diversity refers to a *sasanti* (chant) of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in *Sutasoma* made by Mpu Tantular. Based on this *sasanti*, unity (*kebinekaan*) is defined as a perfect condition in which many different religion, tradition, historical heritage can be sustained, respected and will not be desecrated in any ways by anyone. On the operational level, unity is indicated by these three points: (1) Recognition as an aspect of acceptance, which includes access to educational service, access for the disabled, access to praying facilities, practices that discriminate certain group, and value enforcement based on certain belief; (2) Representation as a political aspect, which includes representation in OSIS and right to nominate themselves for OSIS candidacy; and (3) Redistribution as socio-economic aspect, which includes access to school fund and scholarship.

Meanwhile, what we mean as inclusive is being accommodative to things that enable open-minded perspective in seeing difference, by: (1) Viewing difference in a positive light; and (2) cooperating with different people or groups to achieve common goals.

Radicalism is a paradigm that desires change or social and political revolution through violence. In political dictionary (Marbun, 2003),

radical is defined as stubbornly demanding change on government law and regulations. Radical is also synonymous with: fundamental, purist, primary, essential, extreme, fanatic, violent, revolutionary, progressive, liberal, reformist and so on (Endarmoko, 2006). In Indonesia's encyclopedia, radicalism is every political ism that desires extreme consequences, at the very least the furthest consequences possible in their ideology.

In order to explain the phenomenon of radicalism in OSIS, this research will use radicalism framework as explained by Martin F. Marty (1992). Radicalism is often compared with fundamentalism which is a social (politic, economic and religious) phenomenon that intersects with ideological problems or acts that oppose everyday things they wish to change. Marty then explains several characteristics of radical-fundamentalist, that is; those who oppose the status quo, thus demanding a fundamental change on the basis of incompatible with their idea/belief; those who don't make an interpretation of their religious text, due to belief that interpretation will cause impurity to that sacred text, thus they only read that text literally; those who oppose people with different idea and attitude from what they believe; and lastly those who, if possible, try to take over the political-economic system and religious belief and replace it with fundamentalist-radical ideas.

The National Agency for Combating Terrorism (2016) has identified several features that can be identified from radical attitude and belief, that is: 1) intolerant (does not respect other people's opinion and belief), 2) fanatic (always believe themselves to be the right one while others are the wrong one), 3) exclusive and 4) revolutionary (tends to use violence to achieve their goals). By referring on those sources, radicalism can be defined as an ism, belief, or paradigm that desires social and political change to be more akin with what they belief through the use of violence.

Meanwhile, Jurgen Habermas (2015), gave an interesting explanation on intolerance and discrimination in public space. In his research, intolerance and discrimination begins with the existence of alienation within the system, public space and marginalizing behavior that discredits certain groups which causes individual or group to resist by enacting the same intolerance and discrimination that they have experienced. This applies to intolerant groups or groups that initiate a radical resistance.

This reality is getting more and more disheartening. Educators, or teachers, especially Religion and Citizenship teacher, have not been

effective in educating nationalism and socializing inclusive and tolerant religious perspective which is supposed to happen in the class.<sup>7</sup> This situation is exacerbated by the lack of educator's and school board's knowledge in the map of exclusive and radical movement, causing them to ignore the infiltration of radical groups through their student's activities. OSIS, as one of the student's extracurricular activity in school, has the potential to be a gate for radical ideology and violence-oriented religious teaching to come in uninvited.<sup>8</sup>

All of these process in turns become a significant factor for the weakening school mechanism to combat radical and violence ideology. Without comprehensive policy to direct student's activity through OSIS, it is not impossible that educational and cultural activity in the school can contribute in the weakening of our nation's vision and pluralistic values among the students, due to their inability to implement OSIS' duty, mandate and function.

The main contribution of this research is in finding empirical facts regarding how radical and intolerant-exclusive religious teaching and ideology<sup>9</sup> can infiltrate the school. The result of this research is expected to contribute in formulating more directed and systematic policy that can be implemented to deter intolerant-violent ideology. This is important, in particular, to revitalize policies on student development or extracurricular activity (OSIS) and strengthening school's role in early detection of radical-intolerant network or organization through religious activities.

Thus, we expect that the recommendation from this research can encourage initiatives and strategies from stakeholders to nurture nationalist and religious values as well as promoting democratic virtues among students. Democracy has been growing strong in Indonesia and many people don't want it to be hampered by destructive behaviors, which is especially concerning since Middle-Eastern countries have been pretty much ruined by radicalism.

Methodologically speaking, this research will use qualitative approach with case study on several districts/cities as research site. The

7 One of the paper that discuss on this topic is Muhd. Abdullah Darraz, "Radikalisme dan Lemahnya Peran Pendidikan Kewargaan", Jurnal MAARIF: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial, Vol. 8, No. 1, July, 2013, pp. 154-173.

8 Executive Summary, "Penguatan Institusi Sekolah Melalui Kebijakan Internal Sekolah yang Mengokohkan Kebinekaan, MAARIF Institute, 2017.

9 Explanation on intolerance, exclusivism and radicalism can be found in Jurgen Habermas' work, *Intolerant and Discrimination*, 2011. Sage Publication, UK. In his work, Jurgen Habermas said that seeds of intolerance will lead to close-minded thinking which then leads to negative radical movement prone to justify destructive acts as long as it is done to people with different belief.

data collection process is through in-depth semi-structured interview. The research is conducted in six cities from five provinces in Indonesia: Padang City (West Sumatera), Cirebon District (West Java), Sukabumi District (West Java); Surakarta City (Central Java), Denpasar City (Bali), and Tomohon City (North Sulawesi). These Cities/Districts were selected based on its distribution, typology and characteristic.

Based on those considerations, 40 schools were selected as a research samples (*purposive sampling*) through clustering. Our samples consisted only of public high school/madrasah aliyah. This is made based on previous findings where indication of intolerance<sup>10</sup> is mostly found in public high school, and also the desire to confirm such indication in madrasah aliyah as well. The school selection itself is based on three categories: urban/suburban, favorite school/non-favorite, and homogeneous/heterogeneous.

440 informants were interviewed during the 20 days span between October 2<sup>nd</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of 2017. Among those 440 are school's stakeholder (principal, vice principal on student affairs, and student council's teacher-adviser), beneficiary (students, both the student council members and non-members) and overseer (school committee and high school observer). Other than those informants, we also interviewed people who can give additional information based on informant's tip (snowball process).

The data is presented in this research through *verstehen* framework which interprets the problems that arise during field work. We managed to find what become the main focus of OSIS in school activity, what the school has done, and what the teacher as well as alumni network do when they give speech or influence to OSIS committee in the school. *Verstehen* tradition is based on socio-humanities tradition which is used to explain discursive data, or speeches said by informants to field researcher. Using that approach, we expect to find collection of meaning on what has been said during the duration of data collection (*field research*) and desk-study/literature review.

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10 Fathali Moghaddam, by using psychological approach, illustrates how an individual transform into a terrorist. Maghaddam conceptualizes that terrorism act is the final phase of a close-minded person. In MAARIF Institute's research, this close-minded thinking is categorized as intolerance. Fathali Maghaddam, "The Staircase to Terrorisme", *American Psychologist*, February-March, 2005 Vol. 60, No. 2, pp. 161-169.

### III. OSIS AT THE CROSSROADS: CONTESTATION BETWEEN RADICALISM AND MODERATISM

Radicalism infiltrates school through three gateways: alumni, teacher and school (principal) policy. These three gateways can be divided based on external and internal actor, in which both has an interdependent relation, whether directly or indirectly.

OSIS, especially through its religious division, is often infiltrated by radical alumni and groups. In Surakarta City, Sukabumi District and Padang City, alumni is often the main adviser for religious division in each of their activities. For example, in a public high school in Surakarta, a *Salafi* (orthodox *sunni* Muslim) alumni became the main adviser for OSIS committee in running Intensive Islam Studies event, which was mentored directly by an *ustadz* (cleric) from Salafi Pesantren. Other than *Salafi*, the extracurricular activity in that public high school is also mentored by alumni who are members of a Mosque Congregation in a certain public university in Surakarta. They became the main mentor in a routine discussion on Tuesday and Thursday.<sup>11</sup>

Also, in Surakarta, Rohis (student Islamic organization) alumni network are part of a Scientific Teenager Communities who are actively mentoring and training Surakarta students in Islamic teaching. Activists from this institution are often the adviser for Rohis in public high school and madrasah aliyah. This institution, in turn, becomes a vessel for Rohis members who have affinity to Tarbiyah ideology (that prefers capacity-building in Islamic way). Of all public high school and madrasah aliyah in Surakarta, only one that is mentored by a cleric from Salafi boarding school. Tarbiyah ideology is the dominant paradigm for students in Surakarta. Thus, there are two paradigms that dominates education in Surakarta, Salafi and Tarbiyah. Salafi is to be understood as an organization and movement that desires a return to *salafus shalih* (the age of the Prophet and his friends) and will accept nothing but the literal interpretation of the Prophet's virtues. On the other hand, Tarbiyah, which is more dominant in Surakarta, is more akin to *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (Muslim Brotherhood) that was popularized by Sayyid Qurb and Hasan al-Bana, whose main concern is to educate and transform their congregation into a political cadre, thus closer to political-Islamism spectrum.

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<sup>11</sup> Research Report, "Penguatan Kebijakan Pembinaan Kesiswaan (OSIS) dalam Memperkuat Kebinekaan dan Kehidupan Inklusif di Sekolah Menengah Atas dan Madrasah Aliyah". Surakarta City.

In Sukabumi, several OSIS alumni on religious affairs are members of Qur'anic Club (QC). QC was founded by Sukabumi's Regent during his 2005-2015 period as a vessel to develop student's morals in Sukabumi with its slogan of "Save the Heir of Nation!" QC is a Tarbiyah organization. The founding of QC is suspected as a realization of political contract between the Regent and his supporting party.

Other than being QC members, several OSIS alumni on religious affairs in Sukabumi District are also part of a Wahabi-affiliated vocational school and pesantren network. This campus teaches Arabic, Islamic teaching, and anti-unity propaganda. Those alumni are connected to the foundation since they continue their education in those campuses. So far, they have spread their religious perspective through their students and community services in Cikembar and Cibadak, two heterogeneous sub-districts in Sukabumi.

Other interesting finding in Sukabumi District is the influence of religious vigilante group to "*santri kalong* (students in pesantren who do not stay in boarding house)" in salafi pesantren. The greatest excess caused by these so-called extreme mass organizations is the mobilization for mass demonstration in Jakarta on 2016 (also known as "*Aksi Bela Islam – Fight for Islam*"). Students from suburban area were able to travel to Jakarta to participate in this Aksi Bela Islam due to being facilitated by their pesantren and/or school. Regardless of Aksi Bela Islam, these vigilante groups are attractive to students due to its virtue: solidarity, militarism, assertiveness, and (supposedly) blessed by the clerics.

So far, we have not find any indication of radicalism that leads to violent-extremism in Sukabumi District's student councils. However, their paradigms were influenced by those three ideologies: Tarbiyah, Wahabi<sup>12</sup>, and Sharia-Indonesia. Sharia-Indonesia is an idea that necessitates the implementation of Islamic laws through Sharia laws and the 'islamisation' of bureaucracy. Pancasila remains the nation's foundation, but no longer implements positive-criminal-civil law.<sup>13</sup>

The influence of Alumni is also felt in Padang City. The Salafi religious teaching that tends to be very puritan (purist)<sup>14</sup> and exclusive

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12 Studies on infiltration of transnational movement in Indonesia has been made, for example, in *Ilusi Negara Islam: Gerakan Transnasional di Indonesia*. Jakarta: The Wahid Institute-MAARIF Institute-Gerakan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, 2008.

13 Groups that embrace Islamic Sharia is known in Haedar Nashir's study as Sharia Islam movement. See Haedar Nashir, *Islam Syariat: Reproduksi Salafiyah Ideologis di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan-MAARIF Institute, 2013).

14 The term puritan refers to Khaled Abou el-Fadl's concept in his book *Selamatkan Islam dari Muslim Puritan* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2007). Purist is defined as an absolutism that will not compromise social reality other than what it deems as 'pure' and will not tolerate pluralism.

is very dominant in OSIS as the result of alumni's indoctrination. The advent of puritanism among student's religious activities can be traced back to Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab and Ibnu Taymiyyah's ideas, that tends to be oriented to Saudi Arabia. Puritanism is a feature of Islam which is close to Muhammadiyah, since it avoids *bid'ah*, or religious practice that was never mentioned by the Prophet.

Other prevalent features can also be seen as the result of interaction with several pesantren clerics. One of the pesantren in question is a pesantren that owns formal education institutions at middle and high school level, claiming itself as the best religious school in Padang. The religious characteristic of that pesantren is oriented in *Salafi Wahabi* in which most of its clerics are graduated from a university in Jakarta, specifically in Buncit Raya Street, and was founded on 1980s, as a branch of one particular university in the Middle East. Politically speaking, this pesantren has relations with Tarbiyah group.

The thing that makes Tarbiyah group interesting is its associations that is created specifically to provide a vessel for Rohis alumni. The involvement of Tarbiyah group in student activities has become more prevalent through OSIS association (FON) and Rohis association (Assalam). Forum OSIS Nusantara (FON) is a national-level association for OSIS which has political association with Tarbiyah group.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, Assalam is short for Asosiasi Pelajar Islam which provides a space for Rohis activist in West Sumatera to gather. Assalam was founded by Lembaga Pembinaan Pelajar Muslim (LPPM) through West Sumatera's Middle and High School Rohis Gathering on October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1999 in Nurul Iman Mosque, Padang City.<sup>16</sup>

As for their religious orientation, Assalam activists is closer to Tarbiyah group than Salafi. Politically speaking, Assalam is closer to Tarbiyah group due to being mentored by Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK)'s activists. In fact, Assalam's activities are facilitated by its senior member who uses tutoring agency as a means to solidify Tarbiyah movement.

Assalam activists have expressed their solidarity to Muslims in Syria by collecting donation from students affiliated with Rohis network and distributing it through Forum Indonesia Peduli Syam (FIPS) which is headquartered in Jakarta. FIPS is an association that expresses their sympathy to crisis situation in Syam (Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and

15 Regarding FON, see <https://www.instagram.com/forumosisnusantara/?hl=id>. Accessed on January 30<sup>th</sup>, 2018.

16 Research Report, "Penguatan Kebijakan Pembinaan Kesiswaan (OSIS) dalam Memperkuat Kebinekaan dan Kehidupan Inklusif di Sekolah Menengah Atas dan Madrasah Aliyah" Padang City.



Jordan) and has distributed aid to the region. Several FIPS figures are largely known as a puritan, oriented in *Salafi Wahabi*. One of the example is a young cleric that graduates from Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt who is an active member of Majelis Intelektual Ulama Muda Indonesia (MIUMI), and also a member of Tim Pembela Muslim (TPM).

Among the three regions (Surakarta City, Sukabumi District, and Padang City), Tarbiyah's movement in OSIS can be clearly seen, particularly through Rohis. The preaching pattern in the three areas is oriented in *liqo* and *halaqah* mentoring model. This is further exacerbated by the usage of social media from OSIS activists which results into many friendship groups. Within these friendship groups, it's not rare to see posts that stimulates anti-unity and intolerant ideas among the students. OSIS committee in several schools of those three regions reveals that they often received such posts, and then shared it back to other individual or friendship groups.

In 2015, GP Anshor Cirebon has made a release stating that two of its schools have students with indication of involved in radical movement. At least 10 students were suspected to be involved with radical movement, proved by their refusal to salute the national flag, refusal to history class, and even went so far as calling their own teacher 'infidel'. They believe that saluting the flag and believing in history is a blasphemy to the religion.

Moreover, a Rohis leader in a public high school in Cirebon has also refused to go for a prayer with other students. They also initiated a *tafarruq* (separating oneself) by consolidating their member to create a new Rohis, on the basis that the Rohis managed by OSIS does not teach Islam the right way. They have no problem in calling other students infidel (*takfiri*) and accuse them for having incomplete religious understanding.

Radicalism is not only affecting students, but also teachers. One of English teacher in a public school in Cirebon is known to refuse payment from PGRI (Indonesian Teacher Association) because they believe that PGRI is a part of an infidel system.<sup>17</sup> They even sent their non-Muslim students to a Salafi pesantren simply because the student failed in their class.<sup>18</sup> Other teacher in MAN 2 Surakarta is used to

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Koidah, Religion Teacher and Former Adviser to Rohis in SMAN 1 Plumbon Cirebon, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Research Report, "Penguatan Kebijakan Pembinaan Kesiswaan (OSIS) dalam Memperkuat Kebinekaan dan Kehidupan Inklusif di Sekolah Menengah Atas dan Madrasah Aliyah" Cirebon District.

teach while subtly inserting anti-Shia and anti-Pancasila values.<sup>19</sup>

The principal, often due to ignorance, allows intolerant and radical group to become a mentor for OSIS and other students in religious teaching. In Surakarta, a public high school located in Letjen Sutoyo Street, Nusukan, Banjarsari, made a partnership with Darus Syahadah Pesantren in Simo, Boyolali, which has relations with Al-Mukmin Ngruki Sukoharjo Pesantren, to conduct student development. Darus Syahadah Pesantren itself is known as the pure Al-Mukmin by the virtue of preserving the principles and teachings of Abdullah Sungkar, the founder of Yayasan Islam Al-Mukmin.<sup>20</sup> What makes it even disheartening is the fact that the principal and school teachers are welcoming these radical groups to their school to help their student in religious activities. This is a case that shows how vulnerable the school is to radical groups.

One thing that differentiates Cirebon with previous three cities (Surakarta City, Sukabumi District, and Padang City) is the fact that the spread of radical ideas among Rohis activists was not done through alumni, but purely through radical group's easy access to school. Radical groups can connect with schools through students or by coming in-person. By distributing pamphlets and then discussing its contents, a transnational radical group was once able to infiltrate public high school and madrasah aliyah in Cirebon. The effort was made by one of the Tarbiyah group that embraces Islamic Empire. Based on these findings, we can infer that the pattern found in Padang, Sukabumi and Surakarta is also used in Cirebon. However, it is hampered by several factors.

Other gateway for radical group is through the participation of students in a *majlis taklim* (communal Islamic teaching group) managed by a pesantren that is known for teaching radical ideology. Radicalization among high school students in Cirebon began with their participation in *majlis taklim's* activities which is devoid from parents' consent.

By comparing each gateway for radical group, we found that *majlis taklim* has the biggest role in shaping student's religious perspective. The phenomenon of student radicalization in Cirebon is less likely to be related with Rohis' existence, even less OSIS. According to many informants, indication of radicalism in Cirebon's school has not been found since 2015.

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19 Research Report in Surakarta City

20 Research Report in Surakarta City

It should be noted that radicalism movement which occurs in several school in several regions has garnered reaction and contestation from moderate religious groups. Such cases can be found in Cirebon District, where moderate groups appear to be the upper hand in that contestation.

For example, a contestation has occurred when the Rohis Adviser in a public high school was confronted by a Muslim from radical group who brought a stack of Islamic study curriculum. The curriculum in question was contained with studies on Islamic Empire, Islamic State and mingling ethics according to Islam.<sup>21</sup> They insisted to assist the Rohis Adviser in running Rohis activities. Other method that has been used was by sending unverified hadith to Rohis Adviser's personal e-mail. The sender insisted that if the Rohis Adviser refused their proposal (to conduct a study on that hadith), they will report the adviser to the principal on the basis of obstructing the enforcement of Islamic values. They also argued that similar study (on the hadith) has been conducted in the previous year and that it was a huge success.

The situation forced the Rohis Adviser to conduct an advocacy using institutional network outside of school in order to stop the spread of intolerance. Thus, a Committee Member for Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama (IPNU) and Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama (IPPNU) was founded in order to intervene Rohis and making sure that inclusivity and pluralism can be preserved. IPNU and IPPNU was chosen because the Rohis Adviser felt a kinship by virtue of having common vision in suppressing intolerance and radicalism in the school. Moreover, the adviser also prefers IPNU and IPPNU's model for regeneration, especially because Rohis activists can make a career in it.

Establishing IPNU and IPPNU Committee Member was not an easy task. Several teachers are against such initiative, forcing the principal to hold a meeting and decide on a policy that support the Rohis Adviser. As a result, the Rohis Adviser was labeled as a secular teacher who contributed in developing secularism among Rohis activists.<sup>22</sup>

However, such initiative cannot last without support from the principal. After the change in principal, initiatives to bring opportunity for students to be involved in youth organization are practically unheard of. This is caused, in part, by the opposition from new principal to extracurricular activities, and also by the change in Rohis Adviser.<sup>23</sup>

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21 Interview with Koidah, Religion Teacher and Former Adviser to Rohis in SMAN 1 Plumbon Cirebon, October 10<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

22 Koidah, Potret Toleransi Rohis, IPNU dan IPPNU. (Jakarta: MAARIF Institute, in-press)

23 Research Report in Cirebon District.

## **IV. THE IGNORED SOVEREIGN: A DISTORTED POLICY**

The central government has enacted Law No. 20 Yr. 2003 on National Education System. According to the Law, education must be held in a democratic and just way without discriminating and upholding human rights, religious value, culture, and pluralism.

On the topic of student development, central government has enacted similar regulation, *first*, National Education Minister's Regulation (Permendiknas) No. 39 Yr. 2008 on Student Development. The permendiknas was among the first policy that attempts to guide student development (extracurricular activity) in school. Although it only consists of objectives, goals, scope of responsibility, and funding, the direction for student development (extracurricular activity) attached in its annex was contributive enough, as an initial attempt, to help schools in running their own student development (extracurricular activity).

*Second*, Education and Culture Minister's Regulation (Permendikbud) No. 81A Yr. 2013 on Curriculum Implementation. The Permendikbud shows central government's attempts to complete and contextualize previous regulation on extracurricular activities (student development). Particularly by involving parents and nearby communities. The regulation did not mention about direction for extracurricular activities (student development), unlike Permendiknas No. 39 Yr. 2008. What it did mention was examples of type of activities but without highlighting it. The Permendikbud also allows school to further articulate on types of extracurricular activities (student development) that they want to implement.

*Third*, Permendikbud No. 62 Yr. 2014 on Extracurricular Activities in Primary and Secondary Education. The content of it was a summary of Permendikbud No. 81A Yr. 2013 on Curriculum Implementation. Permendikbud No. 62 Yr. 2014 on Extracurricular Activities in Primary and Secondary Education did not provide anything new.

*Fourth*, Permendikbud No. 23 Yr. 2015 on Character Development. The type of development mentioned in this Permendikbud is done through compulsory activities that can nurture good habit, although it mostly just a repeat of the direction for extracurricular activities (student development) previously mentioned in Permendiknas No. 39 Yr. 2008. What is new from this Permendikbud is an emphasis on revitalizing nationalism and unity in diversity values, as well as

encouraging interaction between students, parents and communities.

*Fifth*, Islamic Education Director General's Regulation No: Dj.I/12A Yr. 2009 on the Implementation of Islamic Education Extracurricular Activities in the school. The regulation mentions Rohis as one of the extracurricular activities in the school. It also mentions region/school that can adjust this regulation according to their needs, situation, condition and each own potential, as long as it does not deviate from national education's objective. However, there was no specific guideline to implement it. It only mentions the responsibility of principal, overseer, and Religion Teacher in implementing the extracurricular activities.

The ignorance of local stakeholders – Education Offices and schools – on regulations for student development or extracurricular activities,<sup>24</sup> the freedom for school to implement any type of student development or extracurricular activities, and the lack of guidance to manage OSIS, results in contradiction in terms of how OSIS supposed to function. Such situation also results in contradiction between what the central and local expect of extracurricular activities.

The situation also causes stakeholders in local level, as well as schools, to reduce central's policy (especially Minister's Regulation) on extracurricular activities as simply to accommodate religious affairs, which is further narrowed down to particular religion and particular sect only. They actually believe that this is what character development, a policy that has been promoted by the central government ever since 2011, supposed to be. Even worse, their interpretation of central's policy creates discrimination and intolerance to the minority.

Ever since the enactment of regional autonomy, school's policy is very influenced by local government's policy. As a result, school's policy only accommodates certain religion, which happened to be the religion adopted by the majority. In Padang, Sukabumi, Cirebon and Surakarta, it was Islam. In Denpasar, it was Hindu. While in Tomohon, it was Christian.

In Cirebon, for example, many OSIS are competing with each other to prove which one is more "Islamic." The meaning of "Islamic" itself is different in each locale. In Cirebon, "Islamic" does not necessarily means pure Sharia implementation, but rather the implementation of Traditional Islamic Teaching *a la* Nahdlatul Ulama. In Padang, "Islamic" means Salafi Islamic teaching which also contains ideologies of

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<sup>24</sup> In Sukabumi, for example, of all six schools in the research sample, only the vice principal of MAN 1 Sukabumi (Cibadak) that can respond in great detail when we asked about those regulations. Research Report in Sukabumi District.

Tarbiyah, Wahabi and Sharia-Indonesia. Lastly in Surakarta, “Islamic” means Salafi in one specific high school and Tarbiyah in others.

An example for “Islamic” management of OSIS is the emphasis on memorizing al-Qur’an and reading it before the class started. This is especially true in Cirebon and Sukabumi, due to Jabar Menghafal program which was implemented by the political authority in the region. Other than those two regions, memorizing and reading Qur’an is also implemented in high schools in Padang and Surakarta. In fact, the Mayor of Padang City enacts Regulation No. 33 Yr. 2013 on Al-Qur’an Memorizing Education. Ever since the enactment, students have been encouraged to memorizes al-Qur’an. The government gave incentive to students who can memorize a certain amount of text. For example, high school students who can memorize a certain number of chapters in Qur’an will gain a privilege to enroll in a public or private university in Padang of their own choosing.

Unlike OSIS in public high school, OSIS in madrasah aliyah puts more effort in implementing Islamic teaching that they receive from the class. For example, in a public madrasah aliyah in Cirebon, students are trained, through Majelis Bina Dakwah (MBD), to preach and communicate to the people. For three days, tenth-grade students in MBD were obliged to a field practice in villages. This is possible since those students do have credential in teaching religion based on what they learn every day in the class. As for madrasah aliyah without direct connection to pesantren, OSIS activity is presented in other ways. An example is activities to memorize Qur’an outside of school (*pesantren tahfidz*) in Cirebon and Denpasar. Sometimes students do receive certain incentives, such as scholarship, not unlike Padang’s policy.

Other than those policies, there are also policies such as Compulsory Religious Education in 2006 and 2009 and Nurturing Morals policy enacted by the Local Government of Sukabumi District; District Regulation of Padang City No. 6 Yr. 2003 on the Obligation to be Literate for Primary School and Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (Islamic school at primary level) which sets the precondition for students to continue their education, Padang Mayor’s Regulation No. 451.442/Binsos-iii/2005 Yr. 2005 on the Implementation of Teenage *Wirid* (Chanting God’s Name), *Subuh* (Early Morning) Education and Anti-Gambling/ Drugs as well as Moslem Women’s Clothing for Students; and, as has been previously mentioned, the Mayor’s Regulation No. 33 Yr. 2013 on Al-Qur’an Memorizing Education.

Those policies are deemed to be discriminative, irrelevant and is not supposed to be implemented in a public school which should be more open to difference and unity in diversity. We can see it through the obligation for female students to wear hijab in Padang. Although the policy was not applied to non-Moslem, the reality is that it was enforced anyway. This is due to the fact that non-Moslem female students in public high school are part of the minorities. They were forced to wear hijab due to the psychological pressure they felt for not using it. Without hijab, non-Moslem students will stand out among the majority of Moslem students.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the same situation also happens to the Moslem-minority students in Denpasar.<sup>26</sup>

The discrimination from majorities to minorities also happened in Denpasar and Tomohon. In a school in Denpasar, for example, the religious department of OSIS was authorized to set the schedule for daily, weekly, monthly and yearly prayer for students as well as facilitating them, such as by preparing offerings in Padmasana, Pelinggih, and Ganesha Statue for daily prayer, and Ceremony for Saraswati and Silawatri Day.

On religious holidays, students sometimes have to wear Balinese traditional clothing in the school. This creates problem, even to the point of becoming a national issue, for example, in the case of a female Moslem student in a high school in Dauh Puri Klod who wears hijab in her school. She went to the social media and said that she was being harassed and discriminated by her friends and teachers for wearing hijab. Such situation also happened to her Muslim friends. This is happened every year, but most female students prefer to be silent due to being a powerless minority. The Hindu students can just casually wear Balinese traditional clothing, as it is related with their religious practice. However, it is written in the school's regulation that students are not supposed to wear any religious attribute in the school.

Aside from the prayers, religious practice is also reflected in art. Balinese art has two functions, as a creative output and as a religious ritual. Art and ritual are inseparable and it has caused problems in Denpasar. Gempuran Ajeg Bali, among others, forbade a "Sharia" Balinese dance in a madrasah in Denpasar because the dancers are

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25 Executive Summary, Policy Development for Improving Student Council (OSIS) at High School Level. MAARIF Institute, 2017.

26 Research Report, "Penguatan Kebijakan Pembinaan Kesiswaan (OSIS) dalam Memperkuat Kebinekaan dan Kehidupan Inklusif di Sekolah Menengah Atas dan Madrasah Aliyah" Kota Denpasar.

wearing more conservative clothing (long shirt and pants as well as *hijab* to cover their body).

In Tomohon, despite the local government not enacting any religious-oriented regulation, policy implementation is still highly influenced by Christianity. In a high school near Javanese Settlement, populated mostly by Tomohon Muslims, the Muslim students are not given enough space to express their religion.

## **V. VULNERABILITIES AND WEAK RESILIENCY**

The school's lack of understanding and awareness in radicalism movement has significantly weakened its stakeholder's resiliency to deal with it. Schools have never made a specific policy to protect their stakeholders from radical penetration. Regardless, schools have made progress in terms of social resilience by initiating several anti-radicalism programs, as well as limiting and selecting external actors that got involved with student activities.

Of all the schools researched for this paper, none have any specific policy to deter radicalism and empowering unity in diversity at the same time, although some schools have made progress to achieve it. In Surakarta and Cirebon, for example, some schools have already made an effort to filter and screen external actors that they let in their school. Moreover, in a high school in Plumbon, Cirebon, a religion teacher has made an effort to create early detection system, though the initiative did not come from the school. The same is also true in Surakarta, specifically in SMAN 6,<sup>27</sup> MAN 1 and MAN 2 Surakarta.<sup>28</sup>

However, vulnerability to radical ideas and intolerant practice remains to be true in schools. The previous case has shown how minority students can be forced, by the schools, their teachers, their alumni to conform with religious rules that should not apply to them. The ban of hijab for female Muslim students in Denpasar and Tomohon is a real example, as is the obligation for every student, including non-Moslem students, to wear Hijab in Padang.

In Denpasar, every student is obliged to conduct Hindu prayer in the morning, afternoon and evening. The students are afraid to refuse due to a punishment mechanism implemented by the school. This particular quote below should illustrate the feeling of students who are forced to go against their religious belief by not being allowed to wear hijab:

27 Interview with Agung Wijayanto, Principal of SMAN 6 Surakarta, October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

28 Interview with Slamet Budiyo, Principal of MAN 2 who is also the Principal of MAN 1 Surakarta, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017.



"As a female Muslim student, I really want to wear hijab because it is my obligation as a Muslim. I really want to wear hijab, but the school and teachers won't allow it. We were told that we were not respecting the non-Muslim majority if we do wear hijab. We were threatened to be expelled from the school. We still wear hijab outside of school but we have to take it off in the school.<sup>29</sup>"

Moslem students in Denpasar also find it difficult to conduct their daily prayer, especially for afternoon and Friday prayer. In a school where Hindu is the majority, there is no facility to conduct afternoon prayer. In case of Friday prayer, students have to travel 1.5km away from the school in order to find a Mosque.

School often conduct social activity by providing for the poor in the community. In Tomohon, for example, SMA Harapan donated foods to the community. Such activities are preferred by the student as it provides an "out of the ordinary" experience compared to their mundane routine of learning stuffs in the school. "Being away from school" to conduct social work is a good practice for students to learn about the real world in the society.

The same social activity is also conducted by SMA Cirebon. They were trained to see the reality of poor people in the society. Together, the students visit the poor and distributing donation. This method has a great impact for the students as they start to grow more empathy for their community outside of their daily school routine.

What the school (OSIS) has done above is an activity that gives off good impression to the students. However, such impression will dramatically change if it actually carries an agenda that encourages intolerance among students. For example, if the social activity was only directed to certain community, religion and ethnicity, then it would encourage exclusive attitude, rather than inclusive. This would, in turn, nurture seeds of intolerance among young people in high school.

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<sup>29</sup> This was expressed during an FGD session in Denpasar, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

## **VI. BEST PRACTICES TO STRENGTHEN UNITY IN DIVERSITY IN THE SCHOOL**

The popular belief that OSIS should be a catalyst for extracurricular activities allows their adviser to strongly influence the type of program that can be proposed in school. The dominance of OSIS adviser does not necessarily mean the end for OSIS' creativity. Unfortunately, it does limit the interpretation for unity in diversity as it will be constrained by primordialism in the name of religion. Given the chance, OSIS should be able to initiate programs imbued with unity in diversity

'The others' in terms of religion is now part of OSIS' paradigm. The bias view of the others, in practice, caused OSIS to only accommodate students from certain religion, group and even gender. In some schools, such as in Surakarta and Denpasar, this kind of behavior is actually supported by OSIS adviser.

Some positive things brought by OSIS' creativity is the involvement of non-Muslim students as a performer in an Islamic event in a High School located in Cikembar, Sukabumi. The non-Muslim student's beautiful voice allows them to sing a religious song, originally popularized by Gigi Band.

In Denpasar, OSIS in two high schools located in Sumerta Kaja and Tegal Harum is dominated by Hindu students. The OSIS in Sumerta Kaja High School was once led by a Muslim student, but they could not perform effectively in running the school's program because, as has been previously mentioned, many of the school's program are related with religious activities.

Despite the huge power, advisers do allow some amount of freedom for OSIS activities. In Cirebon, non-Muslim students were given the same opportunity to become a committee member.<sup>30</sup> The adviser's huge power does not necessarily mean the end for OSIS' creativity because, given the chance, OSIS can also initiate a program imbued with unity in diversity, such as Nation's Carnival.<sup>31</sup>

Even in schools located in a region dominated by radicalism, some non-Moslem students have once become an OSIS committee member. This can be seen in a high school located in Plumbon and Denpasar. OSIS in a high school located in Dauh Puri Klod and Peguyangan Kaja tends to be inclusive as it does accommodate non-Hindu students. Moreover, in a high school in Peguyangan Kaja, a female student has

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30 For example, OSIS in SMAN 6 Surakarta. Research Report in Surakarta City

31 Research Report in Denpasar City.

once led the student's parliament.

What is lacking from OSIS adviser is encouraging different group to implement collective activity. For example, in schools in Surakarta, Denpasar and Tomohon, which accommodates three religious activities (Islam, Christian and Catholic), each religious group tend to only be concerned with their own activities. The cooperation between different religious community should be able to nurture nationalism and deter radicalism.<sup>32</sup> Even if such cooperation is impossible in extracurricular activities, there should be many other ways to encourage it.

In Denpasar, there are 2 high schools located in Dauh Puri Klod and Tegal Harum which has an informal Rohis which is separated from OSIS. Remaja Islam (Rismanda) and Kelompok Remaja Islam (Krisma) often organize activity in Idul Adha and Ramadhan month, as well as monthly communal Al-Qur'an reading. In Idul Adha, for example, they organize the goat butchering tradition and distribute its meat to the school. They chose goat because, in Hindu tradition, cow is sacred. In 2017, due to an initiative from Musyawarah Guru Mata Pelajaran Pendidikan Agama Islam (MGMP-PAI), a Denpasar Rohis association was founded.

Unlike in Denpasar where Rohis is an informal organization, Rohis in a high school in Tomohon is actually part of OSIS' religious affairs. Rohis in this school are able to cooperate with Rokris (Christian student organization) and Rokas (Catholic student organization). However, this kind of case was not found in two high schools located in Kakaskasen and Tumatangtang Satu, although several Muslim students are enrolled there. Still, those two schools still allow Muslim students to conduct their prayer. In the high school that allows Rohis, female Moslem students are allowed to wear hijab.

Gender bias is also a problem in a madrasah aliyah located in Gajah Mada Street, Padang and Ubung, Denpasar by not allowing women to be the president of student council. If a woman won a voting for presidency, the school would make a compromise to allow the male candidate to become the president.

Women not being allowed to be the president of student council is mostly an exceptional case, since most schools still allow OSIS to be led by a woman. This can be seen in a high school in Rimbo Kaluaang Padangdan, Tomohon. In fact, in a madrasah aliyah in Kuranji, Padang and a high school in Plumbon, Cirebon, women almost always become

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<sup>32</sup> Executive Summary, Policy Development for Improving Student Council (OSIS) at High School Level. Jakarta: MAARIF Institute, 2018.

the president of student council.

In Surakarta, there was also an exceptional case in which an OSIS committee member calls others with different belief an “infidel.”<sup>33</sup> Several Rohis activists in Surakarta are also reluctant to mingle with people from different religion. They believed that, since their faith is still weak, they should not mingle with people from different religion.

There is also the awkward factor, resulted from the usage of religious attribute, such as hijab and crucifix, which prevents people from different religion to mingle with each other. Although most people would say that socially speaking, cooperation between a Muslim and non-Muslim is not a problem, we do found cases where Moslem students refuse to buy foods sold by non-Muslim students, despite the fact that the profit will be contributed to OSIS. Advisers are often unable to do anything meaningful in these cases. Instead, there are several cases where teachers and advisers actually approve such behavior and even provoke the students to do it. This kind of practice is obviously against the founding principle of OSIS which is supposed to be a collective space for students, regardless of their religion.

However, a cooperative practice to help others was found in a high school located in Nusukan-Banjarsari, Surakarta. Several Moslem students from Rohis were actually willing to collect used bottle to be donated for Rokot’s fundraising. In this school, Rokot is often conducting fundraising through small business.<sup>34</sup>

In Surakarta, there are also some schools where Christian and Catholic students can enjoy school without feeling discriminated. They are facilitated by being given a room for religious activity and a fund to conduct Rokris and Rokot activity. Even in terms of scoring, there is no bias for certain religion. There are also instances where a Christian-minority became the leader of a class. The Muslim students have no problem because they only care about merit. However, there is still a bias in terms of student council president in which there is an unwritten rule that only people who can read Qur’an can become the president.

Other problems that remain unsolved is the praying schedule for Moslem students in Denpasar. Moslem students in a high school located in Sumerta Kaja, Denpasar Timur, chose to conduct their

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33 See the definition of anti-infidel by Furqon, 16 y.o., Rohis President in MAN 1 Surakarta, as a way to put a distance with non-Moslems. See in <https://conveyindonesia.com/berita-actual/2017/11/17/upaya-mengikis-intoleransi,-mempertebal-semangat-keberagaman/>. Accessed on January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2018.

34 Interview with Anya, Rokot member, and Hanifa, Rohis member. Both enrolls in SMAN 6 Surakarta.

afternoon prayer in their house because they received no opportunity in the school. Students in a high school located in Tegal Harum reacts differently since they can conduct afternoon prayer in a mosque near the school during their lunch break. The same is also true for students in a high school located in Peguyangan Kaja. In fact, the principal of that school specifically said that every place in the school can be used to conduct prayer. Despite feeling awkward, students can actually conduct prayer in their classroom.<sup>35</sup>

On the topic of Muslim prayer, a high school in Dauh Puri Klod provides a 3 x 3-meter *mushola* (a smaller mosque) behind the teacher's room. Prayer equipment is also provided in it. Other school that provide a *mushola* is a high school in Kamboja Street, Dangin Puri Kangin, North Denpasar. But instead of only a place to conduct afternoon prayer, students can also use it conduct Friday prayer.

As for Friday prayer, different schools have different policy. Several schools, other than madrasah aliyah (obviously), gave special privilege for Muslim students to conduct Friday prayer. A high school in Dauh Puri Klod and Tegal Harum actually ends the school hour on 12.30 PM during Friday. Thus, students can immediately go to nearby mosque to conduct Friday prayer which happens to be started around 12.30 PM. However, students in the Tegal Harum high school still need to request permission because there is still a counseling session with the homeroom teacher. The same situation also happens to students in Sumerta Kaja. Meanwhile, students in a high school located in Peguyangan Kaja cannot conduct Friday prayer at all.

## VII. LOOKING FOR A RESILIENCY MODEL FROM CASES FOUND IN SCHOOL

The resiliency model that we propose is casuistic – it might be effective in one school or region, but ineffective in others. However, the model still refers to the effort to minimize practices of social segregation based on religious primordialism. Social integration between students of different religion and ethnicity can be realized through everyday practices in the school, family and community.

A high school in Nunukan-Banjarsari, a madrasah aliyah in Kadipiro-Banjarsari, and a madrasah aliyah in Sriwedari-Laweyan, Surakarta have made an effort to **(1) screen their mentors** by looking at their track record and capacity in order to secure the right mentor for the

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35 Interview with Ida Bagus Ngurah, Principal of SMAN 8 Denpasar, October 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

OSIS. **(2)** Other efforts made by a high school in Nunukan-Banjarsari, Surakarta is to **encourage students to learn from their teachers**. “Learning without teacher and/or learning from the internet is no different with learning from the devil,” said a Religion teacher in that high school.<sup>36</sup>

A high school in Purwodiningratan-Jebres, Surakarta made a policy to **(3) oblige the tenth-grade students** to go to the school with their parents for a full year. This was made in order to ensure relationship between teachers, parents and students.<sup>37</sup> The school also obliged the students to memorize the key principles of a good traits for individual. Although memorizing is a cognitive activity, students who practice it can become a better person.

Other policy made by a madrasah aliyah in South Sukabumi was the **(4) School Pesantren**.<sup>38</sup> One of the goal of this pesantren is to provide a more authoritative religious knowledge as well as cutting student’s reliance on outside information for religious stuffs. So far, the existence of pesantren has been successful to encourage students to learn about religion from the school pesantren. This way, relations with outside organizations can be minimized.<sup>39</sup>

By acknowledging student’s vulnerability to radicalism influence, a Religion Teacher as well as a Rohis Adviser made an initiative to create a student organization in a high school in Plumbon. **(5) This was made in cooperation with moderate Islamic organizations and institutions**. Their experience in dealing with Radical Islamic groups urged them to found Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama (IPNU) and Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama (IPPNU) in the high school. IPNU and IPPNU was chosen because they were the only organization around and also because they have relations with moderate figures in Cirebon.<sup>40</sup>

The Rohis Adviser’s effort was quite effective in deterring radical Islam’s penetration to school. Ever since the founding of IPNU and IPPNU, radical infiltration was no more. Moreover, they managed to

36 Interview with Afifah, Religion Teacher in SMAN 6 Surakarta, October 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

37 Interview with Sri Widodo, Vice Principal on Student Affairs in SMAN 3 Surakarta, October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

38 Yudistira, Hadiansyah, “Menuju Pesantren Inklusif: Potret Pengelolaan Pesantren Sekolah dalam Rangka Menangkal Radikalisme” in *Menjaga Benteng Kebinekaan di Sekolah: Studi Kebijakan OSIS di Kota Padang, Kab. Cirebon, Kab. Sukabumi, Kota Surakarta, Kota Denpasar, dan Kota Tomohon*. Jakarta: MAARIF Institute, 2018, pp. 329-335.

39 Research Report in Sukabumi District

40 Koidah, “Potret Toleransi dari Rohis, IPNU dan IPPNU” in *Menjaga Benteng Kebinekaan di Sekolah: Studi Kebijakan OSIS di Kota Padang, Kab. Cirebon, Kab. Sukabumi, Kota Surakarta, Kota Denpasar, dan Kota Tomohon*. Jakarta: MAARIF Institute, 2018, pp. 336-346.

cooperate with Fahmina Institut to send students to higher education and be involved in efforts to promote unity in diversity.

Meanwhile, a Sociology Teacher in a high school located in Jamblang made a **(6) visit** to different groups. Due to the visit, they were able to introduce students to the diverse reality of Indonesia. They then tasked the students to regularly visit other religion's place of worship in order to learn about other religions. They believe that visiting other religion's place of worship is the only realistic way to introduce unity in diversity.<sup>41</sup>

Students made a significant effort too. **(7) The Nation's Carnival** was a creation from an OSIS in Cirebon as an effort to uphold diversity in the school. The carnival invites students to wear the clothing of national heroes. Through the carnival, students are made to understand the diverse reality of Indonesia in which it was not built from one religion and one ethnicity only, but rather by many different religions and ethnicity.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, a high school in Talete 2 Tomohon has an annual event to **(8) visit historic site** in Waruga and Moslem heroes' burial ground in Tondano. This event introduced local wisdom by telling stories about the history of Minahasa clan and their belief, as well as the existence of Muslim heroes in Minahasa.<sup>43</sup>

As for efforts made by the government, **(9) Ministry of Religion's active participation** was also significant in strengthening unity in diversity. The Ministry's Office in Cirebon, for example, regularly made a capacity building for Religion Teachers on moderate Islam. They also influence students by making a short-term pesantren, during new school year and Rohis committee's training, in order to strengthen nationalism and unity in diversity in pesantrens in Cirebon.<sup>44</sup>

The city of Tomohon has its own way to strengthen resiliency to radical movement. **(10) Educational fund allocation** for the welfare of teachers and principals was made to encourage professionalism among them. They believe that, if teachers are prosperous, then they can put maximum effort to nurture tolerance and harmony in the school.<sup>45</sup>

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41 Interview with Maulana, Sociology Teacher and Flag Raiser Troop's Advisers in SMAN 1 Jamblang, Cirebon, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

42 The statement of Eki, Student Council's President in SMAN 1 Kab. Cirebon during the Research' FGD session, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017.

43 Interview with the Student Council's President of SMA Kristen 1 Tomohon, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

44 Interview with Imron, Head of Religion Ministry's Offices in Cirebon, October 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017

45 Interview with the Principal of MA Mardhatillah Tomohon, October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017.

**(10) The state's active participation**, specifically education offices', in responding actual issues, is also contributive to nurture harmony in Tomohon. Education offices regularly made a seminar for teachers and principals on relevant issues. For example, a seminar on Islamology as a respond to the Fight for Islam demonstration in Jakarta in 2016.<sup>46</sup>

Based on those school resiliency models, there are four models that can be further emphasized. *Firstly*, an inclusive school model, similar to the one implemented in schools in Surakarta, Denpasar and Tomohon. This inclusivity is based on openness, tolerance, harmony and respect to every student, regardless of ethnicity, religion, race and class.

*Secondly*, school development based on the patron of harmony and unity in diversity. Many students that we interviewed have no patron or idols that can teach them about tolerance and nationalism. This situation can be followed-up by introducing moderate figures to those students.

*Thirdly*, school development that upholds diversity and nationalism. OSIS can encourages habits that sustain diversity and nationalism in the school ground.

*Fourthly*, a school development that put teachers and students as the main fortress to combat radical ideas and movements. The mechanism is similar with panopticon, in which teachers and students are given opportunity to express information which will then be followed-up by persuasive, educational and enlightening approach.

## **VIII. MAP OF ACTORS TO STRENGTHEN OSIS' INCLUSIVITY**

### ***A. The Role of State to Nurture Nationalism***

Nurturing an inclusive behavior is not a simple task. However, it is possible through combined effort of many parties. One of them is the state (government), both regional and central. In the school, OSIS as the student organization can be a vessel to build and nurture inclusivity among students in a way that the government cannot.

Dr. Totok and Dony Koesoma has explained in the MAARIF Institute research finding socialization in January 26<sup>th</sup>, 2018, that the government, through OSIS management policies enacted by ministries to be implemented by regional offices and schools, is

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<sup>46</sup> Interview with the Principal of SMA Lentera Harapan Tomohon, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017.



expected to conduct activities that support nationalism, togetherness, and Indonesianess.

As the vessel for student activities, OSIS has a strategic role in preventing exclusive activities. It is, however, will be contra-productive if OSIS does not encourage openness and nationalism by running activities filled to the brim with exclusivity, primordialism and sectarianism. Thus, state as the authority has the capability to enact a policy that can encourage schools and students to develop a strong sense of openness and nationalism. Meanwhile, schools, through OSIS, are implementing activities that indirectly build and nurture openness and nationalism. This is the main concern of education experts and policy makers in the state level as well as regional level.

### ***B. The role of Moderate Islamic Organizations (Muhammadiyah and NU)***

Aside from the state, nurturing nationalism and inclusivity can also be done by religious organization. As mentioned previously, Islamic organizations can provide a network for teachers to initiate an advocacy as a respond to the indication of radicalism in OSIS. For example, a Rohis Adviser was capable to declare the founding of IPNU and IPPNU Committee Member to intervene the Rohis and encourage openness as well as inclusivity. IPNU and IPPNU was chosen because the adviser felt a kinship by having common goals to suppress intolerance and radicalism in the school. Moreover, the adviser also prefers IPNU and IPPNU's model for cadet recruitment, especially because Rohis activists can make a career in it.

Establishing IPNU and IPPNU Committee Member was not an easy task. Several teachers are against such initiative, forcing the principal to held a meeting and decide on a policy that support the Rohis Adviser. As a result, the Rohis Adviser was labeled as a secular teacher who contributed in developing secularism among Rohis activists. But in the end, OSIS was not infiltrated by radical ideas since the schools were able to create a correct intervention. This is the kind of activities that has a potential to be furthered in schools.

NU, through IPNU and IPPNU, is an organization that can further a moderate Islam perspective in Indonesia. This organization has a relation with PBNU who has branches in sub-district and village level. Thus, they can have a strategic role in being an agent for moderate Islam values. The existence of IPNU and IPPNU will provide a protection for students from intolerant Islam values and movements.

At the same time, Muhammadiyah is also expected to take the role in protecting schools from radicalism. This expectation was made by participants in the research finding seminar, “*Policy Development for Improving Student Council (OSIS) at High School Level*” on January 26<sup>th</sup>, 2018. As the biggest Islamic organization, Muhammadiyah has clearly stated that they will only support Moderate Islam. Thus, Muhammadiyah will be able to encourage a moderate, inclusive and tolerant way for Moslems. Muhammadiyah’s goal is to create a ‘*rahmatan lil alamin*’ trait for Muslims, which means: protecting every citizen from political, economic and religious crimes.

Radicalism and extremism can never be associated with Muhammadiyah. Such values are directly against the will of its founder, KH. Ahmad Dahlan, who has given significant examples in promoting diversities, such as cooperating with Pastors and Christian clerics to develop medicines. This kind of behaviors has been shown by KH. Ahmad Dahlan since he found Muhammadiyah in 1912. Thus, a radical and terrorist movement claiming to represent Muhammadiyah is most definitely untrue.

Muhammadiyah’s role in promoting a moderate Islam is not an easy task, especially with the appearance of new Islamic groups prone to promoting exclusive Islamism. The rise of radicalism among young people and professionals, as mentioned in Navara Foundation’s Report (November 2017), is quite concerning. The report stated that 23.4 young people at high school and college level supports radical movement. Meanwhile, the percentage of private employees who support radical movements actually reach 85%.

This situation provides a serious challenge for Muhammadiyah as one of the oldest Islamic organization that always consistently promote moderate Islam values. For example, Muhammadiyah has often been criticized by radical groups due to its unwillingness to participate in demonstrations to “Fight for Islam.” Muhammadiyah has also been recently criticized for doing nothing when a popular mass Islam organization is dissolved in 2017.

If the two biggest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah and NU, can give their maximum effort, then we can still be hopeful that Islam in Indonesia, including in the schools, will remain as a Moderate Islam. This is what Islam in Indonesia is supposed to be, an Islam that respects our original culture, not one that respects only the Arabic cultures.

### ***C. OSIS Committee and Alumni’s Hegemony***

This research finds that OSIS Committee and its alumni can be a strategic agent in promoting inclusivism, tolerance and upholding nationalism. This is possible due to OSIS committee's diverse background in terms of religion and ethnicity. This is OSIS' strength to promote inclusivism, tolerance and nationalism. OSIS with a homogeneous religion and ethnicity will not have such strength. In order to promote openness, tolerance and nationalism, we need a more diverse and heterogeneous OSIS.

Thus, OSIS needs to consider the ethnic and religion diversity among its committee in order to learn from each other. However, this is hard to implement in schools dominated by certain religion and ethnicity where minorities have less chance to be recruited as an OSIS committee. This is what makes several OSIS only consists of people with single ethnicity and religion.

Aside from the OSIS committee, their alumni can also make a significant contribution to promote inclusivism, tolerance and nationalism. Such is the case in SMAN Cirebon where alumni who are involved directly with OSIS activities are active members of IPNU and IPPNU. Other than NU, Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah (IPM) is also a strategic vessel for school alumni to promote inclusivism, tolerance and nationalism.

Gender bias is also a problem in a madrasah aliyah located in Gajah Mada Street, Padang and Ubung, Denpasar by not allowing women to be the president of student council. If a woman won a voting for presidency, the school would make a compromise to allow the male candidate to become the president.

Women not allowed to be the president of student council is mostly an exceptional case, since most schools still allow OSIS to be led by a woman. This can be seen in a high school in Rimbo Kaluaang Padangdan, Tomohon. In fact, in a madrasah aliyah in Kuranji, Padang and a high school in Plumbon, Cirebon, women almost always become the president of student council.

Alumni with strong sense of openness and tolerance in practicing religion have a significant role to influence students through OSIS activities. They can also be the agent to promote openness and tolerance because they can easily blend with students in the school. This is what happens to students in Surakarta, Cirebon, Padang and Denpasar.

Therefore, alumni network should be underestimated in terms of its

capabilities to build student's virtue. If the alumni is open-minded, then the OSIS committee will follow as well. On the contrary, if the alumni is close-minded then the OSIS committee can even be intolerant. The characteristic of alumni is thus important to promote tolerance and openness in practicing religion and becoming citizen.

Of all the schools researched for this paper, none have any specific policy to deter radicalism and empowering unity in diversity at the same time, although some schools have made progress to achieve it. In Surakarta and Cirebon, for example, some schools have already made an effort to filter and screen external actors that they let in their school. Moreover, in a high school in Plumbon, Cirebon, a Religion teacher has made an effort to create early detection system, though the initiative did not come from the school. The same is also true in high schools located in Nusukan-Banjarsari, Surakarta.

## **IX. CONCLUSIONS**

Based on research and analysis done by MAARIF Institute, OSIS is very vulnerable to the penetration and influence of many types of ideology. If OSIS is influenced by intolerant and radical ideas in practicing religion, then they could become intolerant or even radical. Otherwise, if OSIS is influenced by a moderate, open-minded, tolerant and nationalist idea, then OSIS will be an open-minded organization capable of promoting openness, tolerance and nationalism. This is the OSIS dilemma that its young committee members must face.

At the same time, mass organization's role is also significant in influencing OSIS. If the organization that cooperate with school and OSIS is an intolerant and radical organization, then OSIS will follow suit. This type of cooperation is inevitable since many schools today needs "religious guidance" from religious organization, due to the limited capability of teachers in school. Unfortunately, schools often neglect the background of organizations that they invite to their ground. Just because some personal relations, anybody, without referring to any clear criteria, can be allowed to advise for OSIS and other extracurricular activities.

Alumni network is the most important group when it comes to OSIS activities. Many alumni can blend in easily with students and OSIS committee and as such, would be dangerous if they had ulterior motives or backed up by suspicious groups. Students and committees are often unaware of alumni network's agenda. This is what makes

intolerant and radical religious ideas can easily infiltrate the schools.

Central government's policy (through several Minister's Regulations) need to be supervised due to the many instances where an open, tolerant and nationalist policy is reinterpreted by the regional government. The local interest (from the government, education offices and even schools) can get in the way of what the central government's policy supposed to be. Such is the difficulties of implementing a national policy in the era of regional autonomy.

But regardless of all the negative implications, OSIS and school has the potential to be the fortress to build an inclusive and tolerant religious practice. This can be done by providing spaces for moderate religious organizations to be involved with religious practices in the school. Schools can also create partnership with moderate religious organizations, but it must thoroughly screen the organization's background due to the variance in values of different religious organizations in Indonesia. This is one of the method to sustain school's resiliency in order to nurture diversity, openness, tolerance and nationalism.

# PROFILES

## WRITER'S PROFILE

### **Muhd. Abdullah Daraz**

Is the executive director of MAARIF Institute since 2017. He spent his high school days in Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Garut (1996-2002). He finished an undergraduate study in Dirasat Islamiyah Faculty of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (2006). He received his Master degree on Islam Philosophy from The Islamic Collage-Universitas Paramadina, Jakarta. When he was a teenager, he was active in Ikatan Remaja Muhammadiyah and has made a career from branch level to regional level. During his college times, he was active in Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI) South Jakarta Branch (2003-2006), became the Coordinating Presidium of Korps Pengader Cabang HMI South Jakarta Branch (2004-2006), and became the Director of Epistema (2005), HMI's research institutions in South Jakarta Branch. He became the researcher in Center for Islamic Philosophical Studies and Information (CIPSI) during 2006-2009. In 2009, he joined MAARIF Institute and became the program director of Islam for Justice Division during 2011-2016. He received a scholarship for "Understanding Contemporary Terrorism and Developing Policy Responses Short Term Award" program from Australia Award during 2017-2018. He is a member in Majelis Pustaka dan Informasi Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah for 2015-2020. Several philosophical works that he has translated and edited are Rasail Ikhwan al-Safa (2008), Ibn Sina's al-Syifa (2009). Other works that he wrote and edit are Islam Peduli Lingkungan (2011), Fikih Kebinekaan (2015), and Reformulasi Ajaran Islam: Jihad, Khilafah dan Terorisme (2017). He can be contacted through his email: darraz.sophy@gmail.com.

### **Zuly Qodir**

Lecturer in the socio-political faculty of Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang (UMY), UMY's graduate studies, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, UII Yogyakarta, and a Senior Researcher in MAARIF Institute. Currently he works as an Expert Staff in UKP Pancasila. He has written more than 400 newspaper articles in national and local paper. He has published more than 50 scientific journals. He has conducted research on religious radicalism, identity politics and religious pluralism. He

wrote the book *Sosiologi Agama* (2009), *Islam Liberal di Indonesia* (2010), *Gerakan Sosial Islam* (2011), *Sosiologi Politik Islam* (2012), *Radikalisme Agama* (2014), *Islam Non-Mainstream* (2015), *Teori dan Praktek Politik Indonesia* (2016), and *Sosiologi Pemerintahan* (2017).

## **Editor's Profile**

### **Pipit Aidul Fitriyana**

Finished his high school in Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Garut. He finished his undergraduate study in Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, Ushuluddin and Philosophy Faculty, majoring in Hadith Interpretation. He is a contributor for the Book *Capruk for the Soul #1* (2011). He is an editor for the book *Berani Korupsi itu Memalukan* (2013) and *Menjaga Benteng Kebinekaan di Sekolah* (2018). Some of his writings were published in journals and online and paper media, both local and national. He is the Researcher Coordinator for "Penguatan Institusi Sekolah melalui Kebijakan Internal Sekolah yang Mengokohkan Kebinekaan," (2017). He is a Coordinator for CONVEY Indonesia Program in MAARIF Institute (2017-2018). He joined MAARIF Institute in Islam for Justice Division since 2011. He can be contacted through his email [aidulfitriyana@gmail.com](mailto:aidulfitriyana@gmail.com)

## **INSTITUTE'S PROFILE**

### **MAARIF INSTITUTE FOR CULTURE AND HUMANITY**

MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity's Articles of Association (2002) sets up the basic principle of this institution as a cultural movement in the context of Islamism, humanity and Indonesianness. These three are the main and the most important areas for the intellectual journey and activism of Prof. Dr. Ahmad Syafii Maarif, former Leader of PP Muhammadiyah and former President of World Conference on Religion for Peace (WCRP).

The existence of MAARIF Institute is inseparable with the network of Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam (PPI) movement that appears in Indonesia recently. Rejuvenation movement is a historic demand and inevitable. The complexity of modern humanity issues as well as contemporary issues such as democracy, human rights, pluralism, gender, interfaith

dialogue and civilization, all of it requires new understanding and explanation from Islam.

It should also be understood that MAARIF Institute's program and activities cannot be separated from the sociological needs of Muhammadiyah union, despite having no structural relations with this organization. Still, that fact will not reduce the commitment of MAARIF Institute to expand its relations with other institutions. To many people, Muhammadiyah is often recognized as the representation of modern-moderate movement in Indonesia that often promotes Islamic concept, preaching, and initiate social actions. Therefore, strengthening the rejuvenation of Islamic thinking in the context of Muhammadiyah movement is the main concern of MAARIF Institute as a way to enlighten as well as empowering moderate elements in Indonesia.





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Gedung PPIM UIN Jakarta, Jalan Kertamukti No. 5, Ciputat Timur, Tangerang Selatan,  
Banten 15419 Indonesia

Tel: +62 21 7499272 | Fax: +62 21 7408633 | E-mail: [pmu.convey@gmail.com](mailto:pmu.convey@gmail.com)

Website: <https://conveyindonesia.com>

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