

# MAINTAINING THE FORTRESS OF DIVERSITY IN SCHOOLS:

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# MAINTAINING THE FORTRESS OF DIVERSITY IN SCHOOLS:



A Study on Student Council (OSIS)  
Policies in Padang, Cirebon, Sukabumi,  
Surakarta, Denpasar, and Tomohon

**MAARIF** *Institute*  
for Culture and Humanity



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# Foreword

by

**Executive Director of the MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity**

Radicalism in Indonesia in the past few years has targeted the youth. Past researchers have confirmed this phenomenon. As shown by research by the MAARIF Institute (2011), Setara Institute (2015), and Wahid Foundation (2016), radical groups have massively penetrated the youth's radical perspective through educational institutions. The MAARIF Institute research, for example, has mapped three main entries from which radical groups penetrated high-school institutions, namely through extracurricular activities, in-class teaching activities, and weak school policies in controlling the penetration of radicalism in schools.

Instead of walling off such penetration, school policies often seem to appear permissive towards radicalism infiltration in the premises. This has been indicated by how easy it is for schools to involve radical group actors in school activities. Typically, they are often even involved as mentors in certain extracurricular activities surrounding religious activities.

In the thesis we developed, school policies particularly those on extracurricular activities are among the key parts for school communities to be able to block radical infiltration. As school policies can "resist" radicalism, they should become the gate in the nurturing of patriotic, democratic and tolerant perspectives in schools.

In 2017 the MAARIF Institute mapped out through qualitative research the extent to which internal school policies and extracurricular activities could protect against various radicalization and anti-diversity propaganda and intolerance in schools. The research was conducted in 11 cities, namely in Banda Aceh, Padang, Lebak, Cianjur, Sukabumi, Cirebon, Surakarta, Denpasar, Mataram, Makassar,

and Tomohon.

This book records the findings from the last research activities involving more than 450 stakeholders, conducted in September–November 2017 period at the local level, primarily in schools environment, both senior high school and Madrasah Aliyah (Padang, Sukabumi, Cirebon, Surakarta, Denpasar, and Tomohon).

Many of the key findings could address our concerns as they reveal not only best-practices in the effort to strengthen diversity in schools and protect schools from radical-group penetration, but also major concerns related to the weaknesses of internal school policies in fortifying their institutions from radical penetration.

As regards the latter, our research found a phenomenon commonly present in most schools, namely the low initiative from school-policy stakeholders in formulating specific policies in an effort to block radicalism in schools. While in some schools such efforts are present, they pale in comparison to the massiveness of radical movements that infiltrate schools.

The low critical attitude and lack of understanding on the part of school policy makers—especially principals or headmasters—regarding radicalism movement outside of schools, have left schools vulnerable to infiltration by the external radical movement. Schools hardly realize that, for their own internal agenda, they often invite speakers with radical perspectives that contradict the vision of their own institutions; some such activities are conducted during monthly recitation practices in schools.

In this research we also found several best practices that were originally initiated by civilians from outside of school institutions. In Cirebon, for instance, moderate religious civilian groups from pesantren feel they have a moral obligation to be involved in the effort of strengthening diversity and democracy in public schools. They actively do mentoring and declare themselves as moderate student organizations to resist the radical group networks that may have already usurped schools.

In other parts of Cirebon are also found school efforts to strengthen diversity by conducting community visits to different communities. Through these activities,

the schools try to expose their students to true diversity in real life. Periodically, the schools assign the students to visit other places of worship as part of experiential learning. According to them, direct visits to places of worship is a most realistic way to introduce diversity.

Also noteworthy is the running of the diversity carnival initiated by OSIS officers of a State High School in Cirebon. As an effort to sow the seeds of diversity in schools, the carnival obliges the students to wear outfit of the national heroes from various tribes, religions, and cultural backgrounds, all of which happen to be complex in Indonesia. The students are expected to understand that Indonesia is never built by one religion nor one tribe only, but by all citizens from different faiths and ethnicities.

A number of recent findings have shown signals for us to be optimistic about efforts to strengthen the immunity of school communities against various radical ideologies in school environment.

This book records many interesting findings from the research throughout the period of September–November 2017. We hope that the notes in this book could provide a map for school internal policy formulation, especially regarding extracurricular activities, in cementing diversity in schools. For us, extracurricular activities must become a “protector” that could filter radical ideologies, thus preventing school-life infiltration on the one hand, and, hopefully, becoming a garden for nurturing diversity in schools on the other.

On behalf of the MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity, I would like to extend my gratitude to the Project Management Unit (PMU) of CONVEY Indonesia at the Center for the Study of Islam and Society of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and to the UNDP, without whose help this research program possible would not have been possible to deliver output according to the target. Our thanks also go to the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, which have been indirectly involved in the research process, notably for having recommended us to a number of Senior High School and Madrasah Aliyah institutions so that the data collection processes

through interviews and FGDs among went smoothly.

By all means, I must express my appreciation to the research teams and contributors--among others Abdul Aziz Muslim, Anis Fuadah, Benny Setiawan, Hafizh Ghozali, Nikmatullah, and Saefuddin Zuhri, with Pipit Aidul Fitriyana being the coordinator, who have amassed data and recorded the findings into a book that can be accessed by the public; to our expert readers Dr. M. Alie Humaidi, Donni Koesoema A., M.Ed., and Dr. Zuly Qodir, who have provided us with corrections and have developed the content of this book so that this book can be better understood by the general public; and last but not least to members of the MAARIF Institute who have worked hard to ensure that the program could run smoothly. This book is a fine legacy of their hard work and magnificent effort of my colleagues.

Lastly, I wish you all happy reading! May this book prove itself to be of benefit and inspiration to the school community in Indonesia in the endeavor to strengthen diversity in their premises.

Jakarta, 29 January 2018

Muhammad Abdullah Darraz  
Executive Director

# Preface

In the last decade Indonesia has witnessed a considerable growth of extreme religious ideologies with violent and radical nuances. This tendency has been indicated by a number of terrorist-attack incidents at several locations in the country. Violent conflicts stemming from religious sentiments and intolerance continue to rise. With over 200 cases of religious-based violence annually, issues of violent extremism could be considered as a serious problem for the society and the Indonesian Government.

The growth of religious radicalism in the sphere of education that may involve the youth is a particular cause for concern. A national survey on “Sikap Keberagamaan Gen Z” (“Religious Attitude of Generation Z”) conducted by the Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (CENSIS) or Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) in 2017 shows that in terms of opinion, students tend to have intolerant religious viewpoints: radical opinion (58.5%), internal-intolerance opinion (51.1%) and external-intolerance opinion (34.3%). In terms of action, students’ religious attitude tends to be moderate/tolerant: towards radical action (7%) and towards external intolerance (17.3%). However, towards acts of intolerance within the Islamic community, they score much higher, up to 34.1%.

A number of factors were suspected to have contributed to the growing tendencies of such intolerance and radicalism in the students’ religious views. One of the most direct causes has been a lack of encouragement to involve school apparatus--specifically OSIS--to play their part in a systematic and sustainable effort to block radicalism in schools. Besides



that, through the authority of such apparatus and their creative programs, schools have yet to encourage the implementation of OSIS-related policies that may have been most effective in resisting the latent danger of radicalism and intolerance looming in schools.

In 2017, PPIM together with the MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity conducted a type of assessment research and followed it up by policy advocacy related to intra-student organizations or OSIS. This cooperation was part of the project of Enhancing the Role of Religious Education in Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia (CONVEY), which was funded by the Indonesia United Nations Development Program (UNDP). This project aims to address issues of violence-nuanced extremism and radicalism through religious education. The goal of this cooperation is formulated in the form of serious endeavors to maximize OSIS functions so as to become a key player in preserving diversity in schools.

Several activities have been conducted for the purpose. Among them were a research series related to potential extremism, radicalization, and intolerance within OSIS bodies; assessment of central and regional policies that were related to, and could influence, OSIS programs; identification of best practices for OSIS management in schools; and publication of policy briefs.

Simple as it may be, this book is an effort to record the findings and best practices in managing OSIS. Based on the above research, it confirms that the potential growth of intolerant religious ideologies within student environment in schools actually does exist. Some moderate groups including student groups in a number of schools, however, do engage civil society organizations, such as NU and Muhammadiyah, in activities against the infiltration of radical groups.

On behalf of our most esteemed colleagues in the Project Management Unit (PMU) and Countering Violence Extremism for Youth (CONVEY), we would like to convey our gratitude to the MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity for their cooperation. We hope you enjoy reading this book and may it be beneficial

and inspiring in the efforts of resisting violent extremism and radicalism in our homeland. We believe that Indonesia will triumph in the struggle once everybody realizes it as their common concern.

South Tangerang, 31 January 2018

Ali Munhanif and Jajang Jahroni

PMU CONVEY

PPIM UIN Jakarta-UNDP



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# Introduction

At the end of 2016, a series of incidents shook the national political scene. It was started by some Muslims protesting in Jakarta against the local governmental election with incumbent Ahok (Basuki Tjahya Purnama) as the primary figure. Neither did the first incident around the City Hall in September 2016 nor the second in October 2016 attract much public attention. But the third and fourth incidents--also known as Aksi Bela Islam or Defend Islam Movement I and II, often taglined as Defend Islam or publicly known as the “411 Defend Islam Movement” and the “212 Defend Islam Movement”--became a cause for concern for Indonesians and international citizens alike. Many called the phenomenon as an “Indonesian Muslim people power movement,” considering that all the events were attended by approximately 5-7 million people clad in white. Some termed it an Islamic Populist movement, as in “Islamic populism” introduced by Vedi R Hadiz when commenting on earlier demonstration movements in the Middle East and Indonesia, which actually involved a great many politically ignorant people.<sup>1</sup> (Vedi R. Hadiz: 2015)

The Defend Islam Movement neither emerged out of the blue nor was it due to a singular reason. Many closely intertwined factors were involved, such as political, economic, legal, civic, and cultural reasons. These factors had motivated the actors to instigate the incidents. Nationally and locally, meanwhile, our political condition was, indeed, being affected with the stakes surmounting highly, especially on the eve of simultaneous local elections in Indonesia. One could observe, for instance,

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1 Vedi R Hadiz, *Populisme Islam in Indonesia and the Middle East*, (Singapore: ISEAS, 2015).

how members of the movements claimed that President Joko Widodo's leadership was weak in terms of law enforcement and public economy management. Thus, in those movements in Jakarta, the two issues became focal oratory points to the protesting masses, most notably in the first and peaceful rallies on the 4th November 2016, which was also known as the 411 Movement.

The scaling up of the Defend Islam Movement was more attributed to President Jokowi's weak leadership than to the case embroiling Governor Ahok prior to the Head of Jakarta Region election in February 2017. Jokowi's weakness had been perceived through the two realities that occurred since the beginning of his election until then, namely the poor performance of his cabinet ministries vis-a-vis public expectation; and his lack of independence against pressures from certain political parties. As such the leadership caused public dissatisfaction over Jokowi-JK's governance. According to a survey conducted by Lembaga Survei Jakarta (LSJ), as many as 51.3 percent of the public were unsatisfied with the governance of Jokowi-JK.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, 78.9 percent were disappointed in Jokowi-JK response to a prevailing haze disaster.<sup>3</sup>

The Defend Islam Movement marked the rise of religious radical groups that encouraged not only participation of Muslims in general but also, regrettably, mobilization of the youth, specifically students in a number of regions in the capital. The mobilization in the name of apprehension to the case of religious defamation became a religious issue turning into a political commodity that became a deciding factor in the political process in Indonesia, namely the phenomenal and crucial Head of Jakarta Region election.

In the name of defending the religion, students from several schools in Cianjur

- 2    Kabar Pergerakan.com. Survey: 78.9% of the public are disappointed in the performance of Jokowi-JK. Edition Tuesday, 10 November 2016. Taken from: <http://www.kabarpergerakan.com/pergerakan/survei-789-persen-publik-kecewa-dengan-kinerja-jokowi-jk/>. Accessed on 14 January 2017 at 10.21 WIT.
- 3    Rendy Kurnia (Primary Researcher LSI) statement, at Jakarta on Thursday, 5 October 2016 in Kabar Pergerakan.com. Survey: 78.9% of the public are disappointed to the performance of Jokowi-JK. Tuesday edition, 10 November 2016. Founded at: <http://www.kabarpergerakan.com/pergerakan/survei-789-persen-publik-kecewa-dengan-kinerja-jokowi-jk/>. Accessed on 14 January 2017 at 10.21 IWT.

and Sukabumi, for example, travelled en masse to the capital to join the 212 movement. A few groups of students were visibly coordinated by a significant number of school teachers (amounting to tens or even hundreds of them). Many of the students travelled in small groups of around 10 or 11, facilitated and supervised by their teachers. A number of student's parents, alongside their children, also partook in the movement to Jakarta.

Meanwhile, students from other areas far from Jakarta also joined the movement. The great distance and expensive travel fees did not deter them from protesting. Together with other groups, they participated by occupying several crucial points in the region. For example, the students from Padang and Yogyakarta proudly uploaded their movement, both in the 411 and 212, on the social media (Twitter and Instagram).

As a plural nation we ought to be able to develop diversity while preserving the principles of pluralism and multiculturalism. Nurturing diversity is a national principle of any pluralistic nations, including Indonesia. We may need to study it from Canada, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Norway or Switzerland. We can learn from other nations how they incorporate diversity through fair and just conditions and situations. Fair and just conditions of law, economy, and community participation in the preservation of diversity will empower Indonesia to march on. That is why every element in the society must possess trust to promote social harmony.

Actually, models for managing diversity have existed in this nation, such as the ones that used to be practiced by the Javanese and Ambonese citizens who managed to cohabitate peacefully amidst cultural and religious diversities. The Javanese citizens respected the presence of the non-Javanese with different beliefs, or those who followed different teachings (schools). Likewise, the Ambonese cohabitated with the people of different religions or from different ethnicities. Currently, instead of living in a façade of harmony, what we must do is cohabitate harmoniously akin to what these tribes used to practice prior to the political reformation. However, in its latest development post the 1999 reformation, Ambon

and several other provinces in Indonesia have undergone drastic degradation that promoted intolerance.

Intolerance has become symptomatic among Indonesia's youth, as has been confirmed by many sources. The Wahid Foundation (2017) survey, for example, found that as many as 11 million of youths in Indonesia had the potential to become radical--is a crucial telltale of religious development in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Islam and Education Research Institution (2014) released that 34% of high schoolers agreed with radical groups such as Jamaah Islamiyah and their call to jihad-through-violence. Moreover, research from Navara Institute on Muslim professors in Indonesia as samples for their surveys found out that no less than 55% of them agreed with radical movements. A similar survey titled "Api Dalam Sekam" or ("A Fire in the Husk") by Centre for Research on Islam and the Community at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta concluded that a somewhat strong radical potential did exist among the Muslim youth of Indonesia.

That explains the need for a society designing--through social engineering--towards resilience so that the people can value, respect and promote the lifestyle of social harmony lest they live in superficial harmony. This is of particular importance because unless it is properly managed and prevented, superficial harmony can cause grave consequences. This is also where educators, ustadz/scholars, public figures, female role models, and the youth can serve as pillars that support a mentality of diversity in a democratic state. As a nation whose strength comes from the civil society, Indonesia can actually resort to civil society organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU for support in ensuring religious, social and political stabilities. Indeed, Muhammadiyah and NU as the prominent strength of Civil Islam can be expected to become the primary force in developing a tolerant, civilized and democratic Islam community for the future of Indonesia.

## **Senior High Schools as Arenas of Radicalism**

Indonesia has been built with unity in diversity as its foundation. Democracy has so far been the best system to govern the state and nation and to maintain

diversity. Under the system each ethnic group that lived on the archipelago was able to participate on an equal term without discrimination. However, in the past 15 years, we have faced threats from intolerant, sectarian and radical groups undermining our present democracy. The radical, sectarian, and intolerant points of view have acted as parasites that undermine the process of democracy.

To a certain extent, the radical points of view manifested themselves in extreme acts of terrorism that lacerated humanity. A case in point is the bombing of Adz-Dzikra Mapolresta Cirebon mosque in 2011, on which several reports found that the perpetrator, initialed as MS, had a radical point of view. Reportedly, MS denounced his own father as takfiri (a non-believer); he was also infamously known as radical and militant in realizing whatever was on his mind, even through brutal anti-Ahmadiyah actions.

In its development, the radical and monolithic views as galvanized by the radical groups have been disseminated and internalized through various models and means adapted to Indonesia's changing social, economic, and political contexts. Among other things, they infiltrated and even took over several Islamic institutions belonging to the communities, such as schools and mosques.<sup>4</sup>

Subsequently, the radical parties spread their influence and overtook a few public high schools. There were symptoms to suggest that these schools were used as a basis for the cultivation of intolerance, exclusivity, anti-diversity, and other forms of violence (Farha Ciciek: 2008; the MAARIF Institute: 2011). PPIM of UIN Jakarta, having surveyed 500 religion teachers and 200 high schoolers, concluded that the societal pattern of religious intolerance has deeprooted formidably in public schools, mostly in Java (PPIM: 2008).

Furthermore, Islam and Peace Research Institution or Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian (LaKIP; 2010) survey shows that 48.9% students in Jabodetabek regions approved of radical acts. Wahid Foundation (2017) survey shows that 60% out of their 1,626 respondents were Rohis activists and were willing to do jihad in

4 Abdurrahman Wahid, dkk. *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia (Islamic State Illusion: Transitional Islam Movement Expansion in Indonesia)* (Jakarta: Wahid Institute, 2009).



conflict regions such as Poso and Suriah; moreover, 10 percent of them approved of Sarinah Bombing, and 6% of ISIS.

The case of a “saucepan” bomb in Bandung in 2017 involved a perpetrator initialed AW. The 22 years old peddler was selling merchandise when the bomb went off in his rented house. According to circulating information, AW was a graduate of a madrasa aliyah. While most of the research activities were conducted at public high schools, it is interesting to observe whether madrasa aliyahs were also subject to radicalization, irrespective of the fact that AW had graduated several years prior to the incident.

Excluding madrasa aliyahs, further research has identified three causal factors in the process of high school radicalization, both in public and private schools alike: first, indoctrination by teachers through the teaching process such as one practiced by a sociology teacher in Solo (Farha Ciciek: 2008). Subsequent research by the MAARIF Institute seemed to confirm Ciciek as similar practices were also done by a teacher of German in Cianjur (2011) and a physics teacher in Surakarta (2017). A noteworthy finding by PPIM UIN Jakarta (2016) shows a particular inter-religion behavioral pattern that is coexistent and normative in nature among the PAI teachers (teachers of Islamic subjects), which to a certain extent, tends to amplify the radicalization process in schools.

The second factor is infiltration of extreme Islamic perspectives by radical groups through extracurricular activities whereby Intra-Student Councils or Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah (OSIS) become an important path in the regenerative process of radical groups in schools, specifically through Spirituality of Islam Group/Organization (Rohis) as the main entry point. Two examples of such penetration through extracurricular activities were “Jundullah,” a semi-militant training that led to violent practices in the name religion (Farha Ciciek: 2008) in Cianjur, and mentoring activities by some leagues in Yogyakarta (MAARIF Institute 2011) and Sukabumi (MAARIF Institute 2017) through anti-Pancasila and anti-diversity modules.

Interaction with alumni is believed to have affected the types of Islamic literature that students consume. In some schools in Sukabumi and Makassar, students who took part in rohis organizations read books considered to be of “right” leaning. Examples here are books by Sayyid Qutb and Hasan al-Bana, both proponents of Ikhwanul Muslimin. Moreover, at one school in Sukabumi, before HTI was forbidden by Perppu No. 2 of 2017, their Friday bulletins were often found in Rohis Secretariat (MAARIF Institute: 2017).

Islamic literature plays a significant role in cultivating Islamic ideologies among students. A study by UIN Sunan Kalijaga Postgraduate Yogyakarta (2017) shows four categories of Islamic literature among the students. If visualized as a pyramid from the most read to the least, their order of preference would be: Islamisme Populer (Popular Islamism), Tarbawi, Salafi, Tahriri, and Jihadi. This depiction would surprise no-one considering many alumni were affiliated with trans-national movements such as HTI and Tarbiyah with a number of them being also affiliated to Wahabi.

Third, pro-diversity policies have only been lamely articulated--let alone implemented. This could be highlighted in three levels. First, instead of promoting values that empower diversity and sensitivity to resist radicalization in school, internal policies in most school exactly promote the contrary: they tend to stimulate radicalization. For example, many schools made a blunder by inviting members of radical groups as routine speakers for monthly recitation. Instead of strengthening diversity, these groups often brought in with them materials that were radical, sectarian, anti-Pancasila, and anti-democracy, denying the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which they considered a kafir nation (MAARIF Institute: 2017). On the other hand, out of ignorance to the map of radical group movement, the schools were often easily infiltrated by radical groups to become religious mentors in schools, both at their own request or when the radical group offered their service. The main reason stated by the school was that it was for religious fortification; it would be better for students to be educated and to possess noble characters as materialization of character education than to

be ensnared in issues often infecting the youth such as brawls, promiscuity, and biker gangs.

In the second level, regional government policies have often tended to be discriminative and of anti-diversity. Since the regional autonomy era began, high school institution has been under regional coordination, namely under the regional office of the Provincial Education Department and Ministry of Home Affairs. Many regions have implemented regional regulations in the form of sharia regulations. In reality these sharia regulations have encouraged school-policy stakeholders to formulate discriminative school regulations. For example, Pandeglang and Banyuwangi implement a discriminative policy obligating every female student, a muslim or otherwise, to wear a hijab.

The third level concerns national government policies. The MAARIF Institute (2017) research shows that the National Government policies related to the strengthening of diversity and inclusiveness (National Ministry of Education Regulation number 39 of 2008 regarding Student Mentoring; Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation number 62 of 2014 regarding Entry-Level Extracurricular Activities, and; Mid-level Education Regulation number 23 of 2015 on Character Building) can neither be articulated nor implemented optimally in schools. Otherwise, these policies could have fortified the students against radicalization.

Despite the National Government's regulations, the practice of regional autonomy has influenced each region's views on education. Furthermore, this has also been due to their being difficult to comprehend and implement.

Efforts to resist the radicalization at high school and madrasah Aliyah are possible by way of invigorating policies that promote the values of inclusivity and pro-diversity in schools, in the provincial educational institutions, and in the provincial offices of the ministry of home affairs, the ministry of education and culture, as well as the ministry of religion. It is also necessary, moreover, to optimize the monitoring and evaluation mechanism for the implementation of those policies.

In this study what is referred to as the extracurricular activity is that of OSIS. Both direct and indirect regulations on OSIS have been published by the government. Regional governments, meanwhile, have also published generic regulations on education since the regional autonomy took effect through the Law number 32 of 2004 on Regional Governments. The rulings referred to here include, among others, the laws, government regulations, Presidential regulations, Presidential decrees, ministerial decrees, regional regulations, and municipal regulations.

At the national level, two regulations have been issued relating to OSIS. The first one is the Ministry of National Education Regulation number 39 of 2008 regarding Student Mentoring. Other major regulations derived from it include the ones pertaining to student mentoring (extracurricular activities) in schools.

The second one is the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation number 62 of 2014 regarding Extracurricular Activities at primary and secondary levels of education. This regulation complements the above regulation number 39, which contains the objectives, actors, operational definition, components of extracurricular activities, mechanism of extracurricular activities, and stakeholders involved. From this perspective, primarily through its inclusion of parental and community involvement now, one can see the national government's initiative that tries to overcome the shortcomings in the existing regulations.

Based on the above regulations the central government then derived an implementing regulation on OSIS through the issuance of "OSIS Handbook by the Ministry of National Education Year 2011." On top of these two regulations and their derivative, two other regulations often associated with OSIS were also issued.

One of them is the Ministry of Education number 23 on Character Building. If observed thoroughly, nothing is really new in the manner by which habituation through character building in schools is promoted--namely through mandatory extra-curricular activities and best practices. What's rather new is the emphasis on nationality and diversity as values that are considered to have faded away, and

on the need for developing interaction among educational participants, parents and the society. The second regulation is the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation no 82 of 2015 on the Prevention and Countermeasures of Acts of Violence in units of educational institutions.

Apparently, as can be observed from the initial analysis above, the radical movement following the Defend Islam movement I and II has become—to borrow Vedi Hadiz’s term “Islam Populism”—more popular than ever in Indonesia. Mass mobilization through incitement of religious and ethnicity sentiments has become part of political populism, which is often cited on the social media. One could even say that the social media are currently the primary funnel for the propaganda of Islam Populism (Islam Radicalism), a phenomenon that will only escalate with the coming 2018 regional elections and 2019 Presidential election.

Thus, high school students will tend to be more violent in the absence of ways of resistance or resilience through dissemination of moderate religious views. This explains why one of the research aspects this book aims to reveal is the extent to which resilience is present at local schools and in the locality as manifested in efforts or mechanism to resist the penetration of radicalism and extremism in schools.

To understand the recent condition among high school and Madrasah Aliyah students, there were calls for research on the role of OSIS, being an official organization, as a shield against radicalism in schools. For this purpose, the MAARIF Institute conducted a series of research on OSIS policies in six cities in five provinces in Indonesia for 20 days on 2-21 October 2017. The 6 sampled cities were Padang (West Sumatera), Cirebon and Sukabumi (West Java), Surakarta (Central Java), Denpasar (Bali), and Tomohon (North Sulawesi).

These six cities had been selected respectively based on different points of consideration: some due to their being seen as pouches of Islamic movement, some in order to observe extreme tendencies against Muslim minorities in non-Muslim communities, and to understand the implications in schools. The drafting of this research report took three months from October to December 2017.

The study and research reported in this book were part of the project named Enhancing the Role of Religious Education in Countering Violent and Extremism in Indonesia (CONVEY). In this joint research, the MAARIF Institute collaborated with the Center for the Study of Islam and Community or Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) of Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta as the project management unit, and with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Indonesia.

This book attempts to answer a few burning questions raised during the research, namely: how can OSIS are expected to be able to promote diversity and inclusive lifestyle in school particularly when internal school policies often tend to restrict its movement? What is the current school condition like? Are there any other entry points in schools susceptible to radical infiltration? What efforts have been made to date by schools and OSIS organizations in resisting radicalism infiltration to their environment?



Part One

**Radicalism in  
Movement**





# 1

## Surakarta

### A. Overview

#### 1. *School profiles*

Our research samples of high schools in Surakarta are SMAN 1, SMAN 3, SMAN 5, SMAN 6, MAN 1 dan MAN 2. Their selection was based on different categories of student composition (homogenous or heterogeneous), status (seeded/superior or non-seeded), and location (urban or rural). Besides SMAN 4 (not sampled), SMAN 1 and SMAN 3 are Surakarta's two favorite and superior high schools.<sup>5</sup> The samples also included two madrasahs (MAN) to represent the group of religious public schools supervised by the Ministry of Religion.

#### a. SMAN 1 and SMAN 3 Surakarta

Both SMAN 1 and SMAN 3 are considered to be favorite schools with highest achievements. SMAN 1 is unique in that it is rather “dreaded” by students of Chinese ethnicity. Headmaster Mrs. Harminingsih admitted that some people perceived the school as being too Islamic—although it is no more Islamic than any other Islamic schools.

Such perception began in the 1990s, but since Mr. Thoyibun took office as SMAN 1 headmaster in 2000, the stigma has somewhat abated. According to Mrs. Harminingsih, not many Chinese descendants have enrolled in SMAN 1 since 2000. She also heard of uncondusive religious sentiment that Chinese

<sup>5</sup> As the list of the best SMA/SMK in Indonesia according to the Ministry of Education and Culture. <https://id.theasianparent.com/daftar-sma-terbaik-di-indonesia-versi-kemendikbud-2015/>.

descendants did not want to enroll there for fear of being denied of their rights. Most of them, instead, preferred SMAN 3.

The reluctance to enroll was due to apprehension that they would not receive the portion of education or adequate services that they deserved from the school. Essentially, they did not want to be discriminated in the school. As a matter of fact, such treatment never occurred. This was testified repeatedly by Christian and Catholic students at SMAN 1 that they did receive equal treatment as most students in other schools. In other words, there was no discrimination in regard to the provision of education service in SMAN 1.

However, the perceived image of SMAN 1 as being too Islamic has spread among students who go to Christian and Catholic schools. A few of their teachers recommended their pupils to enroll to SMAN 3 rather than SMAN 1.

Unlike SMAN 1, SMAN 3 is a favorite school for students of Chinese ethnicity as well as for Christian and Protestant students. What goes around as rumor about SMAN 1 appears to be confirmed in SMAN 3.

That SMAN 3 is located in a China town may well have encouraged many Chinese families to send their children there. It is in this China town that the school has been perceived as the school for smart Chinese and Christian students.

The school serves as home for more than 260 Christian and Catholic students. The number of SMAN 3 students is significantly higher than that of SMAN 1, which is under 100 students. With regard to input, both these Surakarta favorite schools are equally heterogeneous. Some students come from public middle schools; some from Christian and Catholic middle schools; some from Islamic middle schools.

OSIS membership in SMAN 1 is dominated by students coming from public middle schools. Such composition is similar in SMAN 3. However, most religious student organizations--such as Rohis, Rokris, and Rokrat--are dominated by students from Islamic schools (Rohis)--such as from IT Nur Hidayah middle school; from Catholic schools--such as Bintang Laut, and; from Christian schools--such as Widya Wacana.

Most SMAN 1 and SMAN 3 students come from middle-class families. The less fortunate families, however, still have their place there as the availability of seats for the poor refers to the government regulation forbidding schools to exclude less fortunate students. That SMAN 3 has more students than SMAN 1 was confirmed by a few respondents who happened to be OSIS members. All Rokrat members and some MPK members in SMAN 3 actually enrolled to the school through the special mechanism for less-fortunate families.

The affirmative action for less fortunate students seems both important and necessary. It allows them the right to receive proper and advanced education in favorite schools. Studying at favorite schools enables them to learn and achieve more than otherwise.

#### **b. SMAN 5 and SMAN 6 Surakarta**

SMAN 5, a typical middle school in Surakarta, is located juxtaposed to its neighbor SMAN 6. The former has a unique religious characteristic that enlivens its religious activities. Its Rohis, Rokris, and even Rokat organizations seem to compete with one another. The seemingly spontaneous competition has a quite long history that began in the 2000's.

Competition in religious activities positively can encourage the students to be creative, but it can also be a problem unless it is managed properly. Contestation among students reflects in the reluctance of Muslim students in buying refreshments from Catholic and Christian students. The reluctance may stem from a religious teaching that is misinterpreted to mean says that helping Christian or Catholic students in such respect means developing their religious activities.

Rohis membership at SMAN 5 is dominated by alumni of public Madrasah Tsanawiyah 1 and 2 in Solo. Their number is quite significant, which, in one batch, can exceed 10 students. Similarly, Rokris and Rokat activists come from Catholic and Christian middle schools in Solo.

Meanwhile, SMAN 6 represents Surakarta's "third caste" schools. The school is often compared to SMAN 8 in terms of their intakes of under-achievers.

Nevertheless, the former school has graduated a national figure serving as Indonesia's current President, Joko Widodo.

Table 1

The passing grades for admission of new SMAN students in Surakarta in 2016

(<http://www.semarangpos.com/2016/06/14/ppdb-2016-berikut-jurnal-ppdb-on-line-sma-di-solo-hingga-selasa-siang-728806>)

No	Code	School	Total Score				
			Inner city KK			Outer city KK	
			Passing Grade	BB	BA	BB	BA
1	0100	SMA NEGERI 1 SURAKARTA	362.00	362.00	414.50	372.00	378.50
2	0200	SMA NEGERI 2 SURAKARTA	167.50	167.50	322.00	249.00	338.50
3	0300	SMA NEGERI 3 SURAKARTA	275.00	275.00	414.00	344.50	386.50
4	0400	SMA NEGERI 4 SURAKARTA	238.50	238.50	383.00	320.50	391.50
5	0500	SMA NEGERI 5 SURAKARTA	234.00	234.00	355.50	302.50	371.00
6	0600	SMA NEGERI 6 SURAKARTA	183.00	183.00	317.50	228.00	313.00
7	0700	SMA NEGERI 7 SURAKARTA	209.00	209.00	342.50	221.50	344.50
8	0800	SMA NEGERI 8 SURAKARTA	161.00	161.00	245.00	185.50	307.00

Description:

BB: Bottom Limit (Batas Bawah Daya Tampung)

BA: Upper limit (Batas Atas Daya Tampung)

Passing Grade is the lowest score of acceptable grade.

Being predicated as a school with below average input as compared to other schools has motivated SMAN 6 to be extra creative. That is why the headmaster, Mr. Agung, was determined to encourage his school to achieve even more; and his encouragement finally paid off in several ways. One of them was through the growing number of SMAN 6 graduates accepted at public universities (PTN). The number used to be less than 10; in the last two years, more than 60 students have made their way to PTN through SNMPTN, SBMPTN, or through individual entries.

The headmaster's encouragement has instilled in many parents a sense of belonging to the school. No longer do they view SMAN 6 as a school for the third-caste. In meetings, the school has shared many reasons to feel proud of the school. Parents become reassured of the education of their children in SMAN 6. The more achievements are made by all units in the school, the prouder they become. In fact, according to Mr. Agung, some parents refused to be exempted

from school fees for fear that it would reduce motivation. “These parents actually belong as the group of poor families,” said Mr. Agung.

Located adjacent to SMAN 5, SMAN 6 becomes a “cozy home” to less well-off families. According to Mr. Agung, the poor families at the high school make up more than 50 percent. This fact has motivated the school to encourage them to achieve more.

### **c. MAN 1 and MAN 2 Surakarta**

MAN 1 and MAN 2 are public schools with Islamic characteristics in Surakarta. They administer regular, excellent, and religious programs, as well as a boarding-school program. While the regular program is typical as in most schools, the boarding school emphasizes on science and religious programs to deepen Islamic understanding.

One of the unique characteristics found in the later program is that they both separate the boys and girls in different classes. Thus, a class is either for boys or girls only. The two schools also have different student organizations. For example, in MAN 1, the organization for regular students is OSIS. Meanwhile, the organization for boarder students is called the Boarding School Student Organization or Organisasi Pelajar Boarding School (OPBS) whereas the Religious Program Student Organization or Organisasi Pelajar Program Keagamaan (OPPK) is for students taking religious programs. Furthermore, each of these student organizations has its own chairperson and work programs. Each organization has been run independently without any issues as they sometimes cooperate with one another.

The organizations at MAN 2 are similar to those in MAN 1. The OSIS position in MAN 2, however, tends to be quite central; this differs from the condition at MAN 1, where the OSIS only has its jurisdiction among the regular students.

Moreover, student organizations at MAN 1 also have a special autonomy. Their respective work system is different from one another although, essentially,

they aim at the same objective, namely to develop the students' potentials.

In terms of background, most MAN 1 students come from MTsN 1. Meanwhile, MAN 2 is dominated by MTsN 2 alumni. "They sort of moved classes here," said Nanda, a Rohis member at MAN 1 Surakarta.

Bedol or massive class transfers seem commonly found among MAN 1 and MAN 2 graduates; they have long been practiced. In fact, it almost goes without saying that most MTsN 1 students will continue to MAN 1 while those from MTsN 2 will enroll at MAN 2.

The MTs-alumni dominance tends to make MAN population somewhat homogenous. New students get familiar fairly quickly with the madrasah environment, so they usually do not feel awkward any more upon entering MAN.

However, it is a different story for full-day and boarding students, who come from diverse background. Some students come from outside Java. Ardita, for example, a boarding student at MAN 2 Surakarta, comes from Kalimantan.

Socio-economically speaking, most students enrolled at MAN, specifically those registered as regular, come from middle-low class families. On the other hand, most full-day and boarding students are of the middle-high.

The contrast in economic background, however, does not really create gaps among them. As field observation reports testify, differences in pocket money do not necessarily proscribe them from mingling properly. These students are used to being in groups, playing together in the school yard, which is not exactly large. Neither do dresses that the students wear reflect any differences in social classes. Economic condition does not separate the students.

It is not uncommon to see the students *nunut* (cycling—Javanese) together on their way to or from school. Ega, a boarding student at al-Muayyad Pesantren Surakarta, for instance, often asks her friend Endah, who lives at Baki, Sukoharjo, for a ride to school. Such is portrayal of the strong friendship among madrasah students, which is not based on the economic condition of any family.

### **1) Educational background of SMAN and MAN teachers**

The majority of SMAN teachers in Surakarta were educated in local universities, such as Sebelas Maret University Surakarta, IAIN Surakarta, and Muhammadiyah University Surakarta. A few of them are bachelors from Yogyakarta State University, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University of Yogyakarta, and STAIN Kudus.

Aside from that, some teachers graduated from universities abroad. One of them is a MAN 1 teacher for the Special Program. Some teachers are alumni of al-Azhar Cairo, Egypt.

Meanwhile, most Christian teachers tend to have homogenous background. According to one of them at SMAN 3, Budiman Simbolan, even the theological color of Christian teachers at SMAN Surakarta is relatively alike. This is so because they mostly come from the same university, namely Solo Institute of Theology. "Incidentally, the Christian teachers teaching at SMA 3, SMA 1, SMA 2, SMA 4, and SMA 6 today also come from the same Institute, which may have affected the theological color in our teaching," said Budiman. Meanwhile, Christian teachers at SMAN 5 are graduates of the Faculty of Sociology of Religion at Satya Wacana Christian University (UKSW) Salatiga.

When it comes to views concerning religion and nationality, most SMAN/MAN teachers in Solo tend to be inclusive. They have a good view with regard to the objectives and methods of education.

Yet, some teachers are "unique." One of them teaches at MAN 2, keen on promoting values that are anti-Syiah and anti-Pancasila. A student of MAN 2 Surakarta, Hasan, shared his experience when sitting in a non-religious subject in his first year. At that time, the teacher went off topic and, instead, encouraged his students to stay away from Syiah and from communism.

This particular teacher has been known to often instill anti-Syiah and anti-Communism sentiments in between lessons. The proclivity may have been inseparable from his informal educational background. It is widely known that this teacher received most of his religious education at Istiqomah Penumping Mosque,



Surakarta. The information he learned from outside of the school premises would then be transferred in class to his students, who, out of fear of not obtaining good grades, could do nothing much but act passively and swallow the information.

When asked for confirmation on this report, most fellow teachers in MAN 2 were not surprised; they confirmed it as factual. They were familiar with the teacher's somewhat quirky character.

## **2) School infrastructure**

Our observation concludes that SMAN 6 is the only school in Surakarta that has a vast area stretching from the south to north. This allows the students to move about freely. The school has quite representative sports fields such as a football field, a basketball court and a few tennis courts, each of a standard size. When it comes to accommodating parking spaces for students' or teachers' vehicles, the school has no spatial problem.

Meanwhile, other schools are built on much smaller plots of land, usually without sports field facilities. Thus, the students who want to exercise must do it in a field outside the premises. Moreover, the schoolyards are often be swarmed with parked motorcycles. Inadequate parking lots are caused by the school policy that prioritizes on building classrooms or laboratories rather than parking areas.

In SMAN 1 and SMAN 2, spatial issues extend beyond the absences of sports and parking facilities. Both schools have to share spaces every time they need to run flag ceremony routines. As Agus Suyanto, a Student Development officer at SMAN 1, said, "Our school is adjacent to theirs, so we must share."

The two schools have made a specific agreement on this land sharing. If SMAN 1 is to run the ceremony, SMAN 2 will run any other activity indoor. Conversely, if it is SMAN 2's turn for the ceremony, SMAN 1 students will join an indoor class under the Assembly of Islamic Spirituality (MKI)/Rohis.

Given their adjacency, it is almost impossible for both SMAN 1 and 2 to run ceremonies concurrently without disorder. Their willingness to respect each other and reschedule is solution to their land problem.

Despite such land-size issues, Surakarta schools enjoy a high historical value, at least as represented by its SMAN 1 and MAN 2, each of which has received recognition as a cultural heritage as per Law (on cultural preservation) No. 11 of 2010 stipulated by Surakarta's Office of Spatial Planning (DTRK) on January 10th, 2014.<sup>6</sup>

MAN 2 Surakarta has two buildings of cultural heritage that have been well-kept to date, namely: the school buildings and mosques located on Jl. Brigadier General Slamet Riyadi no. 308, and the boarding school that used to be Madrasah Mamba'ul Ulum building built by Sunan Pakubuwono X located on Jl. Dr. Rajiman No. 2 (cf: New Student Handbook 2017/2018, MAN 2, Surakarta).

The cultural heritage buildings of SMAN 1 and MAN 2 are relatively well maintained. Aside from the minor problems here and there, they are still usable as places to study in. The large and tall buildings with as large and tall doors and windows give charms to the striking schools. Not only are they crowned as cultural heritage, but they can also be sites for studying a history that is "living" and intriguing.

## ***2. OSIS profiles***

The results of this study indicate that the models and characteristics of student councils or OSIS in Surakarta vary significantly. Each OSIS has its own mechanism in the selection process. Of the six schools studied, a well-organized mechanism is only found in SMAN 1 Surakarta. In this school the OSIS chairperson election is managed by Majelis Musyarawah Perwakilan Kelas (MMPK) as the OSIS election organizer, which determines a series of electoral steps starting with leadership training one up to four. After this basic training candidates that emerge are set to run for the election.

Thus the leadership training seems to be the starting point for anyone wanting to become an OSIS member. Unless they "pass" it is difficult to get support from

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6 <http://www.solopos.com/2015/01/17/info-solo-ini-daftar-172-cagar-budaya-di-solo-567591>.

students or teachers.

Teachers, Vice Principals for Student Affairs, and Principals have stakes in the selection of candidates. Through the leadership training mechanism and a series of interviews involving teachers to the principal, SMAN 1 OSIS serves as a model for the process of OSIS chairperson election.

Best practices from SMAN 1 Surakarta show the importance of a candidate's track records. It shows how the leadership Training process and a student's progress in previous organizations become good credentials and footprints for future leadership. SMAN 1 Surakarta could become a role model related to how a person needs to work bottom-up to achieve a top position.

Meanwhile, also available are portraits of a less ideal OSIS. The OSIS of SMAN 6 was an example. According to Furqon Nisa (MPK SMAN 6), the relationship between OSIS management and student mentors was not harmonious. Often OSIS work programs did not work well because of differences in views.

Lanang, head of OSIS SMAN 6, acknowledged the issue. He often had long discussions with Vice of Student Affairs division about execution of work programs. The discussions would often end up in program postponement, mid-way termination, or utter cancellation. Poor communication seemed to have made OSIS SMAN 6 2016/2017 period even less optimum. This was confirmed by Mr. Rudy, deputy head of student affairs at SMAN 6. He admitted that differences among OSIS members did often occur. As a supervisor, he often had to rebuke them or disallow their programs.

#### **a. OSIS election mechanism**

The OSIS chairperson election mechanism at SMAN Surakarta is worth paying attention to as some schools, such as SMAN 1 and SMA N 3, have already used an e-voting system. The latter school even assigned a person to be in charge of e-voting equipment. "We own our own tools and other schools often borrow them from us," said Mr. Sri Widodo, Deputy Head of SMAN 3 Student Affairs.

The school-level e-voting electoral process teaches SMAN 3 students the

role of technology to assist learning. It teaches them to be responsible for and contribute to their own version of a democratic system. The e-voting system enables them to learn to adapt it for real needs, such as during regional leader elections or other similar purposes.

The good mechanism is supported by the school's commitment in providing extra rooms for learning. The OSIS election learning room, for example, can be used for discussions and for learning micro-level democracy.

Through such an OSIS chairperson election system, which resembles real public elections, students can prepare themselves to become future leaders. In SMAN 3, the preparation typically starts off with a candidate having to find a partner. Together, despite any background differences, the couple will pair to run as OSIS Chairperson and Vice Chairperson candidates.

Victory for any pair of candidates is not only determined through their success during the Class Representative Assembly selection process or during interviews with the council of teachers; they also need to have adequate support bases. An OSIS Chairperson candidate must gain real mass support to win significant electoral votes. An example of such support base is SMAGAHOLIK. A group of SMAN 3 students who are cheerleaders in sporting events, SMAGAHOLIK as a real mass of students of SMAN 3 often convene to support their school representatives who are participating in a competition. "SMAGAHOLIK are a group of crazy students," described Sri Widodo, who added that they would go all-out in supporting SMAN 3 teams wherever they joined competitions. Thus, garnering support from SMAGAHOLIK is one critical success in the OSIS election.

A real support base can really get OSIS Chair candidates elected. Their electability will increase with additional support from other elements in the school. Once elected, the leadership can be expected to execute programs optimally.

## **b. OSIS structure**

Overall, the OSIS structure is similar in almost all schools. It refers to Minister

of Education and Culture Regulation no.39 of 2008 on Student Development and Minister of Education and Culture Regulation no. 62 of 2014 on Extracurricular Activities for Elementary Level Education and Mid-Level Education.

A typical OSIS has 10 divisions. The first division concerns with Faith and Piety Development, which takes care of the Spirituality of Islam (Rohis), Christian Spirituality (Rokris), and Catholic Spirituality (Rokat). The three spiritualities are dominant in SMAN Surakarta owing to the adequate number of students representing each of the three religions. Besides that, there is a minority of students of different faiths, but the number is too small to form a separate organization to accommodate their religious activities.

This division organizes members as well as their religious activities based on their respective faith. Accommodation for religious activities is done by providing separate rooms (for Christians and Catholics) and mosques.

In addition to running in-school religious activities, they also conduct activities outside the premises. An example is a routine retreat organized by Rokris and Rokat in Tawangmangu area in Karanganyar Surakarta. It has been a favorite destination for Rokris and Rokrat due to the cool atmosphere and because the area has several churches and other places of worship, which can accommodate all the students.

Yet, their religious activities tended to them rather “exclusive.” That is, they could end up being too engaged in their own religious affairs while oblivious of the needs of students of different faiths. The condition seems exacerbated by the fact that there was no supervisory authority that would otherwise have encouraged them to work together. While inter-faith collaboration is believed to be a core force in the process of understanding nationalism, this agenda seemed rather neglected or forgotten by the Faith and Piety Development division.

The second is the Public Relations (PR) Division, which relays to students, teachers, and vice principal information about students’ activities. PR functionaries often meet and communicate with the school management. The division also relays OSIS voices to students and vice versa. In MAN 2 for example, the division

often makes announcements through the loudspeaker. “Usually they use the school’s loudspeaker,” said Rizky, chairman of MAN 2 OSIS Surakarta.

The third is the State Defense Division. This division includes the School Security Police (SSP), who helps teachers in conducting cell-phone checks or in disciplining students who break school rules on dress codes (e.g. uniform, hijab without “jipon,” socks, et cetera).

SPP serves to uphold good characters. Together with OSIS officials, they often inspect the condition of classrooms and go after school to check the classroom condition, such as whether a classroom is still being used. This control is done to anticipate the “deviant student behaviors” after the end of the subjects. “We worry that they might be flirting and letting a classroom untidy,” said Rizky. The process of disciplining and sterilizing the class was also aided by CCTV in the school.

The fourth is the Character Development Division, which oversees the Youth Red Cross or Palang Merah Remaja (PMR) and sports activities. It is responsible for school activities such as in ceremonies. PMR provides help should any student have health issues. In SMAN 6 under this field there is Sie Keputrian (Female Section), whose job is to accommodate activities of female students. There is also the Elective Student Selection responsible for selecting exemplary students every year.

The fifth is the Organizational Field Division. This division is often a place for lodging complaints or disagreement of OSIS and student management. It often intervenes when problems occur among students. This division is called to “reconcile” dissents within student organizations.

The sixth is the Entrepreneurship Division. It usually runs KWU snack-and-beverages booths on car-free days.

The seventh is the Physical and Spiritual Sports Division, which accommodates various sports activities and equipment, such as those for basketball, football/futsal, table tennis equipment, and so on. Some MAN 2 students once proposed for an establishment of Sie Futsal (the futsal section), as it had been an unmet need for the students. They reasoned that although similar to football, futsal is more

comfortable. The division is also responsible for running post-examination inter-class meetings and competitions.

The eighth is the Division of Perception, Appreciation, and Arts, which oversees cultural activities. In SMAN 1 this division focuses on the Acehnese Saman dance; in SMAN 3 on musical bands; in SMAN 6 on contemporary dances; in SMAN 5 on classical/traditional dances, and so on.

The Information Technology and Computers makes the ninth division. This division is in charge of social media accounts of OSIS, updating activities on the school's website, documenting activities, and many more.

The tenth is called the Language Division, dealing with students' language or communication development skills, e.g. via English clubs. For example, SMAN 5 has a Japanese language community whereas in MAN 2 they run monthly activities of English and Arabic languages, and German and Korean study groups, and so on.

### c. OSIS activities

OSIS activities are relatively similar in most schools, beginning with the introduction of the school environment (MPLS) at SMAN; ta'aruf for Madrasah Students, and ta'aruf santri at MAN. All these activities mark the start of OSIS activities, typically held in July during the admission period.

One thing rather special about OSIS activities at SMAN 1 takes place at the beginning of the school year: the Intensive Islamic Studies Program (SII). This program is an entrance for "outsiders" in fostering intra-school organizations. SII has become a prestigious program in this school. Essentially, it is a quick pesantren workshop held in Hajj Dormitory Donohudan Boyolali.

SMAN 1-SII was initiated by Imam Bukhori Pesantren, Karanganyar, Central Java. This seems to explain why Salafi becomes the dominant outlook in most students, especially in the rohis councilors. In fact, Hafidz called Rohis MMPK SMAN 1 a Rohis Salafi.

Today, SII serves as an orientation program for new SMAN 1 students to introduce them to the school environment. Thus, it is a means of transition program from junior to senior school run in an Islamic way.

The supervising model by the running of a pesantren is also carried out in SMAN 5. Although not as massive as in SMAN 1, this school also runs a pesantren in the same style as Imam Bukhori, namely Pesantren Darus Syahadah, Simo, Boyolali. This pesantren is related to Pesantren al-Mukmin Ngruki Sukoharjo. Darus Syahadah is often referred to as the original al-Mukmin. It holds firm principles and teachings of Abdullah Sungkar as founder of Islamic Foundation al-Mukmin.

In the middle of a semester, OSIS often becomes a space for students to learn and an opportunity for them to express opinions. In SMAN 3 their OSIS offers a Mural Art Competition for developing talents, creativity, and interests of young people in the field of graphic arts using certain media. The activity is held in February or early in an even semester. They also run a so-called Circle Sport Championship of SMAGA (CS2) program. It is a sports contest that fills students' free time after the odd-semester final test ends. In the same month (December), they hold Arts and Creative Arts (ASEAN). This activity hosts students' art performances with various competitions for individuals or class categories in the form of entertainment.

By the end of an academic year, usually OSIS hold gala art events. In preparing such peak showcases, students will usually raise funds from external sources. These events are important; they not only make the OSIS members feel proud, they also make teachers proud of their OSIS hard work. Irrespective of how much fund they could collect, students seem to have no problem in running such gala shows. In an interview with SMAN 1 Principal Mrs. Harminingsih, she expressed her deep appreciation to her students' efforts.



### ***3. Network Mapping***

#### **a. Internal Figures**

To many students in SMAN Surakarta, teachers seem to be most influential internal figures in the formation of character and paradigm. Praba, of SMAN 3, said that most of their classmates revered highly of their teachers. They learned a lot from their teachers. In fact, the role of teachers in character shaping could be more dominant than that of parents at home. Praba added that if asked for help by their parents, they made excuses. But if a teacher asked them to do something, they would comply in no time. Indeed, teachers can even be so inspirational that many students even idolize them. The words and deeds of teachers are examples to students. Thus, the role of teachers in shaping the paradigm of religion and nationality is crucial.

Some teachers are inclusive; some exclusive. Inclusive teachers tend to create open-minded and considerate students. Conversely, exclusive teachers tend to discourage openness and promote narrow-mindedness instead. This is evident from the findings on the field. A religion teacher with rather exclusive religious outlooks would inspire students to be likewise. For instance, a teacher's view regarding the prohibition of celebrating Christmas would pass on to the students. Such a case occurred to religion teachers of SMAN 1 and SMAN 5. Suharno, an Islamic High School teacher of SMAN 1 expressed that celebrating Christmas was a prohibited act by sharia, for reason of violating faith. "I appeal to them not to celebrate Christmas because that's against Islamic faith," he said emphatically. This exclusive view was then copied by the students; they eventually became reluctant to say Merry Christmas.

On many occasions Harno-Suharno would tell stories about inter-faith relationship. In one of his stories a Muslim man wanted to a non-Moslem woman. When consulted he advised the man to ask the woman to pray regularly. The woman felt reluctant at first because, as she said, too many non-Muslims lived in the boarding house. Mr. Harno then suggested that she move out. Finally, in her new place, she could pray regularly. "It took them five years before they finally got

married, you know! I happened to be speaker in their wedding,” said the teacher, who would retire later in 2019.

Similarly, Mr. Prapto, an Islamic religion teacher of SMAN 5, often shared his views and true stories to his students in class. He said that being a religion teacher was not easy as he often had to make sure that his students not only master the materials but also become religious.

Yasafi and Ridho (board members of Rohis of SMAN 5) agreed with Mr. Prapto on his views about religion. According to them Mr. Prapto was a special and inspirational figure.

## **b. External Figures**

Besides internal figures who influence the students’ views on religion and the nation, external figures are also dominant in shaping the students’ paradigm. Based on the field findings, most of these external figures were school alumni. Some alumni, who later studied at PTN in Surakarta, were still resorted to by the students in conducting activities.

This is reflected in SII activities at SMAN 1. As previously described, the SII has been replete with moments of indoctrination of Salafi ideology to the students. This has been possible because the SII advisor, Ustadz Ayub, came from Imam Bukhori Pesantren. According to Mr. Harno, Ustadz Ayub was often invited as speaker in the weekly study run by Rohis (MKI).

Salafi-oriented alumni have become main references of OSIS management in SII activities. In fact, OSIS administrators would object it if the SII speaker was not from Salafi “ideology.” The strong influence of Salafi in SMAN 1 was justified by Mr. Harno. He himself said that they could not do anything to prevent its ideology from growing in SMAN 1, which is located at Jl. Monginsidi no. 40, Banjarsari. Mr. Harno also added that Salafi had always existed in the school and its proponents had become mentors for the students long before he began teaching there.

Nowadays, however, the Salafi ideology in the school is not as strong as it used to be. Attempts have been made to give the school non-Salafi colors, among others by inviting ustadz from non-Salafi circles. Still, Mr. Harno maintained, Salafi remains superior in giving guidance on faith and worship. Not only strong in theoretical fundamentals, Salafi groups also have produced many practical videos on worship practices, which can be enjoyed by the students directly.

Besides being guided by Salafian ustadz, SMAN 1 students were also mentored by alumni from Jamaah of Masjid Nurul Huda of the University of Sebelas Maret Surakarta (UNS). They were main mentors in regular discussions on Tuesdays (by ustadz Rendi) and on Thursdays (by ustadz Abu Asma). Moreover, in a study of akhwat (sisterhood), SMAN 1 alumni who were then members of a da'wah organization at UNS university also facilitated the study of femininity, for example Tahfidz and Ziaroh Roving Ceremony (Azling). The purpose of Azling is to strengthen sisterhood among SMAN 1 akhwat, female alumni, religion and non-religion teachers, and other elements in Rohis organizations.

Not only in SMAN 1, Kria Mandiri alumni network is a dominant king-maker of Rohis in all SMAN and MAN. Kria Mandiri is a group of Rohis alumni board under the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera). All SMAN and MAN except SMAN 1 Rohis organizations were practically decided by Kria Mandiri. The Muslim Brotherhood style and paradigm are quite dominant among the students in Surakarta.

The strong presence of Kria Mandiri is acknowledged by teachers and leaders of practically all schools. Pak Sri Widodo acknowledged that Rohis' guidance in SMAN 3 was fostered by Kria Mandiri. He confirmed that they were also alumni of SMAN 3. "It doesn't worry us, though, because we know them," he said. Mrs. Afifah of SMAN 6 said the same thing. "We know them. We often discuss teaching materials with them," added the PAI teacher.

Kria Mandiri has been active in fostering high school students. Mr. Agung, Principal of SMAN 6, said of the guidance of Kria Mandiri in the school. They have programs to guide the students. However, he was not sure if it was their means

to affect elections. “At first I myself did not know if it was related to elections. Perhaps, our children do not understand it the way I do now. Coincidentally, they offer educational activities, so there may be little correlation here.”

Our field findings do map that most actors and networks in Surakarta were dominantly influenced by outsiders. These external actors often influenced the characters of students in religious and national viewpoints.

#### ***4. Societal characteristics and context***

##### **a. The city profile**

Surakarta city, an area of 44.06 Km<sup>2</sup>, is divided into five districts and 51 villages. It is directly adjacent to Karanganyar and Boyolali regencies in the north, to Sukoharjo regency in the south, to Sukoharjo regency in the west, and to Karanganyar regency in the east. Most of the land used for settlement is 61.68% and the economic activity is around 20% of the existing land area. Surakarta was once a residential area covering Surakarta, Boyolali, Sukoharjo, Karanganyar, Wonogiri, Sragen, and Klaten. It is flanked by the Pepe River and the Bengawan River Surakarta. The later was once known as a transportation channel, an intercity trade lane in Central Java and East Java. In addition to trade interests, Bengawan Surakarta is also used by the political and military mobility of the kingdom as well as the needs of socio-cultural interactions of communities around the river. It is, therefore, not surprising that it is considered a strategic area.<sup>7</sup>

##### **b. Religious activities**

Religiously speaking, Surakarta is known to be quite plural. Not only Islam, other great religions such as Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism thrive there. Islam remains the majority religion, adopted by most Surakartans (about 73.18% in 2007); other popular religions are Catholicism (of 13.19 %); Protestantism 12.42%; Buddhism 0.81%; and Hinduism 0.38%).

<sup>7</sup> Ridwan Al-Makassary dan Ahmad Gaus AF. (ed). (2010). *The Radical Islam Seeds: Case Study in Jakarta and Solo*. Jakarta: CSRC UIN Jakarta. Hal. 303-304.

Interestingly, the contestation between Muslims and Christians (Catholicism and Protestantism) as a public issue is as represented in the figures below. The dynamic of religious composition in Surakarta over the last three decades has shifted albeit with little significance. Christians has shown an increasing percentage while that of Muslims has tended to decrease.

Table 2  
Percentage of Moslems and Christians

Year	Percentage of Muslims	Percentage of Christians
1977	76%	21.68%
1987	73.76%	24.6%
1997	73.07%	25.54%
2007	73.18%	25.61%

The figures above show a contestation between Islam and Christianity in Surakarta. Christianization was a little bit ahead of Islamization. The issue of Surakarta as the center of Islamization especially the Salatiga region strengthened the Islamization consolidation. In the 70s, Christianization reaped positive results with an increase in the number of adherents by almost 3%. The issue of Christianization has existed since the days of Dutch colonialism. In 1933 Muhammadiyah, along with 30 other Islamic organizations, held a grand meeting in Surakarta. Their agenda was to oppose the granting of permission of two Adventist Christian missionaries by the colonizing government in Vorstenlanden (Yogyakarta and Surakarta)<sup>8</sup> and to intensify opposition to the national level so as to enable Surakarta Muslims to consolidate the ranks to contain it.

In effect, the growth of Christians from 1987 to 1997 was insignificant, i.e. about 0.9% and, since the Reformation, the growth has been controlled by Islamic groups. The Christian growth rate practically stagnated at about 0.07% while that of Islam rose a little at 0.11%. This means that the decline in the quantity of Muslims from 1977 to 1997 began to change after the Reformation despite the

8 See Adian Husaini, “Mengkristenkan Jawa” (Christianization of Java), <http://www.hidayatullah.com/read/27988/04/04/2013/%E2%80%9Cmengkristenkan-jawa%E2%80%9D.html>, accessed on 25 October 2013.

fact that this could be read not as a result of Islamization but rather due to sheer growth. Still the Post-Reformasi condition was proportionally reversed in terms of the growth of places of worship. The growth of mosques was relatively slower than that of churches. The former only increased by 8.44% while the latter rose by 34.9%, mostly dominated by the growth of the Protestant churches while the Catholic church practically did not grow.<sup>9</sup>

Historically speaking, Islamization was dominated by Kraton Kasunanan in the 18th-19th centuries. Famous religious areas there include Surakarta are Laweyan, Kauman, and Pasar Kliwon. The development of Islam was influenced by three figures with Abdullah as their first name (Trio Abdullah), namely: Abdullah Sungkar (founder of Pondok Pesantren Al-Mu'min Ngruki), Abdullah Thufail Saputra (founder of Majlis Tafsir Al-Qur'an/MTA), and Abdullah Marzuki (founder of Pondok Pesantren Assalam). The three figures with these institutions had different religious styles but each left profound influence. In later development, Islamic radicalism in Surakarta would be sourced and addressed to Al-Mu'min Ngruki Pesantren near Surakarta Central Java, which is usually associated with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir in particular. Their neat connection was called by Sidney Jones as "The Ngruki Network."

According to Vedi R. Hadiz, Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, who were accused of being the main actors of Jemaah Islamiyah, were networked with Komando Jihad (ICG 2002). When the two founded Al-Mukmin Pesantren in Ngruki in the early 1970s, the inauguration was conducted by Mohammad Natsir himself. Furthermore, the late Sungkar was not only well known as an accomplished and highly charismatic speaker; he was also respected in Surakarta and Central Java because of his outright opposition to the New Order.

A latest noteworthy phenomenon is the study on Sholawat Habib Syech and his followers who mostly come from outside Surakarta. The study also shows the face of Surakarta city, which is calm and peaceful of mutual understanding.

9 Vedi Hadiz. (2008). "Towards a Sociological Understanding of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia," *Harian Indo Progress*, 7 May.

Some maintained that Habib Shaykh did not in fact bring significant changes to radicalism in Surakarta.

Surely, Surakarta is a city whose people tend to be permissive, where any belief can grow and develop. It is thus not surprising that we can find in this city Muslims of all streams of beliefs-- including the radical ones. Unfortunately, rather than moderatism, it was radicalism that has dominated Surakarta's regime, despite the fact that Surakarta has given birth to many Islamic thinkers, such as Munawir Sjadzali from Pesantren Jamsaren.

### **c. Groups of CSOs and political parties**

The teachings of Islamic mysticism and syncretism are quite common in Surakarta, one of them growing rapidly being that of Saptodarmo. The abangan society also gives its color in this area, which many consider to be the biggest pouch of PDI-P party in Java. In Surakarta, this Megawati-led party consistently enjoyed big support, far higher than other parties did. In 1996 a Mega-Star phenomenon was pioneered by Mudrik Sangidu, who combined the abangan ideology with that of religious (Islam) groups. The idea was considered "genuine;" it garnered sympathies so big from the Islamic grassroots that the Mega-Star movement won followers by a wide margin.<sup>10</sup>

### **d. Cultural characteristics and local wisdoms**

Surakarta is famous for its batik, palace, and Klewer market. The economy is dominated by tourism, trade and services. Surakarta is better known as Solo City and the existence of the Royal Palace of Surakarta Hadiningrat and Mangkunegaran makes it an axis of history, art, and culture, which has a selling value for tourism. This value is manifested in ancient buildings, preserved royal traditions, and works of art. The inseparable cultural and spiritual touches further

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.lkis.or.id/v2/berita-183-nyentriknya-radikalisme-islam-di-Surakarta.html>. read further Muchtadlirin, Thanthowi Jauhari. (2013). Report Studi Pemetaan Lektur Buku-Buku Keagamaan di Surakarta (Mapping Study of Religious Books Literatures in Surakarta). Jakarta: Ministry of Religious.

add to the attractiveness of Surakarta. Still, the one tradition that has lasted for generations and increased the name of this area is batik. Batik artistry has made this city one of Indonesia's batik centers.

Tourism and commerce are like two sides of a coin. Tourism sector amounts to but little unless it is supported by trade. Scanty trade souvenirs or typical crafts of a region would discourage tourism. In contrast to its trade activities, the agricultural sector of Surakarta is less reliable. Basic needs such as rice, vegetables, and basic protein ingredients that should be met through this sector must depend on other regions. Empowering the local agricultural sector is almost impossible; it would be as difficult as developing its residential areas due to the limited land.<sup>11</sup>

Altogether, the triads (of trade, hotel and restaurant businesses), transportation, and communications and services have become the mainstay of the region. There are several processing industries dominated by home industries. Most of the industries are engaged in manufacturing batik and apparels, not only for local and national markets but also for international. However, further mapping concludes that Surakarta is a labor city as 34.31% of the total workforce is actually in this sector. Orientation toward work has shifted among the people of Solo, namely from being peasants or commoners typical of the agrarian society to being an urban proletariat society that is dependent on the growing industrial world. This condition has created a looming socio-economic gap that is turning itself into a real problem amid the development of the city of Surakarta.<sup>12</sup>

## **B. Research Findings**

### ***1. Extracurricular at a crossroads: issues and realities of radicalism of students and student organizations***

By all means, radicalism among youth is no trivial matter. Anyone under the influence of radical views can potentially act to the next stage, namely to commit acts of terror. This research shows how some society members—in this case the

11 <http://studiofiveforfighting.wordpress.com/profil-wilayah/>.

12 Ridwan al-Makassary and Ahmad Gaus AF, *Benih-Benih Islam*. pp. 305-307.



students of State High Schools (SMA) and Madrasah Aliyah Negeri (MAN) in Bengawan City--are potentially radical.

According to Hasor Huda Ismail, Surakarta is safe for certain groups in Indonesia. As a result, the city seems to be a cozy home for many groups. Among them are Laskar Umat Islam Surakarta (LUIS), Hisbah Team, Surakarta Islam Defend Front (FPIS), MMI Surakarta, Al Quran Interpretation Council (MTA), Mosque Communication Activist Forum or Komunikasi Aktivis Masjid (FKAM), HTI, and so forth. Jihad organizations such as JI and JAT also have a strong base here. JI with thousands of its members under the control of a wakalah had a golden period in 1996–2003 in Surakarta. Similarly, JAT has become a new icon of jihad movement and a symbol of resistance. It has enjoyed support from thousands of members and sympathizers in the city.<sup>13</sup>

Muhammad Wildan<sup>12</sup>, who was doing research to map Islamic movements that thrived in Surakarta, seemed to concur. According to him, the essence of all radical Islamist movements in Surakarta is about purifying Islam. While all movements claimed themselves to be Salafi, Wildan attempted to categorize them into two: pure Salafi (purity) and jihad Salafi. In the case of Surakarta, Wildan divided the three areas around Surakarta into analytical units. The three areas were formed by the Dutch East Indies government so they could control community activities in Surakarta.

These three areas are Kauman, Laweyan, and Pasar Kliwon. Kauman used to be an exclusive community for Royal employees. The community's proximity to the empire helped them take part in various business activities for the middle-class, such as in manufacturing batik merchants and pioneering Islamic book printing. Laweyan, on the other hand, was initially a region of abangan from the middle and low-middle class. With regard to religion, Laweyans are not as religious as Kauman citizens. Kliwon market, meanwhile, has different characteristics. The

13 Muhammad Wildan. (2013). "Mapping Radical Islamism in Solo: A Study of the Proliferation of Radical Islamism in a Town in Central Java," in Martin van Bruinessen (ed.), *Contemporary Developments In Indonesian Islam, Explaining The Conservative Turn*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies).

region was once occupied by Arab communities who played an important role as importers. Kliwon Market is often contrasted with Jebres, a region inhabited by Chinese.

The emergence of radical Islamic movement in Surakarta was due to social, cultural, economic and political factors. The radical Islam phenomenon there could be described as a movement of resistance resulting from social, economic and political disparities that had been forged by the local culture for so long since the colonial time. Thus, the lack of traditional and religious leaders in Surakarta society created a new identity for the overwhelmed abangan community.<sup>14</sup>

Surakarta's long historical pull of radicalism still seems to exist today. As found in the research, radicalism has become an attitude of the youth. SMA and MAN students, as the main research respondents, did strengthen the city's deep-rooted radicalism.

The notion of radicalism in schools is reflected in the individual learning process as well as in extracurriculars. Here, individual learning activities refer to such activities as searching information via the internet and recitation in nearby mosques. As for extracurricular activities, radicalism enters through activities that are organized by external parties, e.g. through Intensive Islamic Studies (SII) at SMAN 1.

SII is a series of school activities to welcome new students. After they get the introductory materials about the school environment, the students usually will be received at Donohudan Solo Hajj Hostel. This hostel is directly run by an ustadz from Imam Bukhori Pesantren through SMAN 1 alumni.

SII has become entrance to the introduction of an exclusive religious outlook that is characteristic of Rohis SMAN 1, which is distinct from that in other schools. The Islamic teaching style in SMAN 1 refers to the salafi whereas the style in other high schools refers to the Muslim Brotherhood (IM).

14 Muhammad Wildan. "Mapping Radical Islam in Solo." Read Muzayyin Ahyar. (2015). (Reading Islamic Radical Movement and Deradicalization of Islamic Movement) "Membaca Gerakan Islam Radikal dan Deradikalisasi Gerakan Islam" *Walisongo*. Vol. 23. Number 1, p. 5.

## ***2. Islamic Sharia, Caliphate Islamiyah, and Pancasila: forgotten state authority***

The word “caliphate” means a system of representation, substitution, or leadership under a supreme power (Hans Wehr 1971. Ahmad Warson Munawwir, 1984). Its main feature is unification of all Muslims under a caliphate (supreme leadership), both *de jure* and *de facto*.

Later, the issue of caliphate (Caliphate Islamiyah) was reappointed by Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani, the founder of Hizb ut-Tahrir, founded in 1953. For him, uniting Muslims throughout the world under the Islamic caliphate and the enactment of the Islamic law as a whole is a must for Muslims. According to An-Nabhani, the caliphate system is a caliphate in its traditional version, a system of government that embraces a system of unity, not federal, nor decentralized. The power is in the hands of the ummah but under the sovereignty of the sharia. Therefore, democracy as a system is contrary to Islam; non-Muslims in the caliphate system have freedom in belief, worship, food, drink, and clothing, and marriage. In its governance it applies Islamic law; the imposition of Islamic law (death) for the apostate. In a caliphate system, the caliph must be a male, Muslim, independent, mature, intelligent, fair, and capable.<sup>15</sup>

Based on the field findings, the students of SMAN and MAN have radical views mainly related to the enforcement of Islamic sharia and Khalifah Islamiyah. They agree with the enforcement of Islamic law in Indonesia. They reason that the world will be safer and more peaceful under the sharia. Islamic sharia will assure non-Muslims of their rights.

In contrast, they believe that in the current system of non-Islamic sharia, Muslims have been victimized. In addition, most students in Surakarta state that the caliphate system is good and, therefore, needs to be supported. Even if people do not want to support it, they believe that the caliphate will remain standing. They also believe if people do not agree with the caliphate system, it is their mindset that needs changing, not the system. “Many people’s minds are closed; they believe

<sup>15</sup> Ridwan al-Makassary and Ahmad Gaus AF, *the Islam Seeds*, pp. 7-8. Ibid. p. 23.

application of the caliphate system is not appropriate. Be that as it may, but it is their mindset that should be altered. It is not wrong; it just needs to be set straight,” said Hasan, former chairperson Rohis MAN 2 Surakarta (in 2016).

Nindya, a SMAN 3 Rohis activist, added that some people disagree with the idea of caliphate because they have not realized the importance of the system to life. “They have yet to realize it; they lack enlightenment.” On this matter, Hasan was convinced that even without the support of Muslims, the caliphate would still stand. This strong confidence came from his Sunday morning study routines at Istiqomah Penumping Mosque, Surakarta. He firmly mentioned that his idols such as Felix Y Shiauw, Mu’inudinillah (chairperson of the Sharia Council of Surakarta), and Abdul Manaf, agree with the idea of establishing the caliphate. He did not hesitate to follow their views and opinions. “I am entirely with ustadz Felix, ustadz Muin, ustadz Abdul Manaf. They all agree with the caliphate. I found their information, not confusing at all, but consistent. Then I checked it in the Quran and it was true,” said Hasan.

This MAN 2 Rohis chairperson believes that when the caliphate is established, the world will be safe. The system is in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet and Khulafaur Rashidin. Leadership based on the Islamic sharia and caliphate will also ensure peace on earth. “This world will be safe with Islamic sharia and the caliphate system,” he said firmly.

Hasan added that world peace would exist under Muslim leadership. He mentioned further that under non-Muslim (Christian) leadership, many people were killed and expelled. According to him, with the system of Islamic caliphate and sharia, everyone would be safe and live comfortably in Indonesia. There would be no eviction, no murder by Muslims as Islam guaranteed the rights of even non-Muslims.

A similar statement was also expressed by Mr. Prapto, a teacher at Islam at SMAN 5 who believed that the Islamic caliphate system had existed since the time of the Prophet. “The concept of Caliphate Islamiyah has existed since the time of the Messenger of Allah.” Caliphate Islamiyah was the Prophet’s daily

practice since Islam was established and it has since spread throughout the world. Having said so, he maintained it would not be necessary for us to debate the caliphate as a system; we just needed to accept it in all honesty.

Hasan explained further that if the caliphate was applied, criminalization of ulama would cease. "It was the tactic of the PKI era to distort facts and criminalize clergies," he reminded. The caliphate, he believed, was a panacea to seek the truth. It would guarantee a good and Islamic process in which scholars would have a place of honor without having to deal with political affairs.

Hasan was not alone in his view. Nindya, a SMAN 3 Rohis activist, expressed a similar opinion. She said that the current criminalization of clerics had resulted from the absence of caliphate and sharia application. In her view, what was happening today was the government criminalizing Islam. "It seems to me that the government is pressuring Islamic organizations," she added.

Today's state of affairs has been a response to the clerical helplessness in the midst of political competition. While many ulama have been arrested and prosecuted, the real offenders who violated laws, such as corruptors, were left free. This has made people confused about what is right and what is wrong.

As students, both Hasan and Nindya learned about the caliphate from external factors. Their information related to religious understanding and stately affairs came mostly from outside of schools. Since school teachers could not do much against the flow of radical thoughts, students grew confident with the views and/or opinions they received from ustadz.

To some students, the caliphate idea seems to have been all the more attractive given the system does not recognize any direct-election leadership process, e.g. through voting. Under the caliphate, rather, a leader is to be elected through a shura council. In the understanding of some students in Surakarta, this very mechanism is in accordance with the Quranic teaching.

"Election under the caliphate system would not be based on the number of votes but, rather, according to the truth. If properly investigated, leadership appointment under the caliphate goes back to the Quran and Islamic sharia," said

Nindya, Rohis SMAN 3. The appointment system through the shura council seems to be believed as a hint of the truth by both Hasan and Nindya. That is, through this system one receives a mandate based on the scripture of revelation. Thus, a voting system is an exact opposite of Islamic sharia. A democracy under direct election, whereby one person is worth one vote, is not part of Islamic sharia. As such, the current system needs to be replaced in order for us to comply with the Quran's truthful teachings.

However, in the process of implementation in the field (nationality and statehood), the enforcement of the Caliphate is not necessary by replacing the ideology of Pancasila. For them, the Caliphate is in line with Pancasila. The reason is that Pancasila was formulated by the founding fathers of a Muslim nation. Therefore, Pancasila and the caliphate can go hand in hand. In their view, for instance, the five Pancasila principles are sourced from the Quran, so there is no need to contrast them with Caliphate Islamiyah.

Other Surakarta students also considered that the value of Pancasila and the Caliphate should be able to synergize to build a predominantly Muslim Indonesia. However, because there are fears from certain parties, it is as if the Caliphate is to blame. For these students, they are convinced that the idea of Caliphate is no problem as long as there is a basis. "Caliphate can be run in an Islamic and democratic country like Indonesia. The Law and Pancasila do not need to be replaced but added with Islamic values. Pancasila has already been drafted by Muslims. When they are in accordance with the rules of Islam, Pancasila and the Law do not need to be replaced," said Chilifah of OPPK MAN 1 Surakarta.

A similar statement was made by Mr. Prapto, an Islam teacher at SMA N 5. "We (Muslims) have played a most important part in [introducing] Pancasila. Indonesia's independence would not have been possible without the Muslims fighting."

Agreeing with what his teacher stated, Yasafi, Rohis SMAN 5 said, "Indeed, just like what Mr. Prapto said, the founding fathers of Pancasila were Moslems, so the view of Indonesia or Pancasila, God willing, is the same as the Moslems' view.

So as young people we must support Pancasila in accordance with the teachings of Islam. It can be read in the first principle; 'Belief in the One and only God'. We uphold our Belief in God Almighty. Thus, we must be fanatical towards religion and tolerant with other religions."

The conviction that Islam has a strong influence on the Pancasila system makes them believe that the nation's ideology is in harmony with the greatest religious base value in Indonesia. So, in the process of statehood, the idea of Islamic caliphate can be realized easily if all are willing and confident. The reason is clear: Pancasila has been based on Islamic values, so the formalization of Islamic law will run easily.

The enforcement of Islamic Sharia and the Caliphate in their view will protect Muslims, especially ulamas. They see the current criminalization of clerics is due to the fact that the state system does not conform to the Islamic Sharia and the Caliphate. "If there is a Caliphate Islamiyah, ulama will not be criminalized," said Hasan, Rohis MAN 2 Surakarta.

Yet, Haikal, a member of Rohis SMA N 6, remarked that Pancasila as we know it today is less Islamic. He reasoned that the removal of seven words in the first principle as a marker of Islam made Pancasila less compatible with Islam. "The original version has been changed, but [the version in the] Jakarta Charter is more Islamic. The current version has been undermined through intervention. I don't consider it as Islamic anymore," said the student who idolized Yusuf Mansur.

Haikal believed that the removal of the seven words from the first principle from The Jakarta Charter had caused Pancasila to lose part of its soul. Pancasila built on the values of Islam would no longer reflect the struggle of Muslims in Indonesia. He added, "Thus, if we wanted to restore the golden age of Islam, the seven words have to be reinstated."

In Haikal's view, Pancasila would become a better guideline with the seven words kept intact in the first principle. Pancasila would never become a source of arrogance shown by a number of Indonesian in the past by saying "I am Pancasila; I am Indonesia." To Haikal, Pancasila should not be brandished, and it should be

enough just to act on it. For him, saying “the most Pancasila” shows that the person is not acting on Pancasila.

Looking at such portrayal, Haikal assertively said that he chose an Islamic ideology rather than Pancasila. “Pancasila may be the national ideology, but Islam is my religious ideology. If I had to choose, I would choose Islam,” said he.

He added further that since the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution had deviated, people had the right to reject it. Still, to him, religious teachings had to be adhered to. “Since some part of Pancasila or the Constitution has deviated, we have the right to reject or accept it, but we have to uphold our religious teachings,” he said.

The portrayal of support towards the caliphate above seems to have built critical notes to the dismissal of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) by the government. The dismissal by the government was considered as part of a conspiracy. More accurately, there is a conspiracy to eliminate Islam and its scholars. “There is a global conspiracy,” stated Anggi, Rohis SMA N 3.

Disagreement of the dismissal of HTI has also been conveyed by Cholifah, OPPIK MAN 1 Surakarta. “I think it is incorrect. It is as if HTI is considered too radical. The government considered HTI radical perhaps due to the fact that they spread the teaching of caliphate which, according to the government, contradict with Pancasila and the Constitution. I think the idea of Caliphate does not contradict these state principles and law. Even Pancasila is derived from Islamic values so as not to contradict with the other,” said she.

These students are also committed to introducing proper and correct Caliphate as a joint agenda. “The dismissal of HTI is incorrect. Perhaps society thoughts are too narrow if they consider that the restoration of Caliphate contradicts Indonesia. Even though, in reality it is not an issue if we restore Caliphate to uphold Sharia law in Indonesia. Without replacing Pancasila and the Constitution, the idea of Caliphate is likely to be implemented.” Said Cholifah of OPPIK MAN 1 Surakarta.



The dismissal of HTI by the government seems to show that the government lacks comprehensive investigation related to this community organization. As such is stated by Mr. Prapto of SMA N 5, “The dismissal of HTI is incomprehensive investigation.”

Furqon, Rohis MAN 1 Surakarta also questions why the Islamic community organization is dismissed, not other community organizations that have blatantly assaulted the tarnished the nation, such as Papua Independence Organization or Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM). “But why did they only dismiss Islam. But other organizations such as OPM that has a different flag, weapons, and so on are not being prosecuted. There is also a case of Bali demanding independence due to traditional clothing issue, but they simply protect them. But they dismiss Islam,” he infuriatedly stated.

The criticism of students in Surakarta against the government’s attitude in dissolving HTI becomes a marker of how the religious views and nationality of the respondents are very exclusive. They think the government has violated the rules and is afraid of the emergence of Islam. And if you want to look again, to them, Caliphate (HTI) and Indonesia can collaborate in upholding Islamic Sharia.

### ***3. Vulnerability and resistance: socio-religious relationship***

The issue of national and state views is increasingly complex given the reluctance of Muslim students in Surakarta in interacting with peers of different religions. The reason may have to do with their vulnerable faith; the Moslems are worried they would be easily converted to becoming non-Moslem.

Another factor influencing the lack of interreligious rapport is the feeling of awkwardness. Indri, board member of OSIS MAN 2 Surakarta, mentioned that dealing with non-Muslims made her rather uncomfortable, especially nearing a prayer time. “I feel uncomfortable when it is time to pray because they don’t pray as we do. It’s rather uncomfortable,” she said.

Added she, "It's not that I do not want to be near Christians; I am just afraid of being converted, or that they undermine my faith. I feel worried, imprisoned, and awkward. Since a child I've been used to Islamic schools. There were no such worries. Now that I study in MAN, I'm worried."

A similar statement was made by Nisa, a member of SMAN 1 Rohis. Although she didn't say she felt uncomfortable interacting with non-Muslim, she did say she preferred befriending or being in a group of other girls or with Muslims, such as during group assignments.

*"Not that I feel uncomfortable. But if I had to choose, I'd prefer working with Muslims and akhwats (girls)," she admitted.*

The feeling of awkwardness extends beyond praying times to other times such as during practical social interactions. Interacting with non-Muslim friends creates discomfort. Religious attributes, such as hijabs or crosses, can hinder friendship.

*"Visiting their houses makes me feel bad and awkward. I wear hijab while their family shows their body parts. I also don't like seeing crosses on their doors. Not that I disagree with them, but I just . . .," said Indri.*

Such attitude may explain students' reluctance in wishing Merry Christmas greetings or the likes on other non-Muslim holidays. Many Rohis members agree that wishing Merry Christmas is sinful. Fariz, a member of SMAN 3 Rohis, for instance, believed so, adding that wishing Merry Christmas is a matter of faith.

Some students think that wishing a Merry Christmas greeting is a sinful act, and this seems to have its basis from religious lectures at Surakartan mosques. Indri admitted that until three years ago she had used to wish her friends merry Christmas greetings, but then she stopped doing so. "Now I don't do it anymore. According to a lecture I joined, it is not allowed. Not even to my close friends," she said.

Similar to Indri on the issue of Muslim-Christian interaction, Endah, MAN 2 Surakarta student, believed that wishing a Merry Christmas was a matter of faith. Christmas being not a Muslim holiday, there would be no need to wish them

merry Christmas or participate in it. Endah even firmly said she also did not want to eat or drink in non-Muslim places.

Though not as firm as Endah, Nanda and Anis, MAN 1 Surakarta students also shared that opinion. They said they had doubt about eating and drinking at a Christian's house, especially if the food was from a Christmas celebration. "We don't know. We're not sure. We'd probably ask our tutor's opinion first," Nanda and Anis said as they chuckled.

Indri suggested that young people should understand the boundaries of Muslim to non-Muslim interactions. A Muslim is not obligated to accompany non-Muslims to churches or celebrate their holiday celebrations; likewise in things related to relationships and marriages.

In the context of social interactions above, Fikriyah, class XII student at MAN 2 Surakarta also had a similar opinion. She said that in 'gotong royong' or cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims there would be no issue. But when it concerned faith, such as wishing Christians a Merry Christmas, it would be a totally different matter.

*"There is a clear demarcation line when it comes to faith and praying. We shouldn't overdo this issue, but we simply can't take it for granted. We should maintain a distance. There has to be a line. We need to avoid bad influence. Do not get tied up in certain bonds. Muslims and Christians, for example, cannot marry each other. We can't forbid it outright, or some people will take offence, hold grudges and become enemies," said Indri, OSIS member at MAN 2 Surakarta.*

A most interesting view is related to wearing hijab. Wearing hijab makes an interesting conversation topic for students, perhaps because of its close association as an Islamic identity. According to Indri, even wearing veil (niqab) is an inseparable part of daily life. Most people have a negative stigma about it. "[Women who wear it] look like terrorists," she said. Indri admitted she herself wanted to wear a veil one day. "I really want to wear veil, one day. My parents encouraged me to do so," she said.

Such a stigma was also felt by Endah and Fikriyah, MAN 2 Surakarta students. Despite that, though, both of them tried to prove that hijabs should not hinder social interactions. The two girls who happened to be fond of mountain climbing said that they could still do this hobby without having to take off their veil.

Endah and Fikriyah were but among a small group of MAN 2 Surakarta students who wore veils outside the school premises because they were not allowed to wear them in the school. They would put them at home until they reached the school gate. Then they would take them off. "It's the school rule; we must obey it," they said. Occasionally, they would wear masks instead of veils. When the class was over, they would put them back on until they reached home.

Wearing veil is considered to be a religious option because of its supportive environment. Endah and Fikriyah acknowledged that their community environment around Al-Mukmin Pesantren Ngruki and Baki Sukoharjo supported women wearing veil. Wearing a veil is inseparable to women who are baligh (adults).

This veil-wearing habit has become a topic in countless peer conversations. They often counsel each other about adopting it. Some graciously accept the habit; some refuse it because they don't like to appear too pious.

*"I encouraged them to try, but they refused because it made them sweaty and they didn't like it. So I posted something sarcastic. If you think that was too hot for you, how would you feel in hell? One of them texted me back, 'Are you talking about me?' I said no, although actually I meant her. I hope she figured it out herself. In any case, why don't we cover our body when there are some teachings about it? Hijab is used to keep dirty minds or staring-eyes away. Some wonder about hijab-wearing women who are dating men. That would incite opinions from non-Muslims that wearing hijab is no way to improve improper behavior. I say, well, everyone has their own understanding but attitude is another matter. I myself feel lacking and need to be preached more. To some people, maybe the most appropriate preacher is their own parents," said Indri of MAN 2 Surakarta.*

Conversations about hijab are usually related to one's devotion to religion. Some people believe that to those not wearing hijab, even a strand of uncovered hair is enough to send a woman's father to hell. "I am always careful about my hair. Uncovered hair will remind me of my father. Just one hair is considered as aurat, which could drag him to hell. I learned this a long time ago. So, when I see women without hijab my eyes immediately get fixed on their hair. It isn't because that I am too devoted, I just don't know why.... Aurat isn't just about hair, I know," added Indri.

Indri would criticize friends who said they would only put on hijab after they improved their moral. She thought hijab should come first, and the good moral could follow suit. She reckoned that her friends' reservation was due to the fact that some of them were in a relationship with male students. They were afraid their hijab would get in the way ending up in restrained interactions or even breakups.

Indri said, "Basically, they are waiting for themselves to improve their sense of morality. Some say morality before hijab when it is the other way around: hijab before good moral. The way I see it, when they wear hijab, the way they interact with boys will be affected. Some women are worried of being dumped from wearing hijab. They worry it would create a distance."

Our research shows that the Protestant and Catholic students at four SMAN in Surakarta had no such problems. They enjoyed the learning process in their schools without any such discrimination. Hillary Kirana, a Catholic student at SMAN 1 Surakarta, admitted that every SMAN 1 student of any religion was treated properly. The Catholic students were facilitated with religious space and funds, similar to other students. In the process of scoring, she admitted that there was no favoritism among Catholic and Muslim students. The teachers gave scores according to merits. However, Hillary did acknowledge that to become the OSIS chairperson one had to be able to read the Quran.

Any, a Catholic student at SMAN 6, recounted that there was no discriminative treatment in education in schools. Meanwhile, Stevani and Natasya,

Protestant students in the same school, concurred. Stevani, however, admitted she would prefer to enroll in a Christian school because then the learning process would start with a Christian way. Indeed, in most SMANs where Muslims make the majority, prayers during flag ceremonies are conducted in the Islamic way. The teachers will typically start classes in the same way.

#### **a. Leadership by non-Muslims**

Views on relationship with non-Muslims and on hijab wearing go hand in hand with that of leadership by non-Muslims. In a non-Muslim leadership, like the current state of Surakarta, some students believe it as proof of how weak Muslims are. "Where were the Muslims? Why did a non-Muslim get elected?" asked Nisa, SMAN 1 Surakarta Rohis member.

Moreover, Alifa, SMAN 1 Rohis member, said that the OSIS chairperson had be a Muslim male and this school tradition had to be preserved. Although unwritten, she it should not be removed. "The chairperson must be Muslim and male. This rule should not be removed," she said.

In a much wider context, teachings in Surakarta encourage Muslims not to put forward competence over faith, "Then should a Christian be more competent? To me, competence can be developed, but faith cannot be as developed as easily," stated Cholifah of OPPK MAN 1 Surakarta.

Similar to Cholifah, Yusuf (Rohis member, SMAN 1 Surakarta) believed that a leader had to be a Muslim male as this was recommended by Allah in the Quran. "I believe leaders must be Muslims. The Quran explains it: 'Adhere to Allah, adhere to the prophet, and leaders among you, if they do not pray, you should never follow them.' A Muslim leader knows better how to behave upon other fellow Muslims and those he leads. If we follow a non-Muslim, then other Muslims would be discriminated against. However, in cases when a non-Muslim leader has been elected and cannot be changed, we must respect it for some worldly reason."

Such a sympathetic sentiment for leadership by non-Muslims was also shared by Nisa, from SMAN 1 Surakarta. She said she would regret it if a non-Muslim

won a democratic process. However, prohibiting non-Muslims from leadership was legitimate as far as MUI interpretation was concerned. Anggi of SMAN 3, however, said he had never heard of such interpretation. “But I did discuss with my friends about some interpretation of a surah related to this issue,” he added.

On non-Muslim leadership in Solo, harsh comments came out from Ega. This MAN 2 Surakarta student viewed that the administration of FX Rudyatmo in Solo had not really supported Muslim programs or events. “A non-Muslim mayor doesn’t seem to fit [Solo]. Muslim programs are lacking support,” she added.

A similar view came from Furqon, MAN 1 Surakarta Rohis. “Non-Muslim leadership in Surakarta is hurting the Muslims because the leaders tend to only support non-Islamic events and programs. Seems to me that it is Muslim leaders themselves who will have to develop Islam. What’s happening now is Christianization. Christian schools, although but a few, are luxurious. Missionaries spread throughout rural regions because they are given incentives to visit the churches there,” he said.

On theological understanding, Nindya (SMAN 3) mentioned that leaders have to be scholars, too. They should understand religion and have good morality so they won’t deviate from their responsibilities or abuse their authority.

*“It is true that leaders must understand religious teachings. But this isn’t enough. Scholars may be educated and smart, but what about their morality? Ulama have both knowledge and morality. They are the least likely to abuse power. That’s why I think they’re the most proper,” said Nindya.*

Furthermore, according to Nisa, leaders also have to be Muslim males. Women have their own obligations, so it is not necessary for them to lead. “Women are not destined to lead. They are unstable and cannot be given full responsibilities,” said Nisa of SMAN 1 Surakarta. Assigning leadership to a woman, in the view of some students, is the beginning of the end of a nation. “To leave leadership to women is to wait for our own demise,” said Hasan, a MAN 2 Surakarta student, quoting a hadith.

## **b. Opinion on liyan**

Liyan, or people of different religions or opinions, cannot escape the observant eyes of high school students in Solo. They still consider people who are unlike themselves as *kafir*, or the lost ones. For example, on the case of Shia, the students' view is strongly influenced by religious lectures that they absorb from outside the school. Their study at village mosques, which were supported by popular *ustadz*, has added to their belief that Shia is not Islam and, therefore, needed to be shunned.

As Furqon, Rohis MAN 1 Surakarta, said "Shia is not Islam." In line with Fikriyah of MAN 2 Surakarta more who firmly mentioned that Shia needed to be fought against. "Shia teachings are distorted. It is a misguided sect that needs to be resisted against. They do not claim themselves as Shia followers, but they glorify Ali and insult the Prophet's family," she said. Similarly, according to Endah of MAN 2 Surakarta, Shia was a heretical sect that should be shunned.

Their views were again gained from lectures in several mosques. In Baitul Makmur Mosque of Solo Baru and An-Nur Mosque in Madegondo, according to Fikriyah, they often held a study of the latent danger of Shia led by *Ustadz* Tengku Azhar.

Similar lectures were also acknowledged by Furqon. Many Surakarta mosques are conducting lectures on the dangers of Shias in general. Even according to him, Nurul Huda Mosque of Sebelas Maret University had also held anti-Shia and PKI lectures before. In his view, Furqon was convinced that it is a noble cause to save Muslims from Shiite apostasy and the dangers of the PKI.

The view of Shiite apostasy rose not only among the students but also the teachers. In fact, there were teachers in MAN 2 Surakarta who not only taught religious subjects in class but also the Shiite apostasy. "I think that if the Shiites deny the names of those brothers who have been recognized by Ulama such as Caliph Abu Bakr Khalifah and Umar Bin Khatab, they cannot be considered as Islam," said Mr. Prapto of SMA N 5 Surakarta.

Furthermore, how students view the media is also worth nothing. For one thing, some of them classify them into pro-Islam and against-Islam media. In this



connection, they also feel that a Chinese network has spread to corner Muslims. Furqon of MAN 1 Surakarta, for example, emphatically said that he did not trust a number of media, such as Kompas, Detik.com, and Metro TV. To him, they did not reflect Islam. They shunned Islam from the majority in the Republic.

*"It matters whether the owner is a Muslim or not. I don't like Kompas. I like Republika. I don't like some TV stations either. Other media channels, such as Era Muslim, muslim.or.id, I think are not trustworthy. I trust online news on Islam whose editors are pro Islam. I know many media media are devaluing Islam but I don't think online news about Islam is devaluing," added he.*

Furqon lamented over Metro TV's frequent bad-mouthing Islam and the anti-Islam nuances in its talk shows. "Metro TV owner is also like that. He felt that there was only negative news about Islam. It showed in their talk shows, and written in the titles with inappropriate headlines. Take, for instance, their coverage on the 212 movement. It only provoked people to be against Islam," he added. Furqon felt that the media was unfair. "For example, according to this media only hundreds of thousands people attended the 212 Movement. The truth was that millions of people were there! It reported there were 800,000 attending the demonstration against Mr. Ahok imprisonment, while in fact there were only 8 people."

Thus he concluded that the media was antagonizing Muslims and the heathens were to topple Islam. "Heathens are foes of Islam nowadays," said Furqon. "Those people are fighting against Islam by any means. One of them is the media. They are not devoted to the teachings of Islam. They're definitely non-Muslims, looking for mistakes in Islam, wanting to topple Islam, destroying it," he stated.

Similar to Furqon, Kays, a student of MAN 1 Surakarta, urged people not to believe in the media. "Do not trust the news reported by the media. Better ask someone who knows more for clarification," he said.

Thus, to the likes of these students, it goes even further that Muslims need to improve their faith, better their understanding of Islam itself, practice the teachings of Islam, and not support the products from unbelievers. "Don't by KFC,

McDonald. Patronize Muslim entrepreneurs. Help by being their consumers. Don't shop in Alfamart, but at neighboring stalls instead. That's a kind of giving our blessings," said Furqon.

Furqon added that Muslims should beware. His explanation above might not be about going against something destructive but indulgent [to Moslems]. For instance, the way Alfamart offers discounts in most of its outlets, to him, was indulgent. There must be a catch underneath. "Chinese products are sold cheap like drugs destroying the young generation," said he.

They look at things cynically, even suspiciously at the interference and design of the media that they feel as forces that want to destroy Islam and that increasingly disempowers Muslims in the onslaught of the current global economy. This kind of religious view as illustrated above shows that they do not learn from the book or the primary teacher. Rather they learn from social media. YouTube, WA, and online media became their main references in religious understanding. Whereas Mrs. Afifah, the teacher of Islamic Religious Education SMAN 6, repeatedly confirms to her students that learning from the internet (without teacher guidance) is just learning with the devil.

However, it seems that such advice is less effective against the students, especially in Surakarta High School. Moreover, the fact that students tend to be more interested in learning with other religious leaders outside of the school than with their own religious teachers makes the school no longer have control over what information and knowledge that students get from outside the school hours. Students are always hungry for religious knowledge because the school hours of religion provided by the school is very short. And the thirst then is satiated by joining studies outside the school, and by 'reciting' information from social media. Meanwhile, the use of social media becomes a new way for radical groups to spread the seeds of extremist ideology. Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Blogs and free messaging apps like WhatsApp are now a powerful tool for terrorist groups to propagandize, gain influence, and capture citizen membership on social networks (netizens). In this context, young people are the target of their propaganda.

In Indonesia, the number of internet users is growing very rapidly every year. Research findings of the Association of Internet Service Providers Indonesia (APJII) with Center for Communication Studies (Pusakom) University of Indonesia in 2014 reported, the growth of the number of internet users in the country has continued to grow since 2005. If in ten years ago the number is 16 million people, in 2014 it has reached 88,1 million netizens (34.9% of the total population of Indonesia 252.4 million people).

Judging from the age of netizens, the research explains, as much as 49% or nearly half are aged 18 to 25 years. Meanwhile, of their education level 64.7% are senior high school graduates. As many as 87% of these netizens admitted using social media when connected to the internet, while 68.7% used it for searching and browsing.<sup>16</sup>

The phenomenon shows that the young need to be equipped with good understanding of the benefits and dangers of social media. They need to be taught how to filter from various sources or references from the internet. The study found out that there is no such agenda, whether still in the pipeline or already on-going, related to training students in schools, especially in SMA Surakarta, in handling hoax. According to some teachers, the directive was sufficiently submitted generally in the middle of the lesson. Though a special briefing on students to familiarize clarification and inquire further about the content in social media desperately needs to be scheduled. Teachers, ustadz, religious leaders, and others have an important role to be more alert in facing this era. If teachers are not responsive, the students will increasingly be made the target of radicalism by certain groups.

### **c. In search of models of resilience from school cases**

The resilience of schools in facing the flow of radicalism does not seem to be easy. Schools seem unable to stem the thinking, understanding, and attitudes

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16 Nafi' Muthohirin. (2016). <https://geotimes.co.id/kolom/mewaspadai-radikalisme-islam-di-media-sosial/>.

of radicalism attached to the students. Students seem to have found their own understanding that is difficult to unlearn. This is coupled with the inability of schools to provide direction to the process of internalizing the value of diversity. Schools are still just doing and accompanying students' religious activities. However, they opt for hands-off with student activities after school hours. This is acknowledged by the student councilor at MAN 2 "We only educate in schools; when they are out of the gate, we return them to the community and family."

This statement rings true. Schools are in charge of nurturing values in school premises. However, when students return to their families and communities, the responsibility lies on the students' families. Families become the student's bulwark in constructing an inclusive and diverse mentality.

In this case, inclusiveness and diversity need to become a common practice and be practiced together by families, schools and the community. The Three Pillars of Education - borrowing the term of Ki Hadjar Dewantara--need to be implemented together in the process of internalizing inclusive value of Indonesians.

In a smaller scale, i.e. schools, data obtained from the field indicate the presence of preventive models. One of these prevention functions is in the screening of mentors. As stated by the Principal of SMAN 6, "We are stricter on mentors. We have to check their origin. And Alhamdulillah we know them because many of them are the school's own alumni."

Strict selection of mentors or advisors who join OSIS and also Rohis was done concurrently by the principals of MAN 2 and MAN 1 Surakarta, who shared that they were, "... careful in recruiting advisors. If there is any unpleasant behavior, we immediately stop the activity." The method seems effective as a preventive effort. However, if the students are still "free" getting information from the internet and study outside the school, it will be difficult to get open-minded students.

Another emerging model is that which encourages students to learn from teachers. Teachers or ustadz are expected to give guidance to the "right" path. In this case, a best practice that teachers do in directing their students is found in SMAN 6. This teacher says, "Learning without teachers and or learning from

the internet means learning from the devil,” said a PAI teacher at SMAN 6. He often reminded such to the students during the PAI lesson. Repeated conveyance is expected to enable students to realize that learning should be accompanied by a teacher. This company is needed so that they do not get caught in the shadow of thinking that may not fit the narrative of the text. So, the teacher will guide them. The teacher will be their mentor in establishing “relative truth.”

This learning model may appear positive. Unfortunately, students’ openness to teachers is still questionable because, in the process of seeking knowledge, students tend to interact more closely with the teacher outside class hours. Meanwhile, almost every school finds that most teachers are already loaded with non-academic matters. This condition discourages such rapport building.

*Even if a few students raised their hands to ask their teachers in the middle of a lesson, two Robis students from MAN 2 Surakarta, admitted it was done only a formality to fulfill the “obligation” to ask in class. Nevertheless, the obligation to ask by one of the teachers in MAN 2 Surakarta is on the other hand can be seen as a good process because the teacher is in one forum with the students in class. The forum at least has the potential to familiarize the teacher with the students, thus inviting a more open relationship. Similar to the teachers at MAN 2, a teacher who is tasked to teach PKN said, “Close relationship with students enables me to discuss many things. Not only limited to things regarding school subject, but also about problems that they are facing in social interaction,” she said.*

Furthermore, she would also greet her students first. This improved their rapport. “Now my students reciprocate by greeting me more often. Studying at the library is more comfortable than before,” said Mrs. Dyah Nur Aini Fathimah, who was also a librarian at MAN 2).

Dyah, who started teaching at MAN 2 in 1997, said she often spent time with students to discuss their problems. Being heard could help solve their problems and encourage them to achieve more.

This model of equity seems to need to become a joint work. All teachers need to be close to students as the closeness may help the students to develop their

social interaction skills. Getting enough external feedback would allow them to understand outside views on subjects pertaining to religion and nationality.

Religious values and that on nationality need to be embedded in smooth and gentle dialogues outside school. If the space is limited to the material, be it so, as it has to be resolved according to the target. Developing intimacy with the students en masse will enhance their motivation in studying and possibly allow honest attitude and values of life. Teachers need not be their best friends. They should not feel awkward in greeting their own students at the cafeteria or the library.

Such processes should be upheld alongside the principle of *empan papan*, which means the ability to put something appropriately in its right place. Teachers should position themselves as educators, and students need to do theirs as pupils. This relationship allows for the process of education to be performed properly and effectively.

Furthermore, this open attitude and value of life should also be encouraged in the family's environment in synergies with the school. Parents need to make time to visit their children's school on school activities or events.

To create such rapport, SMAN 3 Surakarta obligates the 10th grade student's parents to accompany their kids to school from time to time. According to the Deputy Head of Student Affair, this activity has helped reduce the number of traffic accidents, which often occurred involving underage students riding their own vehicles. The activity also allows teachers to get to know their student's parents. Thanks to this event, parents who take their children to school can come to meet the teacher even if it is only simply to inquire on how their children are doing in school. "Some parents inquired why their children underperformed despite their diligent work," said SMAN 3 Surakarta Principal.

Such questions are often asked by the parents of the Chinese ethnicity, who are concerned with their children's future engaging in positive activities. Parental attendance at school was a unique breakthrough that keep schools open to their complaints. With this openness, certain things could be prevented.

Inclusivity and diversity could also be cultivated when the parents ask about the learning process from the teacher and the leaders in schools. SMAN 3 routinely

conducts parent-teacher meetings to listen and gain input related to the learning process.

*Moreover, efforts to prevent radicalism among students are also shown in the so-called character building. SMAN 3 principal always demands that every teacher including interns memorize the primary values in character building. Even though he himself teaches mathematics, he also insists on his students knowing it. "When students meet me, sometimes I make them recite the 18 points of character building in 10 minutes off their head. I have thought them via a mnemonic device and tunes that can help them remember through the first letters," said the principal.*

Memorizing has a cognitive value and if it is exercised properly it can be used to strengthen nationality and religious values in students. The activity also encourages them to know what and how to build good characters. Through memorizing they are also encouraged to know and later practice character building in their daily lives.

To take honesty as an example, when students understand its value, they will want to try to practice it inside and outside school. This model seems to have been implemented successfully in SMAN 3. When a student of Christian Spiritual Activist was asked about the 10 values of characters, he could answer all of them well. He also believed that religious values and that of honesty were among the primary values in character building.

Models to promote resilience and prevent radicalism may vary. However, the lessons learned to date emphasize on the importance of collaboration among families, schools, and the community. They all need to work together because the phenomenon of students with radical mindsets is a common concern.

#### **d. Internalization, transmission, and interpretation of the value of diversity**

The value of diversity that students practice in schools - though not institutionalized - may well already exist. One of the indications lies in the gotong royong, which concerns the willingness to ease the burden of others. A statement

from Anya, member of SMAN 6 Rokot, sparked our hope for preservation of diversity as a value. He stated that Muslim students who were members of Rohis agreed to volunteer in collecting bottles to be donated to Rokot to raise fund.

Rokat often raises funds through business activities. One of the ways is by pooling used bottles from schools at one place, usually in the Rokot room, before selling them to buyers. Hanifia, SMAN 6 Rohis, confirmed this by saying that every time he had some bottles to keep, he would pool them before handing them over to Rokot members. However small this gesture might be, it could be viewed as a positive beginning in building diversity. At the current stage, some students at least already show an awareness to help friends of different faiths.

The pooling of used-bottles can draw everyone together, especially if better managed to involve more stakeholders, e.g. school leaders. After all, since Rokot, Rohis, Rokris have a common agenda to build inclusivity and diversity, they can execute the agenda from little things. Furthermore, the collection of used bottles may inspire an even bigger diversity preserving efforts and activities. These small gestures may, in turn, be able to inspire meetings of various religious leaders to be yet closer in the name of humanity and social justice.

Other 'best practices' by SMAN 6 students concern leadership by minorities. Oki, OSIS member at SMAN 6, said that his class with the majority of Muslims was led by Christians as the class president and vice president. They did not mind being led by Christians. To him, what mattered most were the sense of responsibility and willingness to learn from others.

What Oki pointed out above may well be small examples of how a civilized life could begin in class based upon trust. Classroom could serve as a learning medium to develop the principle of consensus; it could train leadership without having to consider religious differences.

If trust can be built among fellow believers in class, the sense of nationality can grow stronger and tougher. As students are familiar of diversity, they will not fall prey to easy provocation, such as on issues of leadership based on religion.

Besides in SMAN 6, a good practice was also found in SMAN 3. Its OSIS



members there had a plural view on leadership, which might or might not have been directly encouraged by the school's condition. They explained their election was inseparable from the "SMA 3 support group," which did not regard ethnicity and religion as their criteria points. In fact, Praba, a Christian student of Chinese ethnicity chose Moslems as SMAN 3 OSIS top leaders.

To Rifki (the Chairperson) and Bintang (Vice Chairperson), whoever was elected would not be a problem as long as the process went according to the applicable mechanism. They assertively asked OSIS leadership at SMAN 3 not to be influenced by tribe, religion, race, and faction (SARA). Anyone with capability and popularity could run and be elected.

The decision made by Praba (member of MPK SMAN 3) did show his maturity. He chose Muslim candidates due to their capacity as SMAN 3 OSIS leaders although at that time there were also non-Muslim (Christian) candidates.

SMAN 3 presents us a good portrayal in building a healthy diversity. Leadership selection based on competence will cultivate good fledglings for nationality and state in the future. Such attitude must be continuously voiced and adopted by schools lest they become arenas of "religious overdose" rather than places for cultivating better living.

Related to their MPK and OSIS relationship, SMAN 3 is a worthy model. MPK becomes OSIS's strategic partner in running the organization. They prepare a selection of candidates for OSIS leadership without regards to their origins or appearances but professionalism. School teachers also take part in finalizing the OSIS Chairperson and Vice chairperson election. Candidates of any religion and ethnicity could become leaders.

Honesty, togetherness, and openness in organizing an OSIS election need to be in place in schools. Only then can this be a good nursery for the future of the nation.

## 2

# Sukabumi

### A. Overview

#### 1. *The geographic potential*

Geographically, Sukabumi Regency is bordered with Bogor on the north, with the Indian Ocean on the south, Lebak on the west and Cianjur on the east. The geographical boundaries are enough to affect the culture, language, and religious tendency of the people of Sukabumi Regency. Sukabumi regency is the second largest area in Java Island after Banyuwangi, where from 2005 to 2008 its area was split from 45 to 47 sub districts, from 345 to 363 villages and 4 urban villages with Pelabuhan Ratu sub district as the regency capital. However, many government offices are mostly scattered in Cisaat and Cibadak instead of Pelabuhan Ratu itself. Even Pendopo which became the Regent's Office was administratively located in the area of Sukabumi City. Besides, administratively, the district of Sukabumi is also directly adjacent to the area of Sukabumi City which is an enclave area surrounded by several districts in Sukabumi Regency.

The topographic shape of Sukabumi Regency generally covers the wavy surface in the South, and mountainous in the North and Central with an area of 27,568.49 ha. The coastal area with the height of 0-25 m 10,455.45 ha covers 10 districts in South Sukabumi namely Ciemas, Ciracap, Surade, Cibitung, Tegalbuleud, Cidolog, Pelabuhan Ratu, Simpenan, Cisolok and Cikakak. This form of topography makes the geological structure of Sukabumi regency divided into two zones, namely the North Zone and the South, bordered by Cimandiri River, which flows from the north eastward to the South West.

The North Zone region is affected by volcanos and is mostly a fertile area, where farm fields and other agricultural activities exist. The South Zone, which is a hilly area, consists of dry land—home for agriculture, farming, and forestry.

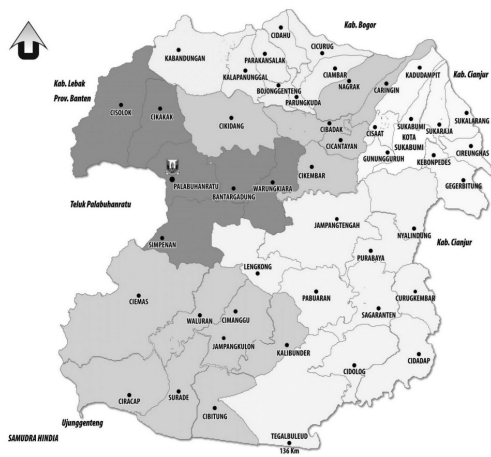


Figure 1 Map of Sukabumi

Agriculture in Sukabumi Regency is mainly spread in the northern part of Cimandiri River. This condition cannot be separated from the existence of Mount Gede-Pangrango in the North and Mount Salak in the West. This agricultural area is relatively more fertile than the southern agricultural areas of Cimandiri river because it is supported by the condition of the valleys and slopes in both mountains that slant to the south, and also because of the forest conditions that support the climate and good water system.

Historically, for a long time the North has been known as a producer of rubber and tea plantation commodities that played an important role in the economy of the country in the past. Meanwhile, the excellent water supply has made the northern region grow into rice fields, vegetable farming, freshwater fish farming and potential freshwater fish farming. Another potential agricultural resource that also exists in Sukabumi District is forestry. The distribution of forest areas in

Sukabumi District is found in several sub-districts, with the major groupings in Sukabumi-North Sukaraja, Cicurug-Parungkuda-Parakansalak-Kalapanunggal-Cisolok, Pelabuhan Ratu, Ciemas, Surade-Jampangkulon-Kalibunder-Lengkong-Tegalbuleud-Cidolog-Sagaranten and Nyalindung.

The potentials of coastal and marine resources of Sukabumi Regency are mainly spread in 7 (seven) sub districts directly adjacent to the Indonesian Ocean, which are  $\pm$  117 km extending from Cisolok, Pelabuhan Ratu, Ciemas, Ciracap, Surade, Cibitung and Tegalbuleud districts. The types of potential coastal and marine resources that exist are fisheries, coral reefs, mangrove forests, seagrass, turtles, minerals, and tourism. So far, in addition to being used for coastal tourism, the use of coastal and marine areas in Sukabumi regency is as ports for fishing. Pelabuhan Ratu and its surrounding areas, which are currently the center of tourist visits, are a growing point in the development of coastal tourist areas in southern Sukabumi.<sup>17</sup>

## 2. *Demographic and religious mapping*

Demographically, the population of Sukabumi Regency is based on 2014 projection of 2,444,616 people with a composition of; 1,239,276 men and 1,205,337 women, whose population density reaches 590 persons per km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, in terms of religion, according to the Ministry of Religious Affairs of West Java, in the residents of Sukabumi Regency the number of Muslims recorded was 2.508 persons, Christian 9.137, Catholic 40.608, Hindus 1.250 persons, Buddhists 8.875 persons, and Konghucu 13. The data do not include believers other than the six official religions (traditional beliefs).

The Ministry of Religion also records three groups of spinoffs in Sukabumi without description.<sup>19</sup> In Sukabumi Regency, according to the data of the Ministry

17 These data were taken from the document of the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) 2016-2021, Bappeda Kabupaten Sukabumi.

18 Sukabumi dalam Angka 2017.

19 Referring to data of Sukabumi regency in the figure stated that the number of adherents to the sects is only 24 people, this data is doubtful because Cisolok area, which is the base of Ciptagelar citizens amounted to 2000 to 3000 people. The numbers are large enough and the Ciptagelar people all embrace their ancestral beliefs.

of Religion of West Java, there are 1.319 mosques, 15 Christian Churches, 2 Catholic Churches and 3 Viharas in the region without any temple or pagoda.<sup>20</sup> Looking at the data, it can be seen that Sukabumi regency is a religiously homogenous community, with a large difference between the proportion of Muslims and Non-Muslims.

Some Muslims are members of, or affiliated with, a number of religious organizations within the Sunni sects. Among them are the Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Islam Union (Persis), Muslim Union (PUI), or Matlaul Anwar. Others are incorporated in a post-reformed religious organization or community like the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), the Islamic Reformist Movement of Sukabumi (Garis), the Islamic Unity Movement (GOIB), the Islamic Forum (FUI), the Anti-Deviant Sect Front (Brantas), or Anti Injustice Children of Sukabumi (GASAK).

Muslim minority-communities such as the Ahmadiyah are among those in the Warungkiara, Central Jampang and Parakansalak regions. It is estimated that the number of JAI members is around the 1,200s. According to the Coordinating Team for the Trustees' Trusteeship (Timkor Pakem) of Sukabumi District, the number of Ahmadiyah followers is estimated to be 1,005 people, who are spread throughout 10 villages. Some of the indigenous communities or those considered by the government as sects are Ciptagelar and Sirnaresmi Communities in Ciselok Pelabuhan Ratu sub-district. The Coordination Team of Pakem Sukabumi District under the coordination of Cibadak Chief Prosecutor has its own definition and categorization of sects. Such category could be questioned, both academically or sociologically (Kajari Cibadak, 2014: 1).<sup>21</sup>

The religious culture in Sukabumi Regency is also influenced by the surrounding border areas such as Bogor, which opens the gates to the entry of Tarikat-tarikat (Thoriqoh). Cianjur is the area that distributes many Islamic organizations such as

20 House of Prayers "Rumah Ibadah," Ministry of Religion West Java, 26 August 2015 <http://jabar.kemenag.go.id/index.php?a=artikel&id=27382&ct=474>.

21 Baseline Research Potret Citizenship Rights and Religious Livelihood, Wahid Institute, LBH, etc.

FPI and its derivatives; Banten with its strong belief; and Sukabumi with a trans-national Islamic style brought by the PKS.

From the outside the image of this style looks diverse, but it is essentially all the same in that they tend to be traditionalists or can even be said quite conservative.

### ***3. Social Economy and Education***

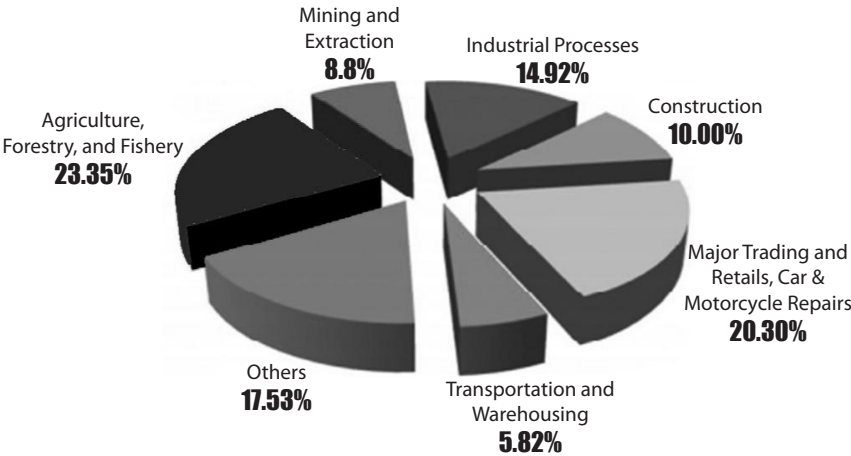
The condition of Sukabumi Regency has wide dry land areas with potentials. Currently most of them are plantation, moor and forest areas. An important condition that is happening in relation to employment is the shift of labor from agricultural to non-agricultural sectors. The population working in the agricultural sector has declined. Despite the figures, it is stated in the labor data in the Sukabumi District document that the labor force in the agricultural sector still occupies a large portion, about 30% of the other sectors. But looking at the conditions, industrial fields tend to flourish in areas that used to be pockets of agriculture/plantations such as Cikembar and Cibadak.

Based on the survey data of the labor force in August 2015, the majority of job seekers who graduated from high school/equivalent, account to 17,267 people. These data indicate that the interest in higher education studies in Sukabumi is still low. The Department of Manpower and Transmigration also noted that there were 20,429 job seekers in Sukabumi Regency, the majority of whom were women. Sukabumi Regency is also noted as one of the contributing areas of Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI), who mostly work in Saudi Arabia.

One of the starting points of the development of a region is to see the economic growth of the region from year to year. Economic growth for the welfare of society is a major requirement or indicator of the success of development itself. Economic development is defined as a process of increasing output (depending on the type of output expected/defined) in the long term. The rate of economic growth is a macro indicator in viewing the economic development of a region, so that the success of regional development in general can be measured.

Therefore, this indicator can be used for future development planning, either by

looking at periodic economic growth or economic prosperity of potential business sector. Economic growth in Sukabumi Regency runs quite stable which, in 2014, reached 5.48 percent. In the last five years, the highest economic growth was 6.38 percent and the lowest was in 2011 amounting to 4.42 percent.



Sources: BPS Sukabumi Regency, 2015

Figure 2 Economic Structure of Sukabumi Region, 2014  
BPS Sukabumi Region, 2015).

The above diagram shows that agriculture, forestry, and fishery sectors still occupy the largest portion, which is 23.35%. This is because most of the geographical structure of Sukabumi Regency supports the sector, but its utilization has not been maximized and has been eroded to industrial land. The stability of economic growth has the potential to provide “fresh air” for economic actors as well as policy makers. The stable economic movement shows the success of various programs and development activities that support the empowerment of the regional economy. The growth of sectoral economy in 2014 was dominated by economic growth of information and communication category with the growth of 16.43 percent, while health services and social activities grew by 15.34 percent.

All categories in the economy show positive growth although in the category of government administration, defense and compulsory social security the growth is quite low at only 0.02 per cent.<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile, the existing great market opportunity to date has not been optimally utilized. This situation becomes a challenge and is a must, especially for the local government to try harder in order to improve the welfare of its people. In terms of natural resources, it is necessary to utilize the potential of natural resources wisely, sustainably and in an environmentally friendly way. In terms of territoriality, increase in accessibility of the region is required. In terms of human resources, an adequate quality improvement is necessary, thus the optimization of the potential utilization is expected to improve the welfare of the community, characterized by the high accessibility of the community to services (especially health and education), along with its purchasing power.

For education, referring to available data of Sukabumi Regency in Figures 2016, public high schools in Sukabumi Regency amounted to 25 schools, while Private High School amounted to 46. This shows that not every sub-district has a public high school yet, considering the number of sub-districts in Sukabumi regency amounted to 47. The number of students, both in public and private schools, is 26,256 people; the number of teachers, both public and private, is 1,271. Meanwhile, according to the data from Education Office, the number of SMA/MA schools is around 195 schools and SMK/MAK is 148 schools either under the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Religion. As for the number of boarding schools, there are 513 pesantren or boarding schools, and 2,428 units Madrasah Diniyah Takmiliah Awaliyah (MDTA). The data show that the homogenous religion community of Sukabumi Regency is in line with the availability of religion-based education institutions, which are the Islamic boarding schools in the district.

The description and condition of the indicators above illustrate that the availability of potential resources and great opportunities do not guarantee the welfare of the community. This shows that in the development

22 Centre of Statistics Agency Data of Sukabumi Regency for 2015.



management of Sukabumi Regency, it is necessary to have strong integrative and collective efforts, as well as collective breakthroughs involving all or multiple stakeholders.

#### ***4. Politics and government***

Currently Sukabumi regency can be considered as a yellow base (Golkar) because both its regent and head of the Regional House of Representatives come from the Golkar Party. Members of the Regional House of Representatives from Sukabumi Regency of 2014-2019 period consisted of 8 members from Golkar, 7 from Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P), 6 Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), 6 Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN), 5 Gerindra (Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya), 4 Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), 4 Partai Demokrat (PD), 4 Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), 4 Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (Hanura), and 2 from Partai Demokrasi Nasional. Sukabumi Regency is currently led by Marwan Hamami and Adjo Sardjono (Regent and Vice Regent), who won the December 2015 election. Marwan-Adjo were supported by non-Islamic parties such as Golkar, Demokrat, and Hanura. They replaced Sukmawijaya, former regent from PKS, who led Sukabumi Regency for two periods.

Although it has not been long, the current Regent's (Marwan Hamami and Adjo Sardjono) vision and mission are quite thick of religious nuance too, namely "The Realization of Sukabumi as a Religious and Autonomous Regency." The vision and mission are then implemented with the application of local regulations related to Infaq, Sadaqah and the Jama'ah Fajr Prayer Movement, of which the second instruction is the realization of the Instruction of the Governor of West Java. It is not clearly visible in the field whether the religiosity concerns the view of one specific religion or it also accommodates the religiosity of all religious groups in Sukabumi Regency, and not only the majority. In reality, the domination of the majority group is still rooted in the regulation and its implementation, especially in the education institution.

Without setting aside Marwan-Adjo's role as the leaders, the influence of

Sukmawijaya who ruled for two periods was indispensable. In his second period of leadership he managed to set, alongside Ahmad Djajuli, a vision-mission to “realize the people of Sukabumi Regency who are noble, modern and prosperous.” In the RPJMD Kabupaten Sukabumi 2010-2015 document, the meaning of noble character refers to the four characteristics of the Prophet Muhammad: honest (shiddiq), trustworthy (amanah), intelligent (fathanah), and eloquent (tabligh). Under the leadership of Sukmawijaya a number of regulations and policies related to education were published, which were considered to be too Islamic, including:

- Instruction of Sukabumi Regent Number 4 of 2004 on the Use of Muslim Clothing for Students in Sukabumi Regency;
- Governor Regulation Number 6 of 2006 on Compulsory Religious Education Program as part of the Compulsory Basic Education Program;
- Regent’s Regulation Number 7 of 2006 on Guidelines for Madrasah Diniyah Accreditation;
- Regent’s Regulation Number 30 of 2007 about Madrasah Diniyah Awaliyah Curriculum in Sukabumi Regency;
- Regent’s Regulation Number 33 of 2008 on Ten Practices of Morality at School, and;
- Regional law Number 8 of 2009 on Compulsory Religious Education.

In implementing all these laws, Sukmawijaya established a Religious Building Board that is directly under the auspices of the local government of Sukabumi Regency, not through the Education Agency or the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the two bodies from which all education related policies have existed. Although Sukmawijaya is no longer in office, these regulations are still massively implemented formally into educational institutions and “driven” in the big mosques guided by the Religious Board in the era of Sukmawijaya. In addition, according to stakeholders of the education unit (i.e. schools), the regulations are still relevant and even reinforce the intention of the central government of realizing character education in educational institutions.

## 5. Research subject and dynamics

Sukabumi Regency is expected to represent the condition of West Java for this research issue because West Java is considered as one of the granaries of the rampant friction among different groups and of the massive emergence of radicalism movement. As the largest area in West Java and even the island of Java, Sukabumi Regency has quite homogeneous characteristics, in terms of language, culture, and religion. Although the number of immigrants of Sukabumi Regency cannot be ignored, other cultural influences are not seen in this district. The most obvious of these homogeneities is religion. Although the number of believers in the district of Sukabumi is not 100% Moslems, when entering the public schools that we tried to study, all the students appeared to wear hijab. Based on student data in these schools, from six schools only three schools have non-Muslim students and it is only one person (except Cikembar there are about 10 students). Homogeneity then becomes interesting when drawn in the scope of political and economic interest as it becomes a powerful tool to strengthen the interests of the group and facilitate local governments in making policies that generalize all the seemingly homogenous residence.

The selection of schools and subjects in the study was based on demographic and geographical potentials. If we look at the zone divisions already mentioned in the introduction, the six schools sampled represent two characteristics of the zone: The North Zone represented by SMAN 1 Sukaraja, SMAN 1 Cisaat, SMAN 1 Cikembar, and MAN 1 (Cibadak), and the South zone represented by SMAN 1 Jampang Kulon, and MAN 3 Sukabumi (Surade).

Although in the end the division of these zones do not distinguish significantly the characteristics of Sukabumi residents who are homogeneous, especially in terms of religion and ethnicity, the personal character is apparent due to geographic and demographic influences.

This research is qualitative, using literature study, interviews and observation, consignment, and FGD (the last mentioned being a tool to collect data). For approximately 21 days in the field we successfully interviewed about 117 people-

-the stakeholders from outside and inside the schools, students, and surrounding communities.<sup>23</sup> As it is a broad research area, the challenges were the distance that made the research from one school to another had to be done on schedule. The subject of snowball result was executed on the weekend and after the completion of the entire main subject (the school). We did not encounter any significant bureaucratic obstacle. The typical character of Sukabumi residents are friendly, and the administrative readiness of the MAARIF Institute (letters, recommendations, etc.) made it easy for us to be accepted without being convoluted by all of the research subjects.

## B. School Profiles

Six schools were subjects of the research in Sukabumi Regency: SMAN 1 Sukaraja, SMAN 1 Cisaat, SMAN 1 Jampang Kulon, MAN 1 Sukabumi (Cibadak), and MAN 3 Sukabumi (Surade). These six schools were selected based on geographical, demographic, religious and socio-economic characteristics that could represent this study. Here are the profiles of these schools:

### 1. *SMAN 1 Sukaraja*

SMAN 1 Sukaraja was established in 1987 and was the extension of SMAN 3 Sukabumi. It had the first learning group in three classes, along with the increasing demand and necessity of the community around Sukaraja District of the presence of a high school. Juridically, SMAN 1 Sukaraja was inaugurated by the Minister of Education and Culture Prof. Dr. Fuad Hasan on 9 March 1991 with Decree no. 0283/O/1991.<sup>24</sup>

The vision of this school is “to grow intelligent, independent, entrepreneur-minded students based on faith and taqwa.” Previously this school had the tagline “Eco-School” (the logo of which is still visible at the entrance of the schoolyard). However, with the changing vision the school also changed its tagline as it wanted to emphasize on entrepreneurship as the school’s mainstay.

<sup>23</sup> List of informants is enclosed.

<sup>24</sup> According to the data from the official of SMAN 1 Sukaraja website, accessed on 2 November 2017, at 2013 WIT.

The school is located on Jl. MH Holil No. 261 Sukaraja (crossed by a highway from Sukabumi - Cianjur/Sukabumi - Bandung), 1 km from the highway with relatively quiet environment despite being surrounded by crowded houses along the road to school. The structure of this school building is O-shaped, layered in a less orderly arrangement. Entering the school gate, one will directly face the parking and school mosque;<sup>25</sup> to the left of the mosque is the entrance to the center of the school, which leads to the principal and staff offices as well as the teacher's room. Class placement is according to levels and majors. The school grounds are located in the center of all activities (sports, extracurriculars, etc.), the labs in the back side next to the OSIS room. There are two canteens in this school, the upper canteen and the rear cafeteria (the rear cafeteria is a popular hangout during recess). The library space is quite big but the book collection is not varied and does not seem well maintained--just imagine an old school library). Looking at the room structure, the obscurity of the room structure makes it difficult for the school stakeholder to control. This school has 28 study groups & 2 majors -natural science and social study- with 889 students and 100% are Muslims. The socio-economic background of students in this school is middle to low class. Most parents are farm laborers or private workers. As there are several Islamic boarding schools and foundations around the school vicinity, it is not surprising that some students are nyantri "kobong" (commuting/not staying) at pesantren. A few students prefer living in boarding houses because their houses are far from the school.

Like most schools, the organizational structure of SMAN 1 Sukaraja includes committees, a principal, a vice principal, subsection heads, a librarian, a laboratory technician, and a council of teachers. The number of teachers and educators in this school is 58 with educational background mostly from UPI Bandung or campus around Sukabumi, Bogor and Cianjur. The anatomy of the school's organizational structure can be seen on the side.

<sup>25</sup> The location of the school mosque outside the main building makes this mosque as a place for students to hang out during the lesson and also a place of strategic stopover students to escape from the school. The mosque restroom is even used for smoking.

The structure of OSIS (student board) in this school consists of Chairperson, Chief I, and Chief II who supervise a respective division. These divisions supervise extracurricular activities (in total of 12 extracurriculars). The scheme of OSIS and MPK (class representative assembly) committee election starts with the selection conducted by the previous OSIS committee, and the results of the selection are forwarded to the student affairs division for recommendation. The OSIS Chief election is performed with a series of campaign and voting similar to the General Election. This school's main achievements are mostly from Paskibra (National Flag Hoisting Troop) events.

In some OSIS and extracurricular activities, outsiders mostly from the government service such as health service, BNN and police have several times been involved. Alumni are usually engaged as coaches in scout or flag hoister troops. For spiritual extracurricular or activities that exist in Sekbid I (divinity/spirituality), speakers are usually the ustadz from around the school and they usually only teach Qiro'ah (reciting Quran). Meanwhile, the female students during Friday sermons usually follow religious activities conducted by the teachers of this school as anticipation to undesirable behaviors. Even if there are outside parties involved in compiling religious materials (they have worked with UMMI and An-Nur), they usually screen the theme and competence of the speakers in accordance to the school vision and mission. In addition, the school (precisely the previous principal) has an appeal that every extracurricular or OSIS advisor should always keep an eye on all activities undertaken by their respective students.

During our three-day observation in this school, involvement of the surrounding community was minimal. As briefly discussed in the beginning, the condition of the surrounding environment looks quiet despite being surrounded by houses. In general, some residents claim themselves to be of Muslims *ahlu sunnah wal jamaah* and NU. Interestingly, the two mosques that are found in the school have different characters. One of them has loudspeakers, and the other does not. The latter is commonly referred to by the community "aspek" or anti-loudspeaker. As the supporting areas for Sukabumi and national road crossings, Sukaraja is

a bit busy and based on some local media reports, the region is still susceptible to clashes between youth groups (inter-village brawls). Since it is located in the Sukabumi-Cianjur crossing roads, it is also affected by their dominant religious style referring to FPI brought from Cianjur and many of them go into the salafi pesantren around Sukaraja.

According to one student, Sukaraja is famous for their FPI so it is not surprising that when we went to school to discover their religious tendencies, there were traces of such FPI leaning. The “urban” influence is seen from the way people dress and the school’s residents’ attitude at SMAN 1 Sukaraja. Although the school states that the profession of the majority of the students’ parents is farmers, and so that they are categorized as less capable, the school parking lot is crowded by motorcycles. A little indifferent attitude was also apparent from the students during our three-day observation in the school. The students and teachers’ understanding of religious issues was quite limited. Interestingly, although the school is quite close to the urban area of Sukabumi, the students as well as other school residents were not very up-to-date with information, and the school facilities were, in many aspects, inferior to those in the five other schools we observed.

## **2. *SMAN 1 Cisaat***

SMAN 1 Cisaat is located at Mangkalaya Village, Gunung Guruh District, adjacent to Cisaat. As a region with the highest density in Sukabumi Regency, this sub-district is busy and has many educational institutions from early age education to university level.

Public transportation, which unfortunately operates only until afternoon, is necessary to access this school. The road to the school is small and damaged. During heavy rains floods often come creating some pools. The school has a large field and parking area; to the left of the gate are futsal and volley fields.

By its main entrance are clearly seen the school’s mission and vision, with 10 noble moral practices displayed on the first wall on the right. Interestingly,

a banner reads that SMAN 1 Cisaat as a referral school and as the only public high school in Sukabumi District that is inclusive for the disabled.<sup>26</sup> The school is U-shaped, the left row of the school building is for classes X. The first two rooms are the student affairs office and an OSIS room. Between the teacher's room, the right row of the building is the IT lab. Classes XI are located on the first floor whereas classes XII are on the second. In the middle there are a podium and a garden. The school mosque, of 200 people capacity, is located right in the middle at the rear of the stage. The library is located at the back with a collection of 30% general/fiction books and 70% textbooks.

The number of students in SMAN 1 is about 1142, consisting of 388 male and 754 female students, 33 study groups with 3 majors (natural sciences, social sciences, and language studies). The socio-economic backgrounds of most students' parents are that of factory workers, farm laborers, civil servants, etc. The religious background is 99.9% Muslims. There is only a Christian male student there, who came from the eastern part of Indonesia to live with his father in Cisaat. Most of the students can be considered to be "urban," comparable to students in Sukaraja, which is also on the outskirts of Sukabumi. The urban characteristic is apparent from the social openness and how they dress. Most students who attend school here originate from around Cisaat, Cibolang, and Pelabuhan Ratu. This school provides a dormitory for outstanding male students (usually from non-academic paths through volleyball competitions); meanwhile, female students rent school-run dormitories in front of the school building. The number of teachers and educators is about 64 people, who are 100% Muslims almost 75% of whom are government employees with educational background from UPI or from other universities in Sukabumi and Bogor.

OSIS leadership selection mechanism differs slightly from school to school. In addition to organizational selection and skills in the campaign process OSIS candidates must convey their mission and vision and engage in an open debate

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26 Stairways and pathways of school corridors are designed for disabilities. Other facilities have not been hindered by budget.



in front of the entire student body. The debate becomes one of the contents of democratic values and openness that the school is trying to implement. OSIS has a general chairperson and two other chiefs are in charge of nine divisions under the supervision of MPK and Student Affairs. Several OSIS committees also appear to be actively involved in out-of-school activities and networks such as the Children's Forum, Foksi; many OSIS committee members often participate in QC. In addition, this school has about 25 extracurriculars, the most favorite activity being sports. Even in athletics, they have reached the national level.

No different from other schools, involvement of external parties in the school activities is usually related to national institutions, police forces, and BNN. Community involvement is typically in social events, qurban, or scouting (camping). In religious activities, the school employs teachers with proper religious education background and sometimes invites outside speakers recognized by the school's residents. According to the principal, she always encouraged the students to study sufficiently or attend religious lectures held by the school, and as much as possible not to get involved in religious lectures outside school other than in pesantrens. However, according to the RMAI (Islamic spiritual study) committee they intensively cooperate with QC to fill the RMAI mentoring extracurricular activities. Another interesting thing is the practice to habituate the 10 noble characters that are displayed very clearly in the main area of the school. Despite the effort, the attitude and behavior of the teachers and students of this school do not seem to reflect and internalize the noble characters. Our observation indicates that there is a gap among school residents.

In Cisaat or Mount Guruh, although categorized as urban, quite a number of pesantrens with boarding houses can be found. This fact seems to reflect the religious character of the surrounding community, the majority of whom claim themselves as *ahlu Sunnah wal jamaah* (Aswaja).

In fact, a few moderate movements are emerging in this area, such as the one brought by pesantren Al-Masthuriyah and Sunanul Huda (which are associated with NU), LENSEA and Fopulis that moves in religious issues and nationality.

At the same time, transitional movements brought by PKS through QC also massively influence schools. The influence of such movement contestation is reflected in the personal characteristic of the school's residents. The ignorance of SMAN 1 Cisaat stakeholders towards the world outside the locality may well be a self-defence mechanism. Yet the critical stance of the students from our observation when conversing with them is also interesting. Many of these students have perspectives that are different and not commonly shared by their fellows in the other five schools that we invited to discuss matters pertaining to OSIS, extracurricular policy implementation, religious perspectives and other issues. Their clothing and speaking styles show urban characteristics. They are active in and out of school activities since they have more access compared to students of other schools within the rural range.

All this makes Cisaat generally quite dynamic and heterogeneous in its religious characters. The interference of political interests also colours the religious characters, not only because Cisaat is one of the centers of district government, but also because it is one of the regency's economic wheels.

### **3. *SMAN 1 Cikembar***

Also located in the north zone, Cikembar becomes a very interesting area in Sukabumi Regency because it is more religiously heterogeneous than other regions. It can also be said that, besides the city of Sukabumi, Cikembar is the region with the most distribution of non-Muslim population (Christian) throughout Sukabumi District. Several Christian churches and schools can be found here. Historically, Cikembar was said to be the path used by colonialists to distribute the plantation harvests in Sukabumi, which over time became the place of residence of church missionaries.<sup>27</sup> In 1886 a Christian village named "Expectation" at a plantation bought by NZV was established near Cikembar.<sup>28</sup>

27 The interview results from one of the SMAN 1 Cikembar teachers and the surrounding church youths.

28 [http://sejarah.co/artikel/geredja\\_pasundan.htm](http://sejarah.co/artikel/geredja_pasundan.htm), accessed on Saturday, November 4th 2017 on 14.44 WIT.

In this region there is an army complex where most of the officers are of Eastern-ethnic non-Muslims. This adds to Cikembar's population of non-Muslims. However, friction among residents almost never happened except a minor one triggered by an external cause. The existence of the army complex benefits the community in anticipating religious or faith-nuanced frictions. Religious organizations seem reluctant to make a presence here because Cikembar has a youth organization initiated by the military (FKPNI) and the police (FKKPI) as their "accomplices" to anticipate undesirable things.

Religious heterogeneity does not significantly affect the number of non-Muslim students attending SMAN 1 Cikembar. In this school there are 27 study groups; the number of students is 984 comprising 369 male students and 615 female students, including 11 Christian students. According to some students, their friends prefer to go to a Christian school in Cikembar or in Sukabumi City. As for parental socio-economic backgrounds, most of them work as factory workers, farm laborers, TNI/Polri members, and entrepreneurs with middle and lower economic conditions. Most of the students live around Cikembar. This school also provides a rented residence in front of the school, which is intended for outstanding students from the non-academic path. There are 68 teachers and educators with educational background from UPI, UIN Bandung, and universities around Bogor, Sukabumi, and Cianjur. As for the religious background, 99.9% of the teachers are Muslims; there is only one non-Muslim teacher.<sup>29</sup> SMAN 1 Cikembar is located in the region facing the direction of Pelabuhan Ratu. The distance is quite far; it takes about an hour's drive to travel from Cisaat to the school. Along the road is a stretch of forests and hills where large factories, street markets, churches, and Christian school establishments can be found.

As a district located in the northern zone, in fact this region is quite fertile. However, the shift of plantation land and forestry into factories (industries) has exposed this area to pollution and heat. From the outside, spacious and beautiful

<sup>29</sup> According to the interview with one of the teachers, the Christian teacher was a Muslim who converted to Christianity due to economic assistance by the church missionary.

buildings surrounded by many plants can be seen. Entering the school gate, there is a parking lot filled with vehicles. There is a security post on the left. The school is a rectangular-shaped two-story building. In the middle there is a futsal field, a volleyball court and a podium in the south, back to back with the laboratory and the cafeteria. The first room on the left is the OSIS room; the newly-moved library, which still looks cluttered, and the principal's office and administration office are located near a mosque, the Al-Ikhlâs. The classroom layout is unlike in any other school. The rows of classrooms seem to have been decided at random; classes X, XI, and XII are placed adjacent to one another.

The OSIS succession mechanism in this school is administered by a KPU (the election commission) team, which consists of MPK candidates. What is interestingly different from other schools is that any students in this school, including incumbent OSIS board members, may run as candidates to chair OSIS as long as they take part in the 2-4 day LDKS (basic student leadership) training.

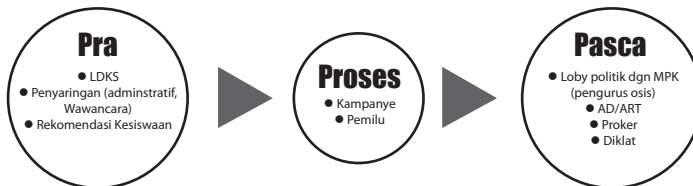


Figure 3. Succession Scheme of Smancik OSIS

OSIS in this school has only one chairperson (general) and one field coordinator in charge of nine divisions. OSIS management is advised by MPK and Student Affairs whereas MPK performance is monitored by DPK and Student Affairs. In running OSIS activities and extracurriculars, the school often involves external parties, such as related agencies (Health Office, National Education, the Police, TNI, and BNN. As for religious activities, in addition to being under Division 1, they are also initiated by an Islamic extracurricular body called FORMA (Al-Ikhlâs Mosque Youth Forum). In addition to creating and organizing religious activities in schools, Forma often attends off-school activities such as Mutiara

Pelajar Indonesia and Obsesi (Chats on Islam).<sup>30</sup> The involvement of outsiders in religious activities seems quite intensive; this includes cooperating with Ar-Rayyah campus that is located not far away from the school. Ar-Rayyah is a Saudi-funded campus (it is considered to be affiliated to LIPIA), so the messages they disseminate tend to be loaded with their ideology. The Ar-Rayyah network was first established by the school alumni who pursued their education in Saudi, and the relationship has become stronger and more intense with time. Although it does not seem apparent, the influence of Ar-Rayyah's teachings needs to be anticipated because based on the results of our conversations with some of the students and school stakeholders, their religious teachings are quite influenced by Ar-Rayyah ideological contents, which are quite "exclusive" (to borrow a term from the teachers), and which has become a growing concern over the possible friction among the "quite" heterogeneous school residents.

#### ***4. SMAN 1 Jampang Kulon***

SMAN 1 Jampang Kulon is located on Jl. Warung Tagog, Nagraksari, Jampang Kulon District. It is a favorite school in the southern zone not only because of its long existence, but also because of its rich achievements: absorption of its graduates has spread across public universities (PTN) and other private universities.<sup>31</sup> The Pajampangan community<sup>32</sup> categorizes this school as a school for children of socio-economically upper-middle families. This public opinion seems reflected in the school's parking lot, whereby a lot of motorcycles can be found, and in the neatly-dressed and "well-groomed" looking students."<sup>33</sup>

30 These two activities are usually initiated by QuC, and during the Sukma Regent period, these kinds of activities were run quite intensively at the mosque of Pendopo as well as at the big mosque built by the Religious Board of the Regional Government of Sukabumi Regency.

31 These two activities are usually initiated by QuC, and during the Sukma Regent activities such as this is quite intense at the mosque of Pendopo as well as at the big mosques built by the Religious Board of the Regional Government of Sukabumi Regency.

32 The phrase that shows the people of South Sukabumi. Pajampangan among them include Jampang Kulon District, Surade District, and Ciracap District.

33 However, school parties claim their students are from the lower middle class, so there is teacher's infaq where the results are intended to help their students who are less economically capable. It also becomes an obstacle for most students to go to college (two contradictory statements).

The number of its students is both large (1,301) and has a balanced composition of 634 male students and 666 female students opting for 36 study groups. Of the 1,301 students, there was only one non-Muslim student (a Catholic from Medan), who lived in Surade with his elder brother (a police officer). Thus, it could be observed that, religiously speaking, this school is homogenous. It is apparent from the religious background of teachers and educators, who are majority Muslims. The economic backgrounds of the students' parents range from staff or officials at national agencies, government employees, entrepreneurs, farm workers, to TKI/TKW (migrant workers). The number of teachers and educators available is 65, mostly graduates of UPI Bandung.

As a favorite school, SMAN 1 offers quite comfortably neat rooms, administration, and services. The school is rectangular in shape equipped with ample grounds, several laboratories, a secretariat for OSIS, some extracurricular rooms, a standard meeting room, and a two-story mosque. Like most school organizational structures, SMAN1 Jampang Kulon also has a committee and principal deputies that help the principal in performing the duty. The placement of teams in each division seems well thought of. For example, the Head Deputy of Student Affairs has a complete team and the Student Advisory is managed in such a way that it becomes one of the favorite places for students, and not the other way around like in most schools. It is not only convenient for those who visit but also favored by students who go there to spend time even on weekends.

The OSIS succession scheme in this school also refers to the electoral system. The organizational structure also resembles a government whereby there are functioning student representatives like People's Assembly, student council that functions like the House of Representatives and OSIS as the Executive.

In running the organization, there is only one OSIS chairperson and one vice chairperson, and they oversee 10 divisions and 14 extracurriculars. There are approximately 65 board members ranging from MPK, DPK, to OSIS. In the activities of OSIS and extracurricular the involvement of outsiders also occurs, such as taekwondo coaches, scouting leader, etc. For religious activities, there are

also 10 noble characters, and there is one religious extracurricular named Rohis. Rohis is led by a male student with a strong religious background, and his deputy is a female student who should be quite active in QC activities. The religious character seems different, so the activities at Rohis are not too prominent in the direction of ideological studies but more into artistic activities. Some students at this school are also quite active in following QC monthly routine activities at Surade as regional base III.<sup>34</sup>

Jampang Kulon lies in a region located in the south zone quite far from the city and the capital of the district. Physically speaking, in terms of infrastructure, it does not appear like a backward region. Its roads look good and smooth. The structures of most houses also look good. The levels of participation in education and educational awareness are quite high. This condition is enough to affect the complexity of Jampang Kulon as a region that also has quite many large established pesantrens. Friction almost never happens, and even if there is a spark, it could be immediately addressed by religious leaders or senior pesantren leaders usually referred to such as Al-Aman (Ajengan Fudholi) or by Cross Faith Forum of Jampang Kulon district. Although not conspicuous, the influence of PKS from Surade is exposed in Jampang Kulon. The figure of former regent, Sukma, is still praised as a Jampang Kulon native who is a genius and capable to represent Pajampangan to the District. However, they also acknowledged that there was no significant development in Jampang Kulon when Mr. Sukma took the office as regent.

### **5. *MAN 1 Cibadak***

The school with a vision “To become a madrasah that excels in intellectual, emotional and spiritual characteristics” is located on Jl. Suryakencana, the access to Sukabumi-Bogor highway, just on the edge of the highway. As a state Madrasah Aliyah school, MAN 1 Cibadak is a second favorite after SMAN 1 Cibadak. It is

<sup>34</sup> The regional division is based on the reach of the QuC. The Regional 3 base is in the Surade at the Darul Amal Integrated Islamic School which belongs to the former Regent, Sukmawijaya.

apparent from the numbers of students and study groups that continue to increase every year. In the school year of 2017-2018 the number of students reached a total of 1314 with 32 study groups and 3 majors (natural sciences, social sciences, and language studies). Most of the students come from the regions around Cibadak, Parung Kuda, Pelabuhan Ratu, Cisaat, and Cigombong. The students who come from far domiciles usually live in pesantrens nearby the school, such as the tahfidz pesantren Al-'Alawi. MAN 1 Cibadak also provides a dormitory dedicated to students who excel non-academically, such as in volleyball and futsal sports. As for parental socioeconomic background, most are from middle to lower class professions (eg. factory and farm workers), private employees, civil servants, and odd workers. Despite the big number of students, the school is facilitated by only 50 teachers and educators, 50% of whom are civil servants who graduated from Islamic universities such as UIN (Bandung & Jakarta), Al-Masturriyah, Ibn Kholdun (Bogor), and private Islamic universities around Sukabumi and Cianjur.

During our three-day observation, the school was busy with all its activities from 7 am to 3.30 pm for six days, from Monday to Saturday. As a religious-based school, its religious content is typically thick with most activities subjected to the application of a religiously-nuanced "reward and punishment" system, such as in memorizing surah and writing Quranic verses. Compared to the other five schools, MAN 1 Cibadak is more strict in the application of its rules. It can be likened to pesantren, and the deputy head of the Student Affairs seems eager to uphold such moral disciplines. MAN 1 is the only school in the Sukabumi regency that declares itself as a child-friendly madrasah.

Not long ago they also started the OCD (Outdoor Classroom Day), when learning activities are to be done outside the classroom similar to co-curricular activities. Though loaded with higher learning contents than public schools, the school is still very concerned about its OSIS and extracurricular programs. There are 10 divisions under OSIS and six extracurriculars are particularly popular in this school. On a certain Saturday, which they call an extracurricular day, half of the day is used for the extracurricular activities, and the students may put



on any uniform for the extracurricular/OSIS they are proud of. As for religious extracurricular activities, Kharisma is always busy. This extracurricular is run daily, starting from the so-called monitoring activity to be done 15 minutes before KBM (Asmaul Husna and Al-Quran recitations) up to the Dhuhur prayer time, before they assemble in the afternoon. This extracurricular has four advisors for some reason. The OSIS succession scheme is done through selection tests run by students and teachers after the election process that resembles the general election. OSIS has 3 chairs (General, Chairperson I, and Chairperson II); Chairperson I oversees the even numbered divisions while Chairperson II oversees the odd numbered divisions. OSIS is overseen by 35 MPK officials as well as students in all its activities.

For a school with a fairly large number of students, MAN 1 Cibadak is quite large with two main buildings separated by public roads leading to the only building behind the main building, which makes the roads look like a flyover. The main building is a long U-shape designated as the administrative center of the school: the Principal's Office, the Vice Principal's Office, the teacher's lounge, the art room, the computer lab, the Student Advisor Office, the canteen, and some classrooms for class-XII students. The second building, which is a rectangular shaped building, consists of courtyards, classrooms, a school mosque that can accommodate 800 people, a school cafeteria, a library with a diverse and administratively structured collection of books, laboratories, Health Aid rooms, OSIS rooms, and a hall that can accommodate about 300 people. As the wide and divided structure makes it hard for the school to control student activities, the solution is to apply stricter disciplinary and supervisory rules compared to that in the other schools alluded above.

In addition to concentrating in extracurricular, this school is also quite active in cooperating with external but related public offices such as the police, BNN, KPAI, local companies around Cibadak (e.g. Yakult, Aqua, and BLK). The cooperation is part of the process of students and teachers teaching and learning, both inside and outside of classroom; it also serves to improve the students' skills and prospect

for employment. The community is involved in such events as Qurban and social services. Alumni-relations are usually accommodated by IKAMANDAK (Alumni Aliyah Cibadak Association) through various activities, such as reunions to alumni contribution to the school. As for religious activities, the school utilizes existing school resources such as teachers and educators, who are mostly from Islamic universities. When it involves outsiders, the involvement is usually incidental (such as in the commemoration of Islamic holidays) lest the school residents get bored.

As one of the “cities” and the central government of Sukabumi regency, Cibadak is fairly lively and heterogeneous. Moreover, the existence of industry, markets and hospitals increasingly runs the wheels of the local economy and heterogeneity. A high number of immigrants from both Sukabumi and its outer regions might have made Cibadak diverse both in terms of culture and religion. Yet, apparently, it does not appear so. The flourishing existence of pesantrens seems to have strengthened the religious hegemony in this region. Like Cisaat, religious organizations appear to have a good foothold through the establishment of pesantrens.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, even though their “casing” (appearance) is different, they do not fully realize it.

## 6. *MAN 3 Surade*

MAN 3 Sukabumi is located in the south zone of Surade District, approximately 45–60 minutes’ drive away from Jampang Kulon. The location is precisely located at the Setra Lodaya Field area, which is also the center of the educational area as there are several educational institutions in this area, from playgroup to high school. From the Surade main road, it takes approximately 1 km walk to school. There is no public transportation but motorcycles, which many students ride to commute from home to school. The school is surrounded by plenty of beautiful

<sup>35</sup> The absence of nationalism issues in the teaching of salafi pesantrens seems to be used by religious organizations such as FPI and friends. So, it is not strange that boarding schools in Sukabumi district are often the suppliers of “demonstrators” of the heat up religious issues. The tahfidz pesantrens which are mostly highly exclusive also influence the religious views of the surrounding community; that there is a trend of “hijra” among young people in particular.

trees. The school itself is a two-story rectangle shaped building with a field in the center that functions as a parking lot. The principal's office and the lobby are on the left side of the entrance gate. The teachers' lounge, the Student advisor's office, and the library became the central view from the row of classrooms, a laboratory, an art room and two-story mosque in front of it. At the back of the school, right next to the right side of the mosque, there is a school pesantren dormitory consisting of five local boarders (two male locals, two female locals, and one management local). The male and female dormitories are separated by a small door as well as a separator between schools and dormitories. The school's pesantren has been standing for 8 years; this became the hallmark of the school that supports teaching and learning activities majoring in IAI (Islamic Studies). This also makes the school organizational structure slightly different from most schools because there is an additional element of pesantren and religious Vice Principal that helps the principal in the implementation of school religious activities. Now there are 130 students living in the dormitory and currently the students who are required for boarding school are students with IAI majors.

In this girl-dominated school there are approximately 1,040 students. They are divided into 29 study groups of Science, Social and Islamic (IAI) majors. Students who enroll here are mostly from around Surade to Jampang Kulon of lower to middle class socioeconomic background. Their parents either join the Navy (as fishermen), the Air Force (as brown sugar harvesters)<sup>36</sup>, work as farmers, employees, or migrant workers. Because there are many Salafi Pesantrens around the school and the student's home whereas the school's pesantren only facilitates students from IAI majors, almost every student's after school activity is participating in Pesantren. Even those who live far away decide to reside at the pesantren; some also stay at boarding houses around the school.

The school has 49 teachers and educators whose educational backgrounds vary from UPI, UIN (Bandung, Jakarta, Yogyakarta), and campuses around Sukabumi, Bogor and Cianjur. Teacher assistants are mostly the school graduates.

36 This term is used by students and teachers to refer to their parent profession.

The OSIS succession scheme is performed according to KPU, in the sequence of: Election– KPU – Inauguration. OSIS committee is heavily focused on the 10th and 11th graders by test and interviews. Chain of command and responsibility of OSIS and MPK: OSIS is accountable to MPK as well as to the OSIS advisors (there are two OSIS advisors specifically for boys and girls), and MPK answers to the advisors. Meanwhile, the OSIS work program is adjusted to the school's calendar. PORSENIDA is one of the OSIS and the school's work program performed to scout promising individual both academically or non-academically. Basically, it is as a promotional effort to the surrounding MTs or Middle school. There are 10 divisions under OSIS and 23 extracurriculars which mostly are related to science and sports. It is no wonder that the school's achievements are mostly in science and sports. Every extracurricular is advised by teacher by involving alumni as coaches if they have the competence. Interestingly this school does not have other religious extracurricular like other schools because it has been accommodated by the pesantren and religion vice principal involving in Division I of OSIS, executing religious events in schools from routine agendas to incidental events.

Cooperation is also established with parties outside of the school such as with related agencies (BNN, Community Health Center, Police Force, Military Rayon Command, etc.). Once every 3 weeks, flag hoisting ceremony is led by the police force and the military district command sector. Moreover, the MAN Environment Care also becomes a school program working together with national plantation agency. This event is a form of care to the environment and community in the school surrounding. It doesn't only stop at preservation of the nature related environment, but it also done in the form of community service and the like. For religious event, the involvement of outside parties is typical morning lecture every Friday with speakers are usually religious figures near the school, from KUA, or committee.

They also have accommodated monthly regional II QC at the school's mosque which has been attended by more or less 300 students from the regional III region (Pajampangan). The Head Deputy of Student Affair stated that students were more focused on Pesantren when seeking for religious references. Since

the presence of pesantren, the relationship between Rohis or access to the study councils has almost been stopped.<sup>37</sup>

Similar to Jampang Kulon, the general characters at Surade Community, both culturally and religiously, claim to be Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jamaah. The Principal stated that it was the traditional Ahlu Sunnah because like in Jampang, although they have different appearance, the core principle or religious attitude is still the same. Surade is part of the region which was significantly exposed by PKS ideology due to the role of Sukmawijaya who is from Surade and owns an integrated Islamic School which has become the base of their movements and lectures which are then established into a vast network in schools and even campuses outside of Surade such as UMMI. However, currently such influence is beginning to die because the surrounding community observes their behavior, not their ideology. Thus, PKS and their network, ideologically is hindered by pesantrens with traditionalist values, although their ideology, however, is bought by students and youth not enrolling to a pesantren. Those who do still prefer FPI and the like.

## C. Research Findings

### *1. Extracurricular at a crossroads: issues and realities of radicalism of students and student organizations*

According to Article 3 of Law Number 20 Year 2003 on the National Education System, national education aims to develop the learners' potential to become human beings and citizens who believe and cognizant to God Almighty, have a noble character, be healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, democratic and responsible.<sup>38</sup> More details are provided in Article 3 that national education aims at the development of the potential of students, in Article 4

<sup>37</sup> In the past, religious extracurricular in this school was Rohis, but ever since there is pesantren the network of school students with Rohis has been declining. Although there are still some who are actively involved in regular routine studies of Rohis network (QuC, MMC), the number is only in a dozen according to the statement of one of the students who became the head of the MAN 3 network.

<sup>38</sup> Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation Number 81A Year 2013 on Curriculum Implementation. In the regulation the rules of the extracurricular assessment is explained.

paragraph (4) that education is organized by exemplary, in Article 12 paragraph (1b) that each student at each educational unit is entitled to an education appropriate to his talents, interests, and abilities. The development of potential learners as mentioned in the national education objectives can be realized through extracurricular activity which is part of the curricular program. Extracurricular activities are curricular programs whose time allocations are not specified in the curriculum. It is clear that extracurricular activities are the operational tools (supplements and complements) of the curriculum, which need to be compiled and set forth in the annual work plan/education calendar.

Extracurricular activities bridge the different developmental requirements of students, such as differences in sense of moral values and attitudes, abilities, and creativity. Through their participation in extracurricular activities, students can learn and develop communication skills, cooperate with others, discover and develop their potential. Extracurricular activities also provide great social benefits. The vision of extracurricular activities in educational units is the development of the potential, talent, interest, ability, personality, and independence of learners optimally through activities outside of intracurricular activities. The function of extracurricular activities on unit education functions is as development, social, creative, and career preparation.<sup>39</sup>

Idealism above motivates schools to compete to establish a variety of extracurriculars, and from the results of our observation at the field it is found that all the six schools studied have extracurricular and no less than 10 extracurriculars at each school (there are even schools that have up to 20 or more). There have been many researches and studies claiming that extracurricular in schools have the potential to become a vessel for radicalism. From these studies, the activities that have large potential of being such vessels are religious extracurricular. The reason is the massive involvement of alumni and the network of pro-radicalism movements that infiltrate through the campus dakwah where the seeds are cultivated since middle school (regeneration). This network gets into school with a variety of methods: mentoring, women's affairs, Quran lovers club, and weekly

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39 Ibid.

leaflets distributed through announcement board and Friday sermons. Some cases mention that the ease of getting into state universities also becomes one of the motivations that are quite tempting.

Schools are an open space for any dissemination, including radical religious beliefs because school is too open and the group of religious radicalism makes use of this opening to actively campaign its ideology and expand its network. Consequently, due to the strengthening of radical religious beliefs in the school environment, many students' understanding of Islam becomes monolithic and they are fond of blaming others. Because of this enclosed religious understanding, their nationalism is degrading. Ironically, many schools are not paying attention to the radical notions taught through extracurricular activities in schools. This exclusionary activity becomes an effective entry point for the infiltration of radical groups among students.

The Sukabumi regency as a very religious homogeneous district is no stranger to the issue of radicalization among students, but so far, no significant amount of radicalization has been found among students, especially through extracurricular activities.<sup>40</sup> Of the six schools studied, religious extracurricular has dominated school activities. If looking at the work program of division 1 (Faith and Taqwa division) in the OSIS that oversees religious extracurricular, the programs are the most compared to other divisions and also other extracurricular. The type and rhythm of religious activities are similar, such as reading Quran or shalawat 15 minutes before KBM, Dhuhur mass prayer, and women's affair every Friday.

Why is this happening in Sukabumi District? As explained earlier, when leading Sukabumi District, the two period Regent, Sukmawijaya, spawned many educational policies with religious nuance, but unfortunately the policy is entirely devoted to Islam only, thoroughly and indirectly implemented to every students of any beliefs. The most heavy and routine policy implemented in almost all schools in Sukabumi District is the Habituation of 10 Practice of

<sup>40</sup> According to the findings of the Maarif Institute on the early 2017 research, there is one school that is clearly indicated to be affiliating with HTI. And this has been running for decades. However, since the dissolution of HTI it seems that the indication has calmed down; thus, when research is continued the indications were no longer apparent at other schools who are subject to this research.

Nobles, where this habituation emphasizes more on activity for Muslim children. From their responsibility to wear hijab for every female Muslim student, activity before studying such as reciting Quran and Shalawat, to Jamaah Dzuhur prayer (afternoon mass prayer). There are also schools that hold sermon at Dzuhur (MAN 1), have religious holidays (all 6 schools only celebrate Islamic holidays), and provide religious teacher only for Islam.<sup>41</sup>

Former head of the Religious Affairs during the Sukmawijaya period, who played an important role in the formulation of the “Islamization” policy in the education institution, stated that all local regulations and derivative rules were in line with central government regulations and the Minister of Religious Affairs (PMA), especially those related to education. Another thing that became the consideration of the emergence of the Regional Regulation is to continue the legacy of the predecessor.

*I would like to first clarify the 8th point of the regional regulation, which stated that the regulation made by the religious advisor also refers to the Ministry of Religion, referring to Ministry of Religion PMA of Sukabumi Region. The purpose of this education is to develop proper personality, potentials that have to be nurtured and developed as explained in the Constitution and Education Constitution. Knowledge does not simply become attitude, there are steps that are necessary. Knowledge must be taken to heart and shown in attitude. Thus, education at Sukabumi Region revolves towards that goal. The resolute believers of Sukabumi Region are amounted to 2,4 million and the majority are Muslims. Thus, it is convenient to adjust the policy to the context of the majority, so as to make the implementation easy and reasonable. And the Regional regulation, Number 9 only applies to Islam, there are no enforcement for other believers. There is no other motivation, I think that every policy is formulated according to the guideline existing in PMA or Ministry of Education Regulation which revolves around religion.<sup>42</sup>*

41 The reason is that there is a local government regulation which states that the provision of teaching staff of religious education is compulsory when the number of students meets the minimum quota of 20 or more in one school and must be in one denomination. If the number is less than that, then the school may not facilitate or may hand over it to the related religious institution.

42 The former head of Religious Advisor Institution in FGD stakeholder discussions on 29 November 2017.



One of the stakeholders who formulated the policy stated that the policy is a form of realization of political contract between Sukmawijaya and his supporting party (PKS). PKS Tarbiyah's influence in Sukabumi Region is similar to other regions whose government is led by PKS. They utilize school religious activity spaces which are dominating as part of cultivation stage of outstanding students from school. In the past, when Sukmawijaya took office for two periods, this policy seems to be used as an engine of sympathy for cadres at the beginning of the election by establishing Religious Advisor Institution, which then forms Qur'ani Club (QC). The members of QC are students who are active in religious extracurricular activity in schools. Although the echo is fading due to the head of Religious Advisor Institution and the Regent are kept changing, PKS tarbiya activity under QC can still be found in a number of mosques under BKPRMI because the head of the Religious Advisor was still in power as head of PKPRMI and also as one of the MUI committees at Sukabumi Region.

The indication of radicalism is not found in the six schools studied; however, the potential for intolerance is quite strong. Three institutions have been suspected to have nurtured intolerance among students even among the general public, namely: PKS, FPI, and Ar-Raayah. PKS since Sukmawijaya took office had been intensively spreading the tarbiyah virus in schools and university through QC (Qur'ani Club). FPI has been infiltrating salafi pesantrens where the knowledge of nationalism and diversity are absent. And Ar-Rayyah has been infiltrating through alumni network in Cikembar, a district that is considered as religiously Heterogenic in Sukabumi Region.

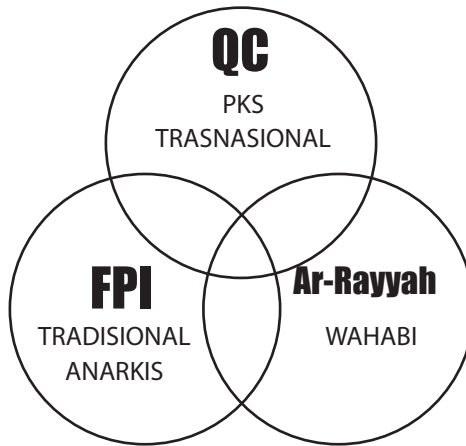


Figure 4 Diagram of Actors

Qurani Club or better known as QC is a student development institution at Sukabumi Region. In December 20th 2005, H. Sukma Wijaya, MM (Regent at the time) established Qur'ani Club at an Unnamed Villa and Daarul Ilmi secretariat at Jl. Kaum Kulon, Cisaat. QC was established as a vessel for student's moral development in Sukabumi region with a tag line "Save the Nation's Heir" ("Selamatkan Pewaris Negeri!").<sup>43</sup>

QC activities among others are: first, TND (Taman Negeri Dongeng/Story Land Garden), an activity in which they tell tales to less fortunate children around the QC secretariat. The tale is inspired by both fictive or true tales from Siroh Nabawi and the religious people. Tales that will give them the motivation and passion to welcome the future as a generation that will inherit the country, according to the QC slogan.

Second, Mentoring Students, a kind of group study that will guide students in living a safe life. According to the results of interviews with students who are active in QC, mentoring activities are usually done once every week. Different

43 It can be said that QC is a vessel for students outside of the school that was formed as one of the implementation of the policy of habituation of noble character created by Sukmawijaya.

school takes different place. In SMAN 1 Cisaat the QC mentoring is usually done in school while in SMAN Jampang Kulon and MAN 3 Surade mentoring is usually conducted in SMP IT At-Tawazun as one of the secretariats of QC in regional 6.<sup>44</sup>

Third, OBSESI (Obrolan Seputar Studi Islam/Talks on Islamic Studies). This activity is usually done monthly by inviting all students from various schools who are members of QC and usually conducted per-region in the QC secretariat as well as in schools that cooperate with QC. The themes discussed in OBSESI are usually related to matters relating to adolescents, such as the role of youth in the nation, Islam and nation, love, hijrah, being Muslim and Muslimah in accordance to Quran, and so on.<sup>45</sup> Fourth, Kabita (Kajian Khusus Muslimah/ Muslimah Exclusive Study). The themes of this study teach how to be a good and obedient female Muslim like Khadijah bint Khuwaylid, Nusaybah bint Ka'ab, Khawla Binti Al-Azwar, A'ishah bint Abu Bakr and other examples of Muslim women. The point is how to be a good muslimah in appearance and morals.<sup>46</sup>

QC is very popular among students in state schools in Sukabumi Region, especially among those whose family or environment lacks religious teachings (similar to pesantren or teachings from the holy book). Students who are actively and consistently participating in QC stated that the reason why QC was so popular and the creation of massive tarbiyah movement were accepted by schools were because they produce positive changes to their students.

This is then what makes QC easily enter the school, even the events such as 'liqo' or even mentorship is held without the school's permission. In the process of recruitment, QC offers a reward for those who bring in new members to QC. The

44 SMP IT At-Tawazun is a school belonging to Sukmawijaya and this institution is typical of PKS tarbiyah. QC coordination is divided by region. Therefore, one of them, the regional term 6 emerged. This division also regulates the coordination of all schools (students) involved in QC of the region. So, each region has coordinators, each school has coordinators; two coordinators, Ikhwan and Akhwat.

45 Themes related to Islamic law, anti-pluralism, etc. are usually presented among students as researchers have followed in one of QC secretariats at Tijanul Anwar Mosque.

46 Kabita is usually held in the fourth week of each month, after dzuhur prayer in Tijanul Anwar Mosque. This study is more followed by female college students than middle school students.

Reward is a mushaf Al-Qur'an or religious books. QC's appeal to students is the Muhasabah and Ukhuwah values that are implanted in every teaching.

I originally participated because a friend invited me and I had not yet worn hijab at that time. When I participated in the study once, I immediately decided to wear a long hijab. This is my hijrah from the time of ignorance. What my friends and I find interesting is that in QC we are invited to self-introspect in every meeting and to ukhuwah.<sup>47</sup>

QC as a coaching forum for youth, both students and university students, can actually be a good movement for students if only the Islamic values are implanted towards Islam Rahmatan lil 'Alamin, a loving Islam towards others, and Islam that appreciates difference. Unfortunately, the Islamic values embedded in QC are more dominated by the Islamic values of one group alone.<sup>48</sup> And by the look of it, QC is a strong political element, in which the interests of its founders are so visible which is to attract novice voters to their party. Successful regeneration patterns are used by PKS in various regions, and one of the indications is that PKS can always survive two periods of office wherever they control the government. The role of QC and its mass cannot be ignored in religious issues. Even though not everyone directly intervenes in defending Islam acts or others, they have massively disseminated sharia through social media, and most QC member are millennial who are popular in social media.

We are under the same PKS as ODOJ (one day one juz), and volunteer at zakat house. We are also affiliated with KAMMI and also take part in Islamic defensive actions, but most of the akhwats post in social media. Like after the 212 movement and the continuation, Rohingya as well.<sup>49</sup>

Their movement in social media is also suspected to be one of the reasons why QC has become popular among teenagers and young people. The tarbiyah

47 N's statement. The person is one of the QC members who participated in the FGD at Hotel Anugrah on 29 November 2017.

48 It can be seen from the writings of their activities on the blog <http://qcindo.blogspot.co.id/p/blog-page.html> and observations of researchers when following his study at Tijanul Anwar mosque.

49 N's statement in FGD at Anugrah Hotel on 29 November 2017.

influence that is adapted to the millennial context becomes an attraction that cannot be avoided and it is favored by them.

The second actor is FPI. FPI usually goes to salaf pesantren which upholds “religious pretenses” as their life guidance. Besides pesantren, FPI in Sukabumi Region also thrives among the people who are happy to form religious organizations, so it is not surprising that in this region many religious organizations, and almost 80% of them are formed by FPI. Other than the budget issues and the distribution of pirated land, the FPI mass organizations were created to strengthen and disguise the name of FPI which is infamous in some areas in Sukabumi Region. The activities of FPI are usually tabligh akbar, mass dhikr, implemenation of “Nahi Munkar” (dissolution of the place of sinners, heresy), etc..<sup>50</sup> Based on interviews with some students, many of them become santri at salaf pesantren. It is at this pesantren they know FPI and sometimes participate in FPI activities. It was widely found in six schools studied that the students who are also salaf santri participated in mass mobilization of a series of demonstration in Jakarta. They were facilitated by accommodation and receive blessings even recommendation by the pesantren and also the school. The reason is to defend Islam that has been mocked.

FPI becomes appealing to students who are in pesantren because to them the value of brotherhood and unity as the people of “Islam” becomes a source of pride. In addition, the value of pesantren will be the blessing of kyai and ulama; that is also what they believe. For them, it is a blessing to follow these firm and bold FPI habibs and clerics, so they follow and make them role models.

The value I get from FPI is that we are all brothers; all Muslims are brothers. As such we can be close to the scholars and when we are close to our scholars, our lives are a blessing.<sup>51</sup>

50 According to some informants outside the research subjects (drivers of online transports, public figures, businessmen, and society) FPI in some areas are infamous because one of the mass organizations formed such as GHOIB is better known as debt collector mass organizations, and the background of its members are mostly “thugs”, not santri. It is said that their services are often used by motor dealers or loan providers.

51 AC statement in student FGD at Anugrah Hotel on 29 November 2017.

The last one is Ar-Rayyah. This College of Arabic Studies (STIBA) is an affiliate of LIPIA in Jakarta, whose source of funding comes from Saudi Arabia.<sup>52</sup> Ar-Rayyah stands in Cikembar region, where the majority of the people are Catholics. Ar-Rayyah gets into school through the alumni network in SMAN 1 Cikembar. According to the board of religious council and religious coordinator, Ar-Rayyah is usually one of the sources for religious studies in the extracurricular activity. It has been since long time. In fact, according to one of the teachers, Ar-Rayyah is difficult to get rid of because many of the alumni from this school proceed to the STIBA. He also stated that Ar-Rayyah belongs to the category of Islam which is quite exclusive. But unfortunately, researchers cannot dig any further related to Ar-Rayyah due to time constraints.

From the three popular “actors” in the religious activities of the school, it can be deduced how the internalization of the Islamic values is cultivated to the students who follow them. Students who are active in QC activities tend to “keep to themselves” (they wear clothing that covers their aurat; using cuffs and socks to cover the legs and hands, wide hijab for women, and not touching hands when shaking hands with the opposite sex). From the gesture and the way they speak it is a bit different from other students. They seem more mature and inculcate everything with Quran as well as religious postulates. They often make statements about how to be Muslim teenagers who should adhere to Quran. Although their involvement is weekly or monthly, the fact that internalization of the value they cultivate grows considerably among the students.

Students who are or have been active in FPI activities tend to be courageous and fiery. It was shown as we were trying to explore their responses to the widespread religious issues in Indonesia. One of them, former chairperson of OSIS MAN 3, stated that:

52 As is known LIPIA is heavy with Wahhabism. They are also very exclusive and their religious views tend to be intolerant. Using their terms.

*"I do not agree with tolerance because it [tolerance] is the root of permissiveness. If we are tolerant, we are letting them outside us (Islam) do as they please. The truth is tasammuh: tolerance only in social terms not in religion because the Quran firmly states Islam is the only true religion."*<sup>53</sup>

They also tend to be assertive and pro toward actions that they say is a way of defending Islam because for them it is one way to strengthen the weakening Islam. Unfortunately, we were unable to inquire information from students who are exposed to Ar-Rayyah due to time constraints. Similar findings are their response to religious issues<sup>54</sup>. They agree with the implementation of Islamic Sharia but not the Islamic State because Indonesia has its own basic state; they are pro to the actions of defending Islam and to heresy assumptions for those who are different in both religious and faith from those outside the Islam majority that they know, such as NU and Muhammadiyah, and; they agree that PKI (the Communist Party) is evil and has massacred many scholars.

As for the issue of diversity, it is not clear because they are in a very homogeneous environment both in schools and at home. They feel comfortable with their world and environment. "We don't want to find out more deeply; worried we would be affected; just knowing about it is enough," according to one student of SMAN 1 Sukaraja. Out of six schools only one facilitates activities in direct contact with students from other religions as well as from other ethnic groups, namely SMAN 1 Cikembar. It is because in this school there are about 10-15 non-Muslim students (Protestant), a quite number compared to five other schools. Other schools have no initiative to start it and instill applicative values of diversity because according to them it is not necessary.

Yet the majority of the school's residents are Muslims. Although there are non-Muslim students in their schools, they are not seen. Even if there are allusions between Muslims and non-Muslims, it is only on the scope of sharing in the religious lessons, and even that occurs only in SMAN 1 Cisaat.

<sup>53</sup> Quoting verse Quran Surah Al-Imran verse 19.

<sup>54</sup> The religious issues they know are only; Islamic defense action, Rohingya, and PKI.

The religious condition of these schools is supported by people belonging to traditionalists in religion (claiming to be NU despite the varied “appearance”). They do not really understand what a transnational, salafi, or moderate religious organization are. Most of them only know NU and Muhammadiyah. On the one hand, this may be a positive outcome because they only know black and white. On the other hand, this can be a negative outcome because they are so easily manipulated by ideals that have the potential of intolerance and ignore diversity. And in fact, that’s what’s happening at Sukabumi Region. Schools and mosques have become transparent and political groups such as PKS and PUI, and the many salaf pesantren scattered in Sukabumi Region became an arable land mass organization which has a “hard” and intolerant image like FPI.

The radicalism phenomenon among students and school residents is not found. However, the internalization of the vast majority of traditional Islamic values makes the school citizens, both educators and learners, comfortable and ignorant of the diversity value. This will indirectly foster intolerant attitude if these empty spaces are kept filled by those who are so strong in their group’s sentiments. As stated by many, intolerance first, radicalism later. Looking from the traditions of the Sukabumi Pasundan people who are very close to exclusive and conservative values, it is not yet clear whether this is their desire to return to a kaffah Islam<sup>55</sup> or it is indeed greater which is because of the politicization of religion.

Another interesting finding is that there are students wearing face veil (niqab) in two schools, MAN 1 and MAN 3. These two schools are religious-based state schools that are usually thought to be more moderate in their Islamic understanding than public schools. After investigation, all female students who wear veils do not have any indication of joining the movement and radical understanding. They are “inspired” to wear veils from the social media,<sup>56</sup> 41 books 401 hadith Purdah and QS. Al-Ahzab, as well as families and friends who have already picked up face veils.

55 This self-introspection is associated with a high number of PLWHA in Sukabumi Region, so religion is used as a way to return.

56 Massive hijrah in social media; even some popular face veiled women become Instagram celebrities and usually become examples for adolescents. In addition, social media writers and ustadz, such as Felix Siauww and the like became their reference and reading material.



*"I always stay at home, so I do not go to lecture or board anywhere. I decided to wear a face veil because I often follow writings and solicitation on social media related to Hijrah," SN, MAN 1 Student.*

*"I was inspired by my older siblings who wear face veils; it seems cool. Then I asked them and I was given a book of 401 hadith about purdah. After reading that, I was ready to wear one," NA, MAN 3 student.*

*"All the women from my father's side of the family wear face veils. Mother does not, but my family is used to it and is very supportive. The understanding of purdah is derived from the books learned in the pesantren of the family. We often discuss about religion there," NS, MAN 3 student.<sup>57</sup>*

The face veil/purdah phenomenon is interesting because the role of social media and peers with the hijrah movement become their dominant reference. When confirmed, schools stated that they were worried students wearing face veils indicated that they were following a movement or radical ideology. Schools then investigated and tried to approach the students, and when they were asked, they answered that their reasons were completely to cover their aurat (skin from showing) and they were more comfortable dressed like that. The schools admitted that they could not prohibit them from wearing it because they were worried that they might be accused of violating children's rights. Therefore, the schools simply limit that if they want to wear face veil, wearing a mask is enough or not letting it dangle for too long and watching them from afar. The schools also tried to understand that that appearance could restrict them from learning and doing extracurricular activity.

### **Students' sources of knowledge and information**

As mentioned earlier, students' understanding of religion is still minimal. For them, if they have one same God and worship the same way, then they are Islam (they call it "ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah"). Those who are active in QC studies do not

<sup>57</sup> NS comes from a family where the father is Jamaah Tabligh.

follow any fikh teachings that are different from what they believe. This becomes ambiguous as what they believe in differs from what they practice in daily life.

*I take part in QC, but I am NU. Therefore, if the fikh practice is different from what I believe, I won't follow it.*<sup>58</sup>

*I think I am ablu sunnah wal jama'ah; other than that, it is Muhammadiyah.*<sup>59</sup>

The preferred character also matches the religious style they follow. For example, students who are active in QC lectures mostly refer to Felix Siauw, and Abdul shomad. Those who are active in FPI refer to Habib Rizieq Shihab, Zakir Naik, to Erdogan as their role model scholar whom they follow and defend due to their firmness and courage in defending Islam. Meanwhile, those who are from moderate circles such as IPPNU, Fopulis, and Sunanul Huda, refers to Gus Dur, Gus Mus, and Habibie as the preferred scholars and figures because their thinking is contextual, progressive, and make Indonesia proud. They also prefer Teachers, Kyai, Ustadz, Habib, and 'Murobbi' as figures that could enlighten their religious understanding more than their parents. Seeing this, the role of said figures becomes very influential to most students because they can replace the role of parents in nurturing their religious education.

For the popular religious issue which is defending Islam acts, where the act is to fight against "defiler" of religion, the FGD result shows that there are those who want leaders with similar faith. However, some also stated that the problem was not simply about similar faith but it was more about the defilement that Ahok had performed. For them, the similar faith is in the context of religion not in the context of something worldly like the government.

58 NN statement in student's FGD at Anugrah Hotel on 29 November 2017.

59 AC statement in student's FGD at Anugrah Hotel on 29 November 2017.

## ***2. Implementation of ministerial regulations and policies: a forgotten state authority***

*To look at the implementation of the policy at the school level, this study focuses on the OSIS and extracurricular policy listed in Ministry of Education Regulation no. 39 of 2008, Ministry of Education and Culture No. 23 of 2015 related to character and local policies related to education.*

In general, five out of six schools did not know in detail the policies contained in Ministry of National Education Regulation, Ministry of Religious Regulations (PMA), as well as Regional Regulations related to Intra-School Student Organizations (OSIS) and extracurriculars.<sup>60</sup> Only the vice principal from MAN 1 responded quite thoroughly when asked about the rules. In practice, the educational unit (school) follows the existing rules or duplicates the activities of the previous OSIS and extracurriculars. The formulation of policies and rules in schools, both for OSIS and the extracurricular, is based on the deliberation of the board and the advisors of OSIS/student affairs who set the planning from budgeting to implementing of the program. Actually, socialization related to new policy regulation always exists and is performed by Ministry of Education and Culture as well as Ministry of Religion. It is just that they claimed to understand partly, not in detail. They claimed to have forgotten the Regulations because those are obsolete.

### **a. Implementation of Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation no. 39 of 2008**

According to all stakeholders who became informants of this research, the implementation of Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation no. 39 of 2008 has been accommodated in the management and OSIS work program. The OSIS management consists of at least 9 to 11 divisions. These divisions are in accordance with the values to be achieved in the Ministry of Education and

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<sup>60</sup> Stakeholders (principal & student advisor) and students do not understand the regulations.

Culture Regulation as in the Ministerial Regulation enclosure relating to any material that needs to be internalized through the OSIS.

In the OSIS succession scheme, all schools have implemented an electoral system similar to regional head or a presidential election in Indonesia. Usually, the KPU is the MPK (Class Consultative Assembly), assisted by DPK (Class Representative Council). MPK and DPK functions are similar to MPR and DPR in the government, where they oversee the performance of OSIS management and assist the mentors and the student affairs. In addition, MPK also plays a significant role in assisting OSIS in their activity executions. The stages of OSIS candidate selection are almost similar in 6 schools: recommendations from the student affairs, interviews with students and teachers, campaigns, open debates, elections, LDKS (basic leadership training for leadership), and formulation of work programs and management. The 5 schools studied agreed that one requirement to run for the head of the OSIS is to have an experience in the previous OSIS management, so there is no opportunity for non-OSIS candidate to run for OSIS head. However, SMAN 1 Cikembar is different. They give freedom to any students whether they have served as OSIS administrators of the previous period or not to run for OSIS chairperson on one condition: they must participate in LDKS which is usually held for 3-5 days. Unlike the other five schools where LDKS is done after election, at this school LDKS is done before the selection process.

Three out of 6 schools (SMAN 1 Cisaat, SMAN 1 Cikembar, and SMAN 1 Jampang Kulon) have non-Muslim students although the percentage is less than 1%. From these three schools none of the non-Muslim students is active and included in the management of OSIS, MPK, DPK neither the extracurricular. When inquired they answered that they were not interested, they had too many activities, or they were not comfortable as the minority in the management. This then has implications on the OSIS work program in which it only accommodates the major religion which is Islam. Including minorities into the work program is not considered by them.

In the Regulation of the National Education Ministry No. 23 of 2008 point 3,

it is explained that Student Counseling is performed through extracurricular and co-curricular activities. In the Ministerial Regulation, the materials for student counseling that must be internalized through OSIS are also enclosed. They include:

1. faith and faithfulness to God Almighty;
2. noble character;
3. superior personality, nationality insight, and state defense;
4. academic, art and/or sport achievements according to talents and interests;
5. democracy, human rights, political education, Environment, sensitivity and social tolerance in the context of plural society;
6. creativity, skills, and entrepreneurship;
7. physical, health, and nutrition qualities based on a diversified nutrition source
8. literature and culture;
9. information and communication technology;
10. communication in English.

These ten materials are then translated by the schools into divisions in management of OSIS. They then create their work programs according to the counseling material. The divisions are not absolutely the same in all of the schools; some form 10 divisions according to the order of the Ministerial Regulation, some separate one material into several divisions. Each division mostly oversees extracurricular, but not all divisions have extracurriculars.

The forms of programs and activity related to material 1 include faith and devotion to God Almighty and it is usually in the form of religious activity, such as reciting Quran 15 minutes before teaching and learning, reciting Asmaul Husna/shalawat before teaching and learning, mass Duha Prayer<sup>61</sup>, Dzuhur prayer (MAN 1), Friday morning congregation (MAN 3), celebration of religious holidays (just Islam), and in charge of religious extracurricular (RMA, FORMA, KHARISMA,

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61 In SMAN Jampang Kulon, Duha Prayer is held every two weeks at the school field, alternating with flag ceremony.

RMAI, etc.).<sup>62</sup> Material 2 or noble character or noble moral program usually includes the application of student discipline assisted by religious extracurricular for its activity. This division also supervises the execution of the 10 Habits of Noble Character at 6 schools. Material 3 on superior character, national knowledge, and state defense is typical work program related to weekly ceremony, the celebration of national holiday and supervising the Flag Ceremony Troop and scouting extracurricular. Material 4 is implemented through supervising many diverse extracurriculars such as theater, choir, band, and dance. Material 5 implementation is typically in the form of OSIS succession, deliberations and OSIS board meeting and there is no extracurricular on this. This material 5 on democracy is the most relevant material to this research issue; however, from all the schools studied, the implementation of tolerance and sensitivity to a plural society is ignored in their work program. Material 6 is mostly related to entrepreneurship and typically as a way to fundraise. Not all schools have this field. Material 7 on well-being is implemented through sports extracurriculars<sup>63</sup>. In material 8, most of the work programs are schools wall magazine and KIR (Kelompok Ilmiah Remaja/Science Group). The implementation of material 9 and 10 is in the form of language or IT clubs.

In reality, OSIS and extracurriculars play a role only as school event organizer in which they implement more of the programs planned by the school. The involvement of OSIS, MPK, and DPK as determinants and policy makers in schools is very limited because they always have to go through the approval of OSIS advisor and Principal. Field findings show that only OSIS in SMAN 1 Cisaat has the initiative to circulate aspiration boxes through DPK and MPK. This program serves as a forum for all students and school residents to be able to convey what they think is inappropriate or appropriate for students, becoming its rules or school programs. This aspiration coordination flow scheme is actually

62 Each school adapts the name of their school mosque as their religious extracurricular; so the name of each school's religious extracurricular is different. So, it is easier to name them all as Rohis (Islamic Spirit).

63 Six schools studied favored Volley and Futsal. These two sports are even used as non-academic selection channels; students who pass through this selection get scholarships and dormitory facilities.

interesting because it can be one of the ways in which the OSIS and its staff can take role in determining the policy. But in reality, most of these aspirations are neglected and rejected by the school.

*“This is actually interesting because there are some dynamics in the DPK, MPK, and OSIS. The sharing and discussion process are alive, but unfortunately when we submit it to the Head Deputy of Student Affair and the Principal, their aspirations are mostly rejected,” said SB, SMAN 1 Cisaat student.*

Since the existence of regional autonomy, local policies have been made mostly by local governments including education. The implication is that most of the implementation of policy at the level of education units in the regions adopts more regional policies than the national policies. Unfortunately, these policies only accommodate one religion which is Islam. This religious nuance educational policy is then accommodated by the Religious Student Council in realizing its implementation, starting from planning, formulating the curriculum, until writing up details of the rules.

#### **b. Implementation of Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation no. 23 of 2015**

The Regulation of Ministry of Education and Culture No. 23 of 2015 sets the Character Building program in an educational unit starting from the principal to the surrounding community. The purpose of this Ministerial Regulation is to make school a fun park to study for students, teachers, and educators; to develop an appropriate habit as a form of character education in the family, school, and community; to make education as a movement involving the government, local government, community, and family; and/or to develop a harmonious environment and culture of studying between family, school, and community. The involvement of every school resident becomes important for the realization of those purposes.

This Ministerial Regulation is actually very good if it is implemented seriously by the school because it is full of nationalism and humanitarian values. It's just

that the reality shows that the translation of this Ministerial Regulation is mostly in religious rituals such as reciting the Quran and shalawat before teaching and learning, mass prayer, “Islamic” dress code, to the sunnah fasting. The values of nationalism and diversity that become the main purpose of this Ministerial Regulation are nowhere to be seen. In fact, as known, public schools are not religious schools, public schools are government-owned schools, so it should highlight more nationalism values. But in Sukabumi Region, public schools (SMAN) and religious-based public schools (MAN) are no different in apparent rules (dress code) and the implementation of character (attitude). The understanding of the school stakeholders and teachers related to this Ministerial Regulation is also very narrow. They believe that pious students must automatically have noble characters. The translation of moral here is more likely to be diligently worships God. They believe that when students worship enough, they must have strong faith and this will have implications to their social behavior. Unfortunately, the character building is not nurtured by the school, so it cannot be guaranteed that a diligent student must be moderate and tolerant.

The implementation of this policy is inferior compared to the 10 Habituation of the Noble Character. The six schools agreed that 10 Habituation of the Noble Character is the core of character education. The habituation is in accordance with the context of homogeneity in Sukabumi Region which is Islam in majority.

Article 5 of the Ministerial Regulation mentions the implementation of monitoring and evaluation scheme which are: monitoring and evaluation activities of MOPDB (New Students Orientation ) are conducted at the beginning of the new school year by the Government and Local Government according to their authority; monitoring and evaluation activities of habituation as well as interaction and communication in schools are performed once every year by the government and local government according to their authority; monitoring and evaluation activities of graduation are performed at the end of the school year by the government and local government according to their authority. In the regulation it is clearly stated that there is government’s involvement in the



monitoring and evaluation process. However, in reality the government is absent. Monitoring is finished at the policy socialization stage without any routine evaluation which should have been conducted as stated in the regulation. This makes the “inappropriate” interpretation of the character cultivation in the education unit keep continuing and flourishing.

### **c. Implementation of local regulations on religion and education**

Since the existence of regional autonomy, local policies which have been adapted to the local context also have implications in education. The implementation of policies related to education is mostly derived from the Regional Government. It is not strange if sometimes the local policy overlaps with the national policy. Since early 2017 related policies and management of public high schools and equivalent are already in the province. However, this relatively new diversion has not had much effect on the education policy in Sukabumi Region. The policies still prevailing and realized are the product of the previous regent administration. As has been mentioned in previous descriptions, Sukabumi Region spawned many educational policies that are heavy in religious nuance (only Islam) when Sukmawijaya took the office. The following are the policies of the Regional Government related to education and religion:

- Instruction of the Regent of Sukabumi Number 4 Year 2004 on the Muslim Clothing for Students and College Students in Sukabumi Regency;
- Regent Regulation Number 6 of 2006 on Religious Education Compulsory Program as part of the Basic Education Compulsory Program;
- Regent Regulation Number 7 of 2006 on Guidelines for Accreditation of Madrasah Diniyah;
- Regent Regulation Number 30 of 2007 on Curriculum of Madrasa Diniyah Awaliah in Sukabumi Region;
- Regent Regulation Number 33/2008 on Ten Habituation of Noble Character at School;
- Regional Regulation No. 8 of 2009 on Compulsory Religious Education.

These six regional regulations support each other and further affirm “Islamization” in an educational environment that should have been a neutral place, even a home for students to learn diversity. These local regulations would have been very positive if the internalization of Islamic values had been realized in a broader form and further strengthened diversity. Unfortunately, what happens is the opposite. These local regulations can become icebergs that have potentials in diminishing the value of diversity.

The very apparent and ingrained implementation in Sukabumi Region is the Regional Government policy related to compulsory Religious Education in 2006 and 2009 and the Habituation of Noble Character. These policies were made as part of the Sukmawijaya political contract with its supporters. The implementation of the policy of Regent Regulation No. 33 of 2008 on Ten Habituation of Noble Character in schools is realized in the form of religious rituals that have been alluded earlier. The Noble Character is also claimed first (revolutionary) compared to the Ministerial Regulation associated with manners made by the National Government. So, the schools claim that “we have done it first.”<sup>64</sup> This narrow-minded interpretation, as it only accommodates one group, is so entrenched that homogeneity studied in the schools becomes stronger. The strengthening of this have unconsciously made the school residence the majority who neglects the minorities.

Meanwhile, Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2006 and No. 8 of 2009 on Compulsory Religious Education conducted through the Board of Religious Affairs. According to the Head of the Education Services Section, the formulation of religious education curriculum is coordinated by this agency by involving the National Education and Ministry of Religious Affairs. Unfortunately, the formulation of this curriculum is only for Islamic Religious Education. For Regulation No. 6 Year 2006 the realization is that the Diniyah Certificate becomes one of the requirements for entering first grade of school. Students who do not

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64 All school stakeholders have the same thoughts on this subject, in which character is the same as noble character. Noble deity means students skilled in worship rituals.

have the certificate cannot continue to the first-grade level. This policy also leads to the industrialization of education. It is apparent from the economic growth figures of education sector. The number of madrasah diniyah as the organizers and issuer of the certificate thrives where until 2016 the number of Madrasah Diniyah Takmiliah Awaliyah (MDTA) scattered throughout the Sukabumi Region were as many as 2428 institutions.<sup>65</sup>

Looking at the field data, the implementation process of the above policies is still in the socialization level. Monitoring and evaluation schemes, both from education units, local government to the national government, have not been seen. Monitoring and evaluation should be implemented because it is a vital part of the process of improvement and good interpretation and in accordance with the values that would like to be internalized.

### ***3. Vulnerability and resistance: resilience and school strategies in facing the issue of infiltration of radical movements***

Many researches related to the issue of radicalism suggest that high school students are the main target of the spread of this notion. The strong militant regeneration in universities are also widely indicated to have been cultivated since they were still sitting in high school. Their school stakeholders do not deny the findings. Findings on the field indicate that there are small efforts by local governments and schools in mitigating the infiltration of radical movements. At the government level, the political power of PKS is weakening. The current 'nationalist' regent made a breakthrough to filter out intolerant and radical movements by restructuring the Religious Board which all these times had a major role in the implementation of religious policy in schools, and changed its name and function to Social and Religious Development Board. It is hoped that this body could be a supporter of social and religious issues that prioritize nationality and diversity.

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65 Data is collected from Kabupaten Sukabumi documents on figures for 2017.

FKPPI and FKPNI which is a vessel for the children of retired military and police have also enough role in maintaining the stability of diversity in Sukabumi Region, especially in Cikembar area. According to one of the Cikembar youth figures, Cikembar has been relatively stable and it is not easy to ignite a conflict because the outsiders that are usually the source of conflict thinks twice when entering because of the monitoring of these two organizations.

On the other hand, schools have its own way of counteracting radicalism. Starting from monitoring all activities of OSIS and extracurricular (SMAN 1 Sukaraja, MAN 3 Sukabumi, MAN 1 Sukabumi), minimizing resource from outside of the school to speak at religious studies in extracurricular or OSIS (SMAN 1 Cisaat, MAN 1 and 3 Sukabumi, SMAN 1 Sukaraja), maximizing extracurricular activities as a place for students' activities in schools (SMAN 1 Jampang Kulon, MAN 1 Sukabumi), and the establishment of school pesantren (MAN 3 Sukabumi). Schools also regularly work with the Military and Police Force to speak at the flag ceremony which is usually done once a month. The school states that this is part of the effort to shield students from hoaxes and also as an effort to instill nationalism.

Heterogeneity of religion and culture in Sukabumi Region has made pesantren and extracurricular activities to be two places that could be the alternatives to fortify school from exclusive and radical ideology. Extracurricular makes students learn the process of thinking critically and creatively, and pesantren can become the source of valid reference when instilling national insight.

#### ***4. Internalization of the values of diversity and nationality***

The internalization of diversity value done by schools is not too obvious because all schools studied are very homogeneous. Nevertheless, there are small efforts done in SMAN 1 Cikembar which is the school with the highest number of non-Muslims (about 15 people) compared to the five other schools, by the involvement of non-Muslim students as performers at the commemoration of Islamic Day.

*"I sang Islamic songs because I joined the choir. If I'm not mistaken, it was one of GIGI's songs at the event or Maulid Mi'raj. I am happy to sing the songs," said Al, SMAN 1 Cikembar student.*

Although there were no specific activities to internalize the value of diversity in schools, in the process of social interaction, the non-Muslim students in schools claimed to be comfortable being a minority although sometimes there were different treatments. Their peers were not too concerned about the difference, even they claimed to be happy to have a different friend.

*"Happy, because we can talk about things that are different from our religion. Usually we ask if there is fasting in your religion, how many kinds of Christianity there are, and so on," said HN, SMAN 1 Cikembar student.*

*"They like to ask how we pray, and they keep asking about the history of our religion. It is pleasant. I know more, and not a problem," said WK, SMAN 1 Cisaat and a Non-Muslim Student.*

As for instilling nationality values, schools usually cooperate with the Military and Police Force. All schools invite the Military /Police Force to be the advisor of the ceremony. In addition, they also involve the Military to become one of the speakers in LDKS (SMAN 1 Cisaat, MAN 3, SMAN 1 Cikembar). The school stated that the internalization of the value of diversity and nationality were mostly done in teaching and learning activities through history lessons, PKN, and Religion. Other initiatives have not yet appeared even unthinkable by them.

## **5. Seeking models of resilience from school cases**

### **a. Pesantren**

Pondok Pesantren Ulul Albab MAN 3 Sukabumi which was established in 2010 is a dissertation project of the principal at that time (Mr. Ujang). Its mission is to realize boarding schools that are chosen, superior, advanced, trustworthy, and synergistic.

This pesantren is intended for students of IAI (Islamic Religious Studies) majors by implementing collegial institutional system, so that this pesantren is

under the auspices of the State Madrasah School (pesantren and head of the Deputy for Student Affairs of the religion) and is not owned by an individual. Under the pesantren and Religious Head Deputy of Student Affair, this pesantren and all religious activities of the school are coordinated and assisted by Division 1 of OSIS. Since the existence of pesantren, the school relationship with Rohis has been almost gone. More students seek religious reference to school pesantren.

In the pesantren activities, Ulul Albab Pesantren combines classical and contemporary books as the study materials for their santri and asatiz. The person in charge of pesantren, Pesantren and Religious Head Deputy of Student Affair, a graduate of Ushuluddin IAIN (now UIN) Yogyakarta, always review curriculum and pesantren activities. The goal is that students can become future generations who think open mindedly and moderately. The support of the Principal and the teaching staff has made this pesantren continue to grow. Hopefully it could be an alternative reference for children and communities around Surade for religious knowledge that is “rahmatan lil’ alamin.”

#### **b. Extracurriculars and children-friendly schools**

As a faith-based school and the only school that declared itself as Child Friendly School in Sukabumi Region, MAN 1 Sukabumi highly concentrates on extracurricular activities, so besides being busy with myriad of lessons, the students are also busy with diverse extracurricular activities. The school’s support for this extracurricular leads the students to become active and creative. Even the school schedules an exclusive day (Friday) for the students when they are free to wear their extracurricular costumes.

School also does not limit the ideas of creative learning methods such as OCD (Out Class Day) which is part of the form of cultivation of character and value of togetherness through the activities of co-curricular. Educational backgrounds of teaching staff also affect the openness of schools and teachers in the teaching process; the understanding related to nationalism and diversity becomes one of the values nurtured by the school.

**c. Community organizations**

Moderate community and organizational movements also fill the space to ward off intolerance and radicalism. An example is Fopulis (Youth Forum of Cross Faith) which has “Go to School” program. This program tries to attract and involve students in schools, especially in junior and senior high schools to recognize and understand the issue of diversity. They also open the engagement spaces with different groups from the majority that exist in the school, whether from religion or belief outside the majority (Islam). So, they can, at least, be more aware of the minority for the realization of the value of diversity. Friends from NU such as IPPNU and PMII are also quite active in echoing the concept of “Tawasut.” For them, the concept is ideal for viewing and confronting very conservative groups in order to avoid intolerant and radical attitudes.

**Part Two**

**Latent  
Radicalism**





# 3

## Padang

### A. Overview

#### *1. School profiles: OSIS, Rohis, and the network*

The number of high school education units in Padang is 61 schools, consisting of 16 public high schools, 2 public Madrasah Aliyah (MA), 6 private MA and 37 private high schools. In addition to private high schools, there are also religious private high schools, such as SMA Adabiyah, SMA Muhammadiyah, SMA Persatuan Guru Agama Islam/ Islam Teachers Union (PGAI), SMA Islam Adzкия and others. Meanwhile, there are only three non-Muslim high schools namely Don Bosco Salamun High School, Catholic Xaverius Highschool, and Christian Kalam Kudus Highschool. All of these non-Muslim schools are mostly in South Padang and West Padang. This is because the Chinese and non-Muslims live in the South and West of Padang, which are closer to the port area as a commercial center.

The selected school samples are 6 (six) schools, consisting of 4 (four) public High School and 2 (two) public MA. High Schools selected are SMAN 1, SMAN 2, SMAN 9 and SMAN 16. The selection of these schools represents the characters and locations that describe the diversity of schools in Padang. SMAN 1, SMAN 2 and MAN 2 are among the favorite high schools located in the urban center (Urban area), while MAN 1, SMAN 9 and SMAN 16 are located in the suburbs representing rural areas. Actually, there was one more eligible school to be selected as a research sample, SMAN 10, which is one of the favorite schools in

Padang, but it was canceled due administrative reasons.<sup>66</sup>

In terms of socio-economic background, students of SMAN 1 and SMAN are mostly of the upper middle class. This is evident from some of their parents joining the School Committee who are considered to be important officials such as members of the DPRD, vice chairperson of the District Court, lecturer of Andalas University, businessmen and others. As for the committee of SMAN 9, there was once a legal case between the School Committee and the School Principal regarding the corruption case of social assistance fund from Ministry of Education and Culture in 2012-2013. In addition, School Committees are more involved in matters such as physical school needs, student guardian fees, and others.

As a predominantly Muslim region, almost all high schools in Padang have mosques or mushalas. The mosque or mushala is used for religious activities such as mass Duha, Dzuhur or Friday prayer. In addition, there are also study activities that are nurtured by Rohis members. The pattern of religious diversity of students who put forward the symbolic normative piety is felt in the student's life. The schools make rules about the obligation of the jamaah prayer, memorizing the verses of the Quran, reciting, reading Asmaul Husna, lecture after the Dzuhur prayer, and others. There is even a school that counts the students attendance in the jamaah Dzuhur or Duha prayer. For the people of Padang, displaying the religious piety through symbolic rituals is an obligation that needs to be put forward as a characteristic of a religious society.

For teachers' educational background, most are the products of local universities such as UNP (Universitas Negeri Padang), Unand (Andalas University), UIN Imam Bonjol, UBH (University of Bung Hatta) and some outside universities. In SMAN 1, there is a teacher who is a Quran memorizer (tahfidz), namely Ustadz Aria, alumni of al-Azhar Egypt. They all have Bachelor degree (S1) and there are some who have Master of Education (S2).

<sup>66</sup> According to information from research assistants, SMAN 10 is considered very exclusive and discriminatory against Chinese ethnic and non-Muslims. Finally, SMAN 10 was not taken as sample because it was not included in the six schools selected for the study site.

There are some who teach according to their educational background, but there are also some who do not teach accordance with their Bachelor education background. However, they are considered to have competence in the field.

The network of internal actors involved which is important and direct in the activities of student development and extracurricular activities in schools is the Deputy Head Minister of Student Affairs. Meanwhile, other internal actors such as School Committees, School Supervisors, Provincial Education Office (Disdik Prov) are not directly involved in student and extracurricular advising activities especially the ones related to the handling of the issue of radicalism in schools. Like school supervisors, their tasks and functions are more to the supervision of school related to managerial and academic aspects. Managerial control is with the Principal, while the academic supervision is with the teachers.<sup>67</sup>

Similarly, in the Ministry of National Education Regulation No. 12/2007 about the supervisory standards of schools/madrasah, it is mentioned that the school or madrasah supervisors have the duty and function to conduct assessment and advisory through supervision, both in academic and management. School or madrasahs supervisors oversee the implementation of education in schools according to their assignments at existing levels of education and improve the quality of teaching and learning processes and student achievement, and guide in order to achieve educational goals. There are 4 (four) activities undertaken by supervisor in conducting academic supervision and managerial supervision which are Inspecting, Advising, Monitoring, Coordinating and Reporting.

Meanwhile, the new Provincial Education Office which is trusted with the management of high school has not done much coaching on High School related to radicalism issues among high school students because it is still in transition period after having been administered by the regency/municipal.<sup>68</sup> During the transition year, Provincial Education Division still has no specific policy related

67 See article 5 of Ministry of National Apparatus Utilization and RB Regulation No. 21/2010 on Position of School Supervisor Function and Credit Score.

68 See Decision of the Constitutional Court No. 30/PUU-XIV/2016 on judicial review of the case No. 31/PUU-XIV/2016.

to high school advisory. This is because they are still confused about the technical rules of transition of high school management from city to province, and still being constrained by budget problem.<sup>69</sup>

The school committee, as a forum involving the role of the community in improving education services in schools, is not really directly involved in student issues in schools either. Internal affairs of students in schools are more domains of teachers and principals. The school committee is not directly involved in its oversight, including the prevention of radicalism. This is because school committees are more involved at the outside matter than in the inside (student learning process).

According to the Decree of the Ministry of National Education No. 44/U/2002/2002 on School Committees, School Committee aims at improving the roles and responsibilities of the community in the provision of education services, including aspects of transparency, accountability and democratization of education service delivery processes. In other words, the relationship between schools and School Committees are more related to bridging the needs of schools on financial affairs and infrastructure. This is important because since the introduction of BOS (School Operational Assistance) from the government, schools are prohibited from levying students, while the BOS budget is still not sufficient for all school operational needs. This is the function and role of the School Committee, bridging the school needs and the parents.

In the context of radicalism prevention among students, the main functions and roles are held by the Vice Principal in the Division of Student Affairs and the class teacher, who directly faces the students. The emergence of behavior and attitude of radicalism, extremism and intolerance will have impacts on students' academic achievement and will create non-conducive learning environment. The function of teachers and deputy head of Student Affairs in this case is to prevent the development of extremism-radicalism ideology, attitude and behaviors among students because it will affect the situation and condition of the learning environment.

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<sup>69</sup> Based on interview with the Head of West Sumatra Provincial Education Division.

Meanwhile the external actors are alumni who studied at PTN (State University) or PTS (Private Colleges) around Padang such as IAIN Imam Bonjol, State University of Padang (UNP), Andalas University (Unand), University of Bung Hatta (UBH) or outside Padang. The alumni affect the formation of the mindset and religious attitudes of students because they are the ones who intensively mentor their underclassmen. As seniors who had graduated from school, the alumni are given space and opportunity from the school to conduct mentoring for their underclassmen. The school feel that there is no suspicion and concern about the alumni because they were from the same schools, so there is mutual trust between the school and the alumni.

In general, the mainstream religious thought and culture of Padang society is relatively homogeneous, that is Puritan-Revivalist<sup>70</sup> but still related to local cultural customs.<sup>71</sup> Puritan religious thought is dominant in Padang society with the jargon 'Back to the Quran and As Sunnah', the mindset of Salafi-Wahabis<sup>72</sup>, even tends to be conservative. The same is true for some school alumni who are on LDK activities (Campus Dakwah Institution). They are active in Tarbiyah, Salafi Movement and others. The Salafi model is very religious, and it is an exclusively inclined religious stance indoctrinated to the underclassmen in high school. However, the school or principal does not consider it as something inappropriate or dangerous, because it has become a general religious culture of Padang's community.

70 The term puritans refer to the thought of Khaled M. Abou el-Fadl in his book, 'Save Islam from Muslim Puritans' (2006, Serambi Semesta), that suggests puritanism as absolutism which is uncompromising and tends to be pure in looking at various social realities and intolerant of the plurality that exists. Puritan religion means diversity that wants to purify the practice of religious teachings, so it only comes from one source of basic religious teachings and which is practiced by the early adherents of Islam (generation of friends, salafus shaleh). Puritan religious practices are considered intolerant because they tend to deny the existing of plurality.

71 Related to local culture because in Minang cultural philosophy, custom and culture cannot be separated from religion and becomes one unity. The famous philosophy of Minang custom that is *basandi syara*, *syara basandi kitabullah* affirms the closeness of the related culture with religion.

72 The term salafi is almost identical to puritanists, which similarly understand the teachings of religion as practiced in the early generations of Islam (salaf), i.e. the companions of the Prophet, the tabiin and the tabii tabiin. The term Wahhabis refers to one of the figures of Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahab as one of the prominent scholars who had salafi thought with a very textual, literalist religious thought concept.

Moreover, there are also a number of ustadz from other religious pesantren and university such as IAIN, STAI PIQ in Padang who perform religious activity in schools. One of the renown Pesantrens namely Ar-Risalah Pesantren, which is managed by Ar-Risalah Islamic Teaching Foundation, founded in 2003 in Solok but then moved to Padang in 2005.<sup>73</sup>

Pesantren Ar Risalah owns a formal middle school and high school institution, and it claims to be the best religious educational institution in Padang. The religious characteristic of Ar Risalah is Salafi Wahabi whom most of the teachers are LIPIA Jakarta graduates, an Islamic and Arabic speaking educational institution branched out from Ibn Su'ud University of Saudi Arabia.<sup>74</sup> Ar Risalah Pesantren's ideology is close to Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/ Prosperous Justice Party (PKS); even the current mayor of Padang, Mahyeldi Ansharullah is a member of Pesantren Ar Risalah.

Another actor of external network related to OSIS student council is from the organization of Assalam, an Islamic Student Association which has become the gathering place of Rohis activists. Assalam was formed by Muslims Mentoring Institute (LPPM) through the deliberation of all Junior and High School Rohis of West Sumatera on October 27th 1999 at Masjid Nurul Iman Padang. Assalam is a local organization that hosts Rohis activists. Its management structure consists of DPD and DPP. DPD is the management structure at the district/city level,

73 One of the ustadz of the Islamic College of Ar-Risalah Islamic School who was invited to fill the study at SMAN 1 is Ustadz Urwatul Wutsqa.

74 LIPIA (Institute of Islamic Science and Arabic) was originally named LPBA (Institute of Islamic and Arabic Teaching) was established in the early 1980s, founded by the Saudi Arabian government and part of the Islamic University of Imam Muhammad ibn Su'ud Saudi Arabia. LIPIA is considered part of the Saudi Arabian government's efforts to develop the wafiq scope of understanding in Indonesia. This is because Saudi Arabia's religious teachings are more referring to the religious thought of Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab and his followers are called Wahhabis. The formation of LIPIA cannot be separated from Saudi's efforts to spread Salafi Wahhabism in order to counteract the influence of the Iranian revolution. LIPIA students come from a large variety of pesantren such as Gontor, Persis, Al-Irsyad, DDII networking board and pesantren under NU. See Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy and Identity Finding in Indonesia Post-New Order* (2008, Jakarta, LP3ES) pp. 58-59. It can also be read in the Master's degree thesis research of Ahmad Sujai entitled *The Influence of Wahabiism in Indonesia: A study of the influence of Wahabi religious understanding on the practice of religious students of the Institute of Knowledge of Islam and Arabic (LIPIA)*, UI Graduate Program, 2008.

while DPP is at the central level which is the whole West Sumatera, and its office is in Padang. Currently Assalam has been formed in 24 Regencies in West Sumatera.

In religious orientation, activist of Assalam is closer to the group of Tarbiyah and Salafi whose da'wah model is Ligo Mentoring and Halaqah. In political affiliation, Assalam is closer to Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and even Assalam's activities are facilitated by one of their seniors using the place in Nurul Fikri's tutoring institute. Nurul Fikri is a tutoring institute initiated by tarbiyah movement and PKS activist.<sup>75</sup>

All OSIS and Rohis activities, including mentoring that involves outsiders, such as religious activities that invite external speakers and Rohis mentoring activities involving Rohis alumni must be known by the Vice Principal of student affairs. Nevertheless, so far there has been no standard mechanism or official school rules in the supervision of the potential for radicalism in schools that could be spread through religious activities that bring outside speakers or Rohis mentoring from the alumni. It means it is something considered as a potential for radicalism but doesn't considered to be dangerous by the school or community and even the local government.

Out of the 6 (six) schools studied, there is no special mechanism or special policy of the school in overseeing student activities that involve outsiders. The principal only provides a general policy regarding school activities that should not conflict with school goals or tarnish the school's image. The school felt that the alumni who are doing the mentoring or coaching their underlings in schools are to help the school in the form of coaching and is considered as a contribution from the seniors (alumni) to their juniors. Thus, there should be no suspicion or concern about the alumni's guidance material, including religious activities, Halaqah, lectures and others.<sup>76</sup>

75 To find out more about the relationship between Nurul Fikri and PKS, including the role of the Tarbiyah movement in the guidance of the Rohis group, a book by Ali Said Damanik, 2002 can be read. Phenomenon of the Justice Party: The 20-year Transformation of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia, Jakarta, Mizan.

76 Interview with Pak Maidun, Head Deputy of Student Affair SMAN 2 Padang.



## 2. *Community's socio-cultural characteristics*

Geographically, Padang as the capital of West Sumatra is located on the western outskirts of the island of Sumatra facing the Indian Ocean. Padang consists of 11 districts, 104 sub-districts and 19 small islands spreading along the coast with an area of 694.93 km<sup>2</sup>. Based on statistic data in 2017, the population of the Padang was 914,968 people with a density level of 1317 people/km<sup>2</sup>. For religious followers, 90% of people in Padang are Muslim, while the rest are Catholic, Christian and Hindus.<sup>77</sup> Almost throughout West Sumatra the population is Muslim except in Mentawai District, which is predominantly Christian. In terms of tribe, Padang city inhabitants mostly come from Minangkabau ethnicity, which originated from Muara Batang Arau fishing village, and then developed into the port area after the entry of the consortium of Dutch trading company called VOC in 1669. In addition to Minangkabau ethnicity, there are also Chinese, Java, Nias, Batak, Sundanese and others ethnicity. The non-Muslims are mostly Chinese and people in Nias island, from Batak, and from some parts of Java. It is very difficult for us to encounter a Minang non-Muslim.

In Padang there is a kind of social segregation in the community residence, where non-Muslim citizens, especially from the ethnics of Chinese, Nias, and Batak live in the South or known as Kampung Pondok. In the area there is a Chinatown where many Chinese inhabitants domicile with the livelihood in the sector of service and trade. Unlike other areas, since 1861 the Chinese descendants in Padang have an association named HTT (Himpunan Tjinta Teman/Friends of China Assemblage) and in 1871 HBT (Himpunan Bersatu Teguh/Stonger Together Assemblage). Both associations serve as a vessel for the Chinese to assimilate and acculturate with the native Minang. This is seen in the area of Pondok, where there are many Chinese people who are proficient in Minang language with mandarin accents. This situation makes the Chinese feel safe and comfortable in their social life. There is almost no ethnic or religious nuanced social clashes or conflicts in Padang. Even in the 1998 reformation movements,

<sup>77</sup> See statistical data of Padang Figures for 2017, BPS Padang.

where many anti-Chinese social clashes occurred everywhere in Indonesia, such situation did not happen in Padang.<sup>78</sup>

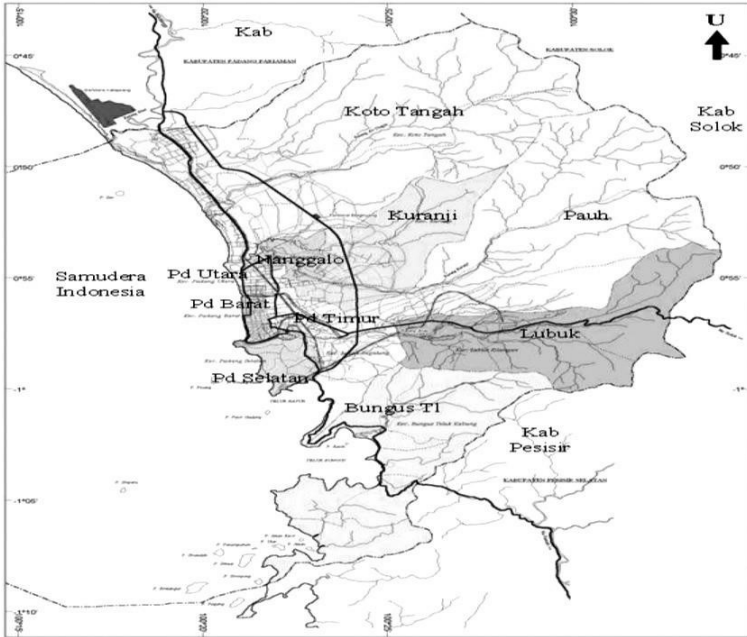


Figure 5 Map of Padang

The social culture of Padang city is thick with religious nuances. This is due to the strong and close relationship between custom and religion in Minangkabau society life. The closeness is expressed in a cultural philosophy of “Adat Basandi Syara ‘Syara’ Basandi Kitabullah. Syara ‘Mangato Adat Mamakai Alam takambang jadi guru,” which means custom is supported by syara (religion) and religion is based on the holy book Quran and Hadiths. Religion governs whereas customs manage, utilizes or performs. Nature develops into a teacher; the universe is the teacher as a source of virtue and

<sup>78</sup> Can be read from Erniwati S3 Dissertation, 2012. China Padang in Dynamics of Minangkabau Society; From Revolution to Reform. Lecturer of Cultural Sciences UNP known as an expert of Chinese in the city of Padang.

science. The implication is that religion is a symbol of identity and ritual practice becomes very powerful in the livelihood and community social behavior of Padang, including in governmental management. Almost all governmental offices, schools, educational institutions, and trade centers always have musalas or mosques for praying and busy with congregational prayer especially during Zuhur and Ashr.

The close relation between custom and religion to the Minangkabau community is not something taken for granted but through the process of struggle during the civil war between the Padri (Muslim clerics) and the Noble people at the time of the Dutch Colonial, which eventually brought to realization, and thus, uniting the Noble and the Padri to fight against the Dutch invaders. For the Minang people, the indigenous philosophy Basandi Syara' Syara' Basandi Kitabullah is definitely must be preserved to the end. Because for them, custom is not only a tradition or habit, but it is also a system of value, ethics, and culture. When these are believed, they could resolve the community's social problems. While Syara' is believed to be life's guidance which originates from the Islamic teachings and the holy book. That is why religion and Syara' may not contradict to the teaching source of the holy book namely the Quran dan Hadiths. This explains the behavior and the religious style of the Minang community, which is very heavy in a very puritan religious shade. The cultural philosophy of the Minang people encourages the character purification of the execution of religious and cultural teaching that refers to the holy book.

The Minang community of Padang also upholds the matrilineal system or the line of descendants from the mother, in which the sons receive no inheritance. The matrilineal system upheld by the Minang community is very interesting because on the other hand they strongly grasp the tradition of Islamic teaching which is patrilineal. Other than heritage and descendants, in the matrilineal system the role of mother is quite significant in every family decision making. Matrilineal system is also correlated with the tradition of wandering in the Minang community. The wandering tradition originates from the matrilineal system; because the sons do

not acquire heritage, they must wander to gain life experience, seek for wealth, fame and self-actualization.<sup>79</sup>

Social politically, even though the community of Padang is recognized as very religious, the religious based political parties such as PBB, PPP, PKS have never been absolute winners in every election. Votes for Islamic parties are almost similar and evenly with the “secular” parties such as Hanura, Golkar and Gerindra. This shows that religious views aren’t always correlated with the orientation of political election.

The biggest religious community organization in Padang is Muhammadiyah, a modern puritan religious organization with the renewal spirit of restoring to the source of Islamic teachings, which are the Quran and Hadiths. A number of their figures at the national level originated from West Sumatera, such as Buya Hamka, Buya Sutan Mansur, Ayzumardi Azra, M. Natsir, Yunahar Ilyas and others. Meanwhile, the biggest traditionalist Islamic community organizations in West Sumatra is Perti (Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah/Tarbiyah Islamiyah Union), with its headquarters in Padang. Nahdatul Ulama (NU) tends to not develop much there in Padang due to its feudalistic culture, which doesn’t fit the egalitarian Minang community culture.

## **B. Research Findings**

### ***1. Extracurriculars at a crossroads: majority domination and minority oppression***

Extracurricular activities as part of the activities undertaken outside school hours aim to support the achievement of one of the goals of national education as contained in Law No. 20 Year 2003. The goal is to develop the students’ potential to become human beings who are faithful and fearful of God Almighty, noble in morality, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent and democratic. To achieve these objectives, the Ministry of Education and Culture issued a

<sup>79</sup> See Kato, Tsuyoshi. 2005. *Minangkabau and Wandering Tradition*. Jakarta, Balai Pustaka. pp. 37-40 and 113.

set of policies regarding student development (the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 39 of 2008), character building (the Ministry of National Education Regulation No. 23 of 2015) and curriculum implementation (the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 81A), which contain materials for extracurricular activity. These rules are then separated and established by the issuance of the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 62 of 2014 regarding extracurricular activities.

The regulation No. 81A by the Ministry of Education and Culture contains guidelines for the preparation of KTSP (Educational Unit Level Curriculum) and the development of local content, extracurricular, general learning, and curriculum evaluation. The points of consideration in the development of the local content include local cultures, social values, and material artefacts that are considered as sublime and local. Meanwhile, the development of extracurricular activities are in the development of student's potential talents (music, art, martial arts, journalism, theater, wilderness explorer and others), krida (Scout, LDKS, Line Troops, PMR), scientific work, and others.

In the context of Padang, before the existence of the said Regulation of Ministry of Education and Culture, the regional government published policies that directly correlated to student counseling and extracurricular activities. The policy has existed since the emergence of the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation. Moreover, there is also a Regional Regulation of Padang No. 6 of 2003 on Smart Reading for Elementary School and Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Students, which obligates middle and higher education; it is said to even be made a requirement for marriage at the KUA.

To the Minang people, Muslim children in Padang are required to be able to read Quran because the identity of Minang culture is identical to the Islamic culture. The existence of reading and writing the Quran regulation is one of the implementations of Minang culture philosophy called Adat Basandi Syara' Syara' Basandi Kitabullah, which essentially says that religion and custom are one identity and affect the nation's wisdom. Reading and writing the Quran aims at enabling

children at early education to master the Kitabullah, which is the source of Islamic teaching. Besides that, there is Padang Mayor Regulation No. 451.442/Binsos-iii/2005 on 7 March 2005 regarding the implementation of Wirid class/Subuh education and anti-gambling/drugs education as well as Muslim dress codes for female students in SD/MI (primary school), SMP/MTs (middle school), SMA (high school), SMK/MA (vocational high school).

The wirid class is for middle and high school students every Friday after Maghrib to Isya prayer. It is performed at the mosque or musala near the students' respective home, consisting of Al-Quran reading recitation and learning Islam from local ustadzs. As proof of work that the students have taken part in it, the students must submit a sort of report to the school. The mosque or musala holding the event of Wirid class will receive an honor from the Padang government.

Meanwhile, the Subuh education includes such activities as Al-Quran recitation, memorizing long and short verses or daily prayers, worship rituals, and muhadlarah (public speaking) students of TPA and Diniyah in Padang. Typically, it is held once every month after the subuh prayer until late morning around 8 AM alternately; it is joined by a number of TPA/TPQ Islamic students from mosque representatives in a sub-district. Female Muslim clothing, which is hijab, is mandatory, but "not mandatory" for non-Muslim students. Hijab, according to the Minang culture, is a symbol of a Muslim identity.

Meanwhie, the implementation of character development activities in both local and school levels is identical to that of the Islamically nuanced character building. It is normally conducted through typical activities: habituation of Quranic recitation before classes begin, individual Duha prayers and communal Dzuhur prayer, post-Dzuhur lectures, Asmaul Husna recitation, and others. Other than reading the Quran, the Mayor's Regulation No. 33 of 2013 regarding Al-Quran Memorizing Education has been in place since 2013, which requires all students from primary to high schools to not only to able to read or write al-Quran but also to memorize it. The government offers rewards to students who can memorize the holy book. Students of primary school who can memorize one

juz (or section of the Quran), for example, will be granted entrance to any middle school of their choice; middle school students who memorize 2-3 juz will receive scholarships and entrance to any high school of their choice; high school students who master 5 juz may choose state or private universities of their choice in Padang.

*“Quran memorizing at SMAN 1 is mandatory, which even becomes the flagship program of the school. Students in their second year are hoped to have memorized 2-8 juz. In Padang, memorizing has become one of the materials competed in the academic Olympics. In our view, memorizing Quran will affect students’ characters and morality. Students who have memorized a few juz of the Quran usually have excellent academic achievements and better morality.”<sup>80</sup>*

The Quran Education policy is executed at the school level but involves broader stakeholders too, such as the Education National Division, the Ministry of Religious Affairs Office, the Village head, related work unit, et cetera. The National Education Division itself certifies students who participate in the al-Qur’an memorizing program. Meanwhile, Tahfidz Quran Education is given as part of the local content of Padang. Teaching staff and teachers of this program are teachers of PAI or qualified individuals specifically hired for the program.

The above regional government policies—which constitute the formal implementation of the national government’s policy on extracurriculars, student development, and character building—are dominantly Islamic and are thus often considered as discriminative and intolerant to non-muslim students. For example, even though the use of hijab is mandatory only for Muslim students, in reality, non-Muslim students are “compelled” to wear it.<sup>81</sup> Almost all students and principals of SMAN 1, SMAN 2, SMAN 9 and SMAN 16, when asked about hijab, said that it was not mandatory for Non-Muslims.<sup>82</sup> However, such is not

80 Interview with Ustadz Aria, Al-Azhar Egypt alumnus, PAI teacher and Tahfidz director at SMAN 1, 5/10/2017.

81 Some non-Muslim students interviewed about using the hijab said that there was no obligation to wear hijab but they also said that they were uncomfortable if they did not wear it since that would have made them different from the rest of the class.

82 The informant head deputy of student affairs at SMAN 2 used the term not mandatory but used the word adjust regarding wear of hijab for non-Muslim students.

the case in reality as non-Muslim students are indirectly forced to wear hijab.

This is because there are too few Non-Muslims at public schools. There are less than 10 non-Muslim students at SMAN 1 and only 14 at SMAN 2. They all feel “forced” about it because of the psychological constraint and fear of being outcasts among the majority Muslims. An interviewee, a non-Muslim student at SMAN 1, admitted the case being so. Circumstances forced them to wear hijab, mostly to conform to others.<sup>83</sup> Thus the three reasons why Non-Muslim students wear hijab are: first, they do not want to feel like an outcast and burdened by it; second, they do it for practical-pragmatic reasons; wearing Hijab is simple as it needs little make-up because part of the head is covered; third, they see hijab not as an ideology but as a normal clothing without any relation to belief.<sup>84</sup>

Actually, non-Muslims have criticized, protested, and shown disapproval to the educational section about the Regional Regulation that they consider being too Islamic. They find the policy oppressing and discriminating against the minority in Padang. The policy on wearing hijab in public schools is contradictory to the plural condition of the society. The Catholics hope that public schools can act fairly, not favoring one particular group. Even if the policy is only applied to female Muslim students, many Catholic students are forced to wear hijab in schools. Yet the main issue is that while it is true that education is considered a matter of regional autonomy, the regional government does not feel that policy violates any rules. According to them, Padang has religious cultures, so the policy is considered to be normal and without problems.

*“We can no longer advocate this; it’s included in the issue of regional autonomy and that is part of the implementation of Minang custom, which is dearest to Islam. When it enters that territory [the Minang cultural philosophy], we cannot do anything. This condition has been going on for a long time. As a result of this enforcement, we often see there*

83 Interview with non-Muslim female informant at SMAN 1 Padang. Most of non-Muslim students in SMAN 1 Padang comes from outside Padang, from Mentawai, an archipelagic district in West Sumatera, which is predominantly Christian and Catholic. These students are sent as representatives with scholarships from Mentawai regency.

84 Interview with Yasrul Huda, a Lecturer of UIN Imam Bonjol whose dissertation research on Sharia Nuance Regulation related to Islamic literature on reading al-Qur’an and hijab.



*are veiled Catholic students who join church activities on Friday.*<sup>85</sup>

Similarly, character building through habituating positive things nuanced with the majority religion is also considered highly discriminative and intolerant toward the minorities. According to non-Muslims, positive habituation in the name of character building must be general and should not reflect domination by any particular group. The reality is that positive habituation is too dominant in one color and does not reflect diversity. For example, the policy on the short religious course or *pesantren kilat* every Ramadhan has become mandatory for every Muslim student whilst non-Muslim students are told to attend religious activities elsewhere, at their respective pastoral or church notwithstanding the fact that the church schedule could be different from that of the mosque or *pesantren*.

Several Padang Municipal policies on the educational section are religiously highly nuanced and are considered not in line with the government policy at the national level. According to the third regulation of the national government's policy on extracurriculars character building, as the derivative of Law No 20 of 2003 regarding the National Education, the purpose of education is to educate students not only to be faithful and pious but also democratic. The value of democracy in the student's school life will be molded if the policy is democratic and fair, not favoring any particular group. Students must be developed in terms of culture, character and tradition, which could give them equal opportunity to actualize themselves. With democratic policies students are taught to respect more and honor each other's beliefs. Regional policies that exist to date tend to be exclusive to Muslims but ignoring those who are non-Muslims.

The policy on hijab is one such example. Although it is said it does not apply to non-Muslim students, the schools tend to let and even instruct non-Muslim students to put it on. Non-Muslim students should not be allowed to wear hijab because it is an ideological clothing, not just a symbolic accessory. Those schools should respect non-Muslim students' clothing as well as the official school

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85 Interview with Mr. Cahyo, Catholic Diocese of Padang 16/10/2017.

uniforms. By allowing minorities their primordial identity (non-hijab), diversity will manifest in a democratic spirit.

The teachers, principal, and head of national education division insisted that there was no enforcement in wearing hijab, but they did admit there was some sort of encouragement--more accurately indirect enforcement--from Muslim students to non-Muslim female students to wear hijab in order not to appear contrarian or be treated differently. They reasoned that a reverse policy [of non-hijab] did not apply in other non-Muslim schools, such as Don Bosco and Prayoga schools (although 60% of Don Bosco students are Muslims). An informant who was a former teacher at Don Bosco high school Padang stated:

*"On the basis of tolerance and equality of treatment, then non-Muslim schools should allow female Muslims to wear hijab, but unfortunately that is not the case."*<sup>86</sup>

Some non-Muslim school management themselves admitted that in their schools no students wear hijab, the reason being that they are private schools with religious leanings (Christian or Catholic). This may be an indirect acknowledgment hijab is an ideological clothing, a signature of a particular group. But from the very beginning, parents who enroll their children to Don Bosco have understood and known that Don Bosco does not have any Islamic education teacher, and wearing hijab is not permitted. Both of these things have to do with Don Bosco's identity as a school with religious characteristics.

Thus, such is the state of tolerance in Padang as related to Muslim clothing. All parties relate to one another and compare with each other in tolerance. Public schools should become a common space to treat every student equally. There should not be policy that discriminates other groups of different beliefs. Schools and the regional government also need to give the students of different faiths the freedom to express their rights to their own beliefs (eg. not wearing hijab) and fulfill the rights of non-Muslim students by providing religious teachers

86 As stated by Reno Fernandes, former Sociology teacher at Don Bosco High School on FGD in Padang 28/11/2017

as mandated by the National Education System Law. Likewise, non-Muslim school managers also need to allow Muslim students the freedom to wear hijab and acquire Islamic education teachers.

## ***2. OSIS at a crossroads: gender inequality, self-discovery, and half-hearted radicalism***

The Ministry of National Education Regulation No. 39 of 2008 on Student Development acknowledges the Student Intra School Organization (OSIS) as the only intra-school organization. OSIS in any one school is unrelated to, or unaffiliated with, OSIS in other schools. The policy makes OSIS the only intra-school organization as if it is the continuation of the policies of the New Order regime with NKK/BKK (Normalization of Campus Life/Student Coordination Board) concerning the political life, in which students and university students are not permitted to be active in political campaigns in campus. Nevertheless, in practice, OSIS and Rohis (Islamic Spiritual extracurriculars) in Padang high schools have their own association and affiliation.

Consequently, OSIS in a given school there may have association and relation with OSIS in other schools in the FON (National OSIS Forum, or an OSIS association at a national level), whereas Rohis also has an institutional association namely Assalam, headquartered in Padang. Both OSIS and Rohis associations have political affiliation with Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/ Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). All this time, PKS activities mostly center around Tarbiyah Movement, which cultivates most Rohis members.<sup>87</sup> Tarbiya activists conduct continual advisory to Rohis. Typically, Rohis alumni still keep contact and communicate with their juniors through mentoring activities, religious lectures, tryouts, seminars, leadership trainings, motivation speeches, lectures and etc.

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<sup>87</sup> A former Rohis of MAN 1 who is now still studying at Unand and active in LDK claimed that he was active in Assalam and is still doing coaching for their underclassmen in high school. In Padang, Assalam activities are facilitated by one of the administrators using the building facilities of Nurul Fikri, a learning guidance agency managed by PKS.

According to an SMAN 1 Rohis activist informant, every student active in Rohis activities is mentored to do baiat. Baiat is sort of a vow and commitment in Islamic da'wah of responsibility as a Muslim. It is thus a commitment for Rohis cadres to stay true to the values of Islam, to act according to the teaching of Islam, to be active in da'wah, and to defend the teachings of Islam. A Rohis training activity, LAMDAS (Latihan Manajemen dan Dakwah Sekolah/School's Management and Da'wah Training), is conducted off-school by trainers from seniors and Rohis alumni who are now university students. The contents of Rohis activities include Muslim interpersonal interaction, attitude towards non-Muslims, and attitude towards the government. Regarding the relationship with non-Muslims, they admit that as long as it does not concern faith (morality), it is permitted. On the other hand, if faith comes in the way, a number of restrictions should apply.<sup>88</sup>

Rohis as a forum for developing religious interests is divided into sections, including BRM (Young Muslim Building/Bina Remaja Muslim)<sup>89</sup> for male students and An-Nisa Forum for female students. Their main materials focus on studies around women affairs in the perspective of Islam and mentoring--usually by alumni or Rohis seniors who are university students.

Obviously, the existence of Assalam and FON in Padang is inconsistent with the government policy that stipulates that an OSIS in a given school is to have no relationship whatsoever with OSIS in other schools, nor with associations or organizations outside the school. OSIS and Rohis are intra- and apolitical organizations; however, the reality is different. FON (Forum OSIS Nusantara/OSIS National Forum) and Rohis are nuanced heavily with Tarbiya movement; they have cultural affiliation with a particular political party: PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera). Rohis and PKS relationship is due to the fact that Rohis mentors typically originated from the tarbiyah movement in the form of LDK (Lembaga Dakwah Kampus/Da'wah Campus Institution). The Tarbiyah and

88 Interview with Cholillur Rahman, former chairperson of ROHIS SMAN 1, 5/10/2017.

89 In some schools, the term Rohis was replaced by the BRM (Bina Remaja Muslim). This is because of negative stereotype of ROHIS which is considered synonymous with radicalism, such as seen in research results of several research institutions from Jakarta about Rohis.

LDK groups were the embryos that formed Justice Party/Partai Keadilan (before becoming PKS). The tarbiyah and LDK groups through the Rohis network are currently the sole channels for recruiting and coaching students in schools. Students have no other choices and Rohis usually has no network with other extra-school student organizations such as with PII (Indonesian Islamic Student), IPM (Muhammadiyah Student Association), and/or IPNU (Nahdlatul Ulama Student Association).

One of the founders and chairperson of the first Assalam, Mahdifan Shafwan, is a public figure for Assalam activists. He is a lecturer of Mathematics at Andalas University, an S3 graduate from Nottingham University. Assalam's activities are mostly focused to lead young Muslims to be educated, modern, opened, rational, tech-savvy, and future-oriented. The terms used in Assalam events are buzzwords recognized by the current youth clubs, such as TREN (Cool Students Training/ Training Pelajar Keren), seminars and the Now Generation Student talk show, anti-hoax students, etc.

In terms of da'wah materials, Assalam - with its jargon being Indonesian students' inspiration - is in fact oriented toward the formation of Muslim personality (*syakhsyah Islamiyah*) or individual piety. It is a typical da'wah model of Tarbiyah movement that is not in touch with Ushuluddin, *fiqhiyah*, Muslim-to-non-Muslim relations, issues of religious and other political issues.<sup>90</sup>

However, this does not mean that Rohis members unaffiliated with Assalam are not interested in international issues related to Muslims, such as in cases concerning Rohingya, Palestine-Israel, Syria, et cetera. In the case of Syria, Assalam activists undertake a Muslim solidarity act and fundraising campaigns for Syrian Muslims. Assalam collects funds from all students through Rohis network and channeled it through Indonesia-Syria Care Forum/Forum Peduli Indonesia-Syria (FPIS) based in Jakarta.<sup>91</sup>

90 Assalam has information portal [assalamsumbar.com](http://assalamsumbar.com) which informs the activities of Assalam in all of West Sumatra.

91 Interview with Dewi, ROHIS alumnus from MAN 1 Padang who has graduated and attended Unand but is still actively doing mentoring and coaching for her underclassmen who are active in ROHIS MAN 1. 13/10/2017.

FPIS is an NGO association and community organization concerned with channeling aid to overcome the crises in Syam (Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan).<sup>92</sup> The phenomenon of Assalam being a gathering place for Rohis members in Padang seems to be a vessel to counter the hedonistic and consumptive student's lifestyle. One example is the movement of studying 30 juz on the New Year's Eve of 2017 in front of Masjid Sumatera Barat. This recital movement began at noon and lasted until the New Year's eve.



Figure 6 30 Juz Qur'an Recital Movement on the New Year Eve of 2017

92 Some FIPS leaders are known as prominent puritans, salafi-wahabi figures, such as Fahmi Salim, a young Egyptian Al-Azhar alumni who is active in MIUMI (Intellectual Assembly of Indonesian Young Ulama), as well as active in MUI. There is also Ustadz Bahtiar Nasir (UBN), which is considered pro to the idea of caliphate and one of the leaders of PP Muhammadiyah. There is also Achmad Miqdan, a member of the Muslim Lawyers Team (TPM), defender of Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. FIPS itself when sending humanitarian aid to Syria through Turkey had a misunderstanding with the Turkish government because FPIS is considered to be pro ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq-Syria) which is considered a terrorist organization. Another figure in FPIS is Ustadz Abu Harits, who is also active in HASI (Hilal Ahmar Society Indonesia) or the Indonesian Crescent Societies, a non-profit organization working in the humanitarian field, similar to the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI). The only difference between HASI and PMI is that HASI is more dedicated to humanitarian issues affecting the national and international Muslims.

Other OSIS-related issues include school intervention and gender, which remain as problematic as ever. In MAN 2 for instance, the OSIM (Intra Madrasah Student Organization) chairperson must be a man. Under their direct election system, if a female student wins, the school will annul the result and make sure a male leader fills the position.<sup>93</sup>

However, this gender vis-à-vis leadership issue within OSIS/OSIM was only found in MAN 2 and not elsewhere. In the other six schools studied, such an issue was not reported. The chairperson of OSIS/OSIM in SMAN 2, as well as MAN 1, is a girl. In these schools gender is not an issue for OSIS/OSIM leadership. The students are free to determine whoever is most eligible as their OSIS/OSIM leader without having to consider the factor.

Government policies that are perceived as discriminatory and intolerant toward minority groups do not necessarily impact negatively on student interaction in schools. Daily interaction between Muslims and non-Muslim students is relatively normal. Principal of SMAN 16 said:

*“... Our non-Muslim students often take part in musical performances during Robis events. They would ask me ‘Sir, may we play for our Robis friends? I answered, ‘Yes, sure, do as you please’.”*<sup>94</sup>

Still, some non-Muslim students admitted that if they could choose, they'd prefer not wearing hijab. They admitted wearing one was quite a burden. At first, they had no idea how to put it on, and once they got the hang of it, they still wondered if it fit their belief. Other people would question why Christian students wore hijab to school.<sup>95</sup>

It appears that many non-Muslim students disagree with, or have a negative attitude toward, some political and religious terms. Some of them claimed that when they heard such words as “the Jakarta Charter, the Caliphate, or an Islamic State,” their tone became disagreeable or negative. To them, these terms sound

93 Interview with Mr. Al Anshari, Deputy Principal of MAN 2 Kota Padang, 03102017.

94 As stated by Amriman (representing) from SMAN 16 in FGD 18/11/2017 in Padang.

95 As stated by a student from SMAN 2 Padang FGD 28/11/2017 participants.

discriminatory and detrimental to their beliefs.<sup>96</sup>

### ***3. Vulnerability and resistance***

No potential issue of radicalism was reported in the context of student's life in the six schools studied. This may have been due to the characteristics of high school students in the urban communities of Padang; they are not only religious in nature but also critical about current issues developing around them. Despite their culture, the religious communities in Padang are relatively egalitarian and independent, which helps the students to remain unaffected by current news, including that from the social media.

According to Ustadz Aria--formerly a PAI teacher and a Tahfidz advisor at SMAN 1, none of his students frequenting religious lectures had shown any indication of radicalism in his or her opinion. He added, "They were quite capable of analyzing information critically. When unsure of some information, they wouldn't hesitate to ask their teachers."

This informant, who is now head of Madrasah supervision at the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of West Sumatra, admits there is indication of potential entry for radicalism among students. It may occur through mentoring activities involving some alumni who are in higher education. They often conduct halaqah studies to their high school underclassmen. To date religious teachers in madrasah and high schools have always reported to Bimas Islam in the Ministry of Religious Affairs Regional Office.

As someone who has been active in FPI, this informant acknowledges that even if there are radical ideas that arouse among the students, they would not come from the school but rather from outside of the school, i.e. through the alumni.<sup>97</sup>

The main issue faced by the students in the largest city of Padang is not about radicalism; rather, it is about the potential for intolerance and discrimination against minority groups, especially among non-Muslims. This is evident from

96 As stated by several non-Muslim students participating in FGD 28/11/2017.

97 Kashmir, Madrasah Supervision Sector, Regional Office of West Sumatra as presented in FGD 28/11/2017 in Padang.



the existence of several local regulations at the provincial level of West Sumatra and local level of Padang. Based on existing data, a total of 27 regulations<sup>98</sup> are considered as sharia, both at the provincial level and at the city-districts level of West Sumatera.<sup>99</sup> The regional-level regulations indicated as Shariah Regional Regulation are the ones ruling the reading and writing Quran, Muslimah clothing, drugs and gambling, zakat, infaq, and memorization of Quran. In Padang, the sharia regulations have been around since the time of Mayor Fauzi Bahar in the 2003-2008 period. One of them is the Regional Regulation of Padang No.6 of 2003 regarding Mandatory Quran Reading and Writing Skills for students of primary schools and Ibtidaiyah Madrasah. It is related to the Mayor of Padang's Instruction No. 451.442/Binsos-iii/2005 on 7 March 2005 regarding Wirid Class, Subuh education and Anti-Gambling/Drugs as well Muslim's clothing for students of primary, middle, and high schools including SMK/MA.

The local figure Mayor Fauzi Bahar, who came from the military and was proposed by PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional), issued many Sharia regulations. By some circles, he was widely regarded as politicizing and commodifying religion in his public policies. Meanwhile, the current mayor, Mahyeldi Ansharullah from PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera), who was once deputy mayor of Fauzi Bahar, has not done much criticism or rectification to the existing sharia regulations. Mahyeldi seems to share "the feel" and enjoys his predecessor's legacies of sharia regulations. Some of these policies are continued and implemented in the Mahyeldi period, including the Mayor's Regulation (Perwako) No. 33 of 2013 on Tahfidz al-Quran Education, which incentivizes students who memorize Quran with access to higher education.<sup>100</sup>

98 Actually, there is no such thing as Sharia Regional Regulation. This term refers to a term of regional regulation whose content is related to the regulation of religious moral affairs in the public sphere, education affairs, and governance and is sourced from the religious teachings, especially Islam.

99 <http://heru2273.blogspot.co.id/2014/04/perda-syariah-di-sumatera-barat.html>.

100 <https://www.hidayatullah.com/berita/nasional/read/2016/04/16/93188/siswa-penghafal-quran-di-kota-padang-peroleh-keistimewaan.html>.

Some of these policies on education prioritize the majority while harming the minorities. For instance, if the policy on memorizing the Quran gets implemented, it has the potential to discriminate other groups. It can also disrupt the national education system as the selection of new university students will be based on scriptural memorization rather than on academic achievement. This policy is considered to be discriminating other religious groups who do not have a tradition of memorizing scripture.

Another regulation by the Municipal Government of Padang that is detrimental to non-Muslim groups is one that neglects the absence of Christian or Catholic Education teachers in schools that are attended by non-Muslim students in Padang. The policy is contrary to Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System, which stipulates that students must receive religious education from teachers of the same belief. As the law does not specify the minimum number of students in the school, these school are entitled to provide such service.

It seems that to get around this law, the city government of Padang formulated a policy that essentially passes on the matters pertaining to religious teachings for non-Muslim students to religious authorities or any churches available within the school vicinity. Thus, non-Muslim students need to go to their respective pastoral congregation for religious subjects. The church institution will submit these students' grades to the schools. The issue here is that the Christian/Catholic subjects are not taught by qualified teachers, but by pastors, priests, or church activists who have no training in teaching or assessing academic performance.

Some Catholics and Christians said they had protested and demanded that Padang City administration provide teachers for Christian and Catholic subjects. They had even proposed to the National Education Division and the Ministry of Religious Affairs for the provision of Christian teachers, even unpaid or temporary teachers.<sup>101</sup> For some reasons, until now the proposal has not been realized. One argument informally given has to do with cost-effectiveness. Given the small number of students, providing non-Muslim religious teachers would be costly. To

101 Interview with Yefris Hasugian, head of Christian Bimas Kanwil Kemenag West Sumatra.

the general public as well as intellectuals (e.g. lecturers, teachers, scholars, etc.), this argument is untenable.

Another reason why the municipal government does not provide Christian or non-Muslims teachers, according to the Provincial Education Office, is because there is a moratorium in the appointment of teachers. Besides that, the small number of students is also the reason. Thus, it providing religious education teacher<sup>102</sup> for an average of 10-15 non-Muslim students in high schools in Padang is considered not feasible! If the principle of equality and justice are applied, there is no reason not to fulfill the right to a religion teacher for students, which is actually mandated by the Constitution.

Radical groups in Padang are few and they do not mainstream as in other cities. An FPI was established by Buya Muhammad Busyra in the city last year exactly on 12 December 2016. There is also MTKAAM (Majelis Tinggi Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau/High Council of Indigenous Closeness of the Land of Minangkabau), a Minangkabau cultural custom organization headed by Drs. Irfianda Abidin, MBA. Irfianda Abidin, who is a business owner of several sharia hotels in Padang and Batu Sangkar, plus a gas station. According to a few informants, Irfianda Abidin was not an Islamic activist. Allegedly, he was also associated with some inappropriate things in the past. MTKAAM itself is relatively unknown in the Minangkabau traditional institutional structure. All this time only Wali Nagari, KAN (Kerapatan Adat Nagari), and LKAAM (Institute of the Land of Minangkabau's Closeness) are known.<sup>103</sup>

To most high school students in Padang, the existence of radical groups is not influential, and only very few of them, if any, have interest to be involved in them. FPI and MTKAAM are radical minority groups that are vocal on issues concerning Muslims vs non-Muslims, anti-Christians, anti-immorality, etc. When cases of massacre against Muslims went off in

102 As informant from West Sumatera Provincial Education Office in FGD 28/11/2017 in Padang City.

103 As stated by informant MT, a Lecturer of Sociology UIN Imam Bonjol Padang 18/10/2017.

Rohingya, the students were not provoked to incite friction or anti-Hindu sentiment.

The two groups [FPI and MTKAAM] were quite vocal in several issues related to interfaith relationships, such as in the case of the rejection of RS Siloam built by LIPPO Group with its figure James Riady. These groups are considered as representatives of the Padang community who reject the existence of Siloam Hospital as they got apprehensive at the idea that the premise was a center for Christianization and missionary activities, two things that are considered harmful enough to undermine the Minangkabau traditional culture, which is Islam-nuanced. MTKAAM and FPI were involved as coordinator of the mass mobilization of 212 Movement rally in Jakarta, when they rented a number of buses and two airplanes (Lion Air and Sriwijaya).

#### ***4. Seeking models of resilience from school cases***

Bhinneka, or diversity, is a necessity that must be nurtured and the people should be also given equal opportunity and space to perform self-actualization. Freedom to express personal identities through symbols of religious and non-religious characteristics must be given to minority groups within ethnic and religious backgrounds. Furthermore, as hijab is a symbolic garment bearing the characteristic of Muslim identity, it is unnecessary for non-Muslim girls to modify their appearance by wearing hijab only because of its minority position.

The findings of this study show that the model of school resilience in maintaining diversity in Padang can be done if there is room for freedom and guarantee of the implementation of Human Rights. Public schools should still provide freedom of diversity to non-Muslim minority students to express their identity independently. The school should prohibit non-Muslim students to wear hijab just because they do not want to look different from the others.

Internalizing the value of diversity in public schools can be done also by obligating schools to provide non-Muslim students with religion teachers according to their religious teachings. Besides this is in accordance with National Education System Law, this is also part of the mandate of the 1945 Constitution. The regional government and principals should not make financial factor or the number of students as the excuse not to provide Non-Muslim religious teachers in order to fulfil the obligation of the state to provide its people with educational services.

Similarly, non-Muslim schools such as Don Bosco, Catholic-owned Prayoga High School, should also provide religious teachers for Muslim students. Though characterized as religious schools, both schools still have to provide services to Muslim students by providing Muslim religious teachers, including allowing Muslim students to wear hijab.

# 4

## Denpasar

### A. Overview

#### *1. School profiles*

##### **a. Student data**

Data from four public schools and two madrasahs in Denpasar indicate that there are variations in the number of male and female students, as well as in the number of students based on their faith. One school has more male students than female; other schools have more female students than male. SMAN 2 Denpasar (Resman) has a bigger number of male students than that of female students. Of the 1,213 students, 625 are males and 588 are females. SMAN 3 (Trisma) has a total number of students is 862, consisting of 375 males and 487 females. In SMAN 4 (Foursma), with a total of 1,001 students, there are 453 males and 548 females. SMAN 8 Denpasar (Smapan) has a total of 1,254 students, with 603 being males and 651 females.

The majority of students in the four public schools are Hindus, amounting to over 85%. There are 994 students of Hindu in SMAN 2 Denpasar, 162 Islam, 37 Christian, 9 Catholics, 9 Buddhism, and 2 Konghuchu. Students of SMAN 3 Denpasar comprise 812 Hindu, 72 Islam, 1 Buddhism, 6 Christian (Protestant), and 6 Catholics. Students of SMAN 4 Denpasar consist of 824 Hindu, 110 Islam, 22 Buddhism, 15 Catholics, and 3 Christian. In SMAN 8 Denpasar, there are 1,173 Hindu, 63 Islam, 5 Buddhism, 5 Protestant, and 6 Catholics.

Table 3 Number of Students Based on Gender and Religion

No	Name of School	Male	Female	Hindu	Islam	Christian	Catholic	Buddhism	Konghuchu
1	SMAN 2	625	588	994	162	37	9	9	2
2	SMAN 3	375	487	812	72	6	6	1	
3	SMAN 4	453	548	824	110	3	15	22	
4	SMAN 8	603	651	1173	63	5	6	5	
5	MA Al-Ma'ruf	71	95						
6	MA Tawakkal	69	81						

As per the table above, the number of non-Hindu students varies considerably in each school. The number of Muslim students ranges from 63 to 162 students; Christians between 3 to 37 students; Catholics between 6 to 15 students; Buddhism ranging from 1 to 22, and; Konghuchu only 2 in SMAN 2 Denpasar. The level of religious diversity is more prominent in SMAN 2 and SMAN 4 Denpasar. This is understandable since both of them are located in the middle of plural city of Denpasar.

When viewed from the number of non-Hindu students per class, from 30-40 students per class, the number of non-Hindu students ranges from 1 to 13 people. Some classes consist of entirely Hindus, such as in class XI S4 and class X S4 in SMAN 8. However, if observed from the parallel classes, the number of non-Hindu students is greater. The diversity of religions and beliefs in schools will affect the rights of learners to obtain religious education as mandated by the National Education System Act of 2003. Here, the schools are made responsible to provide religion teachers in accordance with the religion of the students.

Meanwhile, the number of Madrasah Aliyah students is in stark contrast with the number of public school students, which ranges from 850 students to 1250 students. Based on data per October 2017, the number of Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma'ruf students was 166 students. It was an increase from 150 to 166 because there were additional students from madrasah aliyah and schools in Karangasem

regency that were hit by the disaster due to the intensifying activity of Gunung Agung. Meanwhile, the number of MA Tawakkal students also stands at 150 people.

#### **b. Students' social economy**

Socio-economically, the students of Denpasar public school come mostly from the upper middle class. They are the children of officials, businessmen, employees, community leaders, and some of the lower classes. While most of the parents of two Islamic school students, Al-Ma'ruf and Tawakkal, are from the lower middle class. They are street vendors, such as sellers of meatballs, sate, chicken noodles, stalls, carts, etc. However, there are also parents of MA Tawakkal students who work as civil servants and police officer. They do not come only from the area around the center of town or around Ubung Terminal, but also from Kuta far from school.

The variety of economic ability of parents makes the cost of education considered expensive for some circles. The minimum monthly fee which is Rp. 250,000 often cannot be paid in accordance with the requirement, while most school operations, including extracurricular activities, are financed from the insufficient fees of BOS funds. Although the condition is experienced by all schools, private schools, including Islamic schools, experience the impact directly because all the school needs including teacher salaries derive from the fund.

#### **c. Data on teachers and alumni**

The number of public school teachers in Denpasar varies considerably. There are 61 teachers in SMAN 2; 36 in SMAN 3; 56 in SMAN 4, and; 8 in SMAN 8. The majority of them are Hindus; 5 non-Hindu teachers are registered in SMAN 2; 1 in SMAN 3; 2 in SMAN 4, and; 4 in SMAN 8.

The number of religion teachers in these schools also varies: 5 of them teach in SMAN 2 Denpasar (with 3 teachers of Hinduism; 1 teacher of Islam, and; 1 teacher of Buddhism), while in SMAN 3 there are 2 teachers of Hinduism and



2 teachers of Islam who are supported by Mr. Fathurrahman, who also teaches in SMAN 7 Denpasar. There are no Christian, Catholic and Konghuchu teachers. However, the absence of religion teachers does not mean that there are no teachers teaching religion. Islamic education teachers, for example, are outsourced on contract-basis from other schools, or from local religious leaders—depending on each school's policy. Most of these public-school teachers are alumni of local universities, such as Udayana University, Saraswati University, and colleges in Java and Lombok.

The number of teachers in Madrasah Al-Ma'ruf is 20, consisting of 8 men and 12 women, with most of them having an undergraduate degree, and 3 of them including the principal having a master degree. Other teachers graduated from IAIN, pesantren, Udayana University, and the State University of Malang.

Madrasah Tawakkal has 20 teachers consisting of 6 men including the principal and 14 women. On average the teachers have undergraduate degrees with various scientific backgrounds.

#### **d. School structure**

The schools' physical structures are also diverse. Some buildings are rectangular, some U-or L-shaped, depending on land size and location. The schools with long rectangular shapes are SMAN 2 and SMAN 4. SMAN 3 and Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma'ruf are U-shaped, while SMAN 8 and Madrasah Aliyah Tawakkal are L-shaped. In general, the schools in Bali highly emphasize local characteristics with places of worship included. Each school has to have statues of Goddess Dewi Saraswati, Ganesha, Padmasana, and Pelinggih.

The statue of Dewi Saraswati is a symbol of knowledge, which is commemorated every six months by the schools' main stakeholders. The commemoration of the Saraswati Day is commemorated on Saturdays, based upon the 7-month Balinese calendar Wuku, which is based on the BC year. However, preparation for the prayer is done the day before. This preparation involves all of the school's residence and is enlivened by wearing Balinese traditional clothing.

The statue of Ganesha symbolizes the learner. It is usually placed in front of the entrance gate, partly to welcome the students. Padmasana, which is a temple where the Hindus pray, is the place where the students, teachers and employees perform the ritual of worship in the morning, afternoon and evening. In addition, there is also Pelinggih in the shape of a small-scaled sculpture. Every morning, the students and teachers start the day by praying in Padmasana, Pelinggih and Ganesha Statue, and then proceed by putting offerings for the Gods.

Besides the infrastructure of worship for the Hindus, some schools also provide a place of worship for Muslims. In SMAN 2 there is a 3x4 size musala located behind the teacher's lounge. It is used by Muslim students and teachers to perform their prayer. Public high school SMAN 7 used to have a musala. After the renovation of the building, however, there is no more praying room. The school allows Muslim students to pray in the school hall that can accommodate about 160 students for Friday prayers.

In addition to having a large, beautiful and comfortable schoolyard, most public high schools are also equipped with various supporting facilities such as libraries, laboratories, student centers, ceremonial fields, cooperatives, canteens and halls. In contrast, madrasah aliyahs are small and narrow, with limited facilities. Beyond class rooms, a teacher's lounge, a principal's office and a hall (that is often used as a musala), they have no other supporting rooms for study.

## ***2. OSIS profiles***

### **a, OSIS and MPK Profiles**

Although OSIS is nationally assigned as the intra student organization, in practice every school has its own policy regarding OSIS.

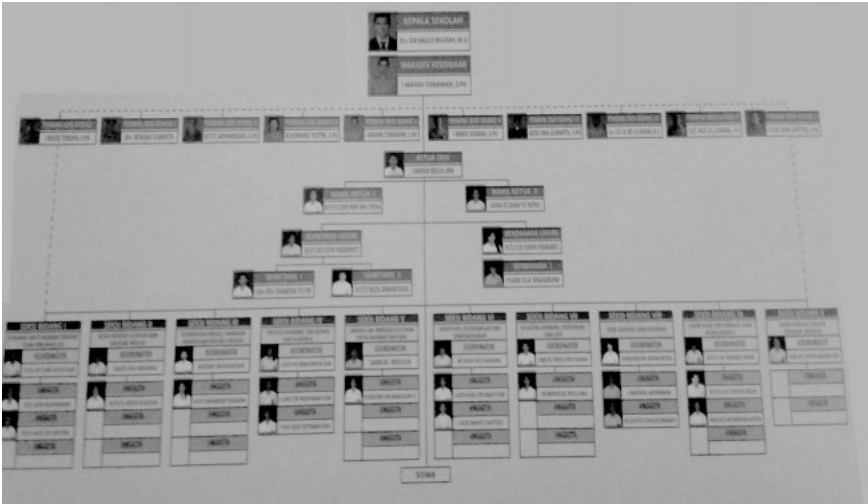


Figure 7 OSIS organizational structure in SMAN 8 Denpasar

OSIS structures vary with schools. For example, OSIS in SMAN 3 Denpasar are regulated through the Principal’s Decree of SMAN 3 Denpasar on extracurricular activities. Articles 14 and 15 state that:

1. OSIS is the only legitimate student organization in the school.
2. OSIS serves as a main supporter of the implementation of the school programs since OSIS programs are also the school program.
3. In running its program activities, OSIS board must consult the OSIS advisor, principal, and vice principal.
4. OSIS board consists of 16 members serving for one year term, the election of whom is held democratically by observing their academic, emotional, social, moral, and spiritual capacities.
5. Every student must become a member of OSIS, support its programs, and take part in its activities.
6. Every student is prohibited from attending any organization in the school other than OSIS.

According to the articles above, the task or function of OSIS is to help implement the school programs. As such, it may not run any other programs except those planned by the school. This means that OSIS is only an enforcer of the school programs, thus it is not supposed to run other programs.

OSIS management and activities are monitored by the school through the OSIS advisor and vice principal for student affairs. Every OSIS activity must be under the knowledge or approval of the school (i.e. OSIS advisor). Included in this case is when students attend activities outside the school, the advisor must be notified and approve of it.

Accordingly, OSIS chairperson must be elected according to the criteria set by the school. The school may intervene in case the criteria are not met. This happened once in MA Al-Ma'ruf, when a male student candidate whose academic and non-academic qualifications fell sub-par to those of a female victor. The school had to intervene to change the electoral standings, so that both candidates had equal opportunities. As the OSIS organizational structure in this madrasah resembles that of Nahdatul Ulama (which recognizes a general chairperson and daily chairperson), the general chairperson position was given to the female student; the male, who ended up with more votes, became the daily chairperson. In that context, the general chairperson position is considered structurally above that of the daily chairperson.<sup>104</sup>

The position of MPK (Majelis Perwakilan Kelas/Class representative council) is similar to DPR (the House of Representatives). Although its position is organizationally parallel with OSIS, in practice, it is entitled to monitor the activities of OSIS and propose programs to be run by OSIS. MPK is only found in two schools--SMAN 2 and SMAN 8 Denpasar. Incidentally in these two schools, the MPK chairpersons are female, and they look more assertive compared to the OSIS chairperson who is incidentally a male. Meanwhile in SMAN 4, no MPK was found, only PK (Class Representative).

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104 Rifa'i, Headmaster of Madrasah Al-Ma'ruf, Interviewed on October 3rd, 2017

### **OSIS activities**

As explained earlier, OSIS is an enforcer of school programs. The Division of Faith and Devotion to God Almighty, for example, is responsible for organizing prayers in schools. In the context of public schools in Bali, this division is in charge of scheduling students alternately from class X to class XII to manage offerings at places of worship: Padmasana, Pelinggih and Ganesha Statues. Those who get their turn should come earlier to school. They also run duties when the other students are attending a flag ceremony. In addition to daily worship, they are also responsible for monthly and annual school worship activities related to the preparation of worship at the time of Purnama Tilem, Saraswati and Siwalatri days.

The second division is Character Building and Good Moral Duty Division, whose responsibility is to assist schools with the implementation of school rules. For example, in SMAN 3 students are not allowed to bring their car to school. This rule once was violated by one of the students and finally he was asked for information related to the violation.

The third division, Superior Personality, Nationality and Defending the Nation, serves to help schools prepare ceremonial equipment on national holidays. The fourth division, Academic Achievement, Cultural Art, and Sports, helps art and cultural activities in schools, such as art performances, school anniversary, and so forth.

The fifth division is Human Rights Democracy, Political Education and Pluralistic Community Context. This field is tasked as a school public relations in terms of activities outside school. The sixth division, Creativity, Skills and Entrepreneurship, is responsible for school co-operatives and bazaars.

The seventh division, Physical Quality, Health and Nutrition is responsible for the UKS (School Health Unit) and provides help to sick students. The eighth division, Literary and Cultural Art is similar to the fourth division, which is responsible for art and cultural activities in schools. The ninth and tenth divisions, Information and Communication Technology and Communication in English,

are responsible for school board magazines and English corners.

As for madrasah, their activities are not like those in public schools. OSIS in madrasah is simpler but still has the duty to assist school programs. The Security division is in charge with disciplining the class and not leaving the classroom when the teacher is not in the room. The Spiritual Division is in charge of religious activities in the school such as the celebration of Islamic holidays or daily worships such as Duha prayer, reading and memorizing the Quran. The Division of Interest and Talent is tasked with helping schools in art and cultural activities in schools such as competitions held after school exams. The last is the Linguistic Division, which is responsible for the implementation of speeches conducted every Friday in schools. The speech uses English and Arabic.

In addition to having school programs, OSIS in Denpasar also has an OSIS forum called OSIS Communication Forum (Forkom) of Denpasar. This forum accommodates all the existing OSIS in Denpasar either from public or private schools. The management of Forkom consists of 52 people representing 52 schools in Denpasar both public and private. The core organizers of Forkom are diverse and interreligious, showing the diversity and variety in its management.

Some of Forkom's activities are joint camp and joint declaration as a Cool (KEREN) Teen Ambassador without DARTS. KEREN stands for Cool, Respect and Energetic, while DARTS stands for drug, alcohol, free relationship, time waste, and smoking. Other activities of Forkom are social activities, communal prayers in Pura, and break-the-fast together.

## **b. OSIS structures**

The number of OSIS board members of each school is quite varied. The board of OSIS management of SMAN 3 and SMA 4 are 16 people each, while SMAN 2 and SMAN 8 there are 50 and 43 people respectively and madrasah has 22 people.

In general, the structure of OSIS is divided into two, namely the main board, and coordinators and members of the division. The main board consists of six

people, namely chairperson, vice chairperson, secretary, deputy secretary, treasurer, and deputy treasurer. In terms of division, there are 10 divisions formed on the basis of the Regulation of Ministry of National Education No. 39 of 2008 on School Extracurricular Activities, namely as follows:

Div 1: Faith and Devotion to God Almighty

Div 2: Character Building and Good Morals

Div 3: Superior Personality, Nationality Insight & State Defense

Div 4: Academic Achievement, Cultural Art, and Sports

Div 5: Democracy, Human Rights, Political Education and Pluralistic Societal Context

Div 6: Creativity, Skills and Entrepreneurship

Div 7: Physical Quality, Health and Nutrition

Div 8: Literary and Cultural Art

Div 9: Information and Communication Technology

Div 10: Communication in English

Meanwhile, the OSIS in Madrasah Tawakkal and Al-Ma'ruf each consists of 26 administrators. There are 6 main managers and 20 division members. The main board is the chairperson, vice chairperson, secretary, deputy secretary, treasurer and deputy treasurer. There are four divisions, namely Security, Spirituality, Talent and Linguistic Interest, each consisting of five members.

### **c. OSIS election mechanism**

The mechanism of OSIS election in both public schools and madrasah is generally the same, which is through direct election. However, principals and teachers also have the right to appoint the OSIS chairperson on the basis of certain considerations.

The OSIS board is selected based on representatives of classes X and XI. However, in SMAN 4 all OSIS managers are only representatives of the class X. It means it depends on the policy of each school. Meanwhile, class XII students

are generally not involved because they have to prepare themselves for the national exam. Selected students from each class are required to fill out forms and conduct interviews performed by previous OSIS. The form contains their respective biodata while interviews are conducted to know not only their academic intelligence, but also their emotional and spiritual intelligence.

The OSIS management is recruited by the MPK (Class Consultative Assembly) by seeking candidates from class representatives to complete some requirements such as consent letter from parents, good report cards, non-academic achievement, and willingness of the applicant. In contrast to other schools, SMAN 4 does the selection process of OSIS candidates since the students become new students. The interviews conducted on prospective students are related not only to academic insights, but also to their experiences in middle school. Students who are active in organizations in middle school are elected and can become the candidates of OSIS chairperson. Thus, OSIS management is screened based on students' experience and skills.

Of the 6 schools and madrasah, there are 2 female OSIS chairs which are in SMAN 4 Denpasar and Madrasah Al-Ma'ruf, and 2 female MPK leaders in SMAN 2 and SMAN 8. The chairperson of SMAN 8 MPK is not only a female but also a Muslim.

### ***3. Network Mapping***

#### **a. Internal actors**

In general, teachers in schools become not only teachers in the classroom, but also coaches of OSIS and other extracurricular activities. Teachers also always monitor and evaluate activities done by students. On the other hand, students are obliged to follow the teacher's instructions as well as being polite and courteous towards them.

The Committee, parent representatives, has a very important role in supporting the school program. They not only play a role in funding, but also in designing school programs.



School Supervisor is in charge of supervising schools. A change in education policy that separates between primary and secondary education by positioning primary education under the auspices of districts/municipalities and the secondary education under the auspices of the province, complicates the School Supervisors' duties. The number of high School Supervisors in Denpasar can be said to be adequate, which is one supervisor for seven high schools.

Unlike high School Supervisors who are under the auspices of the province, the Supervisors of madrasah aliyah is under the Municipal/Regency Ministry of Religious Affair. For MA in Denpasar there is only one person who oversees all 4 madrasahs. On the contrary, the number of PAI supervisors in Denpasar is only one person who is tasked to supervise 350 schools from elementary to high school.

## **b. External actors**

Almost all schools and madrasahs maintain good relationship with the alumni, outside resources and local figures. In some schools, some alumni become heads of school committees and scout mentors. In SMAN 3 there is an activity "Alumni Share" as an event for the alumni to share their experience-and-success stories to the students.

Almost all schools and madrasahs establish cooperation with outsiders, especially in relation to the coaching of extracurricular activities. The majority of professionals are to be made as extracurricular coaches of sports activities, like badminton, table tennis, chess, swimming, and so forth. However, madrasahs also invite outside speakers or cooperate with outsiders such as health centers and the police for well-ordered pesantren activities.

## **B. The Socio-Cultural Context of Bali**

### **1. Religious activities**

Based on the results of the 2000 Population Census, the majority of Bali population who embraced Hinduism reached 2,751,828 people or 87.44 percent of the total population. Then the followers of Islam are 323,853 people or 10.29

percent, and the rest are Protestant 30,439 person (0.97%), Catholic 23,834 person (0.76%), Buddhism 16,569 person (0.53%), and other beliefs 476 person (0.02%).<sup>105</sup>

However, 10 years later, there was a change. The number of Hindus has decreased while the followers of other religions have increased. The results of the 2010 population census, the Hindus fell from 87.44% in 2000 to 83.46% in 2010. On the contrary, the Muslim population rose from 10.29% to 13.37%. Protestant also rose from 0.97% to 1, 66%. Catholic rose from 0.76% to 0.81%. Buddhist rose from 0.53% to 0.54%.<sup>106</sup> Although all non-Hindu religions experienced an increase in the number of followers, a significant increase occurred in Islam. The increase in the number of Muslims was 3% within 10 years.

The upward trend of the number of non-Hindu religion adherents also occurred in Denpasar. Observing from existing data, in 2012, all religion followers have increased in varied number. However, a year later, in 2013, the Hindu population has decreased by about 34,000 people, while other religions have increased between 10,000 and 36,000. The number of religion followers in Denpasar from 2009 to 2013 are as follows:<sup>107</sup>

Table 4 Number of Adherents of Denpasar in 2009-2013.

Year	Hinduism	Islam	Catholic	Protestant	Buddhism
2013	535 768	242 893	17 359	37 346	12 460
2012	569 113	206 201	18 229	26 755	13 440
2011	538 166	195 045	17 249	25 272	12 704
2010	434 379	156 805	14 075	19 864	10 103
2009	434 379	156 805	14 075	19 864	10 103

The number of worship facilities in Bali in year 2009 was 6,864, consisting of: Hindu praying facilities 6.086; mosques 470; Protestant churches 146; Buddhist temples 128, and; Catholic churches 34.<sup>108</sup> Those numbers rose in 2014 as follows:

<sup>105</sup> Bali in Figures 2010.

<sup>106</sup> Bali in Figures 2015.

<sup>107</sup> Denpasar in Figures 2014.

<sup>108</sup> See Bali in Figures 2010.

Hindu worship places, 4835; mosques 719; Protestant churches 235; Catholic churches 39; monasteries 49, and; Konghuchu worship places 12.<sup>109</sup>

Balinese society is a religious, tolerant and open. These qualities reflect in their customs and culture that cannot be separated from religion. Religion becomes the source of culture and culture is the radiance of religion. In Balinese culture there is what is known as *Tri Hita Kirana*—namely the three interrelated elements of God, nature, and human beings.

The values of religiosity of Bali Hindu are inseparable from aesthetic elements. Religion and art cannot be separated because of the concept of the holistic environment, social and spiritual environment. Every social aspect must have its spiritual counterpart. Meanwhile, the existence of art is intimately tied to the Balinese religious system. The arts in architecture, sculpture, dance, percussion, sound, et cetera, make a glorious offering to the Creator. Both elements (religion and art) are interrelated and mutually complementary. The artistic element exudes aesthetic or beauty for the religious system; on the other hand, the religious element gives religious nuance to art.

The above explanation may help us understand the strong public protest over an effort to modify a Balinese dance. The “*Shariah Bali dance*,” which became one of the extracurricular activities in *Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma’ruf* and was staged on a national event. The modification was in the clothing. The dancers were wearing veils and cuffs similar to the skin color. It was received with strong protest in the name of Balinese customs and culture. Due to the protest, the extracurricular activity in this school was abolished.

As a tourism area, Bali is open and tolerant to tourists who come to enjoy its natural beauty, culture and customs. The Balinese accept the diversity of visitors of different countries, ethnics, races, religions, and tribes. Tourism opens up many jobs, not only for the local population, but also for migrant workers. Migrants fill the informal economy sectors that are not met by the natives.

Not only have the migrants in Bali help the people’s economy; they have also

<sup>109</sup> Source: Bali in Figures 2015.

altered the Balinese cultural setting, which was previously inhabited by Hindu followers. Economically, many of these migrants are successful, creating an economic gap between the local and the migrant populations. Culturally, change has inevitably occurred with migrants, including tourists, bringing their own cultures and traditions to Bali. Against the invasion of these cultures, the Balinese still preserve their traditions although it is undeniable that the traditions brought by the migrants have also colored the Balinese culture.

The relationship between Hinduism and Islam in Bali has been well established since the time of the Balinese kingdom. Muslims are no newcomers in Bali; they have been living in Bali for hundreds of years. In the 17th century, the Bugis Muslims entered Loloan Jembarana.<sup>110</sup>

These Muslims came from Java, Lombok and Makassar on the request of the king of Bali. They became guards and assistants of the kingdom, for the services of which, in exchange, the king rewarded them with plots of land for residence. Today we can find Muslim villages in Bali, such as Kapaon and Java Village in Denpasar. Some other villages are Serangan Village, Gelgel in Klungkung, and Kecang Village in Karangasem.

The Islamic villages show the acculturation of Balinese and Islamic cultures. For example, in Kampung Kapaon Denpasar, some of the Islamic community members use Balinese names for their nicknames such as Putu, Kadek, Komang, and Ketut.<sup>111</sup>

Thus inter-religious tolerance is well established in Bali. In this context, the government of Bali has the so-called icon of Puja Mandala, which has five places of worship side by side. The grave of Siti Khadijah, who was the descendant of the King of Bali, is located at Badung Public Cemetery, a Hindu cemetery where Ngaben ceremonies are held. The guard of the tomb is a Hindu.

With regard to religious practices, prayers of Tri Sandya are done at the same

110 <http://bimasislam.kemenag.go.id/post/berita/menyambangi-kampung-kampung-muslim-di-bali>.

111 "Menyama Braya" The Study of The Bali Community Changes In [repository.uksw.edu/bitstream/.../D\\_902008005\\_BAB%20VII.pdf](http://repository.uksw.edu/bitstream/.../D_902008005_BAB%20VII.pdf).

time as an adzan (the Muslim's call to prayer) in the mosque.<sup>112</sup> At a Friday prayer, the Pecalang helps secure the place of worship or the mosque. Likewise, the Muslims help the Hindus in preparation for religious ceremonies. The assistance is not only in the form of labor aid but also material assistance, especially during Nyepi Day. At Nyepi time, offices and schools are off. At that time, the Muslims also do not go out of their homes and turned off their lights. If the Nyepi Raya feast falls on Friday, the Muslims are free to go to the nearest mosque without using vehicles for a Friday prayer in the mosque albeit without loudspeakers.<sup>113</sup>

In religious events, both the Muslims and Hindus share a tradition of wishing happy holidays and visit each other/silaturahmi as well as a tradition to share food. At the party, the Hindus prepare halal food for the Muslims who they invited.<sup>114</sup>

On an Eid al-Adha, some madrasah and Muslim individuals offer sacrifices and distribute the meat of the sacrificial animals to neighbors, including to the Hindus.<sup>115</sup> To honor the cow as a sacred animal to the Hindu society, some Muslims in Bali do not slaughter cows; instead, they slaughter goats.<sup>116</sup>

The 2002 Bali bombings not only affected the Balinese economy but also hurt inter-religious relations. A negative stigma against Muslims as perpetrators of terror and violence is still felt today. In some cases, the stereotype is told for generations although some of the younger generations have started to realize and think critically.<sup>117</sup> Bali bombing perpetrators did not represent the whole

112 Based on observations at Masjid Baitul Makmur Monang Maning Denpasar on 17 October 2017. Tri Sandya readings are done 3 times a day i.e. at 6 am, 12 noon and 6 pm. The prayer was broadcast through speakers from Banjar-Banjar so it was heard clearly from a distance. At that time, it coincided with the Muslims' praying time.

113 Information from several resources. Among them were Ms. Redyan Nurjanah, superintendent of Madrasah in Denpasar, interviewed on 14 October, 2017.

114 Abdul Kadir Jaylani, teacher at Al-Ma'ruf and the native Balinese Muslim, interviewed on 2 October 2017.

115 Rifa'i, Principal of Madrasah Al-Ma'ruf, interviewed on 3 October 2017.

116 According to KH. Mustafa al-Amin, former chairperson of MUI Denpasar, the animals slaughtered on the Eid al-Adha in Bali are quite balanced between cattle and goats. (FGD result of Denpasar on 22 November 2017). But specifically, in schools, they slaughter goats because the meat is also distributed to non-Muslim students. Information from Mr. Rifa'i; Mawar, Chairperson of MPK and Muslim students at SMA 8 Denpasar, interviewed on 13 October 2017.

117 As told by the Supreme, OSIS administrators from the Piety of Division SMAN 8 Denpasar. Her grandmother and parents have stereotypes and negative stigma against Islam, but he does

Muslims.<sup>118</sup> This critical awareness is important to foster mutual trust and tolerance among the Balinese people.

The Bali bombing also has given rise to *Ajeg Bali*<sup>119</sup>, an attempt to restore Bali's identity. The identity is "The Religion is Hinduism; the cultural customs, art and language are Balinese." On one hand, *Ajeg Bali* gives positive meaning for the preservation of Balinese culture. On the other hand, it has a negative meaning for the plural and diverse lives of the people. Bali's plurality is not only in religion but also in ethnicity, tribes, and nationality. Moreover, it is more negative if *Ajeg Bali* is exploited for the interest of identity politics towards the election.

The highlighting of the Hindu identity and Balinese culture means that it also denies another identity that lives and thrives in Bali. The sweeping of ID cards and KIPEM (Seasonal Identity Card) for the migrants who are mostly non-Hindu and non-Balinese raises discrimination and intolerance to them. Bali is showing its fierce face to people of different identities.

The necessity to have KIPEM, which is legitimized by the local government, is an extortion arena for migrants who earn a fortune in Bali. They have to pay a fee of about Rp. 50,000 to Rp. 200,000 per person every three months to Banjar during their stay in Bali.<sup>120</sup> This is certainly burdensome for those who work in the

not inherit the stigma. He is different from them because of his interreligious education and interaction. Similarly, Dima, chairperson of OSIS SMAN 8 once had negative stereotypes about Islam and Muslims as perpetrators of violence. He got this from the media, about the conflict that occurred between Muslims and Hindus in Lampung, when he was still in junior high school.

118 This statement was also disclosed by the FGD participants of the OSIS board on 22 November 2017.

119 The term *Ajeg Bali* was first popularized by the Bali Governor I Dewa Beratha at the inauguration of Bali TV in May 2002. He invited viewers to strengthen customs and culture of Bali. Conceptually, *Ajeg Bali* is still a debate among Balinese academics and culturalists. However, there seems to be an agreement to preserve the identity of the Balinese. If observed from the historical context, then *Ajeg Bali* was originally a cultural movement but later developed to the social and political movement. Some information about *Ajeg Bali* includes I Wayan Wesna Astara, *AJEG BALI: The Myth or Ideology of Development of Serving the Oppressors*, Singhadwala, Issue 44, February 2011; Pamela Allen & Carmencita Palermo, *Ajeg Bali: multiple meanings, diverse agendas*, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13639810500449115?scroll=top&needAccess=true>, but unfortunately, cannot be accessed for free.

120 Information from an online motorcycle taxi driver from Java and Mrs. Yuni, salon employee in Denpasar who is also from Java. If they have not renewed KIPEM, they will be fined by the locusts who come raiding the residence of the migrants. The fine is around Rp. 150,000.

informal sector, such as motorcycle taxis, street vendors, and other small traders.

The explanation above shows the existence of resistance and contestation between Hindus and Muslims in Bali. Resistance and contestation come from both sides, both Hindus and Muslims. On the other side of the religious issues, there are political and economic issues. The Regional Head Election and economic disparities are the cause of vulnerable relations between the two religions.

The strengthening of the religious identity does not occur only among Hindus but also among Muslims of Bali--such as the movement of praying at the mosque, the emergence of taklim council from several schools, the awareness of halal food, as well the habituation of charity and helping others.

The number of Muslims in Bali is increasing not only because of the growing number of Muslim migrants to Bali, but also because of the conversion of religion (muallaf). In some mosques there is a muallaf center that serves the Islamization process along with some administrative requirements. Some of Balinese Hindus who convert to Islam are well received by their families, but some are discarded. There was even a case in which the burial process of the corpse was in question.<sup>121</sup>

On the contrary, there are also Muslims who convert to Hinduism. The process of religious conversion occurring in Balinese society leads to the diversity of religions within the family. This diversity is not always good and positive, but also negative. The positive side is that this diversity raises the attitude of tolerance among family members. The negative side is that there is confusion among the family members (especially children) in determining their religion. Even disputes arise between parents in influencing their children.

Nevertheless, there are also those who avoid paying with the excuse of not having enough money. However, according to KH Mustafa al-Amin, KIPEM should be given free of charge because there are already village funds. Interview 18 October 2017.

121 Information from Agung Alit, Balinese diversity activist and Fair-Trade Bali owner. According to him, when his mother who had converted died, he must be buried according to Hinduism at the request of his grandmother, although his own mother has made a will to be buried as a Muslim. Interview 18 October 2017.

## ***2. Mass organizations (Ormas) and political parties***

There are several groups of religious or community organizations and political organizations developing in Bali, from both Hinduism and Islam. There are Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama, which belong to moderate Islam; radical Islamic groups such as Salafi, HTI, FPI, and Muslim Brotherhood; Islamic Jihadist groups such as JI, JAT. Minority Islamic groups such as the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), Ahmadiyah and Shiah in Wangaya are also developing.

The two well developed largest Islamic organizations in Bali are Muhammadiyah and NU. With their moderate attitudes, these two mass organizations are well accepted by the Balinese. Muhammadiyah has several business charities that are part of the Islamic da'wah in Bali. Muhammadiyah schools became the expectation of Muslim parents in sending their children to school. In addition to the consideration of faith, society becomes the reason for them to send their children to an Islamic School—this despite the fact that to some people, Islamic schools are more expensive than public schools or Hindu schools.

Nahdatul Ulama, whose role model is Gus Dur, is widely accepted by the people of Bali. Gus Dur's proximity to some Hindu figures gave a positive meaning to the NU Bali citizens. Like Muhammadiyah, Nahdatul Ulama also has educational institutions that are managed individually by NU people. Both organizations are instrumental in helping Muslims in Bali, especially related to the sensitive and taboo matters for the Hindu Balinese. For example, a corpse is considered a bad luck for the Hindus. A place which has been occupied by a corpse must be cleaned with a prayer ceremony that takes a lot of cost and effort. Therefore, these two organizations voluntarily and willingly deal with corpses, especially the corpses of the Muslims.

As for Hindu religious organizations, there is PHDI (Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia). The task of PHDI is to resolve the religious social problems of the Hindus not only in Bali but also in Indonesia. The central PHDI board is generally from Bali because the majority of the Hindus in Indonesia live in the region. Structurally, PHDI is divided into two parts. The first part takes care of the



religion. In it some Hindu priests are assigned to issue religious pronouncement or to take care of matters related to religion. The second part taking care of organizational management is entrusted to experts, bureaucrats, academics, lawyers, businessmen, and so on.

The local Hindu leaders in Bali are called Sulinggih and Pemangku. Sulinggih is a Pandita, which includes Sarwa Sadhaka (Pedende, Sri Mpu, Rsi Bhujangga, and Sira Mpu), who is in charge of leading Hindu rituals. Big ceremonies are led by a Sulinggih or Pedanda who has met the requirements of medics, the process of purification and Medwijati, and Amari Aran. Meanwhile, small ceremonies in temples are done by a Pinandita, Jero Gede, or Jero Mangku. However, some religious ceremonies, including Ngaben in Bali, Pakraman Village do not involve a Pandita; they are led by a Pemangku.

As for community organizations, there are Brigas Bali, Laskar Bali and Baladika. Other organizations--KMHDH, Gases, Bulldog Bulk Families, Cakrawayu, Eling Nusantara, and Puskor Hindunesia--are quite active in voicing "Ajeg Bali," including criticizing non-Hindu cultures and traditions from outside the region. They were the ones behind the rejection of the discourse of Sharia tourism in Bali.

Several political parties exist in Bali. Based on the data from the KPU on Denpasar DPRD members in 2014, the six major political parties are: PDIP, Nasdem, Golkar, Gerindra, Hanura, and PKS. The legislative members of the five preliminary parties are all Hindus, while Muslims are represented by the PKS with 3 representatives. Three out of the 45 elected legislative members are Muslims.

In the legislative members of DPRD I Bali Province, there are 55 people from 8 political parties namely Nasdem, PDI Perjuangan, Golkar, Gerindra, Demokrat, PAN, Hanura, and PKPI. The largest political party is PDI Perjuangan with 22 people, which means that this party controls nearly half of the Bali parliament.<sup>122</sup>

At the national level, the National Parliament members from Bali are represented by 9 people from 4 big parties, namely PDI Perjuangan, Demokrat,

122 <http://kpud-Baliprov.go.id/index.php?pg=lelangdetail&cid=50>.

Golkar and Gerindra, while members of the National Senators from Bali comprise 4 people. One of them is Arya Wedakarna, a loud young politician voicing Ajeg Bali, is a former artist who was once on the cover of a national magazine, triggering many pros and cons in the Balinese society. One criticism by the public concerns his claim as descendant of King Majapahit in Bali. Many people question the claim, but his struggle in maintaining and fighting for Balinese traditions and customs also received positive responses, especially from the elderly. However, to some activists, that struggle is nothing but an attempt to seize power as a candidate for Governor of Bali in the election of 2018.<sup>123</sup>

### ***3. Cultural characteristics and local wisdoms***

Although Bali is known as an area visited by various tourists from all over the world with various cultures, customs, religion, and ideology, the people of Bali can still preserve local culture and traditions. It happens because they are selective in filtering out the outside influences and picking up those that match and align with the local Balinese cultural system. In addition, Balinese society has a collective, communal, and ritualistic style.<sup>124</sup>

Religious and cultural values not only act as life guidance but also shape their human character through the habituation and practice. Values also become a reference to truth, decency, and goodness. Thus, values serve as a guide in helping humans become more refined and cultured. These values are not only derived from the community's morality but also on transcendental lessons derived from religion, local customs and traditions.

Among the local wisdom of Bali is *Tat Twam Asi* (love each other) and *Menyama Braya* (help each other). Both are the forms of mutual tolerance. *Menyama Braya* (we our brothers) is an act of tolerance and mutual respect for the people of Bali. They honor people who come as long as they do not interfere with their lives, because they strongly believe in karma, recompense from one's

<sup>123</sup> Information from Dewi (a pseudonym), a Balinese women activist.

<sup>124</sup> <https://ojs.unud.ac.id/index.php/kajianBali/article/download/.../1104>.

deeds. If a person does good, they will receive goodness. In contrast, if a person does bad, evil will happen to him. The Balinese live side by side not only with their fellow human beings, but also with the natural surroundings and the supernatural realms invisible to the eye.

When *Menyama Braya* means to treat other people like brothers, it means a form of appreciation and tolerance of differences. The form of *Braya* in the level of Balinese life practices is marriage, naming, death, mutual assistance, sharing, religious celebrations and organizational management (*seka* and *subak*).<sup>125</sup> But as time goes by, the people of Bali are changing. These changes occur because of new factors that are considered more relevant to the present condition. In this context, something that is considered obsolete is no longer satisfactory and thus gets replaced with a new one.

Changes also occur because of interaction with others. These interactions result in many cultural encounters and traditions that later affect each other. Ethnocentrism, or when people stereotype other people and cultures, is still common.

Bali currently faces various cultural, religious, political and economic issues. Its culture is increasingly eroded by migrants such as through interfaith marriages. Non-Hindu religions are introduced and automatically affect the local culture. For example, when there is a marriage between a Hindu and a Muslim, many things like clothes, food, society, and so forth are affected. In the field of religion, mosques and churches are growing rapidly even though there are now restrictions on building permits. Economic competition also occurs with migrants currently dominating many aspects of informal life in Bali.

These changes also affect the local wisdom on *Menyama Brama*. The first migrants from Java used to be called as *Nyama Jawa* or *Nak Jawa* (Javanese brothers), but now they are simply called: *Jelema Jawa* (Javanese). Both have different meanings; *Nyama* or *Nak* means siblings that contain some emotional closeness whereas *Jelema* has none of it. It means distant; there is no emotional

125 repository.uksw.edu/bitstream/.../D\_902008005\_BAB%20VII.pdf.

proximity. This may suggest an impression of a threat from the migrants to the people of Bali.

Generally speaking, there are two factors that influence the change of character of the Balinese society: internal and external factors. The internal factor is the change of agrarian culture to the tourism industry services, while the external factor is the tourism industry that has changed the livelihoods of the Balinese people from agriculture to tourism, from productive to consumptive lifestyles, from collectivism to individualism, and from friendly and polite to violent and conflicted.<sup>126</sup>

This shift affects social life so as to tend to be anti-pluralistic and anti-multicultural, leading to being discriminate against “other” religions, ethnics, races, cultures, and traditions. This was confirmed by the establishment of Ajeg Bali, which only recognizes Hinduism and Balinese culture as the Balinese identity. It wants to suggest that Balinese identity is Hinduism, Balinese language, arts, customs, architecture, and social system. Bali tourism also recognizes only the customs, traditions, and culture of Bali. Surely, this affects the Balinese society from what was previously known as tolerant and open, to intolerant and closed, to migrants and outside cultures.

## C. Research Findings

### *1. Majority vs minority: exclusiveness of OSIS board, dominance of Hindu rituals and intolerance to minorities*

This section describes the dominance of the majority over the minority in schools in Denpasar. The meaning of majority dominance is the dominance of Hindu students, as the majority religion in Bali over the minority students of other faiths such as Islam, Christianity, Protestantism, Buddhism and Konghuchu. Based on previous data, the number of Hindu students in each public school is above 90%, while the remaining 10% are students of other faiths. The prevailing forms are in the exclusiveness of OSIS management, the dominance of Hindu worship rituals as well as intolerance and discrimination against minorities.

126 [repository.uksw.edu/bitstream/.../D\\_902008005\\_BAB%20VII.pdf](https://repository.uksw.edu/bitstream/.../D_902008005_BAB%20VII.pdf).

### **a. OSIS: management exclusivity**

Organizationally, the existence of OSIS is regulated through the Minister of National Education of the Republic of Indonesia Regulation Number 39 of 2008 on the guidance of student affairs. In Chapter III of Article 4 on Organization it is mentioned that the only student organization recognized in schools is in the form of Intra-School Student Organization or OSIS, and it is the official organization in a given school, which has no organizational relationship with such student organizations in other schools.

OSIS is a neutral intra-school institution and should be opened to all students of various ethnic, religious, social and gender background. However in reality, they often only accommodate students from certain groups and faction. In the context of OSIS in Denpasar, OSIS is dominated by Hindu students.

There are two schools whose OSIS board members are exclusively Hindus: SMAN 3 and SMAN 4, Denpasar. The number of board members in each of these schools is 16. According to Mr. Komang, advisor of OSIS in SMAN 4,<sup>127</sup> actually there is no intent on the exclusivity of OSIS in the school. Everything is based on the mechanisms and requirements that have been determined by the school and without any attempt to ignore students of other faiths. The selection of an OSIS administrator is based on personal will, parental support, and also organizational experience in the middle school. At school admission, interviews are given to find out each student's potential, talent, and organizational experience. By sheer chance, [in the previous election] all students who met the requirements were Hindus. It was because the Hindus make a majority, and because non-Hindu students rarely register as Board members. Bayu, head of SMA 3 OSIS, added that it was possible that one day a non-Hindu student would become the head of OSIS as there was once a head of Muslim OSIS at SMAN 3. However, according to him, non-Hindu OSIS administrators would have a hard time to work optimally because the general task of OSIS is to help school programs, which in this local context mainly relates Hindu activities.

<sup>127</sup> Komang, Advisor of OSIS at SMAN 4 Denpasar, FGD Denpasar, 22 November 2017.

Although the regulation of extracurricular activities in SMAN 3 does not mention anything about religion, Article 14.4 does mention that the OSIS board consists of 16 persons to serve for a one-year term, and the election is conducted democratically by taking into account academic performance as well as emotional, social, and spiritual capabilities. The question is: would any non-Hindu student meet such requirements? The answer is indefinite. In reality, non-Hindu students are not active in OSIS except in other extra organizations such as journalism or Teenage Red Cross. One example was a student named Bagus, a Muslim who chose to be active in journalism.

In contrast to their counterparts in SMAN 3 and SMAN 4 above, OSIS Boards in SMAN 2 and SMAN 8 tends to be inclusive, which can be seen from their accommodation of non-Hindu students even though they are only members. Still, the strategic leadership position in each of these boards is held by a Hindu. The number of non-Hindu board members in OSIS SMAN 2 is below 10 persons (from a total of 50). Meanwhile in SMAN 8, from 43 students in OSIS, 4 are non-Hindu. The inclusiveness of SMAN 8 is highly visible in the management of MPK (Majelis Perwakilan Kelas), whose chairperson is a Muslim girl. This goes to show that when students of any faith are given equal opportunities, strategic positions can be filled by anyone based on the merits of their capacity and ability in the perception of voters.

The proportion of males and females in OSIS also varies. A good composition is seen in SMAN 4 Denpasar, where its OSIS head is female and whose board is balanced between 8 males and 8 females, although, overall, the number of female students is greater than that of male students except in SMAN 2 Denpasar. Intense competition between males and females to gain the position as chairperson of the OSIS may often happen, as it did separately in OSIS SMAN 2 and MA Al-Ma'ruf. SMAN 2's current OSIS chairperson had to compete with a female who also had the same quality and capacity. Meanwhile, in MA Al-Ma'ruf, the rivalry between male and female candidates was finally won by the female.

### **b. Dominance of Hindu rituals**

In any OSIS management, there is a special section that deals with religion: the Devotion Section—known also as Section 1. Compared to other sections, this section has a fairly heavy task because it is associated with religious rituals in schools.

The people of Bali are predominantly Hindus who cherish traditions and cultures derived from Hindu teachings. No only schools but also other educational institutions function as culture-preserving vessels. Through Section 1 through Section I on Faith and Devotion towards God Almighty, OSIS is held responsible for preserving the tradition. Although in terms of identity the section is more general and does not concern only of one religion, in reality this section only takes care of the Hindus. Their main task is to coordinate the duties of everyday worship as well as other Hindu religious holidays.

The daily task of this section is to create a daily roster for students to present offerings and prayers at Padmasana, Pelinggih and Ganesha statues. The students who get the schedule should come early to school. On Mondays, as other students attend the flag ceremony, they perform this task accompanied by an advisor. For example, in SMAN 3 Denpasar,<sup>128</sup> researchers saw two girls and one advisor holding a bamboo tray containing a motley of colorful flowers as offerings tucked in rectangular boxes made of coconut-leaves. They placed the tray on their left hand, with a yellow or red scarf seen around their waists. They walked in line and took turns praying and offering at the places of worship. In other schools, researchers saw students praying either individually or in groups at Padmasana or by the Ganesha statue.

As explained earlier, SMAN 3 is a public school with very heavy Hindu characteristics. In the school a large and majestic Padmasana is placed in front of the flag ceremonial courtyard. In addition, there are at least five pelinggih in front of the school gate, near the security guard post, next to the language laboratory adjacent to the principal's office, by the teachers' office and next to the school committee office. The other pelinggih is located next to the rear cafeteria.

<sup>128</sup> Observation on 8 October 2017.

The preservation of the Hindu tradition is also done through other extra activities in arts. There are two kinds of Balinese art: one is as human creations, the other as sacred ritual associated with worship. The artistic skills developed in schools are percussion, sandia gita, mejeahatan, and kreket. Mejeahatan is the art of making upakara or utilities for religious ceremonies in Bali, for instance: canang, sampian, daksina. The name of each activity is also strongly influenced by Sanskrit languages such as Sunari Kencana for the name of the dance art group, Buddhi Citta Sandhi for the name of art tabuh, and shindu.

In SMAN 3 the habituation of religious traditions is considered as an effort to instill character education to students. Character education is also honed through hiking, which often requires the students to hike four compulsory mountains in Bali and one optional mountain. The philosophy of mountaineering is the existence of togetherness, independence, patience, physical and psychological exercise.

The four compulsory mountains are Mount Batur (1717 meters), which is located in Bangli and erupted one into a massive terrestrial disaster about 30,000 years ago; Mount Merbuk (1,356 meters) in Jembrana; Mount Patas (1,414 meters) in Buleleng, and; Mount Seraya (1,058 meters) in Karangasem. One mountain optional to climb is Mount Agung, which is currently active. Mt. Agung, of 3,142 meters, the highest point in Bali, last erupted in March 1963.

Other activities are breathing or yoga exercises. In the Principal's Decree SMAN 3 Denpasar on the ethics of the school's residence, in Chapter 8 points 8.3.d. on school attires, it is mentioned that the yoga exercise is to be carried out in accordance with the schedule by wearing the official school t-shirt, trousers, and black footwear excluding sandals.

Yoga is a mandatory activity not only in SMAN 3 but also in some other schools. In one private school in Denpasar, this breathing activity was once protested by parents who assumed yoga as part of a Hindu worshipping ritual. The parents were called and given a proper explanation about yoga. Schools also provide solutions if parents still object. One solution offered in such cases was for those parents to find another school for their children. However, after the explanation, parents



could accept the rules.<sup>129</sup> In SMAN 3 there is a commemoration of character education that is celebrated through character education ceremonies. On that day, the students are required to wear the scout uniform.

Habituation of religious practices is not only seen in SMAN 3 Denpasar but also in other schools. In SMAN 4 Denpasar our researcher found several students and groups in the middle of a prayer at Padmasana by the school front. In SMAN 2 some students take turns in praying when the other students are resting. They pray individually or in groups.

The Devotion Section not only coordinates daily religious rituals, but also on Hindu holidays in schools. In general, there are three kinds of religious activities in public schools in Denpasar, daily, monthly and annual rituals. The daily ritual consists in presenting offerings at Padmasana, as described previously. The monthly activity is associated with Purnama Tilem Day (Purnama being full moon, whereas Tilem is when the moon is not visible at all). On Purnama Day, cultural activities are held using Balinese traditional clothing. In SMAN 3 Denpasar, there are some provisions on the custom clothing, which are:

- Female students should wear kamen, scarf, hair woven neatly and kebaya made from non-transparent fabric;
- Male students should wear kamen, pads, scarves, udeng, and collared clothes instead of polo shirts;
- Not wearing footwear in the form of flip-flops.

As for non-Hindu students, SMAN 4 Denpasar enforces a more loose dressing code. They still have to wear traditional Balinese clothing although not as complete as Hindu students. Different from that in SMAN 4, in SMAN 2 non-Hindu students are not required to wear Balinese traditional clothes; they only wear regular school uniform, while on a Tilem Day they wear the school uniform according to the day in accordance with the rules.

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<sup>129</sup> Information from Mr. Sujana, Supervisor of SMA Bali Province. Interview on 20 October 2017.

Actually, schools have their own rules about uniforms. One such rule is the prohibition to wear religious identity clothing. The question is: is Balinese clothing not religious clothing? Moreover, the clothes are worn at the Hindu religious festival Purnama Day, which is celebrated through a Hindu worship ritual. In relation with the issue, Deputy Head of Student Affairs at SMAN 4 said that the clothes were not religious but traditional apparels, precisely, traditional clothes worn in religious ceremonies. The wearing of traditional clothing has raised questions from some parents of Muslim students. Does Islam allow Muslims to wear such traditional clothing? It seems that this rule was made to prohibit the wearing of certain religious identities. In this case it is Islam that obliges every female Muslim who is coming to age to wear hijab.

The annual ritual for school students is the commemoration of Saraswati and Siwalatri Days. As has been explained earlier, Saraswati is the Goddess of Science. Her statue, usually located in front of the school or adjacent to Padmasana, is a statue of a beautiful princess wearing a crown, complete with necklaces, bracelets, and a scarf. The white or white gold statue is depicted to hold a string and standing on a swan and a lotus flower. On the hip of the pretty princess, yellow cloth is pinned. Saraswati Day falls on a Saturday, calculated based on Wuku year, or the 6-month Balinese year, which falls every seven months in the year of BC. The Balinese Hindu community has their own calendar system. If a month of the BC calendar consists of 29-31 days, each month in the calendar of Bali has 35 days. So, 6 Bali months is equal to 7 BC months.

On a Saraswati Day, a prayer is held at the school Padmasana and is only followed by Hindu students although according to Mr. Fathurrahman, Islamic Teacher of SMAN 7<sup>130</sup>, there are also several Muslim students who joined the prayer. Meanwhile, other non-Hindu students do not go to school. To commemorate this very important day, schools take about two days: one day is for preparation, the other day for praying. To prepare for the day that always falls on a Saturday, all students, Hindu and non-Hindu alike, have to cooperate and work

130 Interview on 20 October 2017.

together on the Friday. Some students can contribute money; some can lend their hands.

In addition to praying in Padmasana every morning, the students pray together in class, which is known as Tri Sandya, held before a class starts. They pray for the safety and school success. It is done while standing. Non-Hindu students stand and pray according to the teaching of their own belief.

Various Hindu religious ceremonies are held in schools on daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly basis. They usually take considerable time, energy and resources, and, therefore, call for thorough preparations. In the Balinese Hindu community, school is a place to preserve and develop the Balinese culture and Hinduism. Now, what about religious activities for non-Hindu students?

Non-Hindu students are involved in but a few religious activities. For Muslim students, religious activities are held during the Eid al-Adha and Ramadan. On top of that, they also take part in other activities arranged by the Muslim student association in the school. In SMAN 2 and SMAN 4, the Rohis runs Islamic spirituality activities, which are informal in nature. Besides Rohis, which is under supervision by Muslim teachers, SMAN 2 Denpasar also has Rismanda (Islamic Youth SMAN 2) whereas SMAN 4 has Krisma (Islamic Youth Group SMAN 4).

In SMAN 2 and SMAN 4 Denpasar both Rismanda and Krisma members are Muslim students. Both organizations their own structure like any other organization. Administration consists of a chairperson, a secretary and a treasurer, who are internally elected. Krisma regularly holds monthly Quran recitation and short pesantren. The recitation is held in houses, usually followed with a religious lecture by an invited speaker. Either this lecturer is sought by the host, or it is the job of the administrator to seek for one. The lecture topics can be up to popular requests by members--thus not limited to issues pertaining to praying practices only or contemporary issues. This opportunity, in addition to being students' means to stay in touch with each other, also serves as a teachers' medium for mentoring. Religious teachers who are also their supervisors are still invited to attend the

study. Meanwhile, short pesantren is held every month for three consecutive days. This quick pesantren is held in schools and guided by religion teachers.

The same is done by Rismanda. They do activities on Islamic holidays, such as Eid al-Adha and Ramadan. In an Eid al-Adha, they sacrifice goats in the school. Typically, Muslims sacrifice goats and rarely cows as they are considered sacred. Students contribute to buy goats. The mutton is butchered and distributed to the school's residence. As for Ramadan, they break the fast together by inviting school members.

Similar things are done in SMAN 8. Although they do not have associations or organizations such as Krisma and Rismanda, the Muslims celebrate the big day of Islam in school by slaughtering sacrificial animals and breaking fast together in Ramadhan.

At the MGMP's initiative, an all Denpasar Rohis convention will be held this year. For reason related to kinship, a spiritual gathering will be held to conduct joint religious activities, especially to commemorate Islamic holidays. To commemorate the Prophet's birthday this year, they will hold various religious contests and races.

Formally, Rohis does not have the same authority as the OSIS Devotion Section, which only takes care of Hindus students in schools. Rohis, Rismanda and Krisma are non-formal and merely ordinary organizations that depend on their boards, members, Islamic teachers, and advisors.

### **c. Views on terrorism**

Our research did not find any inklings of radical movements in either public schools or in madrasah in Bali. Students from both Al-Ma'ruf and Tawakkal madrasahs share similar views of radicalism and terrorism. Happy, head of the OSIS Al-Ma'ruf, disagreed with some people labeling Moslems as terrorists and radicals.<sup>131</sup> According to him, anyone could engage in radical and terror acts regardless of religion, ethnicity, nationality and tribe. He is one of the students who react most critically to Islam related issues. His interest in the issue of radicalism sparked when a national TV channel aired it. "But Islam is peaceful," he said.

<sup>131</sup> Interviewed on 2 October 2017

Firman, chairperson of OSIS MAN Tawakkal,<sup>132</sup> agrees with Happy for he, too, rejects Islam being associated radicalism. Briefings on radicalism by a representative of the Bali Police certainly added to their insights and knowledge of the issue. During a socialization of radicalism the students asked a lot of questions about cases of terrorism and radicalism in the local society. The informant from Polda gave the answer that Bali Bombing is one example.

The socialization program in the madrasah received a positive response from headmaster of MAN Tawakkal,<sup>133</sup> who viewed that, ideally, such socialization should be given not only to madrasah students but also to students in other public and private schools.

Our researchers agreed with what the principal said that terrorists and radicals do not embrace only certain religions and ethnicities; terrors could be done by anyone. The cases of terrorism in America and England that killed innocent people were committed by American citizens who have track records of being ordinary people. They were not called terrorists because they were not Moslems. Therefore, it is very important to campaign that Islam is not terrorism and terrorism is not Islam.

The stigma and stereotype against Islam could be found in other school stakeholders, not only in students. An interesting thing happened when the researcher asked a Deputy of Student Affairs on radicalism.<sup>134</sup> He responded, "There are no terrorists in Bali. In contrast to Java there are many pesantrens ...." This statement implies that he believes that terrorists are synonymous with pesantren and Islam. This shows that even highly educated people believe that Islam is identical with terrorism.

Meanwhile among students, there is a change in the view about the stereotype. Dima, head of OSIS SMAN 8<sup>135</sup> said that he used to have a negative view on Islam, particularly due to violent events that happened in Lampung, which involved the

132 Interviewed on 5 October 2017.

133 Interview on 5 October 2017.

134 N (Initial), Interviewed on 8 October 2017.

135 Interviewed on 13 October 2017.

Hindu and Moslem societies. He saw that Muslims were the culprits. But as time passed by, his education made him change his view on Islam. According to him, perpetrators of violence, radicalism and terrorism are individuals who happen to believe in a certain religion. The blame is on the individuals themselves, not on their faith, and not least other people of the same faith as the perpetrators.

Agung, OSIS Executive Board member of Faith and Devotion of SMAN 8 Denpasar,<sup>136</sup> agreed with Dima, saying that he did not agree with Islam being associated with terrorism. He himself also used to view Islam as a radical religion. He learned about the stigma from home. His paternal grandmother and father are biased on the religion, probably because they had bad experience about the Bali Bombing, which was committed by a Muslim. As he went to higher education, Agung's opinion changed. Other OSIS administrators also underwent similar unlearning experience. They can now distinguish perpetrators from their religion.

#### **d. Religious intolerance**

In general, there is a form of intolerance faced by Muslim students associated with the obligation to observe religious rules in schools. The issues are about Dzuhur prayer, Friday prayer, the space for prayer, religious lessons outside of class hours, and wearing hijab.

As Muslims, students are obliged to perform five daily prayers a night. While the learning activities took place at 07.00-14.45. This means that there is a time of Dzuhur prayer that must be performed by a Muslim.

The time of Dzuhur prayer takes place around 12.30. Indeed, there is enough time to perform the Dzuhur prayer because the time is long enough about three and a half hours until 15:00. Therefore, some Muslim students choose to pray at home or on school breaks. Muthia and Marissa, members of Rismanda SMAN 2<sup>137</sup> choose to pray at home because there is no chance for Dzuhur prayer in schools. Likewise, with Bagus, a student of SMAN 3 who more often performs

<sup>136</sup> Interviewed on 13 October 2017.

<sup>137</sup> Interviewed on 12 October 2017.

Zuhur prayer at home. From about 7 or more of study hours, they only rest once, i.e. at 09.30.00-10.00. The issue of salat time causes Mrs. Endah, one of the parents, chooses to move her child from a public school to an Islamic school.

It is different in SMAN 4. There is a lunch time which lasted for 30 minutes from 12:00 to 12:30. Because the school implements Strengthening Character Education, school goes from 07.17 to 16.00. The Muslim students were given time for salat in the nearest mosque of the school. According to Anya, one of the Muslim students in SMAN 4, she and her friends went to salat in the mosque near the school. They can divide the half-hour break for salat and lunch.

Of the four public schools where the research was performed, there is one school that provides space for salat or a musala in schools. At SMAN 2 Denpasar, musala is located behind the teacher's lounge with a 3x3 meter room. In it is a prayer carpet with green mosque picture, and some mukena (praying cloaks) worn by the students for praying. Previously, this musala was located on the top floor of the school. After the renovation, the musala was moved down. This musala has been around since 1998 which means the school has provided a place for praying for Muslim students since long ago, long before the case of Hijab at this school being brought up into a national issue.

Another school that provides a place for praying, especially Friday prayer, is SMAN 7 Denpasar. This school is not one of our research objects. However, because of this information from Mr. Syamsuddin which is also an Islamic teacher in this school, we tried to contact Mr. Fathurrahman, a PAI teacher of the school. In this school there is a significant big hall used for Friday prayer by Muslim students. Looking at the lines on the floor, this hall is a badminton court. From the size of the hall, it is known that this hall is capable to accommodate 160 Muslim students of this school.

They do the Friday prayer with the advice and guide from Mr. Fathurrahman. Male students take turns to be the imam and khatib. According to Mr. Faturrahman, although their shalat recitation needs improvement, the willingness of the students to study religion is high. Those who follow the Friday prayer are

not only male but also female. Previously the school provided its own space for sholat in the upstairs room, but because the building was renovated, the space was used by the teachers and the shalat room was moved to this place. Outside the hall, there is a special cabinet for storing praying equipment such as mukena, sarongs, caps, and carpets. The hall has been used for salat since 2005. It was Mr. Fathurrahman who asked the school to provide this room for the Friday prayer.<sup>138</sup>

What is interesting is in SMAN 8 is that, even though the school does not provide religious facilities for Muslim students, the principal gives the Muslim students flexibility to pray in any room. He permits the Muslim students to use classrooms or the school hall. Mawar, a Muslim student, however, prefers to do it at home.<sup>139</sup>

Regarding the Friday prayer, schools have different policies. Some schools dispense their Muslim students to perform it, and some end their study a few minutes before the praying time. In SMAN 2 Denpasar, school ends at 12.00 noon on Fridays, so the students can go straight to the nearest mosque to pray. Similarly, in SMAN 4, school ends at 12.00 noon, but after that there is a lesson on enrichment and guidance from homeroom teachers.

Muslim students who want to do the Friday prayer usually must get a permit by the Student Council teacher. This is the case in SMAN 3. The students do the Friday prayer at the nearest mosque--at-Taqwa Bali Polda mosque, which is located about 1 km from school. But this involves some kind of affirmative action teachers who still run classes within that period of time. These teacher do allow the students to pray although it means that the students will miss some part of the lesson because the study hours in SMAN 3 on Friday lasts until 12:30. In other words, the Muslim students do not really have enough time to do the prayer.

In SMAN 4, the study hours that go beyond the Friday prayer time give the students a hard time in doing the worship, not to mention the necessity for permit by the Student Council teacher. Related to this, some parents of SMP 10

138 Interviewed on 20 October 2017.

139 Interviewed on 13 October 2017.



Denpasar once demanded the school to allow the students time for the Friday prayer. Since nothing was done, eventually they moved their children to other schools outside Bali.<sup>140</sup>

According to Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System, students are required to receive religious lessons in accordance to their belief. Religious teachers are provided by the school. However, not all schools have religious teachers. There are only two Islam teachers in the high school level in Denpasar, namely in SMAN 2 and SMAN 7 Denpasar. Besides teaching Islam in SMAN 7, Mr. Faturrahman also teaches in SMAN 3. To fill the void, some schools outsource their religion teachers. SMAN 4 resort to local religious leaders from nearby villages to teach in the school.

The procurement of non-Hindu religious teachers in public schools is constrained by the cost of hiring. According to Mr. Ariful Akmal, supervisor of PAI public schools, government policies do not allow schools to charge parents for such need, and this complicates many school in paying their religion teachers. Meanwhile, students are to receive religious lessons only from schools. However, as acknowledged by Nabil, SMA 2 student, his religion teacher Mr. Syamsuddin gives extra lessons for the students at students' home at the request from their parents.

Non-Hindu religious lessons are given after school hours from religion teachers. The duration of the religious lessons is 3x45 minutes, similar to the number of Hindu lessons. Religious lessons are given in study groups with the minimum number of 20 students.<sup>38</sup> They are distributed by class. Classes X, XI, and XII get separate religious lessons while Christian students get religious instruction at churches on Sundays. However, in SMAN 7 Denpasar, Islamic lessons for class XII are held simultaneously during the Hindu lessons. While the Hindu students receive lessons in class, the Muslim students usually do it in the library or in the bale bengong.

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140 Information from Mr. Ariful Akmal, Supervisor of PAI Denpasar City. Interview on 20 October 2017.

The number of Muslim students per class is typically 2-5, and the session is not filled with religious lessons but, rather, discussions between students and teachers. At such opportunity sometimes the students confide in the teacher about family matters, such as on differences in parental religion that confuses some students in choosing and determining their own religion. It turns out that interreligious breeding that occurs in Denpasar, or Bali in general, gives problems to the children. Thus, more religious lessons are given in the form of discussions such problems. When non-Hindu religious lessons are given after school hours or on holidays not all students attend them although all students will be scored for this religious lessons in their report cards.

Religious studies for students are given not only in public schools but also in private schools. In Saraswati schools, under the Hindu foundation, students get Islamic religious lessons on Sundays when non-Muslim students are off. Incidentally, one of the Islamic teachers, Mr. H. Sukirman, is chairperson of the Bali Regional Muhammadiyah office. He has taught in the foundation since 1980.<sup>141</sup>

Meanwhile, in one Christian school, religious classes have been given following complaints from parents who demanded them for their children. However, at the same time some Muslim students in this Christian school also join prayers at the church.<sup>142</sup>

If religious lessons for non-Hindu students are given outside school hours, such is not the case with Hindu lessons. Hindu students can attend religious lessons during school hours, while other Muslim and non-Hindu students are outside the classroom when religious lessons are in progress. They can spend time in the library to read books until the lesson is over. Based on our observation at SMAN 2 library, three students (two boys and one girl) were seen in the library as their Hindu classmates were having Hindu lessons.

141 Interviewed on 17 October 2017.

142 Information from Ibu Indah, parent of an MI Al-Ma'rif student. Interview on 6 October 2017.

The separation of students by religion happens not only in religious lessons but also in religious ceremonies. As Balinese Hindus celebrate two monthly religious days i.e. full moon and tilem moon, when Hindu students perform prayers at Padmasana, non-Hindu students in this school will remain in class or at the library for approximately two hours during that period.

Regarding the wearing of hijab for female students, there is no written prohibition. The school's rules on apparels and hair only concern the clothing model and prohibited use of religious attributes. Some of the rules of the school are as follows:

#### **The rules of girl's clothing in SMAN 3 Denpasar:**

- Short-sleeved shirts without back seams, complete with school and red-and-white flag attributes, bottom length 25 cm - 30 cm from waist, arm width 7 cm from arm and arm length parallel to elbow
- Dress shirt/shirt inserted into skirt, belt must be visible
- Gray skirt with a maximum length of 5-10 cm below the knee (when sitting) with provisions of model that is already set
- Must wear white underwear and singlet
- Gray hat
- Black belt of SMA Negeri 3 Denpasar
- Plain black shoes and plain socks with a height of at least 5 cm above the ankles

In the Student's handbook of SMAN 2 Denpasar there are pictures of students' clothing with the size and model that are almost the same as in SMAN 3: short-sleeved shirts and long skirts under the knees, and a tied hair model. Point 13 of the school rule mentions that the school uniforms are worn with attributes in accordance to the provisions set by the school. Furthermore, point 16 states that the clothing for extracurriculars and other activities arranged by OSIS and school must conform to the prevailing rules.

In the school rules of SMA Negeri 8 Denpasar there is an addition on hair rules for the boys and girls. In section A, the student's obligations are mentioned in point 3a, i.e. that boys' hair should be short-shaven; 3.2.1 and black; 3b. female students' hair should be tied neatly if long, or combed neatly if short, and should also be black. In section B on prohibitions, point 14 states that students are prohibited from using religious attributes or other clothing, except on certain days or as permitted by the school.

School rules of SMAN 4 are as written on one of its walls. The clothing rule on point 1.e regulates that on every Purnama, all school residents are to wear Balinese traditional clothes; point 1.5 prohibits the wearing of religious attributes or clothing; while point 1.9 obligates the students to wear Balinese traditional clothes on Purnama day and other Hindu religious days. The provision on hair for long-haired girls is to tie it neatly, and for the short-haired, to keep neatly combed and not dyed.

Associated with school rules on attires, the school conducts regular checks on the clothing and attributes worn by the students. In SMAN 2, in the morning, we found some students being checked for their compliance with the clothing rule. A teacher was on-duty with assistance from a security guard. The guard was needed to direct the students rode their motorcycles to school to go past the gate and meet the teacher. On that day some students were scheduled to do morning exercises in the Renon field not far from the school. Perhaps due to that, some of them did not wear complete attributes, such as ties. One of them was asked to remove his pants because they were too long. It seemed that the school was not too strict in applying clothing rules. Some girls seemed to wear rather tight clothing and skirts above knees, making them look as fashionable as urban teens.

As mentioned before, there is no explicit prohibition on wearing hijab except in the phrase of "not using religious attributes;" thus, the girls who wear hijabs often get this question about their clothing decision, such as: "Why are you wearing different clothes?" Such a question arises because there are only a few Muslim students in schools. According to Mr. Syamsuddin, Islamic Religious

Teacher in SMAN 2 Denpasar, in one grade with 350 female students, 60 of them are Moslems and only two of them wear hijab. In that context, the hijab is seen as a “differentiator,” an outlier among the majority. To some people, it could be a form of intimidation for her decision to “differ” from others. Surely there is a heavy psychological burden for these different youths. This is precisely a burden that Muthia wanted to avoid. She was a Muslim student who completed her junior high school at al-Banna Islamic school. For the sake of togetherness and not wanting to appear different, she decided to remove her hijab. She chose a public school as she wanted to advance to a favorite state University.

There was a time when hijab caught many people’s attention in Denpasar. It started off when a student of SMAN 2 Denpasar posted on social media about her school experience. She wrote that she often asked “Why are you wearing hijab?” or “Why are you different?” by classmates and teachers about her clothes. The post went viral. According to Mr. Syamsuddin, a religion teacher in the school, the student did not wear hijab when she started school there. She started wearing hijab in grade XI when she joined an organization outside of the school. The case was being investigated by the National Commission on Humans Rights. Other students might have been asked the same question but made no fuss about it. Mr. Syamsuddin himself regretted what the girl did, saying that she could have just remained silent.

In any case, her attitude might show how the girl had no power to fight for her rights as a minority Muslim. There has been a process of silencing minority rights in a structured manner, including in the field of education, which is supposed to be independent and free from politics and any interests. On the other hand, there is no room for negotiating cases of students who break school rules because of religious reasons, as a basic human right.

On looking back, hijab cases in schools in Bali are nothing new. Mrs. Redyan, Denpasar Madrasah Supervisor, shared a case that happened to his eldest daughter in 1989-1990, who went to a public high school in Denpasar and got reprimanded by the school management for wearing hijab. Although her classmates (Muslims

and Hindus) supported and defended her, she still was not allowed to wear it. As a result, she only wore hijab outside the school environment, when leaving for school and coming back home.

The experience was also experienced by four elementary school students in Denpasar whom we met in the middle of the road. These students, from Lombok, had to obey the school rules on attires. The language used by their teacher was not vulgar but subtle: "Unless they follow the rules, they are welcome to find another school ...". The same language was used by Deputy Head of Student Affairs in SMAN 3 Denpasar and school advisor in a yoga class in one of the schools in Denpasar when he responded to the protests by parents who objected to yoga being an extracurricular activity.

Principal of SMAN 2 Denpasar<sup>143</sup> stated that hijab was neither endorsed nor prohibited; he just ordered the students to follow the school rules. He explained that the rule on school uniforms is good for the sake of togetherness. Students wearing religious attributes on the day of Purnama are not regarded as part of the religious but customary attires. This rule was questioned by some parents in consultation with Islamic religious teachers. Mr. Fathurrahman, Islamic Religious teacher of SMAN 7 Denpasar, responded to the parents' objection by saying that it did not matter as long as the students did not join the event itself.

Such condition is different in private schools. While public schools implicitly prohibit the wearing of hijab, Hindu schools do not. Muslim students are allowed to wear hijab. The wearing of hijab in this Saraswati School has existed since a long time. This is confirmed by the statement of Mr. Sukirman, Chairperson of PW Muhammadiyah and a religious teacher in the Hindu educational foundation. Saraswati Foundation became one of the Muslim parent's choices to send their children to school because of tuition and location considerations. This was revealed by one of the parents of the students. At Rp. 250.000 per month, the tuition in this school is lower than that in most Islamic schools.<sup>144</sup>

143 Interviewed on 12 October 2017.

144 Information from Mrs. Yuni, salon employee from Java. Interviewed on 17 October 2017

While students in public schools are required to follow the school rules on attires and are prohibited to wear religious attributes, these do not apply to teachers. Female Muslim teachers are allowed to wear hijab. In SMAN 4 Denpasar, we found a teacher and a school librarian wearing it. Some Student Counsel teachers in SMAN 8 and some teachers in Taman Pendidikan 45 Denpasar also wore hijab. According to Deputy Head of Student Affairs in SMAN 4, the hijab rule for teachers is part of the policy made by the principal to respect and appreciate the rights of teachers. This goes to show that the wearing of religious attributes is decided by the schools.

Table 5 Form of Exclusivity and Intolerance at Schools

No	School	OSIS Activity	Policy	Description
1	SMAN 3 and SMAN 4	All OSIS officials are Hindus.	Unwritten	Reason: Non-Hindu students did not meet the requirements, did not registers. The majority of students are Hindu and 75% of OSIS Program is Hindu worship ritual.
2	SMAN 2 and SMAN 8	There are non-Hindu OSIS administrators but only as members.	Unwritten	The same reason as above
3	SMAN 2, 3, 4, and 8		Duties of Devotion Section	In SMAN 3, Section 1 is assisted by Shindu, Hindu Student (Rohis Hindu).
4	SMAN 2 and SMAN 4	There are Rohis Rismanda and Krisma but are informal and only Muslim student association and cannot be juxtaposed with OSIS Piety Section, which has formal legality from religious school.		There are annual activities for Eid al-Adha and Ramadan. This year, the Rohis forum was organised by MGMP Denpasar.

5	SMAN 2,3,4, and 8	<p>When Hindu students pray, non-Hindu students are to stay in class or in the library.</p> <p>Religious practice habituation for Hindu: Pray and give offerings at Padmasana, Pelinggih and Ganesha Statue (daily), Tri Sandya pray, and pray before the lesson begins (daily). Tilem (monthly) Day Remembrance: wearing traditional clothing and praying Saraswati Day Celebration, Science Day (per-6 month of Bali year, once every 7 month of year BC)</p>	<p>Unwritten</p> <p>School regulation and OSIS schedule of religious days</p>	<p>When Hindu Tri Sandya students, non-Hindu students pray according to their own religion</p> <p>On Full Moon day celebration, all students wear Balinese traditional clothes. At the time of praying, non-Hindu students stay in the class or library. On Saraswati day, all students work together preparing praying event. On the praying day, school is off.</p>
6	SMAN 2		Written	<p>The same assessment cannot be applied to non-Hindu students because the implementation of non-Hindu worship is not regulated by the school.</p>



7	SMAN 3	On Full Moon day, students are obliged to wear Balinese traditional clothes.	Written Policy	Traditional Balinese clothing is not considered as a religious attribute even though it is used for religious ceremonies. The wearing of custom clothing also raises the question (not protest) for the parents of Muslim students because it is considered as religious clothing.
8	SMAN 2,3,4, and 8	Prohibition on the use of religious attributes (hijab)	School rules, Student's Diary, and verbal reprimands	Hijab is not forbidden and not governed but students should follow the rules of school clothing for the sake of togetherness.
9	SMAN 2,3,4, and 8	Non-Hindu religious lessons are given outside of school hours, after school, every study group.	Rules about lesson schedules	During Hindu classes, non-Hindu students study in the library or attend the lesson.
10	SMAN 2,3, and 8	The time of Dzuhur prayer and Friday prayer coincide with the lesson time.	Rules about lesson and break time	Study hours: 07.00-14.45 Break time: 09.30-10.00 except for SMAN 4, break on 12:00 to 12:30 On Friday school ends at 12:30 except SMAN 2 school ends at 12.00.
11	SMAN 3 and 4	Must ask permission to Friday prayer from Student Council teachers (SMAN 4) and subject teachers (SMAN 3)	Written Policy	At SMAN 4, school ends at 12.00 but continued with guidance from class teacher.

12	SMAN 3, and 4.	There is no place of worship for non-Hindu students.	School Planning	Hijab is not forbidden and not governed but students should follow the rules of school clothing and for the sake of togetherness.
13	SMAN 3 and 8	In view on terrorism and radicalism, there are stigmas and stereotypes on Moslems being terrorists and perpetrators of violence.		There is a change of views about Islam among students from a negative to a positive stigma. The perpetrators of terror are not associated with a particular religion but are seen as "individuals." Bali Police socializes about radicalism and intolerance only in Islamic schools. It shows that the authorities themselves "suspect" Muslims as having the potential to become terrorists or radicals.

Based on the data above, exclusivity and intolerance occur in schools due to the dominance of the majority against the minority. The majority, in this case, is the Hindus who feel entitled to interpret the policy according to their own interests. While non-Hindu students have to adapt and adjust to the policy, there is no room for rule negotiation. If the students object to the school rules, then the school invites students to look for another school.

In addition, exclusivity and intolerance practices are structurally implemented through school policies. The policy is reflected in the school rules and regulations that must be obeyed by all students. There is also an unwritten policy that leads to the practice of intolerance.

## ***2. Forgotten state's authority***

The policy on student development is regulated by the Minister of National Education Regulation No. 39 of 2008. In article 3 it is mentioned that:

1. Student coaching is conducted through extracurricular and cocurricular activities.
2. Student coaching materials include:
  - a. faith and piety against God Almighty;
  - b. noble characters;
  - c. superior personality, nationality insight, and State Defense;
  - d. academic, art and/or sport achievements according to talent and interest;
  - e. democracy, human rights, political education, environment, sensitivity and social tolerance in the context of plural society;
  - f. creativity, skills, and entrepreneurship;
  - g. physical, health, and nutrition qualities based on a diversified nutrition source literature and culture;
  - h. information and communication technology; and,
  - i. communication in English.

The implementation of the student coaching in schools and madrasahs in Denpasar City is as follows:

Faith and piety to God the Almighty

As mentioned earlier, religious coaching activities in schools and madrasahs are based on school rules. The rules are set forth in school rules or ethics. The religious activities organized by the school are related to prayers before lessons, greetings, and clothes to wear on religious days.

For instance, Principal's Decree of SMA Negeri 3 Denpasar No. 4: 420/360/SMAN3Dps/2017 Article 4 on study time, on point 4.1, it is stated that before the first lesson begins, Hindu students are required to pray to Puja Trisandya, or

also called Gayatri Mantram. The prayers go as follows:<sup>145</sup>

Om, Om Bhur Bhuwah Swah, Tat Sawitur Warenyam, Bhargo Dewasya  
Dhimahi, Dhiyo Yo Nah Prachodayat,

*Om Narayanad Ewedam Sarwam, Yad Bhutam Yasca Bhawyam,  
Niskalo Nirlano Nirwikalpo,*

*Nlraksatah Suddho Dewo Eko, Narayana Nadwityo Asti Kascit.*

*Om Twam Siwah Twam Mahadewah, Iswarah Parameswara,  
Brahma Wisnusca Rudrasca, Purusah Parikirtitah,*

*Om Papo'ham Papakarmaham, Papatma Papasambharwah, Trahi  
Mam Pundarikaksah,*

*Sabahyabhyantara Sucih.*

*Om Ksama Swamam Mahadewa, Sarwaprani Hitangkarah, Mam  
Mocca Sarwapapebhyah,*

*Palayaswa Sadasirwa.*

*Om Ksantarwya Kayika Dosah. Ksantarwyo Wacika Mama, Ksantarwya  
Manasa Dosah,*

*Tat Pramadat Ksamaswa Mam.*

*Om Santi, Santi, Santi Om*

Trisandya is performed by standing up, while putting both hands under the chin and lowering the head. This prayer lasts about 5 to 10 minutes. At the same time, non-Hindu students are required to pray in accordance to their beliefs, led by one of the class representatives, and then followed by singing the national anthem. Although not governed in school rules, the praying is done not only at the beginning of a lesson, but also before going home from school. In the morning,

<sup>145</sup> Source: <https://www.mediahindu.com/doa-sehari-hari/puja-trisandya-dan-terjemahannya.html>.

students take turns praying and presenting offerings at Padmasana, Pelinggih, and Ganesha Statues located in the school area.

Next, on point 4.3, it is explained that when the teacher enters the class, all students should greet. A greeting is also to be spoken when meeting with a teacher by saying “om swastiastu” or “assalamu’alaikum” for Muslims. The greeting is accompanied by lifting both hands placed on the chest and bowing the head, accompanied with a smile.

Section 8.3.a. is all about cultural activities on Purnama and Tilem Days or the days of full moon and new moon. The monthly activity on these two days of the month is a prayer ceremony at Padmasana, which must be attended by all Hindu students. This prayer lasts for 2 hours from 7 am to 9 am. Non-Hindu students do not attend the event and they are to stay in class or the library. The clothing worn on the Purnama day is a Balinese traditional cloth as described in the previous section.

Similarly, the rules in SMAN 2, SMAN 4 and SMAN 8 Denpasar regulate Tri Sandya prayers and Purnama and Tilem celebrations. The word Purnama comes from the word “purna,” which means perfect. A full moon in the Indonesian general dictionary means a round or perfect moon (on the 14th and 15th of kamariah). The worship is meant when the full moon is directed to the presence of Sanghyang Candra, and Sanghyang Ketu as the god of brilliance to implore the perfection and sacred light of Ida Sanghyang Widhi Wasa in various forms of Ista Dewata. Usually on this holy day, Hindu people serve Daksina and Canang Sari on every pelinggih and pelangkiran available in every house.

Tilem holiday is celebrated at every new moon, which is the first of lunar phase, when the sky is dark with no moonlight. Astronomically, on a tilem night, the moon position is between the Sun and the Earth, so the sky becomes pitch dark at night. The Tilem ceremony serves to worship God Surya; all Hindus are expected to worship and pray with a series of Yadnya ceremony. The Hindus believe that a Tilem day has a virtue for purifying the soul and serves as a fuser of all the filth/mala contained in human beings, as well as coinciding with God Surya beyoga/

semedhi pleading to Hyang Widhi for salvation.<sup>146</sup>

Beyond these rules, there are also Siwaratri and Saraswati celebrations. Siwaratri means the night of Shiva, which consists of two words, namely Shiva and Ratri. Shiva in Sanskrit means “kind, forgiving, hope giving and making happy.” Shiva can also be interpreted as a title or honorable name for one of God’s manifestations given the name or title of honor of Lord Shiva in his function as a ruler to attain sanctity or self-awareness that gives hope to happiness. Meanwhile, Ratri means “night,” which can be interpreted also as “darkness,” so Siwaratri can be interpreted as a night in which the darkness in self and heart go to a brighter path. Hari Raya Siwaratri is held once a year every 7th purwaning full moon (sasih kepitu) of the Caka year. Hari Raya Siwaratri is the holy day used in order to worship the Sang Hyang Widhi in his manifestation as Lord Shiva.

Siwalatri is celebrated to commemorate Lord Shiva which falls every Wednesday on every seven months of the Bali Wuku Year. On the commemoration of Siwalatri, a ceremony of prayer from the afternoon until the morning is performed. For a night, the Hindus contemplate and introspect themselves for what they have done and ask for forgiveness for the sins committed. In detail the activities undertaken on Siwaratri day are as follows:

1. Before carrying out all activities, praying is first performed, expected to be finished at 6:00 am.
2. Implementation of monabrata or silence without speaking is held in the morning and carried out for 12 hours exactly from 06.00 - 18.00.
3. Implementation of mejagra or not sleeping for the night lasts from morning until morning on the next day, done for 36 hours from 06.00 in the day until 18.00 in the next day.
4. Uproasa or fasting is done for 24 hours from 06.00 - 06.00. It is permitted to eat white rice with salt and drink plain water after 12 hours.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>146</sup> <http://inputBali.com/budaya-Bali/makna-dan-cara-pelaksanaan-siwaratri-dalam-hindu-Bali>.

<sup>147</sup> <http://inputBali.com/budaya-Bali/makna-dan-cara-pelaksanaan-siwaratri-dalam-hindu-Bali>.

Based on the discussion above, the schools in Bali are very strong with the Hindu tradition as a means to preserve and maintain Balinese culture. In general, the piety of the school's residence is also apparent from the symbols that exist in their bodies. Students and teachers wear an awareness bracelet obtained from the temple as a sign of their obedience. The bracelet is made of colorful yarn straps. On their forehead, there is white rice. On their ear there is also a frangipani flower. When praying they also wear a shawl tucked at the waist. Those all are the symbols of piety.

While religious activities in madrasah include Duha prayer, Quran recitation and memorizing, in Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma'ruf, school activities begin with Duha prayer in congregation and then followed by Quran recitation using the tilawati and tahfidz methods. The tilawati program is devoted to children who have not been fluent in Quran reciting. Not all can recite because some of them come from middle school with minimal religious education. Meanwhile, tahfidz is given to those who are able to recite the Quran fluently. The hafidz are required to proof their recitation two or three verses every day. The assessment of Qur'an recitation program is also given in a separate book. The book has two kinds of assessments namely tadarus and tahfidz which contains the daily submission of tahfidz sheet and tadarus.

The Quran recitation program with Tilawati method is offering official certificates from Pesantren al-Quran Nurul Falah Surabaya. A student who successfully completes the Quran will be 'munaqasah', tested by reciting the Quran with 'tartil'. This diploma can be used to become a teacher to teach tilawati method in the TPA throughout Bali. At the back of the certificate, there is a list of scores associated with fashohah, tajwid, ghorib musykilat, sound and song. There are also scores for microteaching, where students who are good at teaching teach the other students who have not been fluent in recitation. They are guided by professional teachers, who are scholars, and tahfidz, who come from one of the pesantrens in Tabanan.

Almost similarly, the Quran recitation program in Al-Ma'ruf, Tawakkal

madrasah requires every student to memorize verses of the Quran. The memorization is submitted to the class teacher every morning before the lesson begins. The number of verses that are memorized is not determined by the teacher but is very dependent on the students' ability to memorize.

In both madrasahs there are speech programs in various languages every Friday morning. The choice depends on the student's ability to master the language delivered, but in general, they make speeches in Arabic, English or in a local language. The themes also vary, depending on the student who gets the turn to deliver the speech. There are those who convey the theme of worship, teenage problems, to contemporary issues. Of course, they must also quote verses from the Quran and hadith that support the theme. This program is not only useful for students to learn to convey their ideas but also to train their confidence, discipline, and communication well. In the month of Ramadan, the madrasah holds Pondok Ramadhan--a 3-day pesantren workshop.

The commemoration of religious holidays in public schools in Bali also shows the practice of tolerance among religious followers. Muslim students participate in preparing for worship in the days of Hinduism, similar to the Islamic holiday, especially Eid al-Adha. Muslim students celebrate the sacrificial day by slaughtering goats and distribute them to students and teachers of other faiths. Animals sacrificed on that day are also not cows, animals that are highly respected by Hindus.

#### **a. Character building and moral supervision**

The noble character building activities include implementing school rules and culture, implementing mutual cooperation and consecrated work, implementing prevailing norms and societal manners, fostering awareness to willingly sacrifice for others, cultivating respect and appreciation for the citizens of the school, and carrying out 7K activities (security, hygiene, orderliness, beauty, family, peace and shades).

The elaboration of these rules in school policy is done by making the rules of learning activities in schools. For example, the discipline of SMAN 3 Denpasar is



related to study time, break period, free time, student attendance, school uniforms, transportation to school, classroom devices, 7K, flag ceremony, extracurricular activities, and school safety.

Schools are also very strict against violence in the school premises. In front of the school, there is a large billboard that prohibits harassment, torture, fights, hazing, extortion, abuse, rape, tribal and racial harassment, or religion discrimination.

The same rule applies to other public schools in Denpasar albeit with some differences, such as on cellphones. Three other schools allow students to bring them, although there are some rules that must be obeyed. For example, in SMAN 4 Denpasar students are not allowed to activate cellphones during the lesson. Similarly, in SMAN 2 Denpasar students will get a warning if they activate their cellphone at the time of teaching and learning, UUB, UH. In MA Tawakkal students are allowed to bring cellphones but during lessons, all are collected by the teacher on-duty. Cellphones may be used when school ends or when there are lessons that require information from the internet.

Other rules prohibit birthday celebrations, kissing or dating, and flirting in the premises of SMAN 2, SMAN 4 and SMAN 8 Denpasar. There are some additional rules in SMAN 8 which are about the prohibition of putting motorcycles outside of the school premises and prohibition to bring non-standard/modified motor to school, and cars, and students are prohibited from wearing religious attributes and dressed freely except for certain permitted/ordered days by the school.

Previously, SMAN 3 also had rules about transportation to schools. In the past, the school did not allow students to bring motorcycles or cars but they might bring bicycles. Along with the development of the era and the needs of students, the rules are removed and replaced with the permission to bring motorcycles.

SMAN 2 has guidance on the assessment of noble character and personality that includes 10 aspects, which are discipline, hygiene, health, responsibility, courtesy, confidence, competitiveness, social relations, honesty, and the implementation of ritual worship.

Students who violate the rules will be sanctioned in the form of notification to parents, verbal and written warnings, suspensions, to returning them to their

parents. Students will get sanction in the form of score cut for violating the rules. The score indicates the type of offense and the penalty for the violation.

Table 6 Types of offenses including several aspects of diligence, discipline, orderliness, ethics, and morals

Score	Violation
Score 1: Warning	Not doing assignment
Score 2: Warning and cleaning the school premises	Tardy, lateness to class, absent without a letter, missing flag ceremony, jumping the fence, leaving the class without permission, littering, abusing dispensation
Score 4: Sign a statement letter signed by the student and class teacher	Skipping school, causing public distress, modifying motorcycle with noisy exhaust pipe, forging letter, bringing cellphones/ tablets/iPads, forging signatures.
Score 6: Sign a statement letter signed by the student, parents, class teacher and Student Counsel	Gambling, bringing fireworks, harassing the opposite sex, uploading or posting inappropriate posts, piercing (for boys)
Score 10: Sent home	Disrespectful to teachers/employees, smoking/carrying cigarettes, graffiti, carrying sharp weapons, threatening people's safety, stealing, carrying porn/ CDs, bringing in liquor, wearing tattoos, blackmailing.
Expulsion	Bringing/consuming drugs, being fugitive, pregnant, and getting married during school

Madrasah Aliyah also has the same rules. However, there is an addition to the obligation to perform Dzuhur and Friday prayers. There are also unwritten rules about the dress code at MA Tawakkal. The rule is the obligation to use leggings and small turban for girls. Leggings are tight cotton trousers worn by girls, usually worn inside, under the long skirts. The wearing of leggings is required because when female students ride motorbike and their calves are showing, while the small turbans are required to cover their hair. This shows that the current trend of Muslim clothing which is loose, more covering, influencing the school clothing model. This is stricter than the school uniforms in Islamic schools in the 1990s. When I was attending Madrasah Muallimaat Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta in 1987-1993, it was not a problem when my hair was sticking out under the hijab. There were even some teachers who wore thin kebaya shirt and hijab strung over the shoulders, similar to the clothes of Ibu Sinta Nuriyah today.

In SMAN 3 Denpasar there is a special rule about the 7K group. In chapter 12 it is mentioned as follows:

1. In each class the students are obliged to perform the 7K.
2. 7K group tasks are performed in rotation and scheduled; the arrangement is made by the class representative along with other caretakers with the knowledge of the class teacher.
3. The main task of 7K is to maintain security, orderliness, cleanliness, beauty, kinship, shelter, and safety/health.
4. The 7K officer, especially hygiene officer, must be present in schools 15 minutes before class starts.
5. Each student must participate in maintaining class and school infrastructure facilities, maintaining cleanliness, classroom beauty, school and school yard.
6. Each student should throw the garbage at the designated place.
7. Every sick student in the school is required to be reported and taken to the UKS room for treatment.
8. Each student must develop themselves with a culture or clean and healthy lifestyle to achieve.

9. Every student is not allowed to celebrate birthday in schools.

**b. Development of superior characteristics, nationalism insight, and state defense**

The development of nationalism and state defense is implemented in various ways: holding flag ceremonies; singing the national anthem; scout activities (Perjusami, Friday Saturday Sunday camps at MA Al-Ma'ruf and Kibar; a scientific camp at SMAN 4); pre-community services in MA Al-Ma'ruf; as well as extracurricular activities and cooperation with other schools.

The flag ceremony is performed every Monday morning before class. All public schools in Denpasar are able to perform the ceremony well in accordance with the rules of the existing rules due to the availability of complete facilities. As for madrasah aliyah, there are exceptions. Not every time can they carry out the flag ceremony properly. The lack of courtyards and space forces them to perform the ceremony in accordance with existing condition.

MA Al-Ma'ruf runs the ceremony in a limited hall, which is rather crowded for 150 students and 20 teachers. During our observation when attending a socialization event on radicalism and intolerance from the Bali Police, the hall could not accommodate all the students. Some were forced to sit on the 2-meter hallway. Thus, the flag ceremony is still carried out there without the flag-raising procession due to the space limitation.

Meanwhile, MA Tawakkal usually has to borrow a neighbor's land next to the madrasah for the flag ceremony. Due to its narrow space, the madrasah has no space or yards for ceremonies and such activities. Land problem tends to be an issue to most Islamic schools in Denpasar. MA Al-Ma'ruf has no land of its own and has had to lease one for 30 years. Previously, they performed flag ceremonies in the hall room in front of the school yard. However, due to the need for additional room for the principal, a special room of 3x5 meters has been made for the purpose at the front yard; the remaining yard is now used as a parking lot for the students' motorcycles.

The National Anthem is sung at the beginning of lessons after the Tri Sandya prayer ceremony. However, according to one of the public teachers,<sup>148</sup> it is not sung every day, entirely dependent on teachers who teaches the first sessions. Occasionally, they begin their lessons after praying and performing the ritual.

Based on the Ministry of Education and Culture regulation, there are two types of extracurricular activities. The first type comprises mandatory extracurricular activities of scouts, and the second is of optional extracurricular activities. There are 36 sports, art, and language club extracurricular activities in SMAN 2 Denpasar, and the students are required to choose one of these extra activities.

In SMAN 3 extracurricular activities are mentioned in the school's code of conduct in Article 15:

1. Extracurricular groups are part of OSIS activities.
2. Each student must choose one of the existing extracurricular groups and interest.
3. Students may change extracurricular activities with the deadline of one semester by filing a letter of application known by parents.
4. Each extracurricular group is required to have a board that is tailored to needs, up to 30 people and is democratically elected with the knowledge of the group/coach/group coach/coordinator.
5. Less than 75% attendance of extracurricular activities will not be scored.

Next, there is a rule in SMAN 3 that prohibits any organization other than OSIS in the school. Chapter VII on Extracurricular Activities, Article 14 paragraph 14.6 mentions that every student is prohibited from attending any organization other than OSIS in school. This article is definitely different from the rules in SMAN 2 and SMAN 4, which allow other organizations other than OSIS to exist in school. Rismanda and Krisma are legalized and acknowledged by the school.

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148 Information acquired on 13 October 2017.

The spirit of heroism is transmitted through several ways such as by taking quote of national heroes as encouragement in learning, socializing, nationality and patriotism. For example, in MA Al-Ma'rif there are some quotes from Bung Karno, Indonesia's first president, engraved on the school walls. "Hang your dreams up to the sky! Keep your dream as high as the sky. If you fall, you will fall among the stars." "Great nation is a nation that respects the service of their heroes." "One cannot serve God by not serving his fellow human beings. God dwells in the hut of the poor." In every class there are a picture of Garuda bird, a photo of the president and the vice president, a photo of a hero, and a red and white flag.

Furthermore, SMAN 4 Denpasar has conducted student exchanges with several countries, such as with Jurong High School Singapore, Pierce Secondary Singapore, Affiliated High School to KNUE (Korean National University of Education) and Melbourne, Australia.

### **c. Talent-based development of academic, art, and sports skills**

In accordance with the vision of schools that favor the three intelligences--namely spiritual, intellectual and emotional intelligences--schools in Denpasar are concerned about the student's academic and non-academic achievements. SMAN 3 and SMAN 4 Denpasar are two of the leading schools in Denpasar. Both not only have students who excel in academics but also non-academic at national and international level. One of the students of SMAN 4 Denpasar, Ni Kadek Vani Apriyanti, is a student with the highest National Exam score in Indonesia. According to Mr. Budi Adyana, the chairperson of SMAN 4 Committee who is also alumni at the same school, the students are encouraged to strive for academic achievement. In his time, after school the students did not go home immediately because there were additional lessons until 6 pm, discussing the materials that will be tested in the national examination. As a result, almost all students got PMDK, admission without tests to favorite state universities in Indonesia.

In the academic field, various championships and competitions have been achieved by students of SMAN 4. For example, physics and biology Olympic in England, Taiwan,

Lutvia, Bellarusia; Mathematics Olympiad in Vietnam; teen papers in Singapore; English debates in South Africa and Korea. Various national championships such OSN have also been achieved in biology, chemistry, physics, and computer.

Similar thing happens to SMAN 3. When we came to school on October 8th, 2017, SMAN 3 which had the motto “Come and Go for a Dream” had just won one of the world championships in Poland representing Indonesia. It was announced at the end of the flag ceremony. At the school level, they also organize annual student research Olympics of science and humanity. The event is organised by the Trisma Young Researchers Forum presenting judges from various universities in Bali. SMAN 8 Denpasar, which is located on the outskirts of Denpasar, does not lack of international achievements. This year they won softball in Japan.

Madrasahs are not far behind from public schools. In spite of its limited facilities and human resources, MA Al-Ma'ruf is a frequent national-level qasida champion and also the winner of other championships, such as Olympics and arts championship. Dozens of trophies lined neatly in the principal's office showing the achievements that students have achieved so far.

In general, there are three types of extracurricular activities: sports, art, and study club. The types of sports are basketball, soccer, athletics, martial arts, takraw ball, volleyball, badminton, table tennis, soft ball, KSPAN, chess, swimming, floor gymnastics, date ball, martial art, and rock climbing. As for the arts there are theater, dance, percussion, art, music, sandia gita, mejejahitan, graphics and photography, and kreket. Mejejahitan is the making of materials for Hindu religious ceremonies. While for study club there are English, Teen Scientific Research, Mandarin, French, Japanese, Journalism, Teen Red Cross, and Computer. In SMAN 4 there are several subject clubs such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography, economics, astronomy, and computer.

There are 34 extracurricular activities from which each student may only participate in 1 type of activity. Activities are held every afternoon after school, from Monday through Thursday, from 16.00-17.30 pm.

Students at Madrasah Aliyah learn not only Islamic art but also Balinese art such as Balinese dance. This dance could be a student extracurricular activity. They dance the Balinese dance excellently until they received an appreciation to perform at the national event in Bali. This charming student performance shows that Madrasah Aliyah are trying to adapt to the local culture of Bali. Unfortunately, there is a group of people who protest with the performance because it is considered to have changed the grip of Balinese dance. The change in question is the modification of the dancer's clothes by wearing Muslim clothes: hijab and cuff. After the protests, the extracurricular activities of Balinese dance was abolished.

#### **d. Development of democracy, human rights, political education, environment, sensitivity, and social tolerance in a plural society**

To develop democracy, some schools hold special leadership training for OSIS management. In SMAN 8 Denpasar, the elected officials of OSIS hold a camp together. At this camp, they get materials about leadership from some sources. Madrasah Aliyah Tawakkal also does the same thing. They equip their new OSIS managers with leadership, management, and information technology training. They work with some outside speakers such as Indonesian Red Cross. On the other hand, SMAN 4 has a KIBAR (joint scientific camp) program as a form of strengthening the education of environmental recognition.

Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma'ruf carries out an activity called Pre-Community Service (PPM). All this time, the activity has been carried out on Serangan Island. Serangan Island is one of the islands of Bali where most of the population is Muslim. They have existed since the time of the Balinese Kingdom.

The majority of them are from Makassar. That is one of the reasons why choosing Pulau Serangan as a pre-community service. In this one-week activity, the students are given the ability to channel their talents and interests. If they are gifted in Quran recitation, then they teach in the Quran in educational park, do azan, clean mosque, and do administration. School does not restrict as all is done according to the ability of the student. This event is also a way for school promotion.



### **e. Development of creativity, skills, and entrepreneurship**

For the development of creativity, skill and entrepreneurship, two particular schools are exemplary, namely: SMAN 3 Denpasar and Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma'ruf. In SMAN 3 there is a student co-operatives shop with the concept of honesty. The shop, named Satya Dana Sejahtera, is located beside the school flag ceremony area. In this canteen, there is no guard. Any student who wishes to buy goods can take the item by themselves pays it at a designated place. If change is needed, then they can take it by themselves.

The 3x6 m shop sells a variety of stationeries such as pencils, pens, books, sharpeners, etc. The glass walls allow everyone to see whoever enters the shop. In front of the entrance there is a set of computers and a barrel of money to put the money from the purchase of goods. On it there is some paper to identify the buyer's name, purchased item, and day and date of the purchase. Underneath there is a form containing the number, the buyer's name, the class, the name of the goods, the quantity of goods purchased, and the price, along with the following shopping steps:

1. Click the item code column.
2. If the item has already contained a barcode, scan on the scan tool.
3. If there is no barcode on the item, type the item code that has been listed on the list.
4. Next, if you want to buy the same item more than 1, write the number in the column right to the item code column (type in the desired amount).
5. Next, click enter on the keyboard, and the total price will be listed on the computer screen.
6. Open cash drawer and put the total amount of money.
7. To open a new page, click F9 on the keyboard.

On one of the shop walls it is written "Welcome to honesty counter, self-service, self-payment." At the bottom of the back of the shelves there is an instruction saying "Please select and take the item you want" with the background

image of four students who are looking and thanking with the hands in front. With the slogan “Honesty is great,” this shop has a vision to create integrated young entrepreneurs. It has three mission, which are:

1. Making young people excel and competitive in facing global challenges.
2. Developing creativity and fostering the spirit of entrepreneurship as the vessel to express talents and abilities.
3. Growing in a critical, innovative, and creative attitude, and encouraging students to engage in entrepreneurial activities.

Besides having honesty shop, this cooperative also has a save and loan and entrepreneurship competition programs. To foster entrepreneurial spirit, the school also has an entrepreneurial expo program. At the expo a variety of student-creativity goods are sold. The expo is not only held in schools but also in cooperation with hotels in Bali. One of the students’ works is a cushion in the principal’s room. At the alumni sharing activities, the school invites several alumni of SMAN 3 who have been successful and accomplished in entrepreneurship. They share their knowledge, insight, and experience with the students.

Entrepreneurial spirit is also the flagship program of Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma’ruf. There are Business Day activities, Cooking Day, and bazaars. In Business Day activities, the school provides a capital of Rp. 50,000 for the students to cook something. They then sell the food around the school. The sales proceeds are saved in a bank for use to finance OSIS activities. According to Happy, head of OSIS Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma’ruf, they can save up to Rp. 1,000,000. Some of the profit is also used for the next activity, Coking Day, which can be done at homes. This activity is done every semester after the final examination.

The bazaar is conducted for fundraising to attend championships and contests outside of the school. Fundraising is done to finance the students who join national level contests. They hold bazaars in cooperation with several entrepreneurs, such as Wong Solo restaurant. Besides the bazaars, student’s parents are also asked to participate to pay at some fees.

#### **f. Development of physical quality, health, and nutrition**

As a form of coaching on physical, health and nutrition, all schools are strict about drugs abuse. Students caught with carrying or taking drugs are given a severe sanction: to be expelled from school. Drugs, that are now targeting all classes, socio-economic statuses and age groups, become one of the government's focuses of attention. Anti-drug campaigns are echoed in various places with various parties, including schools, with the hope that Indonesian children can avoid drugs. Schools cooperating with various parties, such as police force and BNN, also hold socialization to all students against drug abuse and liquor consumption.

Not only drugs, cigarettes and alcoholic beverages are serious concerns. In SMAN 3 Denpasar students who smoke or carry cigarettes and carry/consume liquor, are considered to violate the rules and will be punished by 10-point reduction of their grades. The students will also be suspended from school. Healthy life behavior is also regulated in the code of conduct to develop a culture or lifestyle that is clean and healthy by not littering. If a student is sick, he/she must be reported and taken to the UKS room for treatment.

#### **g. Development of literature and culture**

The Balinese people appreciate culture because culture is not just human creation but also has a spiritual dimension. The local culture that is hereditary is preserved by teaching it to the children since early age. Every village has a village hall used for performing art, whether performed by children, adolescents and adults. Art does not only mean culture and custom but it is also related to religion. Some preserved art has deep meanings in religiosity and spirituality. The art is developed in schools as one of the extracurricular, such as tabuh art, percussion played by students.

This art is also performed to accompany a funeral. On Saturday, October 8th 2017, we had an opportunity to attend a Ngaben of one of the teacher at SMAN 8 who had passed away. The funeral was accompanied by percussion played by

students.

Cultural appreciation appears on every Hindu celebration or ceremony, such as on the days of Purnama Tilem, Saraswati, Siwalatri, Galungan, and Kuningan. On those days, students must wear Balinese traditional clothes. Meanwhile, in Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma'ruf provides literary and cultural exposures in the forms of inter-class singing competitions and stand-up comedy, which are held after the semester exams end.

#### **h. Development of ICT**

The development of information communication technology (ICT) is also used by the school as a medium of learning. Students of all schools, except SMAN 3 Denpasar, are allowed to bring cellphones to school. Based on observations at SMAN 4, students in the school library used their cellphones to look for tasks assigned by teachers and then discuss it with their friends.

However, as mentioned earlier, although students are allowed to bring and use cellphone, during class lessons they should not use it, likewise there is a test or an exam. In Madrasah Aliyah Tawakkal when students enter the classroom, their cellphones are collected to the homeroom teacher. Once collected, they then continue the lesson by submitting memorization of the Quran to the class teacher.

#### **i. Development of communication in English**

There are different types of English coaching in schools. There are English Club, English corner, and English Speech. In Madrasah Aliyah, there are 'muhadharah' programs every Friday. In addition to using Indonesian for the speech, they use English and Arabic.

### **3. *Vulnerability and resistance***

After the 2002 Bali Bombing, the government and Balinese cultural leaders initiated the discourse of Ajeg Bali. This discourse was initiated as an effort to maintain the identity of Bali as well as a form of resistance to the migrants. Ajeg

Bali is introduced not only in the society and government but also in schools. In addition to religious rituals, Ajeg Bali is also introduced through Balinese art and culture developed in schools.

Schools in Bali are generally not easy to be entered by radical movements from outside. Although it cannot be denied that social media and interaction with tourists brought impacts to the students, in general, Balinese society has excellent cultural endurance. The unification of religion and culture is one of the factors. Culture is inspired by religion and religion gives color to culture. Culture is not only a mere art but has an element of spirituality and is transcendental.

Moreover, the students are not only required to excel academically but also non-academic achievement by paying attention to the balance between intellectual and spiritual intelligence. This is evident from the school vision. SMAN 2 has a vision of Vidyaya Prajnam Prapnumahe, realization of qualified output and outcome with cultural insight; SMAN 3 with the vision of Coming and Going for the sake of a dream, SMAN 4 creates smart generation in intelligence, emotion, and spirituality; the diversity of student activities in schools, indirectly gives positive impacts on students in avoiding outside influences. Thus, the student's time runs out for studying in schools.

School is a wiyata mandala (educational environment). On the website of SMAN 2 Denpasar it is mentioned that:

1. The school is wiyata mandala so it should not be used to organize activities beyond educational objectives. The principal has full authority and responsibility to administer the entire educational process within his/her school setting which should be based on Pancasila which aims to:
  - a. increase devotion to God Almighty,
  - b. improve intelligence, skill, and character,
  - c. strengthen personality,
  - d. thicken the spirit of nationality and love of the homeland.
2. Between teachers and parents of students there should be mutual understanding

and good cooperation to carry out the task of education.

3. Teachers inside and outside the school environment should always uphold the dignity and image of the teacher as a human being who can be trusted and imitated no matter how difficult circumstances that surround it.
4. The school as wiyata mandala should rely on the surrounding community but must prevent the entry of attitudes and actions that can consciously or unconsciously lead to conflict between us because of differences in ethnicity, religion, genetic origin, and socio-economic level and political differences.

Based on the existing rules, schools are protected from outside influences. In SMAN 3, it is even explained in the school of conduct that the only recognized organization in schools is OSIS. The way to achieve that is mentioned in the next point about the authority of the principal to create a school that is superior in spirituality, intellectuality, emotional, and to love the homeland. Furthermore, the relationship between teachers and parents should be well established; teachers should be exemplary and maintain diversity inside and outside of schools.

Beauty, comfort, safety of school environment as well as harmonious relationship between the school communities makes students feel at home while in schools. They are encouraged to learn and become the best in their respective fields through extracurricular activities. The arts and cultural fields are directed to preserve the tradition and culture of Bali.

To deal with radical movements, schools have a program of strengthening national character. The programs mentioned are scouts, flag ceremonies, singing Indonesian Raya, and increasing student activities in schools. In Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma'ruf, there is a scout activity named Perjusami (Friday, Saturday and Sunday camps). In this activity, various competitions such as LKBB, marching, cross-country are held. Usually the program is held in Serangan Island but due to the condition, this year it was held near the school.

#### **a. Internalization of the value of diversity: transmission and translation**

Despite the practice of exclusivity and intolerance, there are some practices of diversity in schools. One of them is about tolerance. Interfaith tolerance is seen in religious activities in schools. On Hindu holidays, all students work together and participate in preparing for religious ceremonies, participation in providing material and energy. They also collect money for ceremonial fees such as 'banten', materials for offerings. Actually, this form of tolerance does not happen only in schools, but also in celebration of Hindu religion day in society, where non-Hindu citizens also contribute and help each other to prepare the ceremony, such as the preparation *ogoh-ogoh* done a day after Nyepi Day. In fact, frequently, Muslim teenagers participate in enlivening Nyepi by bringing *ogoh-ogoh*.

Likewise, it happens on the celebration of the Islamic holy days. For example, during Eid al-Adha, schools open the space for slaughtering sacrificial animals such as those occurring in SMAN 2 and 8, and the sacrificial animals are also distributed to non-Muslim residents around the school as done by Madrasah Aliyah Tawakkal and Al-Ma'ruf. If Muslim communities outside Bali slaughter sacrificial animals in the form of cows, then the Muslim here do not slaughter them as a form of respect for the Hindus who consider cows as holy beings. Similarly, in the month of Ramadan, in SMAN 2, 4, and 8 breaking the fast together is held by inviting non-Muslim students and teachers. On religious holidays, they also wish each other happy holidays.

The values of togetherness and simplicity are taught through school rules. For example, in SMAN 3, students were not allowed to bring motorcycles. They were only allowed to bring bicycles. However, as time goes by, they are now allowed. Related to the provisions of the licenses for motor vehicle users, Bali Police put forward the interests of students rather than the driving administration. Students who bring motorcycles and wear school uniforms are allowed to ride their own motorcycles even though they do not have a driver's license provided they use safety attributes such as helmets.

As a form of togetherness, schools also prohibit the use of cars to drop their children at the school gates. SMAN 3 is located at on an alley about 50 meters

from the major road. Chapter IV of the school rules on school transportation section 9 states as follows:

1. All students are permitted to drive a motor vehicle (with safety attributes in accordance with traffic rules) and without attributes unrelated to school goal.
2. If the students are driven to the school by motor vehicle (car), they are only allowed to reach the end of the road of SMAN 3 Denpasar; the motor vehicle is only permitted up to the front of the gate.
3. Students are not allowed to use cars to go to school.

#### **b. Seeking models of resilience from school cases**

There are a few good models and examples of diversity and inclusive life in schools. From the gender aspect, schools provide equal opportunities for boys and girls to become OSIS administrators. The girl who becomes chairperson is not due to affirmative action, but because she is able to compete and outperform the man. If girls are given the opportunity, they will be able to compete with boys. Schools led by girls are OSIS SMAN 4, OSIS Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma'ruf, MPK SMAN 2, and MPK SMAN 8 Denpasar. There are two out of the six OSIS whose MPK is led by girls.

In addition to gender aspect, other minority rights need to be considered. For example, the chairperson of MPK SMAN 8 Denpasar is not only a female but also a Muslim. Other minority rights fulfilled are as follows:

1. The existence of Islamic religion teacher in SMAN 2 and SMAN 7 Denpasar, and Buddhism religion teacher in SMAN 2 Denpasar.
2. There is a space for praying or musala at SMAN 2 Denpasar as well as a hall that is allowed to be used as Friday prayer at SMAN 7 Denpasar. Principal of SMAN 8 Denpasar has also allowed students to perform Dzuhur prayer in schools by using the classroom and the hall.
3. Muslim students of class XII SMAN 7 Denpasar receive religious education at the time of the other students receive Hinduism education. However, it doesn't apply to students at other classes or other schools. They receive religious



education outside of study hour, after school or on Sunday. Typically, what applies is when Hindu students receive religious education, non-Hindu student's studies at the library.

4. The existence of Rohis, Islamic spirituality outside of OSIS and other extracurricular in school. In SMAN 2 there is Rismanda (Remaja Islam SMAN 2/ Islamic Youth of SMAN 2) and in SMAN 4 there is Krisma (Kelompok Remaja Islam SMA 4/ Islamic Youth Group of SMA 4). Both organizations are directly advised and supervised by Islamic Education Teacher or a Muslim Teacher at each school.

Tolerance between religious people is seen in the festivals of Hinduism and Islam. On Hindu days, the non-Hindu students participate in preparing prayers in schools. When Hindu students are praying on Pylul Tilem Day, non-Hindu students study in the classroom or the library, while on Saraswati and Siwalatri Day, the school is closed.

For character education, SMAN 3 Denpasar develops school programs that balance between academics and religiosity, between intellectuality and spirituality intelligence. Other than the habituation of values of Hinduism, this school is also superior in research. Scientific work is a requirement for student's graduation.

A school that is superior academically and has network internationally is SMAN 4 Denpasar. To develop students' academic superiority, the school provides additional hours to study outside of school. Several international cooperations have been established in the program of student exchange with schools in Singapura, Australia and South Korea.

Meanwhile the model of survival school is Madrasah Aliyah Al-Ma'ruf. In the midst of limited facilities, the school is able to carve out achievements at various local and national level events. There are several excellent programs such as qasida and recitations. To solve the funding problem, they implement bazaar in cooperation with other parties. The flagship program of madrasah aliyah is recitations and qasida. Madrasah Aliyah is also able to play a role in the local

level in Bali through OSIS forums in Denpasar by placing one of its students as a forum board member.

Table 7: Diversity Practices at School

No	OSIS Activity	School
1	Gender equality OSIS administrator	SMAN 4
2	Female OSIS Chairperson	SMAN 4 and MA Al-Ma'ruf
3	Female and Muslim MPK Chairperson	SMAN 8
4	Rohis as a formal organization in schools	Rismanda SMAN 2 and Krisma SMAN 4
5	Wishing each other happy holidays	Every School
6	Provision of religious space for Non-Hindu	SMAN 2
7	An oral policy by the Principal to use school facilities as a prayer space	SMAN 8
8	Working together to prepare Hindu prayer ceremony	Every School
9	Breaking Fast together	Every School
10	Animal sacrificing at Eid al-Adha	Every School
11	Sharing to the Non-Muslims in the day of Eid al-Adha	MA Al-Ma'ruf and MA Tawakkal
12	On the feast of Eid al-Adha, cows are not sacrificed but goats as a form of homage to Hindus who respect the cows as sacred animals.	Rismanda, Krisma, SMAN 8 Muslim Student, MA Al-Ma'ruf and MA Tawakkal
13	The provision of Islam and Buddhism teacher	SMAN 2

Madrasah Aliyah Tawakkal is an inclusive Islamic school. The school seeks to embrace the diversity of Islamic organizations and ideologies. If Al-Ma'ruf is a school of Nahdatul Ulama, even though organization is not affiliated to NU, then Tawakkal is not under the umbrella of any Islamic organizations.



**Part Three**

**Double-  
Standard  
Tolerance**



# 5

## Cirebon

### A. Overview

#### 1. *The community context*

Research on extracurricular policies was conducted in the districts areas of Cirebon regency. Having a population of 2,163.69 people, the regency spans an area of 990.36 km<sup>2</sup>. It is divided into 40 districts comprising 412 villages and 12 sub-villages.<sup>149</sup>

Four adjacent regions are Indramayu Regency on the North, Majalengka Regency on the West, Kuningan Regency on the South, and Cirebon City on the East. As parts of the Dutch-built Gemeente (Residency) going back to 1906, the cities' long historical and political journey have shaped the territory of Cirebon. Today, these four areas are involved in the cultural dynamics and social processes that shape the society.

Ali Humaedi, who conducted research on the people of Cirebon, assesses that there has been cultural hybridity in Cirebon communities.<sup>150</sup> It means that there has been a mixture of self-cultural awareness of themselves and that of other cultures. At the same time, the existence of these other cultures is often only subtly revealed in the daily lives of the people. To Ali, the current Cirebon culture is a combination of influences of the Javanese culture (Mataram) on the one hand, and the Chinese-Arabic cultures on the other.

<sup>149</sup> Central Bureau of Statistics of Cirebon Regency, Cirebon Regency in Figures, (Cirebon, BPS, 2016).

<sup>150</sup> M. Alie Humaedi, 'Cirebon Community Hybrid Culture' Journal of Humanities, Vol. 25, No. 3 October 2013: 281-295.

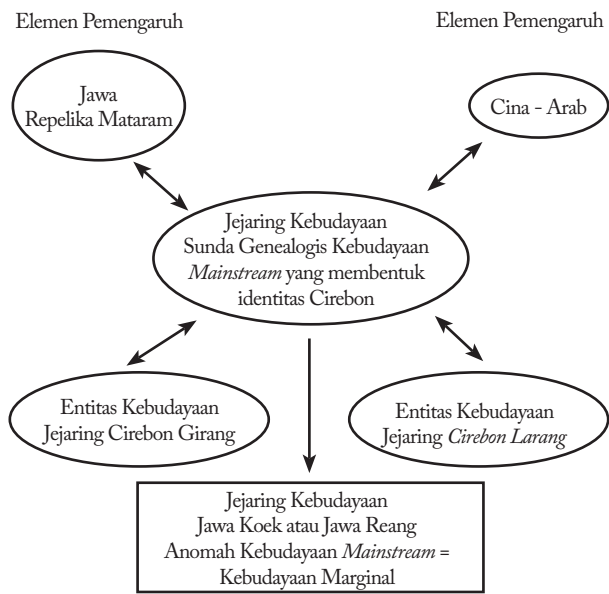


Figure 8 Chart of Cirebon Cultural Production that Delivers Cultural Hybridity

As illustrated in Ali Humaedi's graph above, at the heart of their cultural foundation is a Sundanese culture, which genealogically becomes the mainstream culture, and which has shaped the identity of the people of Cirebon for a long time. Assimilation has given birth to the culture of Cirebon as we know today as Jawa Koek or Jawa Reang. This indicates a continuous tug among the mainstream Sundanese culture, the Javanese, and the marginal Chinese-Arabic culture. Manifestation of this cultural interaction is mostly evident in the daily use of the people's vernacular, namely Jawa Cirebon or Jawa Koek. The language is quite different from the standard Javanese due to influences of the Sundanese language.

As an area whose majority religion is Islam (98%), the religious practices in the community are strongly imbued with traditional Islamic colors. However, Islamic organizations in Cirebon vary largely.

Of the 149 Community organizations existing in Cirebon, 134 of them are Islamic organizations. Among these Islamic Organizations, besides Nahdlatul

Ulama and Muhammadiyah, there are a few radical organizations and terrorist organizations, such as Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), FUI, Al-Manar, GAPAS, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid, and Jamaah Ansharus Syariah. These Islamic organizations are coloring the dynamics of life in today's Cirebon. As will be discussed in the next section, the religious dynamics in Cirebon today are strongly influenced by the struggle between moderate and intolerant groups in the seizure of common public spaces, such as mosques. Moderate groups here are represented by Nahdlatul Ulama whereas the Islamic extremists are represented primarily by FUI and GAPAS.

## 2. *School profiles*

Our study was conducted both in the Regency and City of Cirebon. In the regency level, the study took SMAN schools located in the sub-districts of Sumber, Arjowinangun, Jamblang, and Plumbon. As for MAN, a few schools located in Plered and Ciwaringin districts were taken as samples. Meanwhile, in Cirebon city level, the research was conducted at two schools located in the district of Kejaksan. However, both the schools are considered secondary, which means they are to be studied only to compare and verify the primary data obtained from the schools in the regency. As such, the two district schools will not be discussed in detail here.

Unlike the other schools, MAN 2 Babakan Ciwaringin came about as a combination of five Salafiyah Madrasahs in Babakan Ciwaringin pesantren back in 1968.<sup>151</sup> In accordance with the Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs no. 17 of 1978, the name MAN Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon Region was officially used, its previous name being Madrasah Aliyah Al Hikamus Salafiyah. Later on, the name became Madrasah Aliyah Agama Islam Negeri (MAAIN).<sup>152</sup> Even so,

151 The five Salafiyah are Salafiyah Madrasah (Msy) Diniyah Takmiliah Awaliyah, Salafiyah (Msy) Diniyah Takmiliah Wustho, Salafiyah (Msy) Diniyah Takmiliah Ulya use the Curriculum of Pesantren plus the Curriculum of the Department of Religion of Madrasah Hikmatu Salafiyah (MHS) Ibtida'iyah Level and Madrasah Hikmatu Salafiyah MHS) Tsanawiyah Level.

152 See school profile of official website, <http://www.manciwaringin.sch.id/>.



what has remained unchanged is the school's hallmark. Until now, its pesantren culture is still strongly felt in this school. The number of students is 1645 and approximately 90% of them are santri in status. The students are grouped into 38 Learning Groups (ROMBEL) in a school area of 16,418 m<sup>2</sup>. MAN 2 has been a model for the other 35 MAN existing throughout Indonesia since 1998.

Meanwhile, MAN 1 in Cirebon Regency is located on Jl. Post Office No. 36, Weru. Established in 1978, this 10,760 m<sup>2</sup> school presently hosts 1,408 students (375 boys and 1033 girls), who are divided into 34 study groups.<sup>153</sup> Besides this school, there are 3 other education institutions in this regency, namely: Al-Musyawirin Highschool, Al-Musyawirin Modern Middle school, and MTsN Cirebon II. Although there is no direct pesantren influence as in MAN 2, the school's policy of MAN 1 resembles that of a pesantren. For one, its curriculum is based on the Ministry of Religious Affairs framework. For another, the school also adopts a pesantren-style education, e.g. among others, by focusing on student development through memorizing al-Quran.

As for the public high schools, one of them is SMAN 1 in Sumber, Cirebon Regency. This school is established on 29.750 m<sup>2</sup> land on Jl. Sunan Malik Ibrahim No. 4. This school was founded in 1985. Currently there are 1,207 students with 35 study groups. SMAN 1 was one of the 44 high schools that used to have a RSBI (International Standard School) assessment from West Java Province.<sup>154</sup> However, in 2013 after the MK resolution through the circular of the Ministry of Education and Culture on the abolishment of the RSBI system, SMA Negeri 1 Sumber turned into a National School flagship. As a flagship school, it is natural that the school becomes the first choice of many parents in sending their children to school in Cirebon Regency.

Next is SMAN 1 in Arjowinangun. Located on Jl. Sutan Syahrir Arjowinangun, this school stands on 15,040 m<sup>2</sup> of land with 1,155 students in a 27 study groups.<sup>155</sup> Out of the five other schools, SMAN 1 is the only school that currently invests

<sup>153</sup> See school profile of 2017 or official website, <http://www.man1cirebon.sch.id/45154/#>

<sup>154</sup> See school profile of SMAN 1 Sumber in 2017.

<sup>155</sup> Detailed information about SMAN 1 Arjowinangun can be seen in the School Profile 2017.

heavily on school building and infrastructure. Under the leadership of Suharyono, the provision of physical facilities was claimed as part of the implementation of the quality improvement program of character education in the school.<sup>156</sup>

In the west of Cirebon, the research focused on SMAN 1 Jamblang. The school, founded in 1989, was originally a school for sports teachers (SGO). Currently it is located on Jl. Nyi Mas Rarakerta and has 1,060 students in 28 study groups. Most of the students come from villages in Jamblang district.<sup>157</sup>

Jamblang district itself is often associated as the hotbed of terrorism in Cirebon. The association not only goes back to Dian Yulia Novi--a Bekasi terrorist from Bakung Lor village in Jamblang District--but also to the arrest of three suspected terrorists in Orimalang Village, Jamblang, who were allegedly related to the bombs that exploded on Jl. Thamrin, Central Jakarta, in 2016.

Some data were also collected from SMAN 1 Plumbon, not far from SMAN 1 Jamblang. This high school of 8,578 m2 in size is located on Jl. Yudistira, Plumbon district, Cirebon regency.<sup>158</sup> It was formerly a part of SMAN 1 Palimanan, before becoming a separate school in 1985. Currently SMAN 1 Plumbon has 1,050 students (338 boys and 712 girls) in 29 study groups. It is worth mentioning that it is the only school that has made a special policy to invite the Nahdlatul Ulama Lesson Institute (IPNU; a student organization), to the school premises as a strategy to resist radicalism in school environment.

The above schools were selected with reference to three categories as follows: urban-rural, homogenic-heterogenic, and superior-non-superior. SMAN 1 Sumber, SMAN 1 Plumbon and MAN 2 Ciwaringin represent superior schools, while SMAN 1 Jamblang, SMAN Arjowinangun and MAN 1 Cirebon represent non-superior schools. Observed from the student heterogeneity, the students of SMAN 1 Jamblang, of SMAN 1 Plumbon, and of MAN 2 are relatively heterogeneous--at least when seen from their ethnic background. Meanwhile,

156 Interview with Suharyono, 8 October 2017.

157 Detailed information about SMAN 1 Jamblang can be seen in the 2016 school profile or in the school's official website, <https://sman1jamblang.sch.id/>.

158 Detailed information about SMAN 1 Plumbon can be seen in the school's official website, <http://sman1plumbon-crb.sch.id>.

similar to that in SMAN 1 Arjowinangun, MAN 1 student's background is relatively homogeneous. From the rural-urban viewpoint, only SMAN 1 Sumber is located in a city area, and the rest are located in the countryside.

Table 8 School Category

School	Achievement		Student		Location	
	Excellent	Ordinary	Heterogen	Homogen	Rural	Urban
SMAN 1 Sumber	v		v			v
SMAN 1 Jamblang		v	v		v	
SMAN 1 Plumbon	v		v		v	
SMAN 1 Arjowinangun		v		v	v	
MAN 2 Ciwaringin	v		V		v	
MAN 1 Plered		v		v	v	

a. The social background of students and teachers

The six schools can be divided into three categories based on their students' socio-economic background. Firstly, the school for the upper middle class is SMAN 1 in Sumber, the majority of whose students belong to the upper middle class families, as seen from the background of the professions of their parents. This school is favored by many of the local government officials to send their children to. They include a number of temporary officers assigned to Cirebon.

Secondly, the school for the middle class, in which category MAN 1 Babakan Ciwaringin is included. In contrast to the old traditional pesantren model that is often stigmatized as a school of the poor, most santri who attend MAN 1 Babakan Ciwaringin are of middle-class economic background. These students are not Ciwaringin natives, but mostly from the community outside the district, or even outside of the regency. In addition to attending school the students also attend pesantren.

Thirdly, the schools for students of low or lower economic background; these

include SMAN 1 in Sumber, MAN 2 in Cirebon, and the remaining four schools in the regency. Most of the students are from the area around the school. Their parents are mostly farmer with monthly income of under one million rupiahs. For the record, although Plumbon area used to be a notable area for rattan industry, most of the companies went out of business, so that the population has relied back on agriculture.

With regards to data on the number of teachers and their educational background, one school is very distinct from the others. SMAN 1 Sumber has 71 teachers (with 10 Master's degree holders); SMAN 1 Jamblang, 60 teachers (6 Masters); SMAN 1 Arjowinangun, 67 teachers (7 Masters); SMAN 1 Plumbon, 64 teachers (5 Masters); MAN 1 Plered, 66 teachers (4 Masters), and; MAN 2 Ciwaringin, 66 teachers (8 Masters). At a glance, we can see that the more favorite a school is, the more number of teachers with a Master's degree it has. Related to the educational background of the teachers, all the schools teachers practically graduated from various universities outside of the city, such as from UNJ Jakarta, UMJ Jakarta, UPI Bandung or UNPAD. A few of them graduated from local universities in Cirebon, such as UMC, Universitas Widyagati, and IAIN Sheikh Nurjati.

Educational background determines the subjects that these teachers teach. It means, during this study not a single case was found where the teachers taught beyond their major or expertise. Additionally, almost all Islamic religion teachers, who are closely related to the research focus, are graduates of IAIN Sheikh Nurjati Cirebon. Besides teaching Islamic religion lessons, they are also mentor for Rohis extracurricular activities.

It is interesting to note that most of the SMAN or MAN teachers in Cirebon are pesantren graduates of Babakan Pesantren, Ciwaringin. From here it is clear that pesantren network is quite influential to MAN and SMAN educators. Moreover, these pesantren graduates mostly occupy strategic positions in schools, such as Deputy Head for Student Affairs or advisors of extracurricular activities.

## **b. School facilities and infrastructure**

The first regulation to refer to with regard to school facilities and infrastructure is the Ministry of National Education Regulation No. 24 of 2007, which regulates the standard of facilities and infrastructure for primary schools/madrasah ibtidaiyah (SD/MI), middle schools/madrasah tsanawiyah (SMP/MTs), and high school/madrasah aliyah (SMA/MA). It concerns not only the minimum ratio of land and buildings used for teaching and learning, but also the minimum ratio of the facilities and infrastructure that must exist in schools.

Related to this particular aspect, the availability of a room for the OSIS is one of the minimum standards to fulfill in high school/MA. In all the schools studied, all MAN and SMAN have an OSIS room. What distinguishes one school from another is the availability of an extra room for OSIS extracurricular activities. SMAN 1 Sumber and SMAN 1 Arjowinangun have special attention to facilities and infrastructure to support extracurricular activities. Both schools provide an OSIS room and a special room for extracurriculars under the OSIS. In other schools, such a special room is usually dedicated solely for compulsory extracurricular activities, such as for scouts or flag ceremony troops. However, they all have a special room for Islamic religious (Rohis) activities, although Rohis is an optional extracurricular.

In general, the six schools share a similar layout. They all are rectangular in shape with an open field in the center. The field is used to hold ceremonies and also for the students to exercise, conduct extracurricular activities, and do regular religious activities such as istighosah, religious lectures, or tahlilan. At the same time, a mosque is a must-have facility, which is usually found in a school corner. It is used for extracurricular activities by Rohis or by students and teachers to do daily prayers.

Rooms are usually arranged face-to-face in two rows with the principal office and teachers' lounge being placed in the middle, perhaps for ease of control. In terms of discipline, students must obey the rule of conduct set by the school. Such room arrangement is part of the effort to discipline the students, as they are

expected to be obedient. The system of control is such that there is control from the teachers from the main building, and the other is from among the students themselves since students' activities in any classroom will be known by other students in the neighboring classrooms.

The placement of the principal's office and teachers' lounge in the middle of the layout gives discretion for them to supervise the students while the students themselves are aware that they are being monitored. At the same time, open classrooms allow for mutual control and supervision among the students in adjacent classrooms. The school layout can be interpreted as a mechanism of power outside the written school code of conduct and other set of rules to discipline the students.<sup>159</sup>

### 3. *OSIS profiles*

Schools are believed to be one of the strategic vehicles to develop and achieve educational goals for the development of knowledge and characters of students. Not to develop knowledge, schools are also mandated to develop students' attitude and value systems.

In that context, the government through the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 23 of 2015 mentions that the second mandate is as part of the cultivation of good manners. This type of cultivation are expected to occur inside and outside classroom through extracurricular activities. According to the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 39 of 2008 on the Student Development, OSIS is the only recognized student organization in school. Through OSIS extracurriculars, the guidance and cultivation of students' character is to be maintained. OSIS is expected to be a means for students to practice organizational and managerial skills in schools. OSIS accommodates curricular and extracurricular activities that support intra-school curriculum, meaning that it has no organizational relationship with OSIS in other schools.<sup>160</sup>

159 Seno Joko Suyono, *Tubuh Yang Rasis/A Racist Body* (Yogyakarta: Student Library, 2002), pp. 424-426.

160 Cf. Permendiknas No. 39 of 2008 on Student Development with Student Report of MAN 2 Ciwaringin 2016.

OSIS is also a parent-activity unit that facilitates other extracurricular activities as part of the intra-school organization. It is a catalyst in fostering relationships with other extracurriculars in school. In other words, it serve to link school programs to all extracurriculars.<sup>161</sup> In each of the schools studied, the OSIS programs are well-aligned with the school programs. Although it only seems to be an enforcer of school programs, OSIS still does have a bargaining power. Furthermore, although this power is unequal in each school, students through OSIS are usually given the authority to propose new programs, subject to the approval of the advisor and Principal.

Regarding the selection process of an OSIS board, there is no significant difference across schools. The process is conducted directly by students. There is no model for direct appointment of an OSIS chairperson and its administrators by a school. Similarly, the OSIS board structure is not decided by the school. In every school there is an OSIS apparatus consisting of an advisor, a class representative assembly or MPK, and an OSIS Board. Meanwhile, an OSIS board consists of a chairperson, a vice chairperson, a secretary, a treasurer, and heads of sections or divisions. Extracurricular activities fall under these sections.

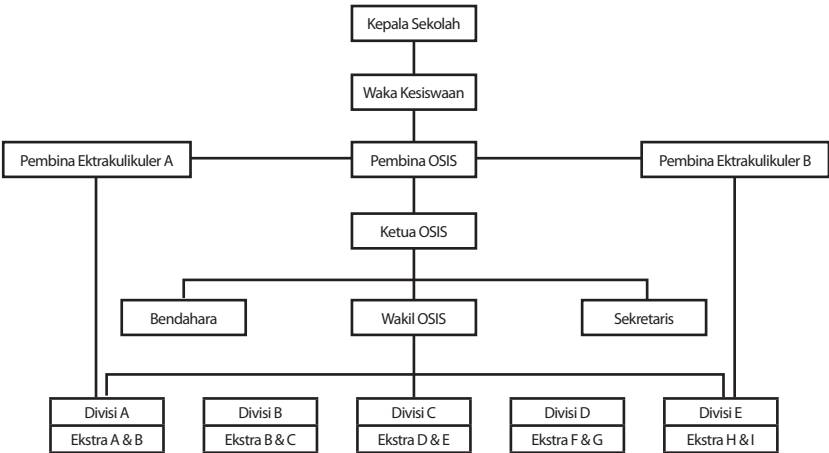


Figure 9 Chart of the Anatomy of Structure of OSIS

161 See in OSIS MAN Report 1 Cirebon 2016/2017.

The number of extracurricular activities under an OSIS is what distinguishes one school from another. At least one of these activities is mandatory for each student, be it PMR, flag ceremony troops, scouting, et cetera. Optional extracurriculars are also available, such as Rohis, futsal, basketball, and a few others. In general, the range of extracurricular activities under OSIS divisions depends on suggestions from teachers and students' interests.<sup>162</sup>

Table 9: Various Extracurricular Activities

Name of School	Mandatory	Optional
SMAN 1 Sumber	5	15
SMAN 1 Jamblang	4	10
SMAN 1 Plumbon	5	8
SMAN 1 Arjowinangun	5	9
MAN 2 Ciwaringin	5	8
MAN 1 Plered	5	7

#### 4. *Map of actors*

For internal actors, the most involved in OSIS activities are usually the deputy head for student affairs, and the advisor. Student counseling also often involves internal figures, such as school committee members, supervisory board members, and teachers who are not direct supervisors.

Involvement of an advisor is central to OSIS activities. In the formulation of OSIS programs, he or she will give directions and approval. In the context of OSIS program implementation, involvement of teachers is needed to oversee it. Most OSIS activities in Cirebon schools are strongly influenced by their respective advisor.

The level of involvement of an OSIS supervisory board varies with schools. When the board has strong ties with the school—by “strong ties” here we mean that the relationship is more than just formal—as in MAN 2 Cirebon, the board tends to focus on teacher development and school programs.<sup>163</sup> However, in reality,

<sup>162</sup> In certain cases, this extracurricular activity is also a proposal from alumni such as Extra Film in SMAN 1 Kota Cirebon.

<sup>163</sup> Interview with H Lukman Hakim, Supervisor of MAN 2 Cirebon, 4 October 2017.



the role of a supervisory board in extracurricular activities is not as pronounced as the role of advisors, teachers, or instructors..

The dynamic involvement of OSIS Supervisory Boards is similar to that of School Committees. Although in general the role of a school committee is more focused on budget issues, in some schools in Cirebon most of them play an important role in extracurricular activities. The School Committee in MAN 2 Cirebon, for example, participates in supervising the school programs. They regularly give advice the extracurricular advisors.<sup>164</sup> The role of the school committee in SMAN 1 Sumber is also evident in extracurricular activities, in which they are often involved directly.<sup>165</sup> Other schools, such as SMAN 1 Jamblang, deliberately appoint school committee members from the students' parents. The goal is simple: to involve them in the student supervision.<sup>166</sup>

Besides internal actors, external actors are also involved in the process of student mentoring. In Cirebon, these external figures may be individuals or institutions. Certain individuals are deliberately introduced in schools when they have competence in a particular field beyond the competence of the OSIS advisor. So, the requirement for an external instructor is more on skills or competences rather than on other criteria.

Other than sports, arts, line troops and scouting, extracurricular activities that often involve external figures fall under Rohis. Rohis instructors are usually invited from traditional pesantren within the school's vicinity. The simple parameters for a Rohis instructor in schools in Cirebon are mastery of religious knowledge and ability to read the yellow book. The study of the yellow book appears to be a compulsory subject in Rohis activities in all the schools sampled.

Other than individuals, among the number of institutions involved in student mentoring are the military and police officers. The military is often involved in the flag ceremony troop activities. Not only in the context of physical strengthening, the military is also considered to be an important element for strengthening the

164 Interview with Baidlawi, School Committee MAN 2 Cirebon, 5 October 2017.

165 Interview with Mustofa, School Committee of SMAN 1 Sumber, 3 October 2017.

166 Interview with Ahmad, Head Deputy of Student Affair SMAN 1 Jamblang, 8 October 2017.

national insight and defending the country. The police are also often involved in extension programs, especially in the so-called School Police extracurricular. However, the police force involvement is often ceremonial and directly related to the schools rather than to the students; the involvement of the military officers is usually directly related to the students rather than to the schools. Meanwhile, in religious activities or Rohis activities, the role of the Ministry of Religious Affairs cannot be ignored. Regularly, the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Cirebon runs a program to strengthen the capacity of Rohis management in Cirebon related to issues on moderate Islam and diversity.

In mapping the network of actors, what does not seem apparent is the role of alumni. Some schools do have strong alumni ties such as MAN 1 Babakan Ciwaringin, SMAN 1 Sumber or SMAN 1 Cirebon, but not directly related to student mentoring.

The alumni are often involved by these schools in certain ceremonies such as in education weeks or school anniversaries, whilst for things related to the mentoring of extracurriculars, they are often restricted up to giving recommendations only. It is the school and the teachers who ultimately decide whether or not to implement those recommendations. The alumni network generally has a role among, and influence to, fellow alumni themselves, thus not to the schools.

## **B. Research Findings**

Two things need to be considered regarding the study of policies on diversity in extracurricular education in Cirebon high schools. First, it is related to the religious policy that becomes the context in which the school's policy originates. The presence or absence of a diversity policy in the domain of education is, after all, strongly influenced by the influence of religious policies in the region. The existence of education regulations at the government levels--both at national and regional levels, which forms the basis of reference for each local school in formulating its policy, is the second dimension to be considered.

In this context, it can be said that the level of religious policy at the regional

government level that tends to be discriminatory and anti-diversity will influence the education policy in schools, and vice versa. Research conducted by the MAARIF Institute in 2017 concluded that the process of radicalization on students cannot be separated from this policy aspect, whether in national, regional, or internal level. In the context of national policies, it is said that radicalism arises due to their weak articulation and implementation in schools. This means that the national policies that encourage the strengthening of diversity and inclusiveness have been poorly implemented in schools.

Among the examples of the national policies are the Ministry of National Education Regulation No. 39 of 2008 on Student Development and the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No. 23 of 2015 on Character Development. The weakness is then aggravated by policies in areas that promote intolerance and discrimination, such as through the existence of the Sharia law in Aceh. Rather than serving as a vessel for the growth of character and attitude of excellent students, the role of this law only encourages schools to materialize an intolerant model of student development.

Associated with the two main variables of the study, the discussion in this section will be organised into three main stages in a particular order. The first part of the discussion focuses more on the influence of religious situations in education. In this section, we will examine the radicalism phenomenon, more specifically radicalism among students and student organizations in Cirebon. The second discussion focuses on extracurricular policies that encourage students' diversity and tolerance. The last section focuses on school initiatives in promoting diversity in OSIS activities, as well as drawing it into a model of how schools should deal with the influence of radicalism in education.

### ***1. Extracurriculars at a crossroads: issues and realities***

It is commonly said that the situation of diversity in Cirebon is an integral part of the conditions in West Java. As regularly reported by the government and civil society agencies, such as Human Rights National Commission, Setara

Institute or Wahid Institute, religious radicalism in West Java has always been said to be highest compared to other provinces in the last five years. This report eventually leads to a conclusion that what is generally unfolding in Cirebon is no different from what is happening in West Java. But this research also reveals that the phenomenon of radicalism in Cirebon has its own specificity and influence when compared to other areas in West Java.

#### **a. Radicalism and terrorism in the context of Cirebon**

In its report entitled *Religious Radicalism in West Java and Jabodetabek*; the implications for the Guarantees of Freedom of Religion and Belief, Setara Institute argues that the growth of radicalism in West Java has been influenced by two factors: its historical roots and the process of urbanization.<sup>167</sup> It is from these two factors that a different model of radical movement has manifested.

The urbanization-driven Islamic radicalism model factors in social gap (rich-poor) and religious sentiment as causes that constantly provoke radicalism, such as in areas adjacent to the capital Jakarta, i.e. Bekasi, Depok, and Bogor. This model of religious radicalism is synonymous with mass-based Islamic radicalism, especially through majelis taklim, mosques, and unemployed youth associations--also cloak-cladded and jihad-screaming thugs.

Meanwhile, what happened in Cirebon is more akin to what happened in East Priangan area. The growth of religious radicalism is much influenced by its own political history, namely as the main base of the Masyumi supporters and one of the bases of the struggle to seize power and establish the Islamic State through the Darul Islam Movement (DI). The Islamic model in typified by DI movement is believed to still influence the character of Islamic society in these two areas today.

Another thing that characterizes radical movements in Cirebon and East Priangan is the strong involvement of pesantren. Pesantren becomes a conducive place for the growth of radical Islamic movement in these areas of West Java.<sup>168</sup>

167 Ismail Hasani, et all. *Religious Radicalism in Jabodetabek & West Java; Implications for the Guarantees of Freedom of Religion/Belief*, (Jakarta, Pustaka Setara Institute, 2011) p. 39.

168 Ibid, p. 41.

The relation between pesantren and radicalism has been raised in Solahudin's work entitled *NII Until JI: Salafy Jihadism in Indonesia*. According to him, various acts of terrorism that occurred in Indonesia have involved many pesantren alumni, such as in case of Bali Bombing I on 12 October 2002 and Adz Dzikro Mosque bombing in Cirebon on 15 April 2011. Some of these pesantrens are associated with JI (Jamaah Islamiyah), e.g. Pondok Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki, Al-Muttaqien and Darusy Syahadah in Central Java; some of them have no affiliation with Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), e.g. Pondok Pesantren Al-Manar (the pesantren of Abdullah Sunata) and Al Hikmah Islamic Boarding School (one of whose teachers was Aman Abdurrahman, a leader of Jamaah Tauhid wal Jihad).<sup>169</sup> The involvement of pesantren alumni in acts of radicalism and terrorism is not only caused by religious teachings in internal pesantren, but also by their interaction with literalist Islamic organizations.<sup>170</sup>

Thus, a number of pesantren in Cirebon have been regarded as potential bases for the growth of movement that gives rise to violence. The radical pesantren here can be categorized into three types. The first type is a group of Salafi pesantren with a sort of textual religious belief.<sup>23</sup> This pesantren model imitates much of the "Wahabi" religious influence applied in Saudi Arabia. The second is the Traditional Salafi pesantren, whose source of religious teachings goes back to northern Sudan. Its religious influence is heavier and more intolerant than the first pesantren model. The third type is the Salafi Jihadi. Not only is it intolerant, this third model pesantren even teaches jihad to their followers.

In the understanding of the community in Cirebon, Pondok Pesantren As-Sunnah, which is located at Jl. Kalitanjung Karyamulya Kesambi, is one of the local pesantrens that teach radicalism to their students. This conclusion is made due to the fact that its teachers and students do reject the flag ceremony for reason

169 Solahuddin, *NII Until JI: Salafy Jihadism in Indonesia*, (Depok: Bamboo Community, 2011), p. 53-69.

Ismail Hasani and Bonar Tigor Naipospos, *From Radicalism to Terrorism: Studies on Relation and Transformation of Radical Islamic Organizations in Central Java and D.I Yogyakarta*, (Jakarta: Setara Masyarakat Library, 2012), pp. 95-106.

170 Interview with Idris Masud, Lecturer of UNU Jakarta, 17 October 2017.

of *thogut*.<sup>171</sup> However, our research concluded that although the potential for intolerance does exist (with a few examples done by several groups of people), the potential for radicalism in this *pesantren* is actually low. The religious understanding model of this *pesantren* tends to be rigid and intolerant, but the *pesantren* does not teach *Jihad* to their students.<sup>172</sup>

Dhiya'us Sunnah *Pesantren*, located at Jl. Duku Semar, Harjamukti, Cirebon, is said to be teaching Traditional Salafi (the second type). Ustadz Muhammad Umar as-Sewed, head of the boarding school Hadramaut, is considered to embrace the radical religious understanding. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the model of radicalism that they embraced and institutionalized in their respective *pesantren* education is rigid and intolerant.

Another *pesantren* is Pondok *Pesantren Ar-Royyan*, located at the Village of Kasugengan Lor District Depok Cirebon Regency. This *pesantren* is identified as sharing the religious understanding held by Tabligh Jama'ah, which rejects other religious groups, such as Nahdlatul Ulama or Muhammadiyah.

Two *pesantrens* in the Salafi Jihadi category are *Pesantren Al-Muttaqien* in Patapan Village, Beber District and *Pesantren Nurul Hadid* at Winduhaji Village, Sedong sub-district of Cirebon Regency. The indication is a number of Al-Muttaqien *Pesantren* supervisors are alumni of Al-Mukmin *pesantren* in Ngruki, Solo. At the same time, a number of terrorists in Indonesia are indicated to have networked with this *pesantren*, including Salik Firdaus and Sholahuddin al-Ayubi.<sup>173</sup> Salis Firdaus was one of three suicide bombers in the 2005 Bali Bombing tragedy, while Sholahuddin al-Ayubi was suspected of terrorism detained by police in a police raids at Wonosobo in April 2006.

According to the International Crisis Group report in 2009, the Al-Muttaqien

171 Interview with Nurhuda, Member of the Board of Education of Cirebon and Former Director of Fahmina, 10 October 2017.

172 Interview with M Ali, Fahmina Lecturer who once written a dissertation on *Pesantren As-Sunnah* in the Peninsula, 22 October 2017.

173 International Crisis Group (ICG), Indonesia: Noordin Top's Support Base, Asia Briefing N ° 95 27 Aug 2009, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/B095-indonesia-noordin-tops-support-base.aspx>, downloaded on 25 September 2017.

pesantren is the “terrorist” network group of Nordin M. Top. Al-Muttaqin also reportedly has strong connection with the offspring of DI figures and affiliation to Jamaah Islamiah (JI).<sup>174</sup> After the incident, there is a transformation of the radical and terrorist acts in Indonesia, both of this pesantren is believed to be currently still has affiliation to Jamaah Ansharus Syariah (JAS).<sup>175</sup>

Another example is Pesantren Nurul Hadid. This pesantren is said to be an Amal Usaha from the Education and Development Foundation for the Nurul Hadid People in Jatibarang, Indramayu. Pesantren Nurul Hadid is identified to be teaching radicalism to its students. Muhammad Salik Firdaus, perpetrator of the suicide bomber of Bali Bombing II, was registered as a Public Relations (PR) in Nurul Hadid Foundation. He was also a registered as its lawyer and treasurer in 2003–2004.<sup>176</sup>

Both these radical Salafi pesantrens (Al-Muttaqin and Nurul Hadid) actually belong to the same network. Sallim Badjri, Ustadz Abdul Muid and Muhammad Salik Firdaus reportedly have important roles in both pesantrens. Advisor of Nurul Hadid Pesantren, namely Prof. Dr. H. Salim Bajri, is also one of the founding fathers of Al-Muttaqin. Ustadz Abdul Muid, Chairperson of Nurul Hadid Foundation in Jatibarang, also has an important role in establishing Al-Muttaqin. Furthermore, besides teaching at Al-Muttaqin, he also used to be a PR in Nurul Hadid Foundation.

Another unique aspect of the radicalism phenomenon in Cirebon is the cessation of continuity between radical movements and terrorist movements. The incidences involving M. Syarif (perpetrator of the suicide bombing at Mapolresta Cirebon) and Yoseva Hayat (perpetrator of the suicide bombing at a church in Kepunton, Solo) have given rise to academic discussions related to

174 Malindo Institute, Religion as Potential Conflict and Violence (Study on the Leadership of Pesantren in Indramayu, Cirebon, Kuningan, Majalengka and Ciamis on Jihad, Violence and Power), 2006, p. 3.

175 Wahid Institute, Preliminary Research; Intolerance, Radicalism and Terrorism in Indonesia, 2014.

176 International Crisis Group (ICG), Indonesia: Noordin Top's Support Base, Asia Briefing No. 95, 27 August 2009, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/B095-indonesia-noordin-tops-support-base.aspx>, downloaded on 15 October 2017.

the transformation from being Islamic radicals to becoming Islamic jihadists/terrorists.<sup>177</sup> Setara Institute and the International Crisis Group, for example, believe that the radical groups and terrorist groups are quite closely related, with some radicals transforming into terrorists.<sup>178</sup>

Some consider the phenomenon a new dynamic in the map of Islamic movement in Indonesia. Nonetheless, what has happened in Cirebon is different. Fahmina Institute argued that religious radical acts by radical Islamic organizations such as Forum Umat Islam (FUI), Gerakan Pemuda Anti Separatisme (GAPAS), Al-Manar, and several radical community organizations have ceased to be since 2015.<sup>179</sup> However, until now, people still believe that terrorist acts occurring in this beloved country were inseparable from the network in Cirebon. Since the suicide bombing at Polresta Cirebon Mosque in 2011, six Cirebon citizens have been suspected as terrorists, and 24 citizens have been detained due to their alleged involvement in some terrorist acts. More recently, a man initialed IM (31) was detained at Cakrabhuwana Airport in September 2017.

## b. Radicalism in educational institutions

Talking about radicalism in schools in Cirebon, the main question that must be asked concerns how far the radicalism and terrorism phenomenon in Cirebon has influenced the schools. Assuming there is connection, how does radicalism process usurp the students?

Based on a number of reports and information from the research informants, radicalism in schools or pesantren actually has the same root.<sup>180</sup> Similar to the existence of Nurul Hadid and Al Muttaqin pesantren, the seed of radicalism in Cirebon cannot be separated from the figure of Prof. Dr. Salim Badjri who used to

177 Team Setara Institute, *From Radicalism Towards Terrorism Studies Relation and Transformation of Radical Islamic Organizations in Central Java & D.I. Yogyakarta*, (Jakarta, Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, 2012), p 12-16.

178 International Crisis Group, *Indonesia: From Vigilantism to Terrorism in Cirebon*, 26 January 2012.

179 Marzuki Wahid mentioned that there have been 42 cases of Intolerance and religious radicalism in the last 5 years conducted by radical mass organizations.

180 Interview with M Ali, Fahmina Lecturer and Doctor of CRCS UGM, October 19th, 2017.



be active in the Lecture Group and then in Al-Irsyad.<sup>181</sup> Through this Al-Irsyad, the wings of radicalism at Cirebon is beginning to spread. Rohis at SMAN 1 Cirebon and SMAN 4 Cirebon is assessed as a seed of radicalism in schools.<sup>182</sup> Out of these two schools that the characteristic of a radical Rohis is beginning to be disseminated throughout the schools in Cirebon.

At community level, the movement takes place through the formation of Taklim Assembly in Syarif Hidayatullah, which is centered in the market area on Jl. Gunung Sari Cipto Mangunkusumo, Cirebon. Assembly Taklim Hidayatullah materializes radical movements such as Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia-Cirebon and a number of contemporary radical community organizations such as Forum Umat Islam (FUI) Cirebon. Under FUI, there are yet a number of educational institutions under them, such as Al-Sunnah and Al-Dziasunnah Pesantren.

FUI in Cirebon is not merely a branch of FUI Jakarta Leader of Al-Khatat. FUI led by Andi Mulya is considered to have a more ideological and radical character. Due to its affiliation with MMI and JAT is so strong, FUI Cirebon was informed of allowing its members to conduct jihad. Thus, it is not only the non-Muslim houses of worship or the entertainment venues targeted by this organization but also the realization of the existence of an Islamic state. One indication is that the Ashabul Kahfi Group, the group in which M. Syarif is affiliated, was originally a member of the FUI.

181 Interview with M Ali, Fahmina Lecturer and Doctor of CRCS UGM, October 19th, 2017.

182 Rohis activity has become the leading extracurricular in SMAN 1 Kota Cirebon. This strong Rohis is believed to be the hallmark of the school that the school wants to continue to build and develop. Rohis is even considered to be the differentiator of SMAN 1 with other schools. Interview with M Fadji, Pembina Rohis SMAN 1 Kota Cirebon, October 19, 2017.

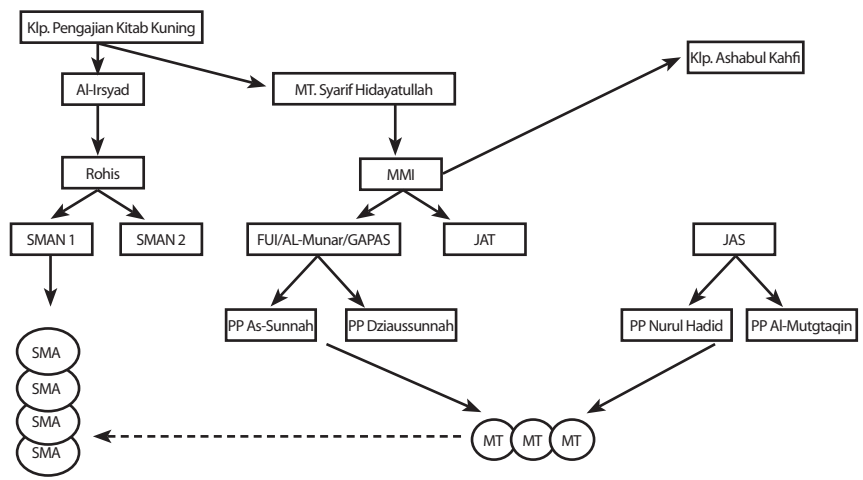


Figure 10 Genealogy and Flow Chart of Radicalism at the Institute of Education

Associated with terrorist networks, it can be noted also that Pesantren Nurul Hadid and Al-Muttaqin are believed to be affiliated with JAT before moving to JAS. The divisions within the organization of Ansharut Tauhid (JAT), one of which gave birth to the more Shari’ah Ansharus Jamaah (JAT’), are believed to be due to different perspectives on the meaning of the establishment of the Islamic State. JAT is affiliated with ISIS, while JAS is affiliated with Jabal Al-Nusra.<sup>183</sup>

**c. Sources of student radicalism**

It is assumed that radicalism in education will occur along with radicalism at the community level. Especially when both have the same roots and a number of pesantren that spread radicalism still exist today.

In 2015 for example, GP Ansor has established two schools whose students are indicated to have radical understanding. Other information said that the school indicated to have been infiltrated by this radical understanding is the

<sup>183</sup> Interview with Idris Masud, Lecturer of UNU who researches the radicalism of Pesantren and Mosque in Cirebon, 17 October 2017.

students of SMAN 1 Palimanan and SMAN 1 Plumbon. Approximately 10 students of SMAN 1 Palimanan and SMAN 1 Plumbon are believed to follow radicalism. Students at SMAN Palimanan refused to attend flag ceremonies and history lessons on the grounds that it is parts of *thogut* and disbelieved their own teachers.<sup>184</sup>

Not only that, Chairperson of Rohis at SMAN 1 Cirebon for example, never refused to follow Praying in Jamaah with other students. At the same time, he also consolidates its members to form assemblies of Rohis of their own because Rohis which is led by the OSIS is deemed not to teach Islam properly. In fact, he also did not hesitate to disbelieve other students and accused the religion that they believe to be not *kaffah*.<sup>185</sup>

Even at the teacher level, this radicalization also occurs. One of the English Teachers at SMAN 1 Jombang was noted refusing to pay the PGRI dues on the grounds of *thogut*.<sup>186</sup> In fact, he also sent a non-Muslim student to attend the Ar-Royyan Pesantren because he did not pass the subjects he was teaching.

How does the process of radicalization happen to students in Cirebon? Some circles, especially PC NU Cirebon, believe that radicalism among students and teachers grows and flourishes at extracurricular activities, namely Rohis. Rohis is considered to be the main vessel of radical Islamic organization to cadre students.<sup>187</sup> The initial strategy was to conduct religious formation to students through Rohis. From this model they then incorporate material and radical understanding to the students.

A number of notes that can be made from these findings. One is that radical dissemination into Rohis organizations typically enters not through the alumni network as found in other areas. Rather, it happens purely through members of radical Islamic groups who enter formal schools. They have connection to some

184 Radar Cirebon, Two SMA Indicated Infiltrated Radical Understanding, 5 July 2015.

185 Interview with Ahmad Fadji, Pembis Rohis Ikhwan at SMAN 1 Kota Cirebon, 19 October 2017.

186 Qoidah Interview, PAI Teacher and Former Rohis advisor at SMAN 1 Plumbon, 6 October 2017.

187 Interview with AH Nurzaman, Former PC NU Cirebon, 14 October 2017.

schools either through the students or directly to the school. By distributing pamphlets and then reviewing the contents of the pamphlet, one member of the Trans-national Islamic group once tried to enter MAN 1 Cirebon.<sup>188</sup>

The case of SMAN 1 Plumbon shows a similar pattern. The effort of radical dissemination was done by one member of Tarbiyah Party with the reason to strengthen the students' understanding of Islam.

In addition, from the internal school, the process of radicalization through teachers giving religious instructional materials is also hardly found. It is in accordance to the lack of involvement of alumni in the process of radicalization of students in Cirebon, indoctrination of religious teachers is hardly found. Background education of religious teachers who are on average never studied in one of the traditional pesantren in Cirebon and then proceed to IAIN Sheikh Nur Jati Cirebon also contributed to the absence of teacher factors in the spread of radicalism. Conversely, it is undeniable that this educational background forms moderatism among religious teachers in the six schools studied for research.

In contrast to previous findings, this study found that the greatest influence of the process of radicalism on students occurred through their participation in taklim assemblies maintained by radical pesantrens as mentioned earlier. Compared to religious information from the internet, a number of students in Cirebon who were interviewed said that additional subject matter was obtained through participation in taklim assemblies.<sup>189</sup> Even in the case of the occurrence of radicalization in students of SMAN 1 Cirebon, it started from participation of some students in activities run by one of the assemblies managed by radical pesantrens.

As a pesantren society, students in Cirebon nevertheless have some kind of belief that the most valid religious teaching is obtained through a teacher. Legitimacy levels increase when the teacher is also a scholar who teaches at a pesantren.

188 Interview with A Muhadjir, Head Deputy of Student Affair MAN 1 Cirebon, 5 October 2017.

189 Interview with MAN 1 Ciwaringin students and teachers at SMAN 1 Jamblang, SMAN 1 Sumber and SMAN 1 Cirebon.

In addition, the process of radicalization through taklim council is more intense when it gets support from parents. Which means, intolerant students' religious understanding, for example at SMAN 1 Cirebon there is also a religious belief that is embraced by their parents. This means that the incubation process of radicalism also occurs if the family also supports and provides radical religious information to the students. In this context it can be said that behind the assembly taklim parents contribute to the formation of views and religious attitudes of their children.

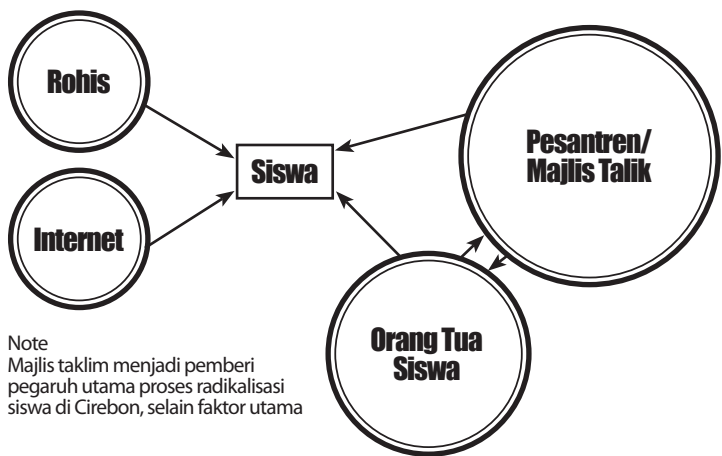


Figure 11 The Source of Student's Radicalization in Cirebon

Thus, it can be said that the process of student radicalism in Cirebon occurred due to several factors; participation in the activities of Rohis, and participation in the study which is then strengthened by parents. However, if observed the influence of the process of radicalization, taklim council and parents occupy the largest portion of student's radicalization. This means, the phenomenon of radicalization in students specifically in Cirebon has very minimal relation with the existence of Rohis independently. In fact, Rohis does not become a vessel for radicalization. Likewise, it is the same as the alumni who are often perceived as an actor spreading the idea of radicalism to their younger siblings in school.

It is found that there is a cycle in the process of radicalization in the realm of education. The process is not directly through Rohis. But through students who follow taklim council which indoctrinate radical understanding. From this student, the process of spreading radicalization to other students began to happen.

Some of the radical boarding school mentioned above are hardly ever entered public high school environment. There is a great possibility that the process of transmitting radical values is more focused in their own internal pesantren. In addition, a number of kiai and pesantren teachers are focused more on religious preaching in taklim council and mosques around Cirebon. These assemblies are then attended regularly by a number of students and their parents.

#### **d. New dynamics of radicalization in schools**

The school did have experience in facing radicalization of students. But the phenomenon of radicalism stopped in 2015. This indicates that there is no consistent and static relationship related to the potential of terrorists in Cirebon with the phenomenon of radicalism in schools. The strengthening of terrorist groups and jihadist movements was not necessarily accompanied by the spread of their ideology in public education institutions. The similarity of roots and network of radicalism in Cirebon as described above seems to have undergone a change. The flow of radical movements in the world of education that was once centered on Al-Irsyad has split from the flow of radical movements that target society through the medium of the taklim assemblies.

The diminishing stream of radicalism in high school students in Cirebon has occurred due to the strengthening of moderate movement. This is primarily characterized by the dominant use by the moderate of the public space that was once used as a basis for consolidation by radical groups. The exclusive character of the Jami Al-Taqwa Mosque, for instance, is now out of sight. The mosque has resumed its function as a public space for the Moslems in Cirebon. This mosque was once noted as the basis of consolidation and dakwah by radical groups.<sup>190</sup>

190 Interview with Marzuki Wahid on 12 October 2017.

At the same time, it is worth mentioning the changing patterns of radical and terrorist movements in Cirebon. This group does not make public schools the basis of intervention; instead, they use the mosques in a number of state-owned companies along with the Taklim Assembly as the basis for their intervention of public space. The influence of Trans-national Islamist groups such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) to school has declined due to government prohibition.

Government prohibition against HTI provides a legitimate basis for schools to reject and stop their interventions to students.<sup>191</sup> In the case of MAN 1 Cirebon, for example, prior to the government's ban on HTI, regularly leaflets and HTI pamphlets campaigning for the Caliphate Islamiyah could easily enter the school, especially when the leaflets were brought by one of the students and then distributed to their peers. The emergence of such government regulation, however, gave the school more power to exercise control over the spread of anti-diversity.

Based on the research findings in Cirebon, it can be understood that the strengthening of terrorism is not necessarily preceded by the strengthening of intolerance and radicalism. In the current case of Cirebon, these two phenomena must be positioned as two different facts. At the same time, the strengthening of radicalism and terrorist networks in Cirebon does not necessarily imply the process of radicalization in the realm of education.

It must be admitted that there is indeed a point of intersection between the existence of a number of pesantrens with the phenomenon of radicalism in schools. However, the effect is not direct. There is a taklim assembly medium. The process of student radicalization occurs when students regularly follow taklim assembly organised by radical groups. After experiencing the process of radicalization, then students spread confidence in peers. Not through the network of alumni and spiritual activities in particular as a process of radicalization that occurs in findings at other areas, but due to student involvement in taklim assembly activities. It should also be noted that the process of radicalization of high school students at Cirebon has stagnated as the moderate strengthened. At the same time, this

191 Interview with A Sabrun, Pembina Tahfidz Man 1 Cirebon on 12 October 2017.

also happens because of the changing pattern of religious dissemination of radical groups that do not target schools, but mosques in a number of red plated companies.

## ***2. Forgotten state's authority***

Discussions related to extracurricular policy cannot be separated from its surrounding environment, formulation, implementation and its performance.<sup>192</sup> The purpose of the environment here is the socio-political context in which the policy emerges or the factors influencing the emergence of policies. From that environment then came the formulation of policies, the form the implementation and also the quality of the implementation.

This section will discuss specifically the policies of extracurricular (OSIS) in schools with institutional model approach, to see how far the school formulates and legitimizes the policies, as well as how the figures involve utilize their influence so that the policy is implemented.<sup>193</sup> The policy above will only be examined if it is relevant. This section will be focused on the discussion to the characteristic and diversity of extracurricular policy in schools. The implementation and impact of the policy to the student will also be discussed, especially policies which includes minorities.

### **a. Characteristics of extracurricular policies: competition among Islamic schools**

Concerning efforts to strengthen extracurricular policies in relation to efforts to strengthen diversity within students, at least there are three regulations to refer to. These regulations are about student development, character building, and extracurricular activities.

In Cirebon there is no specific regulation from the municipal government or

192 Danim, S. *Pengantar Studi Penelitian Kebijakan*. Introduction to Policy Research (Jakarta: Publisher: Bumi Aksara, 2005).

193 Dunn, W.N. *Analisa Kebijakan Publik*. Public Policy Analysis (ed.: Muhadjir Darwin). (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 2003).



from the regency as a derivative from the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation Number 62 of 2014 regarding Extracurricular Activities for Primary and Middle Education. In the extracurricular-activity implementation, schools follow regulations from the national government. In every school there are mandatory and optional extracurricular activities. What differentiates one from the other is the option in extracurricular activities, namely in those developed and held by schools, which can be attended by students according to their desire, interest, and talent.

In its relation to student development and character building, there is signature influence that is to be displayed in Cirebon. Student development aims at developing the student's potential optimally, solidifying the characteristic in order to realize school resilience so as to avoid negative influence, and preparing students to become members of society who are righteous, democratic, respects human rights in order to realize a civil society. This is regulated in the Ministry of National Education Number 39 of 2006 interpreted to strengthen religious, Islamic students, and to help develop their Character building as well as. The character building that aims to cultivate good habits for students and also create a fun school environment for students, teachers, and teaching staff through the habituation of positive attitudes and behaviors to students as stipulated in the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 23 of 2015 is interpreted as the inculcation of Islamic values and morals in the students. The purpose of "Islamic" here is not the imposition of the pure application of the Sharia, but the form of the embodiment of the traditional Islamic teachings of Nahdlatul Ulama.

At the senior high school level, extracurricular activities related to the fostering of students and the cultivation of the Islamic mind are included and part of Rohis. Even at certain schools such as SMAN 1 Cirebon, Rohis activities are mentioned as a mainstay of extracurricular activities in schools. Unlike other schools, which position Rohis as equivalent to other extracurricular activities, Rohis at SMAN 1 Cirebon gets a special place.<sup>194</sup> Students' interest in participating in Rohis is certainly

<sup>194</sup> Interview with Fadjri, Advisor of Rohis SMAN 1 Cirebon, 19 October 2017.

a considered to be a privilege. From the teacher's point of view, the background of students who did not study religious knowledge formally in pesantren made the school pay special attention to Rohis as a guidance of character and character of students.<sup>195</sup> The same thing is also the reason students follow Rohis. Because they are attending public schools, Rohis becomes a special medium in the study of theology.<sup>196</sup> At SMAN 1 Cirebon, Rohis is the only extracurricular activity that is most in demand. Likewise, with SMAN 1 of Cirebon Regency.<sup>197</sup> Both schools are favorite schools representing City and District.

While in MAN, the special character of the extracurricular activities associated with character building is no more than an implementation of the Islamic subject matter in the classroom. That is, as an Islamic religious school, the character of extracurricular activity associated with mentoring and character is the deepening of what is gained in the classroom. This means that extracurricular activities tend to concern more on technical skills than the understanding and contentment of religious materials.

In MAN 2 Cirebon for example, the character of extracurricular activity is more directed toward application of the knowledge of religion learned in the classroom. Deepening of religious knowledge is considered not necessary anymore, because students who in fact are santri are believed to have learned it at their own pesantren. Through the Assembly of Dakwah (MBD), students of MAN 2 are not only trained to master da'wah skills, but also how to deliver them in the community. For three days, 10th grade students of MBD members are required to practice da'wah in the villages around Cirebon District.<sup>198</sup>

In contrast to MAN 2 Cirebon Regency, MAN 1 who did not come into direct contact with the pesantren, tried to present this religious activity in the form of a Pesantren. The pesantren is a tahfidz pesantren which aims to guide certain students who wish to memorize the Koran. The school also provides dormitories

195 Interview with Rosyidin, Advisor of Rohis SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency, 5 October 2017.

196 Interview with Devi, Rohis member of SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency, 14 October 2017.

197 Interview with Adrian, Advisor of OSIS SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency, 4 October 2017.

198 Interview with Anto, Head Deputy of Student Affair MAN 2 Cirebon, 3 October 2017.

for students enrolled in the Tahfidz Pesantren.<sup>199</sup> Initially this pesantren was under Rohis (Wahdaniyah), but since the last two years it has become independent and the direct responsibility of the principal. What we want to highlight from the existence of this pesantren is that, as an Islamic school, it is necessary for schools to educate students more intensively on religious material. The trick is to present a model of a pesantren education in schools.<sup>200</sup>

It should be said that the guidance of students and character building with the Islamic influence is not only supplemented by the influence of the school purely, but also the influence of regulation at the provincial level and also from the people of Cirebon. The schools in Cirebon refer to the program outlined by the Province. The Jabar Memorize or Read the Quran before Teaching and Learning Activities (KBM) program for example, is implemented well in schools of Cirebon. In fact, some schools claimed that they implemented the provincial government program because it was in accordance with the direction of character building and the character of the students. This provincial government program is generally implemented at public high schools rather than MAN. For example, what happened in SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency, they simultaneously implemented both provincial government programs. Through the “One Day, One Verse, One Day, One Word” program, students are required not only to memorize one verse of the Quran, but also to memorize one vocabulary every day.<sup>201</sup> Not only that, students are also required to read the Quran before the KBM begins. The latter program actually can be found not only in SMA 1 Cirebon Regency, 4 of 6 SMAN studied are doing the same thing, as in SMAN 1 Janglang, SMAN 1 Plumbon, and SMAN 1 Cirebon.

The Islamic influence in extracurricular activities in schools of Cirebon at the same time cannot be separated from the culture of society. With a strong tradition of *nahdliyin*, coupled with the presence of a number of large pesantrens such as

199 Interview with Muhadjirin, Head Deputy of Student Affair MAN 1 Cirebon, 5 October 2017.

200 Interview with Mukarom, Advisor of Pesantren Tahfidz MAN 1 Cirebon, 5 October 2017.

201 Interview with A Jazuli, Head Deputy of Student Affair SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency, 3 October 2017.

Buntet, Kempek, Arjowinangun and Babakan-Ciwaringin following its alumni network scattered in a number of schools, it is not surprising thin schools also organize the study of yellow books, istighosah, and tahlilan. At least once a week, all the schools studied undertake religious activities as part of character building.<sup>202</sup>

In addition, the study of the yellow book appears to be a must-have content in the activities of Rohis. Not only in MAN, but also in SMAN. One of the yellow books that can be found at some schools is *Sulam Al-Taufiq*. Book of essay Sheikh Abdullah ibn Husein which is then translated by Imam Nawawi Al Bantani is about tauhid or theology. Some say this book belongs to a book that teaches intolerance because it strongly condemns all actions that are considered apostasy or out of Islam. Even speaking to Non-Muslims is referred to as part of an apostate act orally.<sup>203</sup>

Marzuki Wahid admits that indeed the book is largely non-tolerant and may be outdated for the present context. Nevertheless, he firmly says that intolerance does not occur to students or university student who study the book of *Sulamu al-Taufiq* because they still see the behavior of Kiai who never shows hostility or hatred to Non-Muslims. Therefore, the main point is not only in the religious material that is studied, but also who is teaching and how these daily teaching behaviors are worthy of consideration.<sup>204</sup>

## **b. Options for the minority**

With extracurricular policies leaning towards Islam, what option is there for non-Muslim students? This issue should be answered in public schools with non-Muslim students. Despite being a minority group, equality and justice aspects are the main prerequisites for the establishment of a multi-lingual and open policy in schools.

What is interesting at the schools which is the study of this research, is that Non-Muslim students has never been forced to participate in Islamic School

202 Interview with Nugroho, Principal of SMAN 1 Plumbon, 14 October 2017.

203 Interview with Haryono, Alumni of Pesantren Babakan Ciwaringin, 6 October 2017.

204 Interview with Marduzki Wahid, Fahmina and PBNU, 16 October 2017.

event. Even if there are no student organizations outside of Rohis, Non-Muslim students are provided with the flexibility to attend or not the school activities and extracurricular activities. When Muslim students conduct recitals, Non-Muslim students are welcome to participate in similar activities in the nearest religious assemblies, for example at the Santa Maria Foundation for Catholic students and the BPK Penabur for Christian Students.<sup>205</sup>

Not only that, even in the OSIS administration, non-Muslim students have the same opportunity to become administrators. In SMAN 1 Jamblang, which is full of radicalism at their own schools, there have been Non-Muslim students who have become OSIS committee members.<sup>206</sup> It also happened at SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency.

The same is true of women's issues. Girls get equal opportunities and access to the OSIS administrator. Such information can almost be heard in the statements of all advisors and OSIS administrators in the six schools studied. However, only in SMAN 1 Plumbon, the female OSIS Chairperson seems to have become a tradition in this school. In the last two period, women managed to occupy the position of Chairperson of OSIS.

It is important to mention that equality for all of these students is not limited to extracurricular activities. But also, in KBM at the classroom. SMAN in the city and Regional we studied has implemented the National Education System Act No.20 of 2003 and its rules such as Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia no. 55 of 2007 on Religious Education where every student in education unit in all pathways, levels, and type of education is entitled to receive religious education according to their religion which he upholds and is taught by a religious educator.<sup>207</sup> Schools in Cirebon facilitates Non-Muslim students

205 Interview with Praise, Chemistry Teacher and Public Relation of SMAN 1 Cirebon, 19 October 2017.

206 Interview with Ahmad, Head Deputy of Student Affair of SMAN 1 Jamblang, 7 October 2017.

207 See Article 4 of Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia no. 55 of 2007 on Religious Education, [http://kelembagaan.ristekdikti.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/PP\\_55\\_2007-Education-Religion-Religious.pdf](http://kelembagaan.ristekdikti.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/PP_55_2007-Education-Religion-Religious.pdf), (accessed on 30 October 2017).

to attend religious education in the religious assembly. Scoring the religious education for Non-Muslim student is also left to the teacher. This indicates a level of equality to the minority group not only in extracurricular, but also in activities in the classroom. It is different from KBM which is based on government regulation. The practice of inclusion in extracurricular policies appears to be based more on the pure policy of the school.

### c, Policy figures

This study shows that the main actor behind the formulation of an extracurricular policy is the head deputy of student affairs and advisor. Extracurricular advisor in a number of schools became the main initiator of the formulation of a policy. The resulting policy characteristic also represents the understanding and interpretation of the intent to fostering the character of the students.

Extracurricular policy model loaded with pesantren with Islamic nuances cannot be separated from the educational background of the head deputy of student affair and student advisor. Head Deputy of Student Affair and Rohis advisor, on average have a pesantren education background. A number of tutors from the schools studied are graduates of Ciwaringin Pesantren. After graduating from pesantren, they then continue their education at IAIN Syekh Nurjati, Yogyakarta State University or Muhammadiyah University Jakarta. So, it is not strange if the model of extracurricular policy generated is loaded with Islamic values of moderate pesantren.<sup>208</sup>

OSIS itself in extracurricular policy appears to have no authority. In many ways, teacher dominance is highly visible in formulation and implementation. In addition to the obligation to assist students while performing any extracurricular activities, the supervising teacher also has the authority to grant permission for each activity. However, it does not mean that the dialogue forum between the advisor and the OSIS is closed.

208 Statement of Jazuli, Head Deputy of Student Affair SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency, 23 October 2017.

Although not happening at all schools, OSIS administrators are still given space to propose activities outside of the outlined by the school and advisor,<sup>209</sup> which means, that even though the school is especially dominant in extracurricular policy, the existence of OSIS cannot be denied. Discussion forum and input from students still becomes the teacher's and school's consideration in formulation extracurricular policy.

To implement an extracurricular policy, there is the role of a number of actors both internally and externally. As mentioned above, the actors in the internal of the school include teachers, OSIS, School Committee, Board of Supervision and students in general. As for external of the school, there are instructors who deliberately present at the school. These outside instructors may represent an individual or an institution.

Representing an individual, one of the most influential external actors in the implementation of selected extracurricular policies is the pesantren teacher or Kiai. These people are not only involved in certain religious events, but are also fully involved as advisors of extracurricular activities. With the character building that leads to the formation of traditional Islamic character, it is normal that pesantren network gets an important role, especially in SMAN. Their mastery of the yellow book becomes a further value and legitimacy for the school to make them as instructors of Rohis activity.<sup>210</sup>

With the same consideration, the Army and Police force are the primary choice of a number of schools in extracurricular activities. In relation to the mission of Bela Negara (Defend the Nation) to be included in the extracurricular activities, this becomes the reason the schools present these two institutions in schools. Even SMAN 1 Plumbon has entered into a pact of cooperation agreement in writing with Koramil 2007 Plumbon in terms of strengthening the national character of the students<sup>211</sup>.

209 Eki's Statement, Chairperson of OSIS SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency, 23 October 2017.

210 Interview with Imron, Rohis advisor SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency, 14 October 2017.

211 Interview with Nugroho, Principal of SMAN 1 Plumbon, 14 October 2017.

Thus, what needs to be noted here is that there is no specific policy that encourages diversity in Cirebon schools both SMAN and MAN. What is found is the characteristics of the extracurricular policy of choice that leads to Islamic policy. Being Islamic does not mean the implementation of the rigid Islamic law, but in traditional Islamic practices that are part of the religious behavior of the people of Cirebon. On the other hand, this is the influence of a number of pesantrens and alumni networks scattered in schools. It is unnatural if both SMAN and MAN schools do not hold tahlil or lectures at least once a week. Lectures on the yellow book appears to be a mandatory material in religious extracurricular activities.

On certain context, extracurricular policy model which contains a local lesson which could become the encouragement in materializing a diversity extracurricular policy. Character building, which follows moderate traditional Islamic teaching, must be a spearhead for religious intolerance and radicalism in schools.

However, what is noteworthy is the number of extracurricular policies which are said to be besides their nature of being negative, they are also never written. Various policies seem to be an agreement which then are implemented by the teachers and students. That is why, the natural and not a strange thing is that if the replacement of the principal could impact the shifting of interest of the elite causing the amendment of the extracurricular policy which is foreseen.

The leadership characteristic of the Principal in many cases becomes a factor which is very important which influence the extracurricular policy of certain school. For example, SMAN 1 Arjowinangun, because the orientation of the school Principal is more to the infrastructure development, the extracurricular policy influence is also measured from the provision of facilities.<sup>212</sup> Other example is what happened at SMAN 1 Plumbon with the changing of the School Principal having much impact in the variety of the extracurricular activities available. Not only Rohis activity is relatively without support,<sup>213</sup> even a number of optional

212 Interview with Suyanto, Head of Public Relations of SMAN 1 Arjowinangun, 7 October 2017.

213 Interview with Qoidah, PAI Teacher and Former Advisor Rohis SMAN 1 Plumbon, 11 October 2017.



extracurricular activities such as music also tend to be in a stand still. It is said that music development activity for students has long been absent since the change of the School Principal.<sup>214</sup>

### ***3. Vulnerability and resistance***

Resilience and school strategy in facing radical movement infiltration is actually more easily mapped due to the existence of special policy related to diversity at the school's inner parts. However, as explained before, that positive policy mentioned is not found. This school strategy at the end leans toward the dynamic of the actors and relation between institutions. The purpose of these actors is leaning toward the school's internal figures. While the dynamics of the relation between institutions concerning to the connection of the school with outside institution also promotes diversity in the education world.

#### **a. The roles of public figures**

In stifling the rate of radicalization in schools, extracurricular activity advisors have an important role to play. Formally, their involvement in the assistance of any extracurricular activities and the strict selection of instructors outside the school is a key determinant of the implementation of school strategy. Beyond that, what is important to note is a number of initiatives and faiths of teachers in promoting diversity to students.

In the study of the process of radicalism in schools, it was previously said that the radicalism of students was due to the influence of the alumni network that made Rohis a vessel of indoctrination. The strategy used is to make the alumni as an instructor of one of the extracurricular activities, namely Rohis. However, in the case of Cirebon, the six schools under study have very little involving alumni into Rohis activity. Only one school recorded involved alumni as an instructor, namely MAN 1 Cirebon. But as Rohis instructor, his role is only limited to the strengthening of da'wah skills. He is not directly involved in the control or material

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214 FGD results with students of SMAN 1 Plumbon, 23 October 2017.

of da'wah that the student must study and convey. The main controls are in the advisor.<sup>215</sup>

In religious studies in particular, some schools are more inclined to invite teachers who in fact are moderate pesantren graduates. The reason is that these teachers can read and understand the yellow book, such as *Safinatun Najah* or *Sulamu Taufiq*.<sup>216</sup> As we know that the basic measure of a santri is in his ability to master the teachings of a Nahwu-Sharaf toolkit which he can then use in their yellow book reading. From the mastery of this tool, it is believed that it is the proof of religious education mastery as well as being qualified.

Still related to instructors from outside the school, in extracurricular activities other than Rohis, the presence of outside instructors is selected from professional groups. For Karate activities for example, the instructors selected are those who really master the art and at least won a champion once. Here, the advisor has a central role in selecting extracurricular activity instructors. In the six schools targeted for the research, the advisor has additional authority in the selection of instructors from outside.

This fact shows that there are at least two main factors in the school's internal that cause the decline of radicalism in current Cirebon students; that is the existence of the student council and the strict selection of instructors for extracurricular activities from outside the school. Beyond that, a number of teachers at Cirebon High School also have a special initiative in promoting diversity. First, it is to introduce students to other faiths. Bringing youth organizations into school environments became the second important initiative to note. In addition, there is a school effort to involve the network of external actors of the school in student mentoring. From OSIS, the intention to promote diversity through carnival activities is an important thing to consider as well.

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215 Interview with Mukarom, teacher at the same time Wahdaniyah (Rohis) at MAN 1 Cirebon, on 10 October 2017.

216 Interview with Imron, Rohis Instructor at SMAN 1 Source on 14 October 2017.

### 1) Introducing youth organizations in schools

Realizing how vulnerable the students are from the influence of radicalism, a teacher of Islamic Education as well as Advisor of Rohis took the initiative to introduce youth organizations in schools. His experience in dealing with radical Islamic cadres who want to offer Islamic material, inspires something unnatural, namely declaring the Student Association of Nahdlatul Ulama in SMAN 1 Plumbon. The reason is, rather than going through the hidden paths as the Islamic tarbiyah cadres do, it is better to choose the formal path.<sup>217</sup>

The choice against IPNU is not because he is a Nahdlatul Ulama cadre. Other than the fact that this is the organization he knows. At the same time, in this organization he also has networks and associations with moderate figures in Cirebon. In fact, he also allows if the youth organizations are involved in extracurricular activities.

This effort is quite effective in blocking the radical Islamic movement into the school. Since the declaration of youth organizations in this school environment, there has been no attempt to infiltrate radical movements. At the same time, students who join Rohis can be ascertained as having a broader understanding of nationality and a more moderate religious understanding.

Typically, students of Rohis are also involved in NU activities or diversity promotion activities in Cirebon, but this does not happen without challenges. The efforts undertaken at SMAN 1 Plumbon are considered to violate the basic principles of schools that apply the Wiyata Mandala Insight where schools should be positioned as pure education environments. That is to say, schools should avoid a variety of interventions that are both political and religious. In fact, such opinions are not very reasonable if they are contrasted with the facts of radicalism in schools. It is common that a number of radical community organizations intervene in the students' activities discreetly.

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217 Interview with Qoidah, PAI Teacher and Former Advisor of Rohis SMAN 1 Plumbon, 10 October 2017.

In addition, actually the initiative undertaken in SMAN 1 Plumbon is nothing new at all. Supervisory Board MAN Cirebon Regency for example, has once explained that to dispel the stream of radicalization in schools, the choice is to bring back some youth organizations in schools. The presence of community organizations is believed not only to deepen the students' ability to organize, but also to introduce students to differences early on. This policy proposal for him is the most strategic choice amidst the strong currents of radicalism towards students.<sup>218</sup>

## **2). Introducing students to facts on diversity**

Another school's resilience to note is the initiative undertaken by Line Troops advisor at SMAN 1 Jamblang. Not only to instill the values of diversity and nationality through Line troops activity, the advisor, deliberately, is also a teacher of Sociology, also introduce students to the reality of diversity directly.<sup>219</sup> In practice, he regularly assigned students to visit Non-muslim religious places of worship and recognize other religions directly.

A visit to a number of places of Non-Muslim religious worship is for him the only realistic way of introducing multiculturalism. The teacher claimed to always emphasize to his students that although Islam is the majority religion in Cirebon, it does not mean it can be arbitrary against the followers of other religions. Since Indonesia is not a religious country that embraces a certain religion in its constitution, then every citizen of any religion is equal.

Efforts made in SMAN 1 Jamblang seems to needs the greatest attention. The introduction to diversity is very important for students in Jamblang because on the one hand, this school is very close to Ar-Royan Pesantren which strongly indicates in teaching radicalism. And at the same time, students in Jamblang are very close to the terrorism phenomenon. Some time ago, the perpetrator of Bekasi Panci Bom Terror is known to be a native of Jamblang. A number of terrorists

<sup>218</sup> Interview with Ahmad, Advisor of OSIS SMAN 1 Plumbon, 9 October 2017.

<sup>219</sup> Interview with Maulana, Sociology Master and Line Troops Counselor, 6 October 2017.

have also been arrested in this area and are believed to have come from part of Jamblang residence.<sup>220</sup>

### **b. Strengthening the network engagement**

Different mechanisms are implemented by MAN 2 Babakan Ciwaringin. In the effort to provide guidance and supervision to the students, the school does not only involve students in extracurricular School Police (PKS) and school committee. At the same time, they also involve the alumni. These alumni consist of alumni of pesantren and MAN alumni in particular. Through this effort, the process of radicalism in students that usually occurs outside school hours can be anticipated and prevented.<sup>221</sup>

This shows that not only teachers play a central role in student development and prevent from the process of radicalism, but also pesantren and alumni. The existence of alumni of both pesantren and schools can provide a variety of influences in schools. Not only in the model of extracurricular activities, but also on future choices of student education. In this connection, the influence of certain alumni who try to influence students' religious understanding to become radical can be prevented by other alumni who have relatively equal standing before the school. Two schools that can be recorded with strong alumni influences are SMAN 1 Cirebon and MAN 2 Ciwaringin.<sup>222</sup>

### **c. Carnivals of diversity**

Beyond that, the creation of OSIS activities in certain schools plays an important role in encouraging diversity in schools. Carnival activities together conducted by OSIS SMAN 1 Cirebon Regency is recognized to introduce students to diversity. The necessity to use certain custom clothing or to wear a particular national hero costume is indirectly a practice of recognizing the diversity that exists in Indonesia. By participating in this activity, students can become more

220 Interview with Dedi, School Committee of SMAN 1 Jamblang, 9 October 2017.

221 Interview with Maulana, Sociology Master and Line Troops Counselor, 6 October 2017.

222 Interview with Dedi, School Committee of SMAN 1 Jamblang, 9 October 2017.

understanding that Indonesia is built not only by certain religious people, but by all citizens with different religious and ethnic backgrounds. Reflected from the diverse religious background and ethnic heroes of Indonesia<sup>223</sup>

#### **d. Dynamic institutional relations**

School strategies in curbing the flow rate of radicalism in the school environment cannot be separated from the role of institutions outside the school that helped encourage diversity. These organizations and institutions consist of government agencies and civil society. What should be noted here is that in relation to this cooperation, the influence between the school's internal institutions and external parties is dynamic. In some cases, schools are more proactive in presenting outside parties. While in other cases, outsiders are more involved.

From government institutions, it is the Army and Police Force that are often encourages the strengthening of character to students. SMAN 1 Plumbon, for example, deliberately signed an agreement with the Army related to the development of nationality to the students. In other schools, the Kodim regularly counsel's schools about the dangers of radicalism and terrorism. Even in extracurricular activities such as Line Troops or Scouting, the instructor comes from the Army. The same thing was done by Cirebon Resort Police. But the degree of involvement appears to be less than that of the Army.

What the Army did could be judged to violate Law No. 34 of 2004 on the Indonesian National Army. The existence of this law has revoked the dual principle of ABRI's function and re-positioned the Army in the barracks not to engage in political activities. However, the school considers that one institution that cannot be doubted to possessing insight of nationality and patriotism is the army. Therefore, in the context of fostering and strengthening the national character, the Army is at the forefront. At a certain degree, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and both the Municipal and Regency also play a role in strengthening diversity.

<sup>223</sup> Eki's Statement, Chairperson of OSIS SMAN 1. Cirebon Regency in FGD research findings, 23 November 2017.

Regularly, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, for example, is strengthening capacity for teachers of Islamic Education lessons on moderate Islamic insights.<sup>224</sup> However, the Ministry of Religious Affairs admits that it cannot encourage the prevention of radical stream from upstream, in the sense of the influence of radical pesantren in Cirebon. The authority of Kopontren is limited only to record, not to intervene. In the end, interventions that can be done to prevent the stream of radicalism is to target teachers.

With a targeted focus on students, the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Cirebon does a different thing. Every new school year and the change of the Rohis board, the Ministry of Religious Affairs is strengthening the capacity of Rohis. Through the short pesantren program, the Ministry of Religious Affairs regularly strengthens the capacity of Rohis officials about the insight of nationality and diversity in moderate pesantren in Cirebon.

Equally important is the efforts made by a number of civil societies, whether it is pesantren or non-governmental organizations. Through the Peace-Loving School program for example, since the last three years Fahmina Cirebon regularly and consistently has done effort in strengthening the capacity of students related to diversity.<sup>225</sup> Although the level of involvement of students in attending this activity fluctuates, but this program successfully counters radical infiltration in schools.

From a different perspective, the Indonesia Peaceful Alliance (AIDA) has also performed capacity building for students. Although this activity is temporary, but the impact is felt up to now. Not only related to Moderate Islam, the ability of teachers to assess and control outside institutions that want to infiltrate radicalism to students is also obtained from AIDA.<sup>226</sup>

Thus, it can be said that resilience against radical group is not only because of the internal influence of the school. There are a number of institutions

224 Interview with Imron, Head of Ministry of Religious Affairs office in Cirebon Regency, 16 October 2017.

225 Interview with Rudy Setiady, Program Coordinator of Staman, 15 October 2017.

226 Interview with Jazuli, Head Deputy of Student Affair SMAN 1 Sumber, 4 October 2017.

outside the school that are involved in determining the influence of diversity in schools. However, what needs to be noted is that the role of advisors is crucial in encouraging diversity in extracurricular activities. Initiatives by a number of advisors must however be recognized as innovations and new breakthroughs in promoting diversity in the educational environment.

#### ***4. Seeking models of resilience amidst insecurity***

The resilience of schools in dispelling the stream of radicalism is fundamentally related to the existence of specific policies that support diversity. Without policies, good practice by teachers and institutional relationships promoting diversity will be particularly vulnerable to change when policy makers change. Logical consequences, without any positive policy at the school level, schools remain an open space for the process of radicalization.

In the case of Cirebon, that possibility exists. The reason is, the socio-societal sphere where students grow in seeking religious information is very close to the influence of radical groups. Especially when taklim assembly becomes the main choice of public school students in deepening the teaching. Taklim assembly is an instant choice of students from public schools to deepen the religious teaching instead of entering pesantren which would take years to master the religious teachings.

As Cici Farha studies say that the process of radicalization in students is inseparable from the political dynamics and the tug of school interest is true. In the case of SMAN 1 Plumbon, the change of principal for example, can make extracurricular policy change. The initiative undertaken to introduce youth organizations in schools is now no longer an echo as, on the one hand, the principal does not have much of a concentration on extracurricular activities, and at the same time there is a change in Rohis advisors.

At the level of policy outside the school, the lack of clear guidance regarding the strengthening of diversity and inclusiveness as set forth in the Regulation of the Minister of National Education Number 39 of 2008 regarding Student



Development and the Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture No. 23 of 2015 on the Character Building is the next vulnerable point that requires attention. Student development and character development is often interpreted as a school's and teacher's efforts in encouraging their students to become human beings who are Islamic.

The way teachers do this, in addition to producing Islamic activities in schools, also by encouraging students to attend taklim meetings outside school hours. It is done without the instruction of the related teacher which taklim assembly should be attended by the students. So, the students also choose taklim assembly that teaches intolerance and radicalism because it is more popular.<sup>227</sup> This means that, without clear guidance, initiatives by these teachers can become blunders and unintentionally can become the medium of radicalization process for students.

In the midst of the vulnerability that still houses schools in Cirebon, a number of experiences and good practices in several schools need to be raised into policy. Attempts to introduce youth organizations in schools and the introduction of multiculturalism, involving alumni and school networks in student mentoring, as well as the practice of diversity undertaken by OSIS as mentioned above, are very urgent to be adopted as a policy. The internal level of the school is how to make good practices as a positive policy, so it becomes a sustainable system. While at the government level, this good practice should serve as an important input in the formulation of future policies of diversity and tolerance.

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227 Interview with M Fadjri, Advisor of Rohis Ikhwan SMAN 1 Cirebon, 19 October 2017.

# 6

## Tomohon

### A. School Profiles

#### 1. *SMAN 1 Tomohon*

SMAN 1 Tomohon is a reference school in Tomohon. Schools that have been established since 1946 is included as a favorite school for students and their parents. The majority of students in SMAN 1 Tomohon are from Tomohon, and surrounding areas such as Minahasa and Tondano districts. The location of this school is located in the city center, exactly on Jl. Siswa No. 129 South Tomohon. This year the number of students of SMAN 1 Tomohon reaches 1320 students. The number has increased compared to last year, when it reached 1,301 students. The increase in the number of students was due to the addition of classrooms, even when we arrived at this school there was construction work of 3 local new classrooms. It is estimated that SMAN 1 in the next school year can accommodate 1,400 students. The layout of the room is divided into 3 elongated clusters. Cluster 1 facing the highway is the main cluster. Inside it consists of two floors. The ground floor is for offices of senior high school officials such as the principal, vice principal, head deputy of student affairs (the student council), administrative room, counseling room and nurse office. On the upper floor are classrooms for class X. An open field in Cluster 1 is used for flag ceremonies; sports facilities such as basketball, futsal and volleyball can also be found in this cluster. Cluster 2 consists of a teacher lounge, an OSIS room, a cooperative room, an art and culture

room, a multimedia room and a few classrooms for class XI. This cluster has a side gate that faces a residential alley.

Cluster 3 consists of a multipurpose hall, a religious room and classrooms for class XII. The cluster is parallel to Cluster 2, which has a gate facing the residential alley. Construction of 3 new spaces is being built in this cluster.

This school with 14,580 m<sup>2</sup> of land has 36 study groups (*rombel*); class X has 12 study groups; class XI has 13 study groups; and class XII has 11 study groups. Each study group has been divided into three specializations, namely language studies, IPA (natural sciences), and IPS (social sciences). According to Principal of SMAN 1 Tomohon, Dra. Meytha J. Tambengi, MM, so far the school has had no obstacles in accommodating the number of students.<sup>228</sup> This is because the number of teachers and employees is quite proportional with 65 teachers and 12 employees. Similarly, the suitability of teacher's education background with subjects that they teach. There are only 3 subjects that have not been in accordance with the teacher's education, namely 1 teacher of anthropology and 2 history teachers. The majority of teachers at SMAN 1 Tomohon are graduates of IKIP Manado—or now called Manado State University (Unima).

This school has strong resources. In addition to large funding resources from the government, SMAN 1 Tomohon also has alumni resources and a network of parents. By 2017, the alumni of this school have reached 69 classes. The alumni of this school have occupied many positions as the government, businessmen, and academics. So, do not be surprised if the teachers in this school are almost entirely alumni of this school, as well as the local government bureaucrats of Tomohon and North Sulawesi. The alumni of the school reunion are always raising funds for assistance to this school. It can be in the form of money or goods. The money is used for development or other necessity to improve the quality of teaching, development or training for students. While the guardian network of students who are coordinated by the school committee would also be the strength of this school. Chairperson of School Committee SMAN 1 is an official in Tomohon

<sup>228</sup> Interview with Principal of SMAN 1 Tomohon on 11 October 2017.

City Police and has served as committee chairperson since 2001 or for 16 years.

## 2. *SMAN 2 Tomohon*

SMAN 2 Tomohon is located in Taratara Tiga Sub-district, West Tomohon. Unlike other schools, this school is far from the city center and from the center of the crowd. Students from this school are all from remote parts of West Tomohon and almost all from middle to low-income economies. The quality and quantity of this school is very different from other schools. However, this school has been in the country since its establishment. The school opened its first class in 2003 and officially in 2005. Teachers in SMAN 2 Tomohon amount to 27 people while the number of students is less than 200.

SMAN 2 OSIS has the same organizational structure as that in SMAN 1 Tomohon, which is divided into 8 divisions. In the structure there are ten Divisions, namely: the Division of Devotion to God Almighty (Division I); Nationality and Patriotism Division (Division II); Education and State Defense Division (Division III); Personality and Excellent Characteristic (Division IV); Organization, Education, Politics and Leadership Division (Division V); Skills and Entrepreneurship Division (Division VI); Physical Fitness and Creativity Division (Division VII); Perception, Appreciation, Art Creation Division (Division VIII); Security IX), and; Information Technology Division (Division X). All the divisions are under the guidance of teachers who have been appointed by the principal; all teachers are under the supervision of Deputy Head of Student Affairs (Waka Kesiswaan).

The network of alumni and guardians in this school is not like in SMAN 1. The awareness of alumni is only limited to attendance in reunion activity only. No fundraising or other assistance has been made. SMAN 1 can bring a professional mentor to foster some activities of OSIS while SMAN 2 still rely on volunteers from alumni.

So far there is only one alumnus who plays a role to assist the activities of OSIS in SMAN 2, as additional personnel for the choir. Another difference is the pupil network.

One of the school committee members is a teacher at this school. The condition of the school committee is currently not very active. The majority of pupils including the school committee are farmers; most guardians are Christians and Catholics.

### 3. *MA Mardhatillah*

The next review is on MA Mardhatillah. This madrasah aliyah is located at the village of Kinilow, North Tomohon. Its location is easiest to find compared to other upper middle-class schools because it is exactly located at gate entrance of Tomohon City if one comes from Manado. In addition, this school is the only institution that has the character and vision of Islam in the City of a Thousand Churches. MA Mardhatillah is part of Pondok Pesantren Hidayatullah, a community organization that runs many pesantrens in remote areas of the country. On 7 January 1973 Abdullah Said founded the first Hidayatullah Pesantren on a 120-hectare land on Mount Tembak, Balikpapan, East Borneo. This pesantren is the center of laboratory of the cadres in which the santri (students of pesantren) who are considered to be well-established in knowledge will be sent as preachers to various regions throughout Indonesia, mostly to areas with Muslim minorities. The santri in-charge uses pesantren as a center of da'wah in each region. One of these areas is Tomohon city, which is central for da'wah in the areas of North Sulawesi. Ust. Abdul Qadir Abdullah founded Hidayatullah Pesantren in Tomohon in 1989. At that time, Tomohon was still a part of Minahasa District.

As the school integrated with pesantren, MA Mardhatillah students are more often referred to as santri. OSIS is by de facto less well known in this madrasah. Students who become managers in student organizations are better known as the Council of Santri. However, according to the principal of MA Mardhatillah, Ust. Taufiq, OSIS is administratively utilized.<sup>229</sup> The Board of Santri of MA Mardhatillah does not have many sections. This is because the number of students in this school are only 16 and all of them are girls.

<sup>229</sup> Interview with Headmaster MA Mardhatillah on 3 October 2017 at Pesantren Hidayatullah Kinilow Village.

In the institutional structure of OSIS or Council of Santri there are section of hygiene, beauty, and the section of devotion. The section of cleanliness is responsible for the school cleanliness. Duty schedule is either outdoors or indoors. The section of beauty is tasked to manage the ornamental plants and arrange the layout of ornamental flower pots. It also provides decoration of ornaments in the classroom, mosque and dormitory. While the section of devotion is accountable for setting the schedule of recitation and managing santris during recitation activities.

All the students in this madrasah mostly come from outside Tomohon. So are the teachers in this school who are more commonly called *asatidz* (*ustadz* and *ustadzah*). Of the 12 teachers who served in this school, their educational background varies. There are 1 teacher has S2 certification, 7 people with S1 degree, 1 person with D3 certificate and 3 people with MA/high school qualification. The teacher with the MA background is the alumni of MA Mardhatillah itself. In addition, the Principal of MA Mardhatillah explained,

*"Teachers and mentors in this aliyah, most of them have ties with Hidayatullah, including our staff in the household, cleanliness and security. I am also a graduate of Islamic High School Lukman Hakim (STAIL) Surabaya. But not all of us are alumni of Hidayatullah (school, pesantren or college). An alumnus' wife also helps, and she is not from Hidayatullah. In this, we are open. Anyone wanting to teach here will be considered."*<sup>230</sup>

He also explained the background of santri or MA Mardhatillah students. All the students of this madrasah aliyah are mostly orphaned and come from outside Tomohon. They mostly come from Gorontalo, Ambon, Bitung, Sangir and Bolaang Mongondow. Some of them still have family.

At the turn of the school year, they have come to visit their children, their siblings or grandchildren who are students at the school. But often many of them cannot come because of limited money for transportation costs. Students or santri who are educated in this school come from middle to lower classes.

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230 ibid

During their school time, the foundation is providing the students with the daily life necessity such as meals, toiletries, and room needs. Due to this condition, the MA Mardhatillah School Committee is held by the foundations of Hidayatullah Kinilow Foundation.

#### ***4. St. Nikolaus Lokon High School***

Santo Nikolaus Lokon High School is considered by many students as an excellent school with full-fledged facilities and infrastructure. The school that has operated since 2002 is under the auspices of the Lokon Education Foundation led by Ronald Korompis. At the time of writing, the school was open to all circles; there were students with a variety of backgrounds. From a religious point of view, students here are predominantly Christian and Catholic, while their minorities are Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian. However, the school implements a life-based or integral holistic education curriculum. Integral holistic education is a combination of several aspects that we apply to develop students in all aspects of learning; spiritual, moral, imaginative, cultural, aesthetic, emotional and physical. This system is an implementation of the school vision that has the spirit of Catholicity: *veritas* (truth), *virtus* (virtue) and *fides* (faith). So, to realize the integral-holistic education the students are required to live in a dorm. They do not only study in the classroom but also in the dormitory.

The school is local but its network is wide-ranging, as indicated by several things. First, national and international standard facilities. The organization's management manages the middle school, high school, dormitory, physics laboratory, chemistry, biology, language, computer, observatory or telescope, mini "theater", library and student center, sports fields including swimming pool, clinic with its doctor, dining room, laundry, convention, guest house, up to Mandarin Center.<sup>231</sup> Secondly, the diversity of the students. Currently, Lokon High School has 240 students from various regions such as from Tomohon, Manado, West Papua, Timika, Kupang, Mataram, Bangka Belitung, Makasar, Samarinda, to

<sup>231</sup> See <http://smalokontomohon.blogspot.co.id>, accessed on 3 October 2017.

Marauke. Third, the teachers are competent. To become a teacher in this school, you must pass through four series of tests namely psychological tests, academic potential tests, micro teaching, and interviews both with the principal and the foundation. Even to teach Mandarin and Japanese, the schools bring teachers directly from China and Japan. Fourth, graduates from this school are continuing their education to the United States, Australia, Japan and China.<sup>232</sup>

As for the OSIS, this school has 10 sections. Section I is spirituality, which is the section that regulates the students' religious activities. Section II is character building. This section helps schools to enforce school or dormitories rules. They coordinate with Head Deputy of Student Affair and House Dean. Section III is State Defense. This section governs the activities associated with flag raising either in schools or outside school. Section IV regulates student's activities related to sports. Section V manages student activities related to leadership. Then there is Section VI that manages entrepreneurial activities. Section VII is related to student health programs. Section VIII is section related to art and culture. Section IX manages activities related to information and communication technology. And Section X accommodates the interests and talents of students in the mastery of foreign languages.

The newly inaugurated school in 2006 by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has a network of strong alumni and student guardians. The high school alumni partially continue their education to Australia, America, Japan and China. Others are studying around the university at North Sulawesi and Jakarta.

The foundation has access to universities overseas. This is the consideration of many prospective parents to enroll their children to this school. The chairperson of this school committee is the Chairperson of the West Papuan Legislative Assembly, while its members are from businessmen and academics at Sam Ratulangi University. The alumni and guardians only meet when there is end of the school year activity. In addition to that moment, no alumni come to this school unless they have a particular interest.

<sup>232</sup> Interview with the Lokon Foundation Operations Officer on 16 October 2017.



### 5. *Christian High School 1*

Christian High School 1 is one of the educational institutions directly under the auspices of the educational and schooling unit of the GMIM Foundation AZR Wenas. According to data in 2005, GMIM manages many educational institutions in North Sulawesi--from the Kindergarten level of 332 schools; 364 elementary schools; 64 middle schools; 20 high schools; 6 vocational secondary schools (SMK); to a university with a faculty of theology, the Christian University of Indonesia Tomohon (UKIT). In Tomohon City there are two Christian high schools: Christian High School 1 and Christian High School 2 Bina Khusus (Binsus).

In Tomohon, Christian High School 1 is one of the favorite and excellent schools. It is a favorite school that interests many students of Tomohon who want to continue their education and look for excellence because this school has made many achievements both academically and non-academically. It is located at Jl. The Telete II Campus, Central Tomohon. Its 924 students are divided into 30 study groups. The school is also open to all groups. This is different from Christian High School 2 Bina Khusus (Binsus); the school is exclusive for Christians because the school orients itself as a boarding school under a seminary system. Meanwhile, Christian High School 1 is open to the public and has no dormitory. This school became one of our research objectives on OSIS as related to the policy of diversity because various students study there. One of the students has Islamic background.

The OSIS administration of Christian School 1 consists of 58 people. In the structure there are eight divisions, namely Division of Piety (Division I), Character Building Division (Division II), Art and Sports Division (Division III), Democracy and Human Rights Division (Division IV), Insight and Nationality Division (Division V), Creative Student Division (Division VI), Communication Division (Division VII), and Information Technology and Computers Division (ICT) or Division VIII. Each division is under the guidance of teachers appointed by the principal.

Christian High School 1 has 53 teachers; 44 of them graduated from Manado State University (Unima) or IKIP Manado. Therefore, the school does not lack human resources (HR) in dividing the task of coaching. OSIS is under the supervision of the Deputy Head of Student Affairs (Waka Kesiswaan). Division I oversees the section of Islamic Spirituality (Rohis) and Christian Spirituality (Rokris). Their activities are under the guidance of teachers of religious education subjects respectively. Bahasa Indonesia teachers are in charge to foster Division II. Sports teachers and Japanese teachers foster Division III. Physics teachers supervise Division IV while Civics teachers are in charge of Division V. Geography teachers and Economic teachers are responsible for the development of Division VI while English teachers deal with Division VII, and ICT teachers manages Division VIII. In each of its activities, alumni are still empowered to help the students prepare a team to take part in activities outside the school. According to Head Deputy of Student Affair of Christian High School 1, more alumni are needed for choir competition activities. The reason is because each of these competitions requires a lot of people and the competition also requires mature and well-trained voices. As for other Divisions, OSIS Christian High School 1 rarely involves their alumni.

The network of alumni and guardians of Christian High School 1 is almost the same as in SMAN 1 Tomohon. Many of its alumni have become officials in the Local Government of Tomohon City, North Sulawesi Province or in other regencies of Minahasa. For many alumni, there are some occasions in which the schools invite them to help with school activities, especially OSIS activities as described above. In addition, fundraising from alumni is also quite coordinated. As for the guardian's network, the Chairperson of the School Committee of Christian High school 1 is the Head of the Regional Personnel Agency (BKD) Tomohon. Dr. Azr Wenas Foundation (GMIM), who oversees the school, also helps strengthen the Christian High school 1 networks.

## 6. *Lentera Harapan High school*

Tomohon Lantera Harapan School (SLH) is part of the national network of Pelita Harapan Education Foundation. The foundation oversees Pelita Harapan School, Dian Harapan School, Pelita Harapan University, UPH College, and Harapan Papua Education Foundation. The foundation institutions, which are headquartered in Tangerang, have their own network, including SLH. Currently, there are 17 SLH schools established with a total of 7,656 students, namely: 519 kindergarten students, 3,258 primary students, 2,153 middle school students, and 1,186 high school students. Parents and students alike have helped these children to receive a proper education by donating books or financial support through the Foster Parents Program.<sup>233</sup>

SLH Tomohon is located in a complex together with Lentera Harapan Elementary School in one same building with Lantera Harapan Middle School. The school, located in East of Tomohon, is only 2 years old. However, the facilities and infrastructure of this school are ready to be used for teaching and learning activities. Student health unit (UKS) rooms, classrooms, art rooms and a chapel are made available. The teachers are adequately available: of the 27 teachers, 22 are under 30 years old. The majority of teachers' educational background in this school is alumni from Universitas Pelita Harapan (UPH), Tangerang.

They are students, who, during the lecture at UPH get full scholarship from the foundation. Thus, their service assignment is to teach at the schools' network of Pelita Harapan Education Foundation.

The vision and mission of this school are deliberately designed to provide quality education. The Lantera Harapan school targets students with economics backgrounds of lower middle class. They apply cross-subsidies to students. The educational system adopts the form of education that combines science-religion. The vision of this school the same as the vision of Pelita Harapan Education Foundation: Correct Knowledge, Faith in Christ, and God Characteristic. They

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233 See [www.lentera.sch.id](http://www.lentera.sch.id). Accessed on 1 October 2017.

implement an education system that combines school activities with religious activities such as counseling with a pastor or priest.

As a new school, the OSIS duties in this school are still limited. Some of the areas in this school are detailed as follows: Division I manages religious activities. In this case the activity of worship at chapel and reciting the al-kitab. Division II manages creative arts. This Division appeals, recruits and facilitates students who have interests and talents in the field of creative arts. Division III is Nutrition and Health Division. This division is not found in other OSIS in Tomohon. At the Lentera Harapan school, it specifically oversees cultural-related activities and students' understanding of the importance of nutrition and health. One of the activities is the managing of School Clinic (UKS).

The other division is Division IV. This field oversees the implementation of the rules in schools. They welcome students when they come to school, give students sanctions for being late or violating rules. Division V is in charge of interest and talent. This division seeks and promotes students' interests and talents to channel them into school activities. Division VI is a division that takes care of cleanliness in the school environment. Lentera Harapan High School does not have an alumni network yet, but the guardian's network has been established. There are no alumni of this school since it was only established for the last 2 years.

While the new school committee is established one year ago. Currently the head of the school committee is held by one of the GMIM priests. The Guardian of the students only come at the moment of acceptance of report cards but school committee communication with the guardians and the school is very intense. During all this time Lentera Harapan High School is still dominated by the Education Pelita Harapan Foundation (YPPH) either funding, teachers, curriculum or other needs.

## ***7. Kosgoro High School***

The next school is Kosgoro High School, categorized as the third type. This school is not a public school and not a school under the auspices of religious

foundations. This school is part of the Kosgoro Foundation, which was formed in 1957. Although the name Kosgoro is found in many places, the foundation is not as strong as the Lentera Harapan Education Foundation, Hidayatullah or GMIM. They are not so strict in managing their networks. Kosgoro High School Tomohon City was established in 1987 and has experienced fluctuating developments. Currently, schools located in South Tomohon is experiencing setbacks. The number of students who are interested in advancing their education to this school is decreasing. Currently, it only has 74 students and 18 teachers.

OSIS in this school is still simple, not in terms of the number of division in the structure but because of the adjustment of the number of division to the number of students. Some divisions are still in the structure and still running. First, the Division I or Devotion division. This division manages religious activities in schools. The school has a diversity of students' backgrounds from the religious point of view. The majority are Christians and minorities are Catholic and Muslim. There are about 20 students who are Muslim. This is because the location is close to the Java Village which is populated by many Muslims of Tomohon. Previously, this school division I has two sub-divisions namely Islamic Spirituality (Rohis) and Christian Spirituality (Rokris).

However, due to the absence of Islamic religious teachers in this school, thus the existence of Rohis is no longer apparently reflected in activities. This state has been on-going for the last 2 years. Next is Division II, or the State Defense Division. This division governs flag ceremonial activities inside and or out of school. Division III relates to OSIS activities in the field of sports. They seek the interests and talents of the students, train and manage them to be prepared to be a school athlete. Then there is Division IV, which manages activities related to art and creativity.

Although this school has stood for a long time but the potential of networking alumni and guardians is not so strong. This school triumphed when the New Order regime came to power through the Kosgoro Foundation, which received much support from the government. After a period of political transition, the

school continues to decline. The alumni are no longer as solid as those days. School reunions are no longer attended by alumni. In addition, the guardian network of students is also not so consolidated. Currently the role of the school committee is held by one of Kosgoro high school teacher. This is because the head of the school committee selected based on the selection of guardians is not very active.<sup>234</sup>

Out of the schools that are a subject to this research, there is a relation between the school and the government, community and political party. Several public institutions at the region of Timohon are pro-active in giving direction to students in schools. From the National Education Division of Timohon, Army, Tomohon Police Force, Tomohon Public Attorney, Tomohon National Health Division, and National Narcotics Division. While with the community, not all schools have a relationship. Most of them collaborate in one activity either directly or indirectly, either between institutions or between schools with individuals (community leaders). Almost all of its forms are religious activities associated with the church. In relation to political party, seven schools that are the subjects of this research, their OSIS, students, teachers, school committees and principals have no relation either directly or indirectly to the political party.

## **B. Research Findings**

### ***1. Extracurriculars at a crossroads: issues and realities***

There have been many studies showing facts about radicalization in schools, one of the means of infiltration being through the Intra School Student Organisasi (OSIS). So far, research results from several institutions focused on public schools in Muslim-majority areas. Commonly highlighted are the students, teachers and alumni who are linked with networks of radicalism and terrorism.

One of the surveys was one by Setara Institute in 2015 on students' perceptions of the ISIS phenomenon. They conducted a survey of high school students in Jakarta and Bandung. As a result, 16.9% stated that ISIS were fighters who

<sup>234</sup> Interview with Kosgoro High School Principal on 11 October 2017.

wanted to establish Islam. Meanwhile, findings of research done by the Wahid Foundation in 2016 shows some numbers that alert us to be vigilant. The study projected that, of the 150 million Muslims in Indonesia, about 7.7% or 11.5 million people have the potential to act radically while 0.4% or 600 thousand people have been involved.

The most up-to-date data are findings of the PPIM survey in 2017 that address the diversity of Z generations. The number of respondents of this national survey is 2,181 people consisting of 1,522 students, 337 university students, 264 teachers and 58 lecturers. The results show the following levels of opinion of the students or university students: 51.1% of their understanding is intolerant and 58.5% of their understanding is radical. While in attitude, their intolerant act is 34.1% and radical act is 7.0%. The survey also observes how Z generations got information about Islamic teachings, which shows that 54.87% of them access the internet.

The released data have certain categorizations especially in locations considered vulnerable to radical terrorism networks. The next question that arises is whether surveys have been conducted in Muslim-majority and Christian-majority areas. This is the standing point of this research where the location of the research aimed at the area or region of the Christian majority, namely Tomohon. As mentioned in the background, Tomohon is one of the culturally and structurally dominant cities dominated by Christians of the Biblical Christian Church in Minahasa (GMIM). When there is a strengthening of radical-terrorism spread that many Indonesian Muslims show, the question that arises is what is perceived by Tomohon Christians on this matter. Another question is whether Muslims in Tomohon experience stigmatization and discrimination from majority circles and find out what the response of Muslims of Tomohon. They will either resist or adapt.

This research wishes to reveal an image of the reality of the national situation in influencing the school policies in Tomohon, as well as to answer the above questions. In political terminology, “radical” refers to problematic anti-status quo

doctrines.<sup>235</sup> In areas where Islam is the majority, supporters of radicalism can be found especially those who crave the establishment of the Caliphate Islamiyah although it does not necessarily support acts of terror or violence. Such thing would be hard to find in Tomohon, mainly due to two factors. First, radicalism and terrorism to date have always been associated with Islamic religious doctrines. Second, the Muslims in Tomohon only account to 2.4% of the population. Quantity-wise, the Muslims will not take any provocative actions and will certainly tend to be assimilative.

Thus, the realities to find in schools in Tomohon do not concern their understanding of radicalism and terrorism but, rather, our opportunities to find the symptoms of extremism and intolerance there. Extremism and intolerance domination stem from fanaticism in a religion, lord (idol) or tribe. This fanaticism could endanger social culture, social structure or humanity but not harm the foundation of the State.<sup>236</sup> The schools that are the objects of this research include 2 public schools, 4 religious-based private schools, and 1 non-religious private school. From these schools, namely SMAN 1, Christian High School 1, Lokon High School, and Kosgoro High School we found students of various backgrounds. The rest are homogeneous with background of Catholic and Christian.

For heterogeneous schools, there are Christian, Catholic, Muslim, Hindu, Confucian, and Buddhist students. For the Lokon High School, all religions can be found; meanwhile, in SMAN 1, Christian 1 and Kosgoro High School there are only Christian, Catholic and Islam students. All informants from these 4 schools know that their schools have heterogeneous students and teachers. One

235 Leon Baradat puts radicals in the political spectrum as opposed the status quo, or position that is currently in power or in effect. The demands of those who occupy a radical position are those who want to change the root and fundamental. In the context of current Indonesia, radical refers to those who want to change values and political systems such as Pancasila and democracy to be replaced by the formalization of Islamic law in the system of Islamic caliphate, a universal system of government based on equality of laws and systems. See Leon P. Baradat, *Political Ideologies: Their Origins and Impact* (Fifth Edition), New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1994, p. 16.

236 Karlina Supelli, dkk., "From Cosmology to Dialogue: Knowing the Limits of Knowledge, Against Fanaticism," in *Fanaticism, Extremism, and the Removal of Anthropological Characteristics of Knowledge*, Jurnal KAWISTARA Vol. 3 No. 2, 17 August 2013, p. 117.



student of class XII high school 1 Tomohon recounted, “Here, I play with other students [of different religions]. But when the time of prayer [arrives] of course I mingle with fellow Muslims.” A similar statement was made by a Hindu of class XII students at Lokon High School. According to him:

*“From the beginning I have got used to diversity. Some of us are Christians, Catholics, Muslims. Some are not from Minahasa, but from Ambon, Papua, Nusa Tenggara, from everywhere. In the room, my friends will tell stories from their respective areas. They pray in their own way. [For instance] I know now that the Buddhist sometimes burn incense when praying.”*

However, only one school has an affirmative policy towards the needs of its students that is manifested in OSIS activities, namely SMAN 1 Tomohon. In this school there are sub-divisions under the auspices of Division I or Division of Devotion to God Almighty (YME), namely: Christian Spirituality (Rokris), Catholic Spirituality (Rohat), and Islam Spirituality (Rohis). The three sub-divisions are not written in the structure of the OSIS but, seen from their respective activities, they do have special programs.

Based on information from students of class XI who are Muslims and students of class XI who are Catholic, the students know each other's activities. Informants from the class XI Catholic students specified an example of Islamic activities: the breaking of the fast. A Muslim informant (class XII student) mentioned retreat as an example of Catholic activities in the school.

Meanwhile, different conditions occur in Kosgoro High School, Christian High School 1 and Lokon High School. The three schools have no affirmative policy on OSIS and extracurricular activities. In Kosgoro High School, Muslim students are not given Islamic lessons simply because they do not have an Islamic religious teacher. In addition, in the form of activities, OSIS in this school has no sub-division or activities that accommodate Muslim students. In Kosgoro High School, there is only Christian and Catholic religious education and OSIS activities of Devotion to God Almighty (YME) helps the rituals of Christianity.

The same conditions also exist in Christian High School 1 and Lokon High School. In Christian High School 1 there is one Muslim student while in Lokon High School diverse religious backgrounds are Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism and Confucianism. In Christian High School 1 there are only subjects of Christianity, while the Lokon High School has only a subject of Catholicism. The same conditions also occur in the activities of students.

SMAN 2 Tomohon, Lentera Harapan High School and MA Mardhatillah have no specific policies or activities to cultivate diversity. This is because in these schools the students are homogeneous. In MA Marhatillah all students are Muslim. While in SMAN 2 and Lentera Harapan High School there are only Catholic and Christian. Despite the differences but in practice the policies and activities of the students tend to be the same. In SMAN 2 there is still a distinction in the curriculum of Christian and Catholic teaching but for Lentera Harapan High School there are only Christian lessons.

## ***2. Forgotten state's authority***

The State, through the Ministry of Education and Culture, has issued three rules that are directly related to student activities. Some of them are the Ministry of National Education Regulation No. 39 of 2008 on Student Development, the Ministry of Education and Culture No. 62 of 2014 on Extracurricular Activities, and the Ministry of Education and Culture No. 23 of 2015 on Character Building.

These three policies are issued to ensure how education in Indonesia respects the value of diversity. The Ministry of National Education No. 39 ensures the fostering of student activities in the vessel of intra school student organizations (OSIS). The Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 62 ensures scouting activities are implemented in schools. The Ministry of Education and Culture No. 23 of 2015 makes sure the positive student culture grows in the school environment.

High schools in Tomohon generally have implemented the first policy related

to student development. Guidance materials related to the Ministry of National Education No. 39 of 2008 are manifested in the form of divisions in the structure of the OSIS. The author sees it as a blend of the Ministry of National Education Regulation Implementation No. 39 of 2008 on Student Development with the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 62 of 2014 on extracurricular activities. Of the seven schools that became the subject of research, there are four schools that have similarities. They translated the Decree on Student Development in areas within the OSIS.

The supervisory function is carried out by the principal by assigning teachers to become advisors in the divisions within the OSIS. The schools are SMAN 1, SMAN 2, St. Nikolaus Lokon High School, and Christian High School 1. They generally translates the Ministry National Education Regulation No. 39 of 2008 by institutionalizing it within the OSIS. These schools have the same structures and the same divisions. Chapter I Article (3) Points (2) of the Ministry of National Education Regulation No. 39 of 2008 states there are 10 student coaching materials that must be implemented. The student coaching material includes:

- a. faith and devotion to God Almighty
- b. character building or noble character
- c. superior personality, national insight, and state defending
- d. academic, artistic, and/or sporting achievements according to talent and interest
- e. democracy, human rights, political education, the environment, sensitivity and social tolerance in the context of plural society
- f. creativity, skill, and entrepreneurship
- g. physical, health, and nutritional qualities based on a diversified nutrition source
- h. literature and culture
- i. information and communication technology

However, the management experience of the four schools varies. Based on the explanation from the Head of OSIS SMAN 1, OSIS in school with ten

divisions have this description of the material implementation: First, the division of Devotion to God Almighty. This division usually focuses on spiritual activities and members of this division are Islam, Catholic and Christian. They coordinate every student of the same faith to perform the morning worship according to their respective religions and beliefs. The secretary of the division (Sekbid) makes a schedule for worship alongside his officers. The position of Sekbid usually filled by representatives of each religion. Another program is to create a spiritual song book that works with religious teachers.

The second is the division of Character Building. This division proposes and enforces school rules. They focus on the developing students' attitude and manners. The most notable program is ant-operations, a smile-greeting program every morning. Management of OSIS of this division makes a duty schedule. The officer on duty stands in front of the gate welcoming the students of SMAN 1 and the officers take turns. In addition to doing 3S (senyum (smile)-sapa (greet), and salam (handshake)), the officers also conduct uniform inspection. For example, using school attributes; women wearing skirts that are up to their knees, the length trousers are 18 cm; student shoes should be black; and female's hair should be tied up. There is always a violation every day. Enforcement is done by OSIS and alongside with teachers. For those who violate, they will get punishment. Anyone who does not wear black shoes will be deprived of the shoes they wear, at least until the class is over. Tardy students will get sanctioned by cleaning certain rooms. Every month there is a phone check. If some content is considered not age-appropriate, the OSIS council in cooperation with the teacher will usually remove it.

The third is the division of Love the Homeland and State Defense. The main activity of this division is to organize ceremonial officers' schedules and train the ceremonial officers of each class on Thursday and Friday. They also helped Division I in the arrangement of the line during the worship activities in each morning.

The fourth is the division on Academic Achievement, which is identical with various kinds of competitions both academic and non-academic and it cooperates

with the teacher. When there is an invitation for competition, an OSIS core member will consult Division IV to find out who can join the race. Some of the National Science Olympiad (OSN) competitions that have been attended by SMAN 1 Tomohon are mathematics, chemistry, geography, biology, astronomy, economics, physics and computer.

Fifth, Love the Environment Division. This division regulates and ensures the school environment is always clean and tidy. The most prominent rule in this school is the green, yellow and black flags. This rule is written and has become a hereditary culture from the previous administrators. Every day the board in this division will tour the classroom to assess the class. Each class usually has a garden. If the park is dirty and the class is dirty, then the class will be placed above the class entrance with a black flag. While for a clean class and looks neat but the garden is dirty, it will be given a yellow flag. Classes that have been given the yellow flag twice then the day where they violate again they will be given a black flag. A clean and neat class will be given a green flag. This program has only been running for three years and as long as it is, usually the most is yellow and has never been black. Almost every day there is a class that is given a yellow. This division also arranges toilet hygiene schedule from class to class.

The sixth division is on Sports. The most popular sports among students of SMAN 1 are basketball, volleyball, futsal, badminton and karate. Training activities are always held every Saturday because the schedule of teaching and learning activities (KBM) are closed.

The seventh division concerns Entrepreneurship. The division of entrepreneurship forms a business like SMANTO sticker (SMAN 1 Tomohon). In addition, there are food products such as cakes. This division sells its products to the immediate students in the school and entrusts them to the school cafeteria.

Eighth, Division of Art. There are activities to introduce and learn the local musical instruments and regional dances such as kulintang, maengket dance and popular creative dances. Others form groups such as the katrili dance, marching

band, group band, press band, kabasaran dance<sup>237</sup> and musical poetry.

English Division, or the ninth, coordinates the learning clubs. In every year there is an intra-school competition, one of which is English Inter-Class Debate.

The tenth division is called Information and Computer Technology (ICT) Division. This division performs documentation functions of OSIS activities or other activities and also publishes on social media such as Instagram, Facebook and Twitter of OSIS. In addition, this Division is also working with other divisions to assist and teach ICT to teachers.

The pattern of student development through OSIS in SMAN 1 Tomohon is no different from Christian Public High school 1 and St. Nikolaus Lokon High school, as well as its extracurricular activities. The authors see all three have advantages in management activities and mentoring. All three schools are always competing in student activity competition at the regional, national or international level. The achievements of the students from these three schools are also very competitive. One of the girls from SMAN 1 Tomohon in the year 2016 was once an officer of Flag Bearer in HUT RI at Istana Merdeka.

Likewise, with Christian High School 1 in 2015, one of their students also became a Flag Bearer in the occasion at the same place. Both schools have thousands of students. Lokon High School is not inferior to SMAN 1 Tomohon and Christian High School 1 especially in the school potential network. In this school although there are only 240 students but the management is very professional and is supported by the most complete school facilities. Coaching activities are also the same that is managed with professional management.

The school's third red thread is ensuring student coaching is assisted by teachers in each subject related to the division in OSIS. Therefore, teachers in these three schools are highly demanded for their ability and professionalism. Three schools also do not hesitate to pay athletes, artists or lecturers from outside to

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237 Kabasaran dance is a traditional ethnic dance of Minahasa. According to one of the cultural figures from Minahasa, Jessy Wenas, Dance Kabasaran is a traditional dance for war or dance to escort one of the important customary figures in Minahasa. See <http://www.sulutprov.go.id/Tari-Kasarranness.html>, accessed on 30 October 2017.

help student's development, especially prior to a competition. In the author's note, the highest paid school is Lokon High School. In this school, foreign language teachers such as Mandarin, English and German are from Australia and China. So is the Geology teacher who came from Japan.

Different conditions are found in SMAN 2 Tomohon. The areas of OSIS in this school are the same as in SMAN 1, Christian Highschool 1 and Lokon Highschool. Of the ten-existing division, there are only four areas that are still running, namely the Devotion to God Almighty (Division I), National and State Life (Division II), Physical Fitness and Creative Power (Division VII), and Perception, Appreciation and Art Creation (Division V). When observed from the number of students, this school is no different from the Lokon High school. Head deputy of Student Affair SMAN 2 argued that the condition of student coaching is not optimal because the students are less active. However, from the author's note, this setback of student coaching is due to less consolidated coaching management. Principal of SMAN 2 newly appointed in the last 5 months. He was previously a teacher at SMAN 1 Tomohon. He explained that the student coaching model in SMAN 2 will be reformed. The pattern to be developed is the pattern that has been implemented in SMAN 1, namely the strengthening of teachers who will assist the coaching in the division within the structure of OSIS.

In the guidance on democracy and political education, the four schools have things in common. The election of the head of OSIS is conducted democratically. Students are permitted to apply for candidates in OSIS management. Some are restricted, such as in SMAN 1, only 5 students from one class, and some are freed and adjust the boundaries of positions like in Christian High School 1, Lokon High School and SMAN 2. There is a rule for the registrars that it is compulsory to follow leadership training. Each school has a number of days and different training models. Christian Highschool 1 holds one-week full leadership training and only in the day time. While Lokon High School holds 3 day and 2 nights training. While SMAN 1 and SMAN 2 conduct the training on Saturdays within 1 month. Although different, the four schools are using the same

leadership training activities as an occasion to monitor potential candidates. The trainees will be assessed by the election officials (most of whom come from OSIS administrators who will be replaced and are in grade 3) and the school especially Head Deputy of Student Affair. Participants will be selected to become two or three candidates for the chairperson. Then the campaign process and election can start.

While the other three schools, namely Kosgoro, Lentera Harapan and MA Mardhatilah do not meet the criteria of the Minister of National Education. The principal of Kosgoro High School explained the translation of The Ministry of Education and Culture in this school. After the dissemination of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Kosgoro high school translates it into 10 inner areas of the OSIS structure. Because at this time the number of students is limited, it is 10 levels that aggravate or merge with other division. One example is that the division of democracy and political education is included in the State Defense Sector.

Meanwhile the principal of MA Mardhatillah has another argument. The student organization at this school is called the Council of Santri. This term is used because MA Mardhatillah is part of Hidayatullah Kinilow Pesantren. The divisions in the Board of Santri are different from the general OSIS. In the structure of the Council of Santri there are only the Division of Hygiene, Security Sector, and the Division of Beauty. These three divisions fit the 18 students from grade 1 to 3 and all females. According to the Principal MA Mardhatillah, Ust. Taufiq, he Council of Santri is another form of OSIS. For administrative affairs with related agencies, this school does not use the Council of Santri but the OSIS. Ministry of National Education translation about student development will be integrated with pesantren system. So far, the Council of Santri has activities that attract students' interests and talents such as martial arts, poetry, and acting practices. These activities are tailored to students who are all girls.

Different sights are found in MA Mardhatillah in implementing the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 62 of 2014 on Extracurricular Activities.



The students will be given space for their extracurricular activities after isya or around 7 pm. This is because the school implements a holistic-integrative education that integrates schools and dormitories.<sup>238</sup> Teaching and learning activities (KBM) are only up to 1 pm, after which they will go to mosques to attend Islamic studies or teachings that come from yellow books or classical Islamic studies.

In addition to the pattern of pesantren education, this school does not negate the activities of extracurricular as mandated by the Ministry of Education and Culture such as scouting, line troops directly trained by soldiers, table tennis, and martial art Setia Hati Terate. Martial art has not been implemented maximally because the advisor who was assigned had moved out 4 months ago. There are also extracurricular activities performed at night such as speech practice (muhadharah) which is held regularly after every Maghrib prayer, calligraphy art practice and announcement board, drama (theater), as well as reading and creating poetry. Other compulsory activity is activity which cultivates entrepreneurship such as clothing design, flower gardens and vegetable gardens.

Despite the unfavorable facilities as well as the lack of mentors in developing the interests and talents of the girls. This did not diminish the achievements of MA Mardhatillah students. This is evidenced by the achievements by Yuli (Chairperson of the Council of Santri) who earned the 3rd place of City Economic Olympiad and Ayu (2nd grade/non-OSIS) who also won 3rd Poetry Reading Competition at North Sulawesi Provincial Level. Principal MA Mardhatillah also said that the students actually have enough potency, only that they are still too shy in interacting with teachers or people who are from outside, so that they have hidden talents but untapped. This is also inseparable from the lack of coaching for students.

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238 The concept of holistic-integrative education refers to the pattern of education and service not only in one area of education, but also in services that include needs related to health and nutrition, parenting and student protection. This concept basically refers to Presidential Regulation no. 60 of 2013 on Integrative Holistic for Early Childhood Development. This term appears in an interview with the principal of MA Mardhatillah, the concept is reflected in the rules, activities and facilities of Hidayatullah boarding school that serves students (santri) not only in their education but also in the daily life of the students. Interview with Head of MA Mardhatillah on 3 October 2017.

Another case SMA Lentera Harapan High School. This school also has not applied the Ministry of National Education Regulation regarding explicit student development in the OSIS structure. However, some school policies have led to the cultivation and experience of political education and democracy to their students. Currently OSIS is selected based on recommendations from class guardians, student affairs, counseling teachers and principals. They become the board of the OSIS alternately. Principal of Lentera Harapan High School explained that the current student condition is still one class. This condition affects the number of division present in the OSIS structure and the readiness of the students. Coaching materials are included in the structure but there are still some in the pilot project such as democracy, social tolerance and political education. Succession of leadership for the next OSIS will be applied to the democratic mechanism in which students are free to apply and are willing to attend leadership training. The series of agenda starts from a leadership training process that will be conducted in December before Christmas and New Year.

Meanwhile the activities of Scout in this school have not been run. In other schools, students use scout uniforms and include Dasa Darma in curricula such as Citizenship Education, Indonesian Language, Religious Education and in school rules Scout symbols are not found in Lentera Hope high school. Every Friday they are allowed to wear other clothes instead of uniforms as long as it is polite. Especially every Friday, students have to clean the school's premises, do worship in chapel,<sup>239</sup> and conduct student and teacher counseling. After that the students are released to attend the practice of extracurricular according to their interests and talents such as sports, choir and graphic design.

The last policy is the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 23 of 2015 on Character Building. All schools claim that they have made rules and cultures in Character Building. SMAN 1, SMAN 2 and Kosgoro High School have similar implementation. They translate character development through

<sup>239</sup> Chapel or chapel is a small church in the monastery dormitory. See Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, sumber <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id>., accessed on 3 November 2017.

school rules and activities such as worship every morning and evening and develop literacy in the morning after the worship and before the lesson. Only in SMAN 1 alone the worship is split between Muslim students, Christian and Catholic students.

For the Muslims, they will be coordinated by the Division I who are Muslims and under the guidance of an Islamic education teacher. While Christian and Catholic are merged together and coordinated by Division I who are Christian and Catholic and under the guidance of a Christian and Catholic education teacher. The duties of the religious teachers in addition to the worship to introduce the character and insight of their respective religious teachings during religious lessons. The school has a policy of allowing its students to wear school uniforms according to the national rules. For Muslim students they may wear hijab and wear long dress and skirt. As for Christian and Catholic, students should wear skirts that are at least up to the knees. Meanwhile in SMAN 2 and Kosgoro High School, they only applied one worship that is by Christian. Other rule related to the character building in SMAN 1, SMAN 2 or even Kosgoro Highschool is to promote 3S or smiling, greeting and handshake. This activity is done throughout the day.

Christian SMA 1 is basically similar to the three schools above. Developing morality is done through the rules, activities and religious lessons. However, Christian High School 1 has a student-coaching program at the church. As previously discussed, Christian SMA 1 is under GMIM so that the school is closely related to the church. Students who are Christians, are at Sunday pray under the supervision of the school. OSIS member of Division I will record the students and the church. There, they will record the attendance of their students. In addition, this school often gets the task of leading worship at GMIM churches in Tomohon. As well as the choir that was often invited by the church to sing spiritual songs there. Head Deputy of Student Affair of Christian High 1 mentions this is part of the character building to serve the Lord.

There are three schools that have their own peculiarities in translating character

development, namely: MA Mardhatillah, Lokon High School and Lentera Harapan High School. MA Mardhatillah aspires to be a miniature campus of Islamic civilization. The school's missions are to: realize the ideals of Hidayatullah community organizations in mobilizing da'wah and recruiting new members of Hidayatullah; manage an integral education based on monotheism; organize competitive market and economic power; empower the dhuafa and mustadh'afin, and; develop a natural, scientific and Islamic campus environment.

Their education system is that of pesantren. This school is part of the education at Pesantren Hidayatullah. Character building, according to the MA principal Mardhatillah, should be taught since early childhood. In this pesantren it starts from waking up until bedtime. The character building referred to in this school is one with Islamic characters. The students, or santri, are taught and made aware that they are not only living creatures but also as creatures of Allah.

St. Nikolaus Lokon High school implements a boarding school system. This school carries the vision of Life-based education. The curriculum combines national curriculum (K-13) with character education. According to Head Deputy of Student Affair in Lokon High School, the process of living together become an important part of the character building, as an effort to increase human resources. Basically, education in schools aims to develop aspects of humanity as a whole, which includes aspects of spiritual depth, behavioral aspects, aspects of science and intellectual, and skills aspects. In today's digital era, the demand for human resources is getting higher.

As with MA Mardhatillah, Lokon High School also has a curriculum based on one religion with characters or values implemented either in schools or in the dormitory. Character building and attitude of students starts from curricular and extracurricular activities. Students in this school are from various religions and tribes. Whether a student is Islam, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist or Confucian, the school still emphasizes the manifestation of the Catholic doctrine. In the context of coaching students, they are taught to blend in with each other. The assimilation in addition in the classroom also takes place in the division room. This school

emphasizes discipline. Every student is familiarized to queuing, order, discipline, respect and appreciating differences, such as properly queuing up in the canteen, not going out without the permission of the teacher or house dean, and having interaction with roommate and classmate with different background. Other than the rules, character building is also cultivated in the lessons especially Catholic lessons and prayer.

Another school that has a peculiarity is Lentera Harapan Highschool. This school is like MA Mardhatillah and Lokon High School which has a curriculum based on one religion. The vision of this school is True Knowledge, Faith in Christ, and Godly Character. Schools emphasizes that they are not primary educators. The main educator is actually the parents or their family. Unlike other schools, this school in addition to educating students also awaken parents about how important education at home is. As the principal of Lantera Harapan Highschool mentioned that students with problems in the school are those who have problems at home. Character building aims at helping the students to have the attitude of serving the Lord. They educate students through rules, curriculum lessons, extracurricular and faith counseling.

### ***3. Vulnerability and resistance***

It has been established in the previous sub-chapter on our research in Tomohon that there is no movement whatsoever that leads to any efforts of radicalism or terrorism in the city, although some acts of intolerance may be found there. Still, in reality, there are indications of existence of radicalism and terrorism movements infiltrating the school domain. They enter through spiritual activities such as assemblies, lectures by religious teachers, or speeches by school principals. Many studies have annulled the presence of indoctrination of radicalism and terrorism in the learning/teaching activities--particularly in schools with Muslim majority. However, it does not necessarily mean that the circumstance only applies to Muslims.

In a Milis discussion run by the Minahasa Raya Network Community, it is

stated that if the meaning of this radicalism refers to the effort of makar (subversion) or struggle to replace Pancasila and NKRI, we certainly have not found any movement in Indonesia at any part. However, if radicalism is interpreted from the religion-sociology approach, of course there will be a discourse of radicalism among Christians. The essence of radicalism is that there is an understanding of it, as well as intolerance, that has not surfaced in the form of behavior.<sup>240</sup> Such was also revealed by one of the GMIM priests, Ruth Wangkai (Chairperson of the Indonesian Teacher Education Association/PERUTI) in the Mawale Movement discussion, which was joined by our researchers in Tomohon. According to him:<sup>241</sup>

*“Christian radicals also exist in Tomohon! I cannot name them, but they are real. They like to express their disagreement with Waruga (the Minahasa ethnic cash cemetery). Their existence is already known by the GMIM people. If the infiltration movement to school, I have never heard the report.”*<sup>242</sup>

We tried to confirm the message at the interview with the student in the 7 schools under the study. Each school has different condition. Lokon High School and Christian 1 Highschool do not have an affirmative policy. If we observe the students who have different background, these schools stop only at the acceptance to differences.

One can find a similar condition in SMAN 1 Tomohon. As a public school, this school basically has an affirmative policy. Its concrete example is the acceptance and recognition to students' activities related to the needs of Muslim and Catholic students. Every activity of the Muslim and Catholic students is always attended

240 See the paper. Ioanes Rahmat, Christian Radicalism in Indonesia, is it discussed in the Minahasa Raya Network Community and posted in 2011 by Nina Nayoan at <http://info-minahasa.weebly.com/uploads>, accessed on 2 November 2017.

241 We attended the discussion Mawale Movement Review on 7 October 2017 at 17.00 WITA at Pdt. Ruth Wangkai. Also attending this discussion, Prof Olaf Schumman, Germanist theologian and guest lecturer of Islamicology studies at Tomohon Christian University of Indonesia (UKIT).

242 This statement was presented to researchers at a meeting on 7 October at his residence and a second visit on 8 October 2017 at the residence of Chairperson Mawale Movement namely Rikson Karundeng.

by the Principal.<sup>243</sup> There is also a form of time-dispensation policy for Muslim students to perform Dzuhur prayer. Those who leave the class and do not attend the full lesson are not sanctioned with score deduction.

However, in terms of giving facilitation, the school has yet shown a whole affirmative policy. The unavailability of musala in the school premises is an example. Schools under Dr. Azr Wenas, GMIM, and Lokon Foundation do not facilitate musala because they are private entities and are based on Christianity and Catholics. But since SMAN 1 Tomohon is state-owned, it should facilitate all religions.

Against this argument, SMAN 1's Principal maintains that all this time the muslim students can always go to the nearest mosque (around 1 kilometer away from school) for the Friday prayer. For the Dzuhur prayer, students can do it at the library. The school is over 72 years old and there are always muslim students in every class; but it still has no musala. Religious events in this school are limited to morning prayers, Quran recitation, and religious holidays. Other religious events depend on the agenda of the churches and mosques that the students go to.

Different conditions can be found at MA Mardhatillah and Kosgoro High School. In MA Mardhatillah, we tried to explore the understanding of santri about the phenomenon of radicalism both at local and national scales. In the school announcement board were found a few Quranic verses on kafir (the unbelievers), and indications that they realize that they are the minority in the territory. They limit their communication or interaction with non- students from other schools or in the neighborhood. This may have been due to the limited understanding of non-Muslims about what may or may not be tolerated. One example is the boundary disallowing female students to chat with male students unless there is a mahrom.<sup>244</sup>

Kosgoro High School has a few interesting things to note. Its location is quite close from Kampung Jawa, a Muslim-inhabited village in Tomohon. Naturally,

243 Based on the interviews with the Principal of SMAN 1 Tomohon and confirmed by the statement of Islamic Teachers and Catholic Religious Teachers at SMAN 1 Tomohon on 19 October 2017.

244 Interview with Principal of MA Mardhatillah on 3 October 2017.

an affirmation policy can be expected there. With 11 Muslim students studying there, Kosgoro High School still does not have any Islamic religious teacher. On this matter, the Principal stated:

*"We do have Muslim students here, but until we have a religious teacher, the students have to study Islam from Kampung Jawa Mosque (Nurul Iman Mosque). We have sent a letter to the Ministry of Religious Affair (Tomohon), but they still haven't responded. We used to have Mrs. Armi, who is now busy teaching at SMAN 1, so she cannot teach here."*

As for Lentera Harapan Highschool and SMAN 2 of Tomohon, no such policy is found. Lentera Harapan students are homogeneous, showing no sign of radicalism there. The school follows the procedure and control systems of Pelita Harapan Education Foundation. They seem quite strict, leaving little possibility of radicalism in this school. Meanwhile, the teachers, coaches, and students in SMAN 2 tend to be "fluid", and this school is controlled by the government. Both its Principal and Catholics teacher previously served in SMAN 1 of Timohon. Furthermore, the Catholic religion teacher of SMAN 2 recounts that the books used for teaching are mostly provided by SWCU (Setya Wacana Christian University).

As far as GMIM priests are concerned, the most vulnerable school will be SMAN 2 Tomohon. This school is located farthest from the city center; it is surrounded by a homogeneous society (Christians of the Tombulu sub-ethnic), and; and it has the weakest control mechanism-- relative to other schools that are supervised by foundations, the government, and elements in the civil society.

#### ***4. Internalization of the value of diversity: transmission and interpretation***

Fanaticism on an ideology, religion, role model (idol) or group and tribe will bring the seeds of radicalism, intolerance and even terrorism.<sup>245</sup> The attempt to counter fanaticism is by raising awareness on the necessity of plurality and equality.

Narratives on nationhood or religiosity can be used to foster humanitarian

<sup>245</sup> Karlina Supelli, et al., "From Cosmology to Dialogue: Knowing the Limits of Knowledge, Against Fanaticism," ibid



values. Although they are not the only way against fanaticism that may lead to intolerance, radicalism, or terrorism, the values of diversity need to be transmitted and interpreted.

The seven schools that became the subject of our research have their own way in transmitting and translating the values of diversity. All schools teach their students on the different tribes, ethnicities, languages, and religious plurality through the teaching of Citizenship Education (Civics). In addition, all the schools also translate them in the forms of student activities via the OSIS Arts and Culture Division. However, not all schools apply them upon the daily habits of their students.

Of the seven schools there are only three schools that transform the values of diversity in the daily life of students. One of them is Lokon Highschool, which fosters togetherness in diversity right from how they divide the dorm rooms, which is done in a semi-random mechanism. Every room is occupied by 4 students, and a new student will be coupled randomly with a student of different origin and religion, and in every room there is always one senior person.<sup>246</sup>

As confirmed by our student-informants, the students learn about other religions more closely from roommates. From the interaction, non-Muslim students learn that a Moslem needs to pray 5 times a day and fast for an entire month during Ramadhan. Likewise, other students learn that a Confucian must burn incense every morning, or that Hindus celebrate Nyepi; Catholic people do retreat, and so on. In addition to religious diversity, the students also come from various regions in Eastern Indonesia such as East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), Marauke, West Papua, Papua, South Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, East Borneo, etc. They see firsthand the differences in skin colors, languages, traditions, and customs of their friends. The key points from such a room division seem to be plurality of knowledge, acceptance of difference, and fostering mutual respect and appreciation.

The values of honesty and openness are also taught to students starting right

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<sup>246</sup> Interview with Lokon high school house dean on 17 October 2017.

from this school boarding system. Head of OSIS Lokon Highschool said: “In each room 2 cabinets are provided—one cupboard for two people. So, if there are 2 cabinets, it means that the room is intended for 4 people. No [cabinet] keys are given. We are being trained to be honest and trust each other, to refrain from stealing other people’s property.”<sup>247</sup>

To which the House Dean added, “It is not easy to nurture these values. A theft by a student was once reported, but the dormitory ward managed to settle the issue in a familial way.”

The second school is Lentera Harapan High School. This school puts forward a participative-consultative approach. The nurturing of orderliness, honesty and diversity starts from the school rules, curricula, and worship rituals. Which is different from other schools, in this school every Friday is the family day. All extracurricular activities are held on this day. In one month, once every two weeks, they conduct community services.

In addition, the school also provides counseling services to bring the stakeholders even closer to the teachings of Christ. A pastor appointed by the Pelita Harapan Foundation is the counsellor. This service is intended not only for students but also for teachers and student-guardians.

Counseling days vary with stakeholders. Student counseling is held after Friday services in the chapel on the upper floor. Besides the pastor, a class-teacher is sometimes put in charge during recess. To do this duty, the teacher must have prior spiritual guidance from the pastor. Only after he or she is considered qualified by the pastor can the teacher do the counseling.

Consultation service for teachers is done biweekly whereas the service for guardians is based on an appointment with the pastor. According to the Principal of Lentera Harapan high school, the purpose of this counseling service is to transform Christian values, personal mastery of Jesus and affirming the value of humanity and nationality.

The third school is Christian 1 Highschool. The school arranges an annual

<sup>247</sup> Interview with OSIS Lokon High school on 17 October 2017.

agenda for visiting historic sites. Head of OSIS of Christian 1 Highschool explained that there is an annual agenda to visit waruga or a traditional cemetery of Muslim fighters in Tondano. This activity serves to introduce local wisdom and was initiated by a history teacher. In the cemetery, a teacher on duty will tell the students the history of Minahasa ethnic, their beliefs, and the roles of Muslim fighters in the land of Minahasa.

### ***5. Seeking models of resilience from school cases***

Cases that occur at some schools in Indonesia illustrate that the school environment needs enhanced supervision. Models of radicalism and intolerance in schools can be summed up to have bottom-up and top-down or vertical-horizontal patterns. In many cases, the top-down pattern begins with the vision or policy of the regional government, which then gets implemented by schools. In other cases, there is also hegemony of the community's social culture that becomes a policy or activity in some schools. Still, there are also those that are purely initiated by the principal, teachers, or students.

To see the pattern of school resilience from the infiltration of fanaticism, radicalism and intolerance in Tomohon, it is necessary to start from reading various patterns first. In some areas of Indonesia, there are local rules embodied in Regional Regulations (Perda), Governor Regulations (Pergub), or Regent/Mayor Regulations. Each region has its own local culture and wisdoms that need to be solidified in a local policy. Aceh, West Sumatera, West Java and a few other areas have regulations that make the teachings of Islam and its practices a positive law, the policy of which is then called the Sharia Regulation.

Another city that shows its uniqueness as a region dominated by the Hindu society and whose local government affirms it through policy-making is Denpasar, Bali. In contrast, Tomohon, as a predominantly Christian area with its vision of religiosity, has no such regional regulation nor mayoral regulation that affirms Christian doctrines or practices. In fact, the vision of Tomohon is to uphold diversity and embrace harmony, which is expressed as follows:

*“To realize a TOMOHON society that is Religious, Competitive, Democratic, Prosperous, Civilized, and Environmentally Oriented towards the making of TOMOHON city as one of the World’s Top Tourist Destinations.”*

On 27 February 2017, the local government of Tomohon won a Harmony Award from the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, at the Mercure Convention Center Jakarta. The award was bestowed after the assessment by the Ministry’s assessment team. In 2017, North Sulawesi Province, where Tomohon City is located, was ranked second nationally in terms of harmony of religious communities.<sup>248</sup> This award is inversely proportional to regions that explicitly adopt regional shariah regulations. Regencies and regions that apply religious regional regulations—specifically shariah regulations—are found to be regions with lowest tolerance.<sup>249</sup>

The local government of Tomohon city’s vision, missions, and achievements are certainly exciting news. But have the government’s efforts in maintaining harmony been reflected in school policies? Our findings on the matters pertaining to maintaining community harmony in Tomohon are as follows. Firstly, Tomohon City has not issued any specific religious policy whatsoever. In 2015 there was an initiative by Tomohon City Council to plan regional regulations on Good Friday, Easter, and Thanksgiving.

Besides to commemorate those religious activities, the Regional Regulation plan aimed to create a legal basis and umbrella to elaborate implementation policies that would include restriction on vehicles near churches and mosques, reduction of trading hours in the city center, closing of entertainment venues such as karaoke places, and so forth. The law was supposedly to be issued to facilitate Good Friday as a sacred day and to support the creation of Tomohon as a Religious City. However, the plan was aborted.

248 See <https://www.tomohon.info/featured/kota-tomohon-jadi-yang-pertama-di-sulut-terima-harmony-award.>, accessed on 4 November 2017.

249 See <http://setara-institute.org/index-kota-toleran-tahun-2017.>, Accessed on 4 November 2017.

Secondly, according to Head of Tomohon City Education Office, Tomohon City Government is supportive to the realization of Tomohon as a City of Education. To support this, the local government issued policies related to the funding for the advancement of education. In 2015, it allocated 30.65% of the budget (APBD) or Rp. 185 billion to education. This included allocation for the welfare of teachers and principals. The city government also allocated about Rp. 7 billion per year for additional allowances for teachers and principals.<sup>250</sup> On top of this all, when the central government's disbursement for teacher certification was delayed in 2017, the Tomohon City government issued a policy to cover the first-phase funding in the second quarter. This decision aimed to motivate teachers to keep their teaching duties well. The information below, from Head of National Division, was confirmed by the MA Mardhatillah's Principal:

*"Although we are a minority, we feel cared for. MA Mardhatillah received the funds from the City Government of Tomohon to build the school library of Rp. 90 million worth. They are also very considerate to teachers."*

Thirdly, Tomohon City government, including the local Education Office, make various efforts to maintain harmony among the people. We found it noteworthy how the government, in this case the Department of Education, responds to national issues related to education. Head of Tomohon City Education Agency explained that they always invited principals or relevant teachers whenever some issues arose that might affect education in Tomohon.

When a video on skip challenge went viral on the social media, Tomohon City Education Office held a one-day seminar on the dangers of the game. Skip challenge is a game students play in which they press their friend's chest until he or she lacks oxygen supply. Furthermore, Tomohon City Education Office, based on information from the Principal of Lentera Harapan Highschool, once held a seminar on Islamology.<sup>251</sup> All religious teachers in high schools in Tomohon were

<sup>250</sup> See <http://manado.tribunnews.com/2015/09/16/eman-minta-guru-bukti-tomohon-kota-pendidikan..>, accessed on 4 November 2017.

<sup>251</sup> Interview with Principal of Lentera Harapan Highschool Tomohon on 12 October 2017.

invited to discuss Islam.

The event was run in response to the situation in DKI Jakarta at the end of 2016 that eventually brought down the-then Governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok. The narratives that developed centered around religious issues from which the Islamic masses had Ahok, who is a Christian of Chinese ethnic, imprisoned. This seminar aimed to show how Islam is a peaceful religion and that the incident in Jakarta was committed by people with some political agenda behind them, and who did not represent Islamic teachings.

The three points above show how Tomohon City government's vision and missions of harmony are actually translated into policies, programs, and monitoring system related to schools. One of the forms in which the city government's policies are implemented can be seen in SMAN 1 Tomohon. This school became the government's pilot project on Reference Schools, which are meant to be exemplary schools to benchmark against by other senior high schools not only in Tomohon and but also in other cities. Indeed, the symbols of harmony that were mentioned in the previous sub-chapter can be seen in SMAN 1.

There are only two public schools in Timohon: SMAN 1 and SMAN 2. As state-run public schools, they can be intervened directly by the government. The fact that high schools have been placed under direct supervision by the Education Office of North Sulawesi Province means that the current situation in these schools can be affected because they are not under direct control by Tomohon local government.

Meanwhile, schools that are established by foundations display different patterns. There are four schools that are strongly dominated by their respective foundations, namely: Lokon High School, Lentera Harapan High school, Christian 1 Highschool, and MA Mardhatillah. Both Lokon Highschool and MA Mardhatillah implement a boarding education system. Both have a rigorous mechanism in controlling and monitoring teaching and learning activities. Nevertheless, MA Mardhatillah was once infiltrated by a teacher who was later arrested by Densus 88 for his association with the Jamaah Islamiyah network.

The school principal of MA Mardhatillah explained that in 2005 this teacher came to apply as an ustadz in the pesantren. Due to his ability in memorizing 15 juz (chapters) of the Quran, the foundation considered that he deserved to be an ustadz there. He left the pesantren after about 6 months of teaching there, and he almost married to one of the santri. Three months later the pesantren was informed by the local police office (the North Tomohon police station is located just in front of the pesantren) that the ustadz was member of a terrorist network. Learning from the incident, the foundation then improved and tightened the recruitment mechanism of its educators, one of which was by asking recommendations from Hidayatullah headquarters.<sup>252</sup>

The other two schools are Lentera Harapan Highschool and Christian 1 Highschool. Lentera Harapan's curriculum, teaching mechanism, and student activities are different from those of other schools. It implements a quarterly evaluation system of teaching and learning activities (KBM), not a semester system. Its lesson contents are integrated across subjects. For example, a discussion on civics will be preceded by religious and historical lessons. A religion teacher may allude to questions on humanity, divinity and prophethood, which may then be followed with historical issues on human history, prophethood and nationality. The next session in Civics may focus on the nation and State of Indonesia. Moreover, the foundation strictly controls the school's curriculum, teachers, and staff. The school also closely monitors the teachers and students.

Meanwhile, Christian 1 Highschool is controlled and supervised by Dr. Azr Wernas Foundation education unit, GMIM. Located within the complex of the GMIM Sinoge the school is very easy to monitor. Apart from the control by their respective foundation, Lentera Harapan Highschool and Christian 1 Highschool are also supervised by student guardians. Both schools allow them to participate in the school committee to evaluate their children's activities.

Besides the government, foundations and schools, the community also plays a key role that contributes to the pattern of school resilience against infiltration

252 Interview with Principal of MA Mardhatillah on 3 October 2017.

of fanaticism, radicalism and intolerance. In one of the three mosques in this city, the Mujahideen Mosque, adzan may not be amplified by outdoor loudspeakers (toa). According to Deni Pinotoan, a local informant in the FGD of this study, the ban has been part of the consequences of an agreement among Christian denominations in Tomohon in 1952.<sup>253</sup> They agreed to not use outdoor speakers in churches—particularly those were located in the heart of the city—lest it caused anxieties to the surrounding communities. This also explains why the use of outdoor loudspeakers during the call to prayer does not apply in Nurul Iman Mosque (Kampung Jawa) and Masjid at-Taqwa (Hidayatullah Kinilow), which are located in the suburbs of Tomohon.

Currently, Mujahideen Mosque is the main basis of Muslim activities in Tomohon. This mosque stands in the middle of a church building. In the complex around the mosque many Islamic schools have been established, such as PAUD, Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, and Madrasah Tsanawiyah under the auspices of Mujahidin Foundation. According to the foundation chairperson, the board of Mujahidin Foundation and the entire Muslim community of Tomohon are designing the establishment of Madrasah Aliyah this year. The plan has been consulted with the Mayor. In addition, other forms of activities included the 2017 All Tomohon Churches Choir Competition, whose opening began with a qasidah performance by the wives of Mujahideen Taklim Assembly members.<sup>254</sup> Another form of activity was the support of the Christian community in the Musabaqoh Tilawatil Qur'an (MTQ) of North Sulawesi, where a qariah representative of Tomohon City who was a student of Kosgoro high school, won the first prize. This social condition has contributed to the construction of the school resilience model against fanaticism, radicalism and intolerance in the City of Tomohon.<sup>255</sup>

253 Focus Group Discussion (FGD) of this research was held on 27 November 2017. Besides Deni Pinotoan as local speaker, also attended by teachers and principals as well as the students who previously become subject in this research. The purpose of this FGD is to re-confirm the findings and to deepen the findings of the interview.

254 The results of interviews with the Chairperson of the Mosque Mujahidin on 20 October 2017.

255 This recognition was conveyed by high school students of Class XII of Kosgoro in FGD held on 27 October 2017 in Tomohon.



All the school resilience patterns undertaken by the local government, foundations, schools, and communities, hinge upon local wisdoms. As a city that keeps the harmony of interfaith life, there are some points that become special to Tomohon society. Firstly, the people of Tomohon still uphold the Minahasa values and norms. The people of Minahasa highly uphold the value of humanity. As Tondano-born national hero Dr. Sam Ratulangi said, “Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou.” Man lives to provide for humanity; a man is he who humanizes another man. This philosophy has become the motto of Minahasa community, which includes Tomohon community.

Secondly, since the early nineteenth century Tomohon has formed an interfaith society. Kampung Jawa is an area built on inter-racial and inter-faith marriages. The inhabitants who occupy this village are the umpteenth generation of the Javanese-Minahasa and Islamic-Christian ancestors. Genealogically speaking, despite the different beliefs, the people here feel they are part of one same lineage. As Deni Pinotoan explained:

*“Differences that exist will not cause social problems as long as the people in Tomohon holds firmly the motto of Torang Semua Bersaudara, meaning we are all brothers. This fraternal spirit is still held by the students in schools in Tomohon. In thanksgiving Christians will invite their Muslim friends to come over. Food for the Muslims will be prepared by the organizers. Likewise, when celebrating Lebaran Ketupat (an annual event held a week after Idul Fitri), Muslim students will invite their Christian and Catholic friends to rejoice in the event. Another interesting activity is gotong royong (mutual cooperation), which we call Mapalus: an activity that reflects an open, inclusive and respectful society with a fraternal bond.”*

During an FGD, Deni’s statement was reinforced by OSIS High School Chairperson. He said:

*“I have a Moslem relative in my grandfather’s family. On an Eid al-fitri, our Christian relatives will come to visit and help make some cakes.”*

*Likewise, on a Christmas Eve, our Muslim relatives will help prepare Christmas cakes. In our family, it does not matter to have different a belief. Anyone who converts will remain part of the family.*<sup>256</sup>

## Closing remarks:

### *Creating schools with diversity and rejecting radicalism in education*

Educational institutions are one of the strategic places to form individual characters as individuals and citizens. However, the element of politicization in the management of educational institutions may occur, namely the inclusion of various kinds of power, authority, political interests and ideology that affect the performance of educational institutions. Such institutional nature makes educational institutions in a conflict situation. On the one hand, educational institutions are particularly vulnerable to politicization, and on the other hand, educational institutions have a strategic potential in the framework of national character building. The formation of national character generated through educational institutions is expected to form a person capable of appreciating diversity, maintaining unity, and respecting the diversity of the Indonesian nation as a nation.

The problem of symptomatic radicalism in society, especially in the educational environment will be a serious one for the life of the nation and the state in the future. The results of research conducted by the MAARIF Institute show that on the one hand there are still many challenges in educational institutions to cope with the entry of radical understanding in the educational environment, and on the other hand, this research also shows the existence of opportunities and hopes in order to strengthen the spirit of diversity and national unity. In addition to finding the root of the problem, this research also finds good practice in educational institutions that can be applied in other schools.

<sup>256</sup> This recognition was conveyed by the Chairperson of OSIS of Lokon Highschool at the Forum Discussion Group (FGD) held on 27 November in Tomohon.

The idea of radicalism and its activist network has entered the school environment of High School (SMA) is a reality that cannot be denied. Madrasah Aliyah also showed similar symptoms if not managed properly. It is not only private schools that are under the management of certain religious institutions, but public schools that are supposed to build universal values and common nationalities become fertile nurseries of this understanding. Even public schools are “unsafe” from the offerings of violence in the name of religion presented by the idea of radicalism. Students’ limited knowledge of religious teachings and understanding, accompanied by longing for the triumph of political power in the name of religion in the past from radical activists, met together in student activity forums. Various student activities, especially in the spiritual fields (even Islam, Christianity, Catholicism and Hinduism) are utilized in such a way by a network of radicalism to incorporate elements and passions that put forward on the unilateral truth recognition. Unfortunately, many school components, from school principals, teachers, OSIS administrators, and school committees are involved in their activities, or at least allowing radical activities to run and accompany their students.

In the context of the introduction of radicalism in schools, the role of the Intra School Student Council (OSIS) becomes very important. OSIS is a strategic target considering. They are young people who still have prospects in the future for their character building. If not accompanied well, OSIS can be a latent organization that even spread radical understanding in the school environment. Moreover, the target of radical groups is the young leaders who are in school. Effective communities to be influenced by such teachings are the managers and members of the OSIS. As an internal organization within the school environment, OSIS has a role to play in determining the influence and shape of students’ activities in schools through the various division and programs it has. This study shows that OSIS is susceptible to infiltration of radical understanding and movements that lead to the emergence of anti-nationalism and intolerance in students.

This vulnerability occurs in the form of various activities promoted in the

school environment that actually discriminates other students of different religious teachings and beliefs. In addition to religious activities, radical understanding also began to enter the school through other actors from outside the school.

The involvement of alumni networks, religious institutions, and political parties in student activities and organizations reinforces the facts above. In practice, student spiritual organizations such as “autonomous kingdoms” organize and coordinate their own activities not influenced by the Chairperson of OSIS and school leaders. This became an important indicator that the movement and understanding of radicalism began to enter the school environment. Teachers and students who have been infiltrated with radical understanding will be the internal driving force of various activities that provide space for radical understanding to continue germinating. This is strengthened when the national policy of education on national values known as the strengthening of character education is only translated by the reinforcement of religious values alone, and forgetting the values of the universality of a nation. Some of the schools that have been the site of this research project, such as Highschool and MA in Padang, Sukabumi, Cirebon, Surakarta, Denpasar and Tomohon have shown strengthening of radicalism among students and their student organizations.

The question arises, why are high school/MA students are important targets of radical understanding and movement? Targeting these high school/MA students is a further development of seedbeds and radical networks in the campus world. Some colleges have been contaminated with radical networks since the late 1980s and early 1990s. Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB), Padjadjaran University (Unpad), Gadjah Mada University (UGM), etc. are campuses that became the main pioneers of the radical nursery in the world of universities. Through the university world, the network of alumni then tries to develop its understanding to the schools where they work or where they used to go to. The dissemination method is similar to Multi-level Marketing (MLM) in a trading network of a product.

**Personnel and position of a person is determined in the recruitment process of candidate cadres, whether viewed from the side of quantity or quality.**

Students in High school/MA become strategic targets in the development of radical understanding, both socially and politically. Socially, they will become agents of future social change as expected from the perspective of radical groups. Preparation and coaching should be done as early as possible, especially to children at high school/MA age. High school/MA students are considered to be at the age of transition from childhood to adulthood. Such age is touted as a critical age in acceptance of the values he considers good and in accordance with his personality. Hence, the value cultivator who are considered charismatic in conveying their understandings will be more acceptable than the average value cultivator, especially when the cultivator are very militant, organised and tenacious cadres.

Internalization of the radical values will be easily understood by the students, and there is even a strong desire of them to immediately interpret it directly to the practices of everyday life. The identity of “hijrah” for those who have practiced it, and the identity of “ignorance” for students who have not followed or unwilling to implement the teachings of Murabbi are the signs that are often pinned in social intercourse in schools that have been infiltrated with this radical understanding. Learning activities and imposing radical ideas on the students will eventually present four existing characters of radicalism.

First, the emergence of intolerant attitudes, which do not want to respect the opinions or beliefs of others who are different from them. This will be evident in social interactions, including in the election of student organization heads, class leaders, and so on. In addition, groups of students who have been exposed to radical understanding always try to avoid contacts with students who have different religions. They do not want to buy things from other religious students, even in the form of food. They are also reluctant to borrow or lend textbooks and other items to students of different faiths.

Second, excessive fanatical attitudes, namely adamant too strongly to a belief, so that it manifests in the attitude of “righteousness” and others are wrong. Their

fanatic attitude is too much and “disrupts the social life of others.” Religious fanaticism is actually permissible, even compulsory, but in terms of an internal fanaticism only - as a belief that does not need to be revealed by attaching certain identities to other groups of different religions. The titles of “deviant,” “kafir” and so on are often labeled for those who are not like or disagree with them. Many students in the schools studied show these symptoms, especially in students in Sukabumi, Padang, and Surakarta.

Third, the exclusive attitude of distinguishing oneself from the habits or understandings of the mainstream. This attitude is the embodiment of the first and second attitudes, where intolerant and fanaticism in general will produce their own exclusivity or vice versa. This attitude is done because it is based on the principle that (i) They are righteous, and others are wrong; (ii) separating themselves for their own good from being contaminated with values they deem not good, and so on; (iii) whys should associate with people who are different or not of the same belief, because there is a fear that they will resemble that existing behaviors and values, so that the path of hijrah and the attainment of its truth will no longer be perfect. Furthermore, exclusive attitudes among students can be realized in several ways, for example (1) a way of dressing very different from other groups of students; (2) do not want to socialize in general; (3) do not want to eat together; do not want to follow other OSIS activities, except the spiritual field; (5) is more trustworthy and obedient to the patron of his understanding than to teachers or other parties within the scope of the school; and (6) are rarely seen to be active in schools or classroom activities, but will appear to be very active when it comes to activities and networks of radicalism.

Fourth, revolutionary attitude, which tends to use violent means to achieve a goal. This attitude is not shown by students vulgarly, but the way of thinking that leads to the practice of violence against different groups is clearly visible. The “misguided” labeling of other groups of students who disagree with them is a form of verbal violence, which implies that the “heretical” group must be fought to be sensible of returning to the path of religion as understood by students who have

been exposed to radicalism.

Likewise, their participation with religious groups or organizations that have a tendency towards violent practices, such as the Islamic Defenders Front, the Straight Line Islamic Organization (Lines) and other organizations in the name of religion will be regarded as part of the translation of the revolutionary attitude. Their involvement in demonstrations 411 and 212, for example, accompanied by threats of violence in them, can also be regarded as a form of such revolutionary attitude.

The four characteristics above can be read in its entirety, so it will become radicalism that leads to violent practices in the name of religion. The case of student involvement in one of the schools in Cirebon departing for Syria to join ISIS is a perfect embodiment of the four characters of radicalism above. However, the characters above can be read separately or per section, so that it will bear the levels of understanding and action of radicalism itself. The first and second character is more of a conception, so it will only give birth to a worldview. Meanwhile, the third and fourth characters are more directed towards behavior or action as an attempt to prove themselves, who feel righteous. The form is no longer latent but has been a manifest and assumes a different understanding and different religion is infidel, misguided, and must be destroyed from the face of the earth. The level of understanding of the four characters of radicalism above has also been mapped to students in six existing research sites.

The study of OSIS in counteracting radicalism on the one hand, as well as strengthening diversity on the other hand, is very important to reveal the process of spreading and cultivating radicalism in the midst of OSIS activities. The internal and external actors of the school become very important to be disclosed to know their respective roles in the cultivation of radical understanding and the strengthening of social networking. This research is more interesting when its choices falls on six locations considered to be a common portrait of the face of radicalism in Indonesia.

The six areas above are (i) Padang, the city is quite productive in sending activists

in various activities that imply the symbolization of radical Islam; (ii) Sukabumi, a region that has a phenomenon of growing radicalism in schools by utilizing the power of “three stones of fireboxes,” between politicians (political parties), missionaries, and militant cadres. This region is also an old territory that became the basis of radical groups in West Java; (iii) Cirebon, as an area considered to have a strong tendency of recruitment of terrorists from the school environment. Although the city is touted as a city of traditionalistic in various aspects of life, (iv) Surakarta is as an area which is often considered to be a nursery and barometer of radical life in the archipelago. In addition, religious organizational contestations are very strong, allowing for influence into the school environment; (v) Denpasar with its position as a world tourist city makes the research very interesting whether this fact is influential in opening up students’ insights or choosing to religious fanatical tendencies. Moreover, this city has experienced a historic situation about the tragedy of victims of terrorism; (vi) Tomohon was able to uncover the phenomenon of Christian radicalism in the so-called city of tolerance and peace, where Muslims are a minority in the Christian population.

The six sites above have provided important illustrations of the patterns, mechanisms, and networks involved in the cultivation and development of radicalism in student activities at the school setting the vulnerability of an educational institution in holding infiltration of understandings and radical movements can occur due to social and cultural environmental factors around the school. This study places the phenomenon of school resilience in the face of radicalism from the point of view of collaboration between schools with the social and cultural environment of local communities.

In general, this study found the existence of a link and the influence of the culture of local communities with the dynamics of educational activities that occur in the school environment. Commonly and unconsciously general discrimination is the mainstreaming of the majority religion adopted in the local socio-cultural environment. For example, in Denpasar it was found that Hindu culture and various Hindu rituals and traditions always existed in schools and became part of



the routine school activities.

Similarly, what happens in Sukabumi, although the number of adherents in the district of Sukabumi is not 100% Islamic, but when entering the public schools many students are found wearing hijabs. The homogeneity of students in schools as well as mainstream religious mainstreaming becomes a potential source of discriminatory acts, although this act is not directly correlated with radical understanding. There is even a tendency of local government making policy which then becomes generalizing all the population as if they have a uniform culture and belief.

In addition to the influence of local culture, political forces also burst into the school environment so that the policies of certain political parties are also seen in the school environment. Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), for example, apply the influences of PKS tarbiyah in Sukabumi and Padang districts. This is similar to other areas whose government is also held by the PKS where they use the spaces of religious activity that are so dominant in schools as the land to cultivate the seeds of excellence from schools.

The presence of political groups and mass organizations involved in educational activities could potentially lead to an intolerant educational process. A school that opens strong doors to political organizations or mass organization outside has a quite strong potential to be intolerant.

There are five actors who are suspected in cultivating intolerance in schools or even the general public; namely PKS, FPI, Wahabi, HTI, and Salafi. PKS, in Sukabumi, since Sukmawijaya took office has intensely spread their tarabiyah virus in schools (as well as universities) through QC (Qurani Club). FPI which enters salafi pesantren that lacks the insight of nationality and diversity, and Ar-Rayyah (Wahabi) which enters through the alumni network at Cikembar and Cibadak regions that are considered to be heterogenic religiously in Sukabumi Regency. HTI tries to enter a number of schools in Cirebon which receive a respond from the religious education teacher who is also the Rohis advisor. Meanwhile, salafi is strengthening itself in SMAN 1 Surakarta.

The MAARIF Institute's research team has succeeded in discovering and explaining some issues related to the efforts of infiltration of radicalism on the activities of students and their organizations, and the response to it. In addition, the team also managed to map out the positive potentials thin schools have as resilience against radical development in schools. Some of the problems can be explained as follows:

### **Extracurricular at a Crossroads: Between Radicalism and Moderatism**

This section is directed towards efforts to investigate the radicalism phenomenon among students and student organization in schools in six locations which became the samples for this research. It was found that High school and MA in Padang, Sukabumi, Cirebon, and Surakarta have a strong tendency in cultivation of religious teachings which are radical. Networks from political party (PKS), religious organization missionary which are identic with radicalism such as Arrayah, HTI, Kobong Boarding School, Nurul Hadid dan Al-Muwwafiq Pesantren, as well as militant cadre from LDK university student are involved with student organization. There are even Ngruki Pesantren networks which are also involved in one of the schools at Surakarta.

While the mechanism is that those activists are deliberately invited by Rohis, or they are deliberately offer themselves to accompany and advice the students and student organization, either with a reason to develop character or on behalf of strengthening religion. Besides the school principals, leading parties of the school often permit the outsider network, especially in the name of alumni, and cast religious influence upon the students. Consideration that is often present is that the students are better off religious influence rather than ensnared by promiscuity, biker gang, drugs, and the likes. Meanwhile, schools at Tomohon are indeed cultivating values of nationality within their peers, however on a number of things prioritize Christianity and Catholic aspect rather than universal aspect of national life. Nevertheless, it should be noted that some parties respond to the infiltration. A teacher of PAI as well as advisor of Rohis in SMAN 1 Plumbon Cirebon, for

example founded IPNU and IPPNU cooperated with Fahmina Institute in order to stem the stream of radicalization. As far as the effort was made with the support and cooperation of moderate groups, it proved successful. But the problem in the future is that such efforts are not documented in writing. So, when the principal changes, it would also contribute to the policy taken.

### **Forgotten state's authority**

In this aspect, we have explored the understanding and effectiveness of the implementation of The Ministry of National Education Regulation or The Ministry of Education and Culture and related school rules on the cultivation of national values and the reinforcement of student character. Many schools in the six research sites are not or less aware of the various regulations related to student organizations and issues of values developed in schools. A number of regulation such as (i) The Ministry of National Education Regulation Number 39 of 2008 regarding Student Development and the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation Number 62 of 2014 regarding Extracurricular Activity at Elementary Education and Intermediate Education is not or very rarely accepted, socialize, or even practice at the school level.

Similarly, in addition to these two regulations, there are other regulations that are often associated with extracurricular activities that are also not well understood by the school. Regulation in question is the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation Number 23 of 2015 on Character Building.

The issue of the formation of a national character capable of fostering the spirit of diversity and diversity has long been a concern of the government by creating various regulations that sow diversity. The latest Regulation is the Presidential Regulation No. 87 of 2017 on Strengthening Character Education clearly shows how the principal as an educational unit is the most responsible in the whole process of education of students in schools, including when they perform activities inside or outside the school. Public involvement, especially the parents and the community, should be kept within the framework of strengthening the character

education of students.

With the Presidential Decree on Strengthening Character Education, it is expected that the school has resilience against radical movement infiltrating the school's environment. Meanwhile, in terms of national education, with the strengthening of character education, attitudes and mindsets to love the country, the students could grow better. The message in this Presidential Regulation is clear that education cannot be separated from the collaboration between schools, families and communities. The three educational centers are expected to keep the education unit from the infiltration of radical understanding that goes through the activities of OSIS.

Various regulations that are able to manage student affairs and the content of its activities have actually existed, but unfortunately this has not been maximally disseminated or directed to schools throughout Indonesia. In addition, these regulations are often contradictory between the national and the regional. Policy makers at the regional level, who ultimately affected schools for various of reasons, often reduced the interpretation of the policy to a mere religious aspect. The main thing that causes it is the world's views on noble character which are dominated by certain religious views, which are considered to be a true form of character education. At the end, this discriminates the minority group.

Therefore, it is natural that the school then translates the policy of OSIS in the form of a religiously nuanced program. Finally, it can also be understood when schools allow or even permit alumni networks to interfere in the development of student activities. Because the network alumni carry the pretext of religious reinforcement. Ironically, in some schools there are those who feel proud when they are able to cooperate with certain parties, even though the party has been known to have closeness to the understanding and movement of radicalism. The issue of capacity building of educational actors in these educational ecosystems needs to get the attention of the government, because this research shows that sometimes because of the ignorance of education actors in schools, they open the door for the entry of radical understanding to school without them knowing it.

### **Vulnerability and resistance**

If we observe the process of allowing outsider network to infiltrate and to be involved in students' activity, then this shows that the school environment is vulnerable to be infiltrated by radicalism. This vulnerability is caused by misunderstanding of the school's party in interpreting the regulation related to student development in the form mechanism and standard operation procedures of OSIS activity and development. Even if they do understand and gain the mechanism, then it is not very often that the school's component would interfere, either from the leaders, advisors, or teacher generally. This becomes an important reason for the cultivation of radicalism to be available at every school in the six locations. The reluctance of the school in reprimanding parties that are involved is generally hindered by the problem of seniority, discomfort in disrupting friendship, and being afraid because they have strong legitimacy in making decision.

While for certain schools such as SMAN 3 Surakarta, MAN 1 Sukabumi, and others, they have set up a fairly strict mechanism in controlling student activities. The choice of involvement from outsiders is actually done by the school organization with a reverse reporting mechanism. The student's spirituality division first reports to the head of the OSIS, and the head of the OSIS cross-examines the competency information and test him/her, and after being considered eligible he/she will be directed to the school principal for further process. Likewise, school leaders will conduct a search related to the tendency of the activists involved. If it is detected affiliated to a religious organization that has a radical tendency, then it is canceled. In addition, some schools also develop communal activities without distinguishing their religious and tribal identities. Such harmony practices are intended to instill in the students that tolerance and humanitarian values are better developed within the school, community and family environment.

### **Internalization of the value of diversity: transmission and interpretation**

The national values, particularly related to the strengthening of diversity, manners, nationalism, tolerance, and diversity have been generally endeavored

by schools in the six research sites. They have actually been tied up clearly with regulations that encourage nationality values to emerge and embedded in students. Various student activities and processes are often directed to translate these national values on the one hand. Like the election of OSIS, hearings, awards to others and so on are always pushed on the pillars of democracy and humanity.

On the other hand, however, the view of OSIS as a school catalyst with extracurricular activities is undeniable, which causes schools, through advisors or other teachers, to dominate program proposals. Whereas, if given a little flexibility, OSIS at some schools proved able to internalize the value of diversity. For example, through the organization of the Diversity Carnival by one of the OSIS in one of the schools in Cirebon.

It cannot be denied, however, that there is a strong tendency if the school and the OSIS interpret national values with a religious approach or by the selection of more religious activities. The choice causes social segregation of students of different religions often to surface. As a result, self-confident and communal self-esteem will be very strongly applied to students who share their religious beliefs. They have also tried to distance themselves from other groups of students. This is evident in the absence of interfaith collaboration, cross cultural and religious communication, perceptions of the chairperson of the OSIS should be in accordance with it, and so on. Finally, the transmission and translation of the value of diversity or nationality is often limited by the bulkheads of primordialism in the name of religion, and this is supported by a positive response from the school.

### **Seeking models of resilience from school cases**

From the findings at the six schools of the research sites, it can be stated that the strong tendency of the process of developing and building the student's characters with religious approaches often occurs. Although they are not always on the principle of developing the four characteristics of radicalism as mentioned above, but the emphasis on a particular religious perspective has given a new sense of concern, namely the strengthening of social segregation based on religious

primordialism among students. There is an exclusive tendency in the organization of religious activities, which unwittingly actually segregate among students based on religion. This segregation will complicate social integration among students of different religions. In fact, the concept of tolerance is largely understood in the context of this segregation. The impact, exclusivity and recognition of unilateral truth (truth claim) will be more felt in social interaction. In addition to exclusivity, students also lose the opportunity to have experience of encounters and collaboration with those who have different beliefs and religion. This phenomenon invites education actors to develop a model of school resilience against the phenomenon of radicalism.

Some development of resilience models of understanding a radicalism movement in school environment especially related to student organization and activity need to be developed. There are several models that can be raised as a new form of resistance against radicalism in the school environment. First, the development of an inclusive school model, similar to what is happening at SMA 3 Surakarta becomes important to be encouraged. Inclusivity will always be recommended to the demands of an open, harmony and appreciating every student and every faction behavior without considering their religious background, tribe, and political affiliation.

Second, development of a school model based on a harmonious and plural patron strength. The number of student at the school that are studied actually does not have an appropriate patron or idol on tolerance and values of nationality. They have difficulty to determine an idol. Even if it exists, non-artist idols, on average are figures who appear on mass media and social media, especially related to Islamic struggle in certain version. This aspect which is strategically cultivated, and with the introduction of moderate figures to the said students.

Third, development of a school model that emphasizes on nationality and patriotism. Even without being a military school, the development of nationality and patriotism values can be conveyed in simple practices of the students' lives. The utilization of organizational mechanism of the student organization can be

encouraged towards that direction.

Fourth, development of a school model which renders teachers and students to become the primary stronghold in anti-radicalism movement or understanding. The mechanism such as panopticon practices, where teachers and students are given an opportunity to state the truth about existing information, and said information is then followed up by a persuasive approach that is educative and enlightening the involved students.

The four-model described from the cases of the school that are the site of this research is at least encouraging the school, especially public schools which again becomes an important institution in character building of the student holistically, namely by combining between characteristic of nationality and characteristic of religion.

Thus, schools still have targets for the cultivation of national character which includes values of diversity, tolerance, anti-discrimination, nonviolence, and anti-radicalism. Schools should be able to prioritize the values of nationality as reinforced by various government policies. Translation of policies that promote religious values alone, especially in certain religions, should be avoided as much as possible. Especially religious values that lead to the idea of radicalism that is able to create four characteristics, as described above, for the students.

Finally, this research has succeeded in uncovering the phenomenon of understanding radicalism in the school environment on the one hand, and on the other hand it is able to reveal the process and achievement of the national values. The hope for the future is that through this research, there are efforts by the government and all parties to revitalize the policy of student organizations, thus limiting the development of radicalism in schools. This research can also be a positive initiator in determining the follow-up steps for all parties who try to make efforts to cultivate the values of nationality in the world of education for the life of the nation that is peaceful, prosperous, safe, and harmonious. Hopefully.



# Case Study 1:

## **Toward inclusive pesantrens: portraits of pesantren management in countering radicalism**

by Hadiansyah Yudistira

As the oldest Islamic educational institution in Java, pesantren has a strategic role in the process of socio-religious transformation in Indonesia. Pesantren has made a very important and crucial contribution as transmitter of Islamic teaching, regeneration and cadre of ulama, the maintenance of Islamic turats and traditions, even the expansion and development of Muslim societies of santri.<sup>257</sup>

At the beginning of its establishment, pesantren succeeded in instilling (internalizing) the values of simplicity, sincerity and independence --- as a distinctive stereotype --- especially in rural communities. Pesantren is also able to carry out its mission of dakwah well. In fact, they can also show their existence, not only as educational institution, but also playing the role of a ‘humanist’.<sup>258</sup>

In the journey, people at pesantren felt many bitter experiences. Various pressures, both in the form of labeling, monitoring, and donations in which the implied ‘interest’ is implied. It does not stop there, attacks from other Islamic

257 Azyumardi Azra, *Context of Theology in Indonesia: The Experience of Islam, Matter I* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), p. 184-185.

258 Bahtiar Efendi, “The Values of the Santri,” in M. Dawam Raharjo (ed), *The World of Pesantren Struggle*, First Printing, (Jakarta: P3M, 1985), p. 49.

groups are also often discredited. However, ---- to a certain degree --- this situation further strengthens the existence of this institution. The spiritual experience that relies on orthodoxy and orthopraxy in the pesantren environment seems to be a distinctive force for the development of a compliant, solid, and humanist santri society.

Right now, the pesantren challenges are far more difficult and complex. Globalization Era—with its positive and negative impact --- has change many things. The community's paradigm regarding the way of life has also shifted in its perspective regarding progress of pesantren in the millennial.

Pesantren is truly facing a dilemma, at one hand, facing the fierce attack by several concept developing in society, such as secularism, liberalism, pragmatism, individualism and hedonism are deeply entrenched in the flow of global capitalism.<sup>259</sup>

While on the other hand, emerging new phenomena are quite massive among Muslims. Experts call it the 'radicalism'.<sup>260</sup> This idea has grown quite significantly these days. Even they have strengthened since the outbreak of conflict in the Middle East (Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Syria and Palestine) and some areas in Asian countries (Afghanistan, China, Philippines and Myanmar). The peak is when the ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) movement emerged in Iraq on June 29th, 2014. Whether or not realized, this phenomenon has a strong influence. So to attract more Muslims in Indonesia and to make them to be inspired, the sow the seeds of conflict by discourse radicalism through the concept of structured and systematic 'Jihad'. Inevitably, the implication was that pesantren was accused of being a hotbed of terrorism and the spreaders of Islamic radicalism and fundamentalism.<sup>261</sup>

259 Pip Jones, Liz Bardbury, and Shaun Le Boutillier, *Introduction to Social Theories from Functionalize Theory to Post-Modernism*, Revised Edition (trans.), (Jakarta: The Torch Foundation, 2016), p. 249.

260 Zainudin Fananie, Atiqa Sabardila and Dwi Pumanto, *Religious Radicalism* (Asia Foundation, 2002), p. 1.

261 Endang Turmudzi and Riza Sihbudi (ed), *Islam and Radicalism in Indonesia*, (Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2005), p. 133.

Radicalism threat in the Homeland is no laughing matter. Slowly but surely, this concept is beginning to echo everywhere recently. Sharia, caliphate, jihad and “takfiri” enforcement issue is discussed, not only in the scope of discussion and lectures, it is more than that it is beginning to infiltrate the mass movement. If this condition is allowed, of course will endanger the livelihood of nationality and patriotism which is already relatively sufficient<sup>262</sup>

In the context above, pesantren inevitably have to ‘attend’, answer the various issues that arise. The task of pesantren is not easy. Assessment of liturgical texts (religious) should really be done comprehensively and holistically. So that does not appear reductive and distortive interpretation. Ideally, pesantren should be able to conduct inter-disciplinary studies (not just religious knowledge, but also other general sciences).

There are several models of pesantren development that have become the reference. First, Salafi Pesantren. Second, Khalafi Pesantren. Third, Quick Pesantren. Fourth, Integrated Pesantren.<sup>263</sup> The choice of this design is certainly reasonable. But certainly, whatever the model, in the changing social, economic and political situation, the integrity and inter-dependency of pesantren are really tested. Otherwise, pesantren will only be a subordination of power and become a tool of interest of a particular group. ‘Khittah’ pesantren should not be eroded by temporary pragmatism, in the form of giving a certificate/syahadah to the santri, regardless of the output produced. In the end, pesantren is no longer capable of producing an ‘enlightened’ generation (‘tafaqquh fi al-ddien’, karmic and broad-minded).

262 Herdi Sahrasad and Al-Chaidar, *Fundamentalism, Terrorism and Radicalism; Perspektis Atas Religion, Society and Country*, (Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2016).

263 Some experts divide the pesantren into four typologies: 1) Salafi pesantren, the pesantren that retains lessons with the classical books and without any general knowledge. The teaching model is also as commonly applied in salaf pesantren with the sorogan and wetonan/balagan method; 2) Pesantren Khalafi is a boarding school that implements classical teaching system (madrasa) provides general science and religious knowledge as well as providing skills education; 3) Short Pesantren is a kind of pesantren in the form of training in a relatively short time and is usually held during school holidays. This pesantren focuses on skills of worship and leadership. While students are composed of students who are deemed necessary to attend the religious activities of pesantren; 4) Integrated pesantren, ie pesantren which emphasizes on vocational or vocational education as work training center in the Ministry of Manpower with integrated program. While the majority of students come from school dropouts or job seekers. Ministry of Religious Affairs

Therefore, absolute change is made, starting from the management system, orientation, and scientific specialization (curriculum structure). Among the breakthroughs that need to get serious attention from stakeholders and policy holders, namely the need for the existence of pesantren in schools. In this era of digital revolution, students are easily access various information services, so they are very susceptible to exposure of religious ideologies which deviates, including radicalism in it. Theological doctrine - heavenly - offered, can be a deadly 'powder'. In the psychological condition of unstable students, the presence of pesantren in schools - with the guidance of the kyai/ustadz with broad and qualified insight - would be an alternative solution to counteract intolerant ideology rooted in radical ideology.

Admittedly, the management of pesantren in schools, seems not so popular. But in some private educational institutions, it has been many who seek in that direction. Concretely, they set up dormitories in the school environment, running an integrated pesantren system. This is clearly inversely proportional to the state of the schools in general. Government policies that have not program the management of pesantren in schools, seems to be a major obstacle. In the sense there is no legal-juridical-formal legality.<sup>264</sup> Not to mention, the old stigma of pesantren, which tends to be considered closed, traditional and rigid. Moreover, the lack of support of stakeholders and the community (parents of students), the more difficult the steps to realize the ideal ideals.

Indeed, the management of boarding schools in schools can be done in a gradual and multi-design. In other words, it can be adapted to the situation and condition of the school. First, schools build dormitory buildings for students independently, as do private schools with boarding school systems. Second, enter into work contracts between related institutions. For example, schools - in this case through the Ministry of Education and Culture - work together with the Ministry of Religious Affairs which institutionally handles the implementation of

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<sup>264</sup> Minister of National Education, Law No. 20 of 2003, on SISDIKNAS, (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2003), p. 5-6.

boarding school. Third, the school entrusts the students in the nearest pesantren, while continuing to monitor various student activities.

Fourth, holding a short pesantren or conducting religious studies, either routinely (daily, weekly or monthly), or incidentally (certain religious days), by bringing in some speakers whose scientific authority is undoubtedly.

Similarly, related to the problem of strategy, approaches and methods of learning at a pesantren. In principle this can be done more freely by way of adoption, adaptation and selection of some existing pesantren. It can also make new breakthrough through various innovations and elaboration. However, the point remains to synergize between the study of Islamic treasures (monotheism, jurisprudence, morality, commentary, hadith, linguistics, etc.), modernity (science and technology), and various local wisdom (traditions and cultures). Thus, it is expected to materialize a religious, tolerant and open minded (open minded) generation (students/students).

With its cultural dimension, pesantren not only has to cognate the cognitive, affective and conative needs of santri, but more than that it must be able to inculcate inclusive ideology - with a broader and more flexible religious perspective - as an intrinsic value in real life. At the same time awaken to the students, how important to live in harmony, willing to coexist and mutual respect with other groups in this very heterogeneous country. The teachings of 'tasamuh' in Islam, should not be degraded into narrow primordialism that leads to extreme right or leftist ideology. In summary, school boarding schools should be able to present a 'friendly face of Islam' but remain critical of issues and problems that arise both locally and globally.

In the working area of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the pioneering management of pesantren has actually been running and can be quite successful. This can be traced from the birth of an integrated education system that has been implemented in the Madrasah Aliyah Special Program (MAPK) initiated by the Minister of Religious Affairs (H. Munawwir Sadzali) through KMA No.57 dated on April 30th 1987, and established MAPK in five places:

No	Madrasah	Location
1	MAN Darussalam	Ciamis, West Jawa
2	MAN 1 Yogyakarta	DI Yogyakarta
3	MAN Ujung Pandang	Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi
4	MAN Kotabaru	Padang Panjang, West Sumatera
5	MAN Jember	Jember, East Java

In 1993 through KMA No. 371 dated 22 December 1993 the then Minister of Religious Affairs (Dr. H. Tarmizi Taher) changed MAPK to Madrasah Aliyah Keagamaan (MAK) to distinguish it from MA (Madrasah Aliyah). The structure of the MAK curriculum was dominated by Islamic studies in contrast to the MA curriculum structure that was dominated by general lessons. The name change was followed by changes in the curriculum structure based on KMA No. 374 on the MAK Curriculum dated 22 December 1993.

The development of subsequent government policies, in this case the Ministry of Religious Affairs looks clearer, with the issuance of Directorate General of Islamic Education Decree Number 1293 of 2016 About Technical Guidelines Implementation of Religious Programs in Madrasah Aliyah. All programs undertaken in Madrasahs, in particular, Religious Programs in the field of religious life are strived to create awareness, participation and responsibility of students as future leaders who have open minds, moderate, tolerant and insightful Indonesian<sup>265</sup>

Although still far from the ideal concept of school board management, but with a strong determination, on July 1st, 2010 MAN 3 Sukabumi (MAN Surade) founded Ulul Albab Pesantren, along with the opening of Islamic Studies Department (IAI) for the first time. The birth of this pesantren is based on the noble ideals of preparing a container for the development of religious education students/santri in the face of the stream of globalization which tends to erode the

<sup>265</sup> Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Religious Affairs Decree No. 1293 of 2016 on Technical Guidelines for the Implementation of Religious Programs in Madrasah Aliyah (Ministry of Religious Affairs, Jakarta, 2016), pp. 8-9.

values of morality and spirituality. This purpose is in line with what is written by Nurcholis Madjid.<sup>266</sup>

Equally important, with all its potential (Human Resources, Facilities and Infrastructures and Curriculum Structure), Ulul Albab MAN 3 Sukabumi (MAN Surade) Pesantren, seeks to ward off extreme and radical worries. This effort is done by inculcating the values of Islamic teachings to the students, who are concept-oriented: *tawassuth* (moderation), *tawazzun* (harmony), *tasyawwur* (*musyarawah*) and 'just (proportional in action and reaction).

Ulul Albab pesantren MAN 3 Sukabumi (MAN Surade) has done various strategic steps, so that the students/santri are not easily provoked with issues related to SARA, which can ignite the conflict. For example, by holding various routine and incidental activities, among others: *kulliyatul 'am* (general stadium), *Bahtsul Masa'il* (Case Study), *halaqah ilmiah* (panel discussion) as well as special guidance and consultation. The themes raised are: 1) The concept of Jihad in Islam; 2) Tolerance according to the teachings of Ahluss-Sunnah wal Jama'ah; 3) Islam and Local Wisdom; 4) The faces of Islam in Indonesia and 5) Islam Rahmatan Lil'alamin Religion. Ulul Albab MAN 3 Sukabumi (MAN Surade) is expected to become a strategic and synergistic institution both in the study of Islamic scholarship and other sciences, both theoretically and practically.

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266 According to Nurcholish Madjid, the purpose of santri coaching in boarding school is "to form a human being who has a high awareness that Islamic teachings are the value that is comprehensive. In addition, pesantren products are expected to have a high ability to respond to the challenges and demands of life in the context of space and time. Nurcholish Madjid, *Islamic Boarding Schools A Trip Portrait*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), p. 6.

## Case Study 2:

# Portrait of tolerance from Rohis, IPNU and IPPNU

by Koidah, teacher of SMAN 1 Plumbon, Cirebon

The reality of diversity in Cirebon is as undeniable as it has become part of Cirebon community culture. Currently, its condition has shifted from the seeming serenity to chaotic bombing incidents, such as the one at the Kapolresta Mosque in Cirebon a few years back, which was done by a perpetrator named Sharif. There were other bombing attempts, including one in the capital city Jakarta by a teenager from Wilayah Tiga, Cirebon.

To talk about the reality of diversity in Cirebon is to take about the role of education, be it formal or non-formal, religious or otherwise. As a teacher, I feel saddened a reality in which today's teenagers have such unsatiated hunger for religious values that they turn to social media for answers. Several factors can cause adolescents to get caught up by the idea of intolerance. The first is the economic pressure, which is very influential to the psychology of adolescents in viewing religion. Second, adolescence is in a phase of maturation of an individual in choosing his or her way of life, principles, hobbies, friendship (gangs ) and sometimes eccentric enough to self-question what religion to profess. Besides those differences in viewpoint, mindset, fashion and style, teenagers have the proclivities to feel uncertain, upset, anxious, depressed and a pile of other unwarranted worries that aggravate their low-level of confidence, immature thinking process, and precarious impressionability.



Other factors that also influence the occurrences of educational intolerance in Cirebon are regional policies and the lack of local government oversight of the curriculum and practices in the field. Supervision that should be done by the government through the Education Office, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the local government has not been optimal nor well-orchestrated. It does not seem sustainable or well-controlled, either.

Cirebon is a well-known port city and is home to many people who come from diverse cultural backgrounds and customs. Development and construction in the city continue to increase, as it happens today. Cirebon is not infrequently called as the city of a thousand malls. One just needs to look around at the amount of infrastructure being developed there, most of which are happening in shopping districts. It certainly brings both positive and negative impacts at the same time. The “unreadiness” of local human resources in the face of this development may be an issue.

All the niceties that come with development have shifted values, especially in the ways the young people look at things. As the embryo of a nation, the youth are vulnerable to new things. They tend to do more things that they consider fun than those that they view troublesome. The youth feel that they want to have freedom, that their opinions heard and executed, and that all the advice that they think inappropriate is a form that limits their development. They may even consider that their parents have castrated their freedom to grow more broadly. Everything that is presented instantly and easily makes young people lazy and reluctant to do something. Laziness is then legitimized with contemporary terms, such as being “left behind, not modern, old, or ancient.” Departing from such thinking, they build a superficial framework to think to see and judge something only from what is visible to the eye, which often leads to discrimination, intolerance, and even radical attitude.

These values, which are formed sub-consciously, become influential and “normal” because they have been daily things. The reality of this conceptualization is quite dangerous, let alone if seasoned with religious topics or pretexts. Religion,

belief, custom and culture are important for the community and they will always exist. Those terms are very sensitive in the society.

Many youths are trapped in radical ideology through external indoctrination under the pretext of obedience, an imminent end of the world, or exemption to go to heaven. Given the youth's thinking framework, some irresponsible people will be much facilitated to engage them through false religious doctrines into acts of discrimination and radicalism.

It was unfortunate to see an anomaly that was developing for some time in the community, especially in SMAN 1 Plumbon, that many people believe that it was of no use to educate children further beyond high school. Why linger in school? They thought that it would be much better if their children could immediately work as factory workers, rattan weavers, Indomaret and Alfamart employees, SPG, headset factories or anywhere else, as long as it earned them money. Of course, it is not easy to change that narrow view. But the efforts to reshuffle and dismantle such mindset have resulted in quite a positive response. The positive response has also been felt in schools.

It is not clear when Rohis in SMAN 1 Plumbon was first established because there is no valid data that can be used as a reference on the establishment of this religious extracurricular. In 2010, the Principal at the time, Drs. H. Rahman, appointed the writer as a religious teacher and as advisor of its Rohis. The assignment served as an extension of the Principal's hand to advise the students under Rohis. It is since 2010 that more people have been aware of the existence of Rohis in SMAN1 Plumbon.

At the start of the New Year's teachings in the academic year of 2010/2011, the author was visited by a Muslim from Institution X with a stack of curriculum regarding Islam; the curriculum contains the study of Caliphate, Khilafiyah, Islamic State and how to get along in Islam. Several times he insisted on assisting the school program through Rohis's extracurricular program and activities, i.e. by sending dhoif hadiths to the writer's personal e-mail, insisting that if the offer was not accepted, then they would report it to the Principal for not helping to

uphold Islamic values and banners, fully knowing that the author is the Islam religion teacher and Rohis advisor. Coercing even further, he tried to convince the author that, back in 2009, a similar Islamic study was successfully done at SMAN 1 Plumbon through the late Mr. Drs. H. Mustahdi.

Rohis as a spiritual extracurricular is a student organization in the middle school and high school level. It is unclear when it first existed and how it got established in Indonesia. The author's knowledge of its existence is limited to a collection of students who wished to develop religious knowledge as a sense of dissatisfaction of religious teachings at the school. However, in its development, Rohis is often used as a tool and vessel to transmit intolerance values in Cirebon.

Getting a mandate from the principal to escort students in Rohis's extracurricular was not an easy task to do. Moreover, with the environmental conditions in the school that tended to be passive, such as the absence of activities that could be done outside the school, and with students being deliberately not allowed to be active in the outside world. The situation ultimately drove the author as advisor of Rohis so that each student would develop maximum achievement outside school although the number of students following Rohis was minimum. On looking back, the low economic level of society, the low human resources in viewing the importance of educational institutions only as a qualified means for preparation for living, they were also causes for concern. Moreover, according to data from the counseling office (BK), alumni of SMAN 1 Plumbon are among the largest suppliers of textile workers, laborers, and rattan weavers to the factories existing in the school vicinity.

These factors were among others that influenced the author's impulse to make a breakthrough at the school. The advocacy strategy done by the writer to suppress the number of students discontinuing their education after high school graduation. One of the ways to achieve that was by lobbying IAIN Sheikh Nurjati Cirebon to receive SMAN 1 Plumbon graduates to take the available scholarship program.

Besides the factors mentioned above, the economic condition of the student's family at that time was also affected by the school's condition and environment, including the prevailing policies in the school. The author, in his journey, sought an advocacy strategy that could be used as an intervention tool against Rohis to cut the chain of movement of the doctrine values of intolerance, which deliberately developed in small, vulnerable groups of teenagers embedded in Rohis.

The reality of intolerant symptoms was more noticeable at the time, so the authors took the initiative to use advocacy strategies using networking institutions outside the school, to cut the webs and embryos of intolerance in education.

The problem is that intolerance in education continues to flourish, as policy makers do not provide maximum supervision and emphasis. Departing from these facts, the author convinced himself that if it was our dream to cut the chain of intolerance in education, then we would need a vessel as a tool to intervene students in a massive and structured way. Therefore, Rohis was chosen as a tool to provide intervention to students through extracurricular activities in SMAN 1 Plumbon. This strategy was considered by the author as the easiest way, because students of the X-XII class are still very vulnerable to be indoctrinated to the values of intolerance—not to mention the family condition of Rohis members, who were besotted by various family issues, e.g. very low economic background, low condition of human resources, low educational background, broken home, and low income (farm laborers; factory workers; security guards; orphans; scavengers; rattan weavers; drivers; menial workers who could not strengthen their children through education).

Eventually, the author decided to intervene Rohis as a vessel so it could be used to suppress the growing phenomenon of intolerance. The author selected several strategies involving other institutions outside of SMAN 1 Plumbon, such as Fahmina Institute with its SETAMAN and Ready programs; community organizations such as IPNU, IPPNU, PMII, PELITA (Youth Inter-Faith and Religion); Department of Religious Affairs of Cirebon District, and; Student Activity Unit (SME) IAIN Syekh Nurjati.

These networking options were used as advocacy strategies, involving Rohis students in activities inside and outside the school, with the aim of exploring critical, reflective and solution in approaching the social conflicts, as well as involving, directing and encouraging them in various activities undertaken by institutions outside of SMAN 1 Plumbon, with the aim that the creativity and potential in students could be explored outside.

Educational institutions so far are strategic places as a medium in spreading the value of tolerance and diversity. Because school is a place for teenagers to forge knowledge and insight. However, formal, informal and non-formal education institutions are also heavily loaded with the spread of intolerance. At least, through the educational institution, the value of tolerance and diversity in respecting diversity could be knitted with learning activities or extracurricular activities.

In facing the demands of the times and the rapid development, education is required to create qualified human beings. In this case, the expected results are created not only in terms of intellectual qualities, but also from the religious side. This is so because formal school education takes place only formally. This means that both activities, educational objectives, materials, and teaching materials, and delivery methods have been programmed clearly and explained in a series of official rules and guidance. All of it is for the purpose that education activity held by the school could proceed properly and well. Because, to bend the character building that had been done through a series of education which is very systematic, then it requires an intra activity supported by a critical and reflective youth thinking concept.

In order to intervene Rohis, the writer used a way to develop a commitment through knowledge debt to five generations below them, whose responsibility is given to individually. Rohis activity at that time was not far from the study of the yellow book Safinatunnajat, which is taught by the upperclassmen of class XII to class XI and class X. In addition, there was also the development of artistic creativity through Hadroh music by the name of Hadroh Babbul Jannah Group.

Other activities undertaken also relate to a contextual study of the verses of tolerance, diversity, freedom of creativity, and book review written by the father of Mujahiddin Nur entitled "The Boy Who Islamized Thousands of People." In this activity, Rohis of SMAN 1 Plumbon invited delegates from every member of Rohis and OSIS to the event. It also aimed to build relationship with members of all Rohis and OSIS SMA institutions throughout the City and Regency of Cirebon.

Rohis routines consist of activities to study the book, which is conducted on Tuesdays and Fridays, and to do creative works on Saturdays and Sundays. The strategy to suppress intolerance back then was by including students in competitions in Cirebon, such as in the Sapta competition, which is implemented by the Department of Religious Affairs of Cirebon Regency as the Day of Ministry of Religious Affairs. The competitions included Prayer Competition, Calligraphy Competition, Qori Contest, Hadroh Contest, Intelligent Quiz PAI, Speech, etc. Participation in these competitions resulted in a student achievement achieved in 2011 by Rohis of SMAN 1 Plumbon, who won 3rd place in Qori (Siti Nurjanah).

As with the case in SMAN 1 Plumbon since 2010, Rohis has been used as a forum to cultivate tolerance values applied both through activities and reading books. In 2012, Rohis held the establishment of IPNU-IPPNU Commissariat Committee (PK) as a breakthrough to deepen the values of tolerance, especially among adolescents, also spread the value of tolerance and diversity in strengthening diversity incorporated into scout extracurricular organizations, PMR, OSIS, etc.

The establishment of PK IPNU-IPPNU in SMAN 1 Plumbon is also an early breakthrough for civil society to enter the public-school area. This is evidenced by some activities that have been implemented such as seminars that cover understanding of leadership, diversity, radicalism, and national values. There was also a youth camp which focused on materials on tolerance of diversity, including an understanding to the concepts of pluralism, by bringing speakers from different backgrounds and different religions, such as Ahmadiyah, Christian and Jewish. It also contained ASWAJA-ish and NU-ish materials as well as those on leadership and new young voters.

One of the reasons why this was done was so that we could map the issues and the strength of tolerance and intolerance in adolescents who attended junior and senior high schools in Cirebon Regency. This was also a way for the author to understand the extent of understanding of school-age adolescents in Cirebon Regency about tolerance and intolerance, respect for differences and values of diversity that schools-level adolescents possess, and how much they loved Pancasila as the ideology of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Of course, this activity did not only target youth in schools level, but also involved teachers who had accompanied these school-level adolescents. The minimum target of this activity was involvement of the Extracurricular Advising and Training, the Class Guardian, the Civic Subject Teachers, the Religious Lessons and the Character Building, History Lesson and Bahasa Lessons. Ultimately, this activity targeted students at middle schools, high school, and universities (1st-3rd semester students).

Around September 2012, the authors decided to establish IPNU and IPPNU Commissariat Committees in SMAN 1 Plumbon, with the aim of providing intervention to students as members of Rohis and providing openness for members of Rohis to be more inclusive and open in establishing and networking with institutions out of school. Another reason to choose IPNU and IPPNU was because the author felt the same vision and mission in reducing intolerance in education. Structural and regeneration forms are clear, starting from the establishment of a commissariat endorsed by the Branch Manager (PC), then following the Members Loyalty Period (Makesta) which was held at NU Sumber Building, followed by the Young Cadre Training (Lakmud) Gedongan Pesantren and Training of Main Cadres (Lakut) from Cirebon Regency itself. However, there were only three delegations in 2016, conducted by the Provincial Board (PP) in Bandung. Finally, the IPNU and IPPNU Commissariat SMAN 1 Plumbon was the first Commissariat the Public School in Cirebon. That was a big break in the organization.

When the author formed IPNU-IPPNU, he actually had a conflict with some teachers. One of the teachers who did not support the establishment of IPNU-IPPNU even hit the table because he did not agree with what was done by the author as an effort to emphasize the spread of values of intolerance that developed in Cirebon. Luckily, the author won the full support from the principal at the time. The Principal summoned a meeting with the teachers to convince them that the author's intention was beneficial and positive.

"Please do not disturb the activities undertaken Mrs. Koidah, because she is developing student potential and it is well worth doing," stated H.B. With the support, the author was increasingly passionate and took the students to always go forward, open minded, and produce works. Since 2010, the author had been given a label as a secular teacher. The author's effort had been viewed as a something aimed to develop secular and radical values to Rohis children.

As one of the follow-ups of the caderization, the generation of peace of 2013 was the first generation. The author and parents managed to help six students enter the Islamic Aid and Philosophy (AFI). Five people entered Bidikmisi/BM and one person entered in Single Tuition 1 (UKT 1) by paying a tuition fee of Rp. 400,000 per semester. From the generation of 2013, two people obtained a Bachelor's degree: Nunung Nursa'adah and Intan Fitriyah, who graduated in October 2017. In 2014, we also managed to include 10 students. All of them entered the Bidikmisi with AFI majors. In 2015, 11 people managed to enter three institutions; eight people entered Bidikmisi and three people entered the UKT 1. The eleven students were Miranda A. F from MAN 2 Cirebon who went to PGRA (UKT 1) department; Eka from SMAN 1 Palimanan who went to PGRA (BM) majors; others were from SMAN 1 Plumbon. In 2016, we managed to include 10 students and all of them obtained the Bidikmisi scholarship: Ikha F from SMK Salafiyah Bode (to Department of KPI), Maharani S from SMAN 1 Palimanan (AFI), and the rest from SMAN 1 Plumbon.

In 2013, the activities with Fahmina Institute were more intense. SMAN 1 Plumbon held the so-called "Cirebon District's Peace-Loving School



(SETAMAN: Sekolah Cinta Perdamaian) program. It was run for three days under the theme of diversity, involving students from Rohis of SMAN 1 Plumbon and from other high schools in Cirebon District. SETAMAN was held in three areas of Cirebon (Majalengka, Kuningan and Indramayu).

SETAMAN then asked the Rohis students and Harry, an alumnus, to assist with its implementation in other locations. As facilitator, Harry invited 30 more people—including some Rohis members and a few other alumni). Besides this program, alumni of Rohis of SMAN 1 Plumbon were also actively involved in Ready (Respect and Dialogue) as young pioneers of peace in the tri-Cirebon, with two representatives of Rohis Alumni (Nunung Nursa'adah and Ikfal Al-Fazri).

PELITA (Pemuda Lintas Iman dan Agama/ Inter-Faith and Belief Youth), is also a youth organization which is the embryo of Fahmina Institute and Sabutan Forum which is under KH. Husein Muhammad, Father Supriyanto, Pastor Yohanes Muryadi, Pastor Sugeng Daryadi, Marzuki Wahid, Marzuki Rais, Setyo Hajar Dewantoro, and many others that wish to be unnamed one by one thus that institution is now an independent institution and is filled with creative, innovative, and smart teens.

In short, IPNU and IPPNU are the embryonic institutions of NU as one of the vessels used to develop adolescent creativity and serve as one of the embryo expansion strategy of diversity awareness for the children of Rohis alumni of SMAN 1 Plumbon. This is very effective because through networking, the goal to realize “peaceful campaigns” will be more easily achieved than otherwise.

The Author's hope in the future is for formal education institutions to support positive activities such as advocacy to what the author will do, so that teens will be more motivated. In addition, schools, teachers, parents, religious leaders, and community as well as government leaders are also expected to encourage these activities, which will enhance the values of nationhood. By so doing, ultimately, the future generations will share their experience and knowledge as a peace-loving generation that translate “ritual and individual piety” into “social piety.”

# **Case study 3:**

## **Tolerance in SMAN 1 Cirebon**

by Jajuli

People are individual as well as social creatures. As a social creature, certain people are asked to be able to interact with other individuals in order to fulfil their needs. In living socially in schools for example, an individual will be faced with other individuals and groups with different attitude, characteristics, customs, religions or beliefs.

In order to keep the wholeness and unity in the school environment, a respectful and appreciating behavior is needed, thus friction that could cause conflict could be averted. In the school environment they are also demanded to maintain the rights and responsibility of one another. This underpins the author's endeavor to always socialize the meaning and definition of tolerance in SMAN 1 Sumber, Cirebon Regency, West Java.

SMAN 1 Sumber is located at the center of the city of Cirebon Regency, at Jl. Sunan Maulana Malik Ibrahim no. 4, Cirebon Regency. In 2017 the school had 1.252 students from various background of languages, tribes, customs, religions and beliefs. In terms of religions and beliefs, 95% were Muslim. The rest were Hindus, Buddhists and Christians.

It is considered fitting for Muslims to uphold an attitude of mutual tolerance among religious believers in the school environment and mutual respect between the rights and obligations that have been established in the discipline of students

as a barrier and the limits and strengths in maintaining school order and discipline.

Freedom of activity, expression, worship, and religion in SMAN 1 Sumber in essence is the basis for the creation of harmony among students. Without freedom in activity, expression, worship and religion, it is impossible to realize harmony in the school environment. The thing that also needs to be kept in mind is that the freedom is the right of every human being. The right to worship God is given by God, and no one should forbid or prevent it.

Similarly, tolerance between religious communities is also maintained in SMAN 1 Sumber. Building a tolerant environment is the only way for religious freedom to be well protected because freedom and tolerance are simply unignorable. Unfortunately, the reality that often happens is emphasis of only one aspect. For example, freedom is mostly emphasized while aspects of tolerance and effort to build harmony are neglected. Similarly, only imposing one aspect such as tolerance, will eventually chain freedom. Therefore, to be able to compare the two, a correct understanding of religious freedom and tolerance among religious believers is important in daily life in schools.

Etymologically, tolerance comes from the Latin word “tolerare” which means to patiently let something. Terminologically, the definition covers a broad range of attitude or human behavior that does not deviate from the rules. One should respect every action that others do.

Tolerance is a term in social, cultural and religious context which means attitudes and actions that prohibit discrimination against groups that are different or unacceptable to the majority in society. An example is religious tolerance, in which the majority of people in society allow the existence of other religions.

### **Benefits of tolerance in everyday Life**

In accordance with the human character as a social being, there is only one good attitude that becomes a capital in order to create harmony, namely the attitude of tolerance. Indonesia is famous as a country endowed with many religions and tribes within it. Thus, teaching and practicing tolerance in schools

is very important. Harmony among believers has existed in Indonesia, one of the examples of which can be observed in several interesting places, such as in historical places and cultural heritage that have become proof of century-long tolerance. Then, just what are the benefits of tolerant attitude in daily life, say in school or in the society?

### ***1. Averting conflicts and student brawls***

Efforts SMA Negeri 1 Sumber in preventing the occurrence of fights and brawl of students, namely by activating extracurricular activities sports, art, culture and language. With the active and smooth activities, students can learn to respect each individual's opinion, and be able to assess the strengths and weaknesses of their peers, which in this case can be an important means of avoiding divisions within the school environment. In addition, which is also a religious characteristic in SMA Negeri 1 Sumber is the implementation of recitation every morning and memorize the 30th Al-Qur'an Juz for Muslim students, which then followed by an English dialogue and ended by singing the song Indonesia Raya. This is a reflection of religious tolerance which is a tangible form of respect and tolerance in the school environment. Why is that? Because non-Muslim students also participate in this activity voluntarily without any obligation from anyone. Therefore, it shows that the element of religion is one thing that is crucial in the eyes of the students and without the provision of adequate religious knowledge among students, does not rule out the possibility of becoming one factor of frequent fights and brawls among students.

### ***2. Cementing relationship among students***

In various religious celebrations, SMAN 1 Sumber always involves every student organization in school without considering the background of religion, race and culture, and never distinguish the background of Islamic organization they attend. This not only avert the students from urges to discord. This form of tolerant behavior is cultivated by SMAN Sumber also causes the relationship

among students to be closer. The availability of discussion activity among students to produce a decision is signs that the school can perform a tolerant life

### ***3. Strengthening faith***

Every school always teaches tolerance among religious people. In this case, faith is one of the milestones in creating a school of tolerance. Implementing faith in every action is also a sign that tolerance is successfully applied. SMAN 1 Sumber is no exception, daily religious activities are always coordinated with teachers of Islamic Religious Education (PAI), such as daily activities among them is telling students to praying Duha prayer, fasting sunnah every Monday and Thursday, and always carry out Dzuhur prayer and Ashr in jamaah at the school mosque that was driven by the students who joined in extracurricular ROHIS. The superior activities that may not be commonly done by other high schools from this extracurricular are the study and discussion of the contents of Quran through the yellow book, which is done on every Saturday at the school mosque conducted by an ustadz from salaf pesantren.

### ***4. Nurturing patriotism***

To cultivate a sense of patriotism, various activities carried out by students in SMAN 1 Sumber are having flag ceremonies every Monday, always commemorating National days with a variety of student creativity activities, and conducting activities of strengthening the character of various extracurricular by involving the Army, Police Force which involves all students without considering the background of customs, races, religions and their beliefs. All of these activities always adjust their organization with religious festivals that provide benefits in terms of tolerance in everyday life. Another benefit of the implementation of this series of activities is to increase the love to the homeland. As we know, the main foundation of a large and powerful state is the attitude of tolerance among ethnic groups, customs, races, religions and beliefs. In the same way that we do in school, in turn, nationalism will emerge after tolerance is applied in this life.

### ***5. Problem-solving through discussions***

SMAN 1 Sumber is familiar and no stranger to the word Discussion. However, in reality, there are still some problems that remain difficult to resolve even though it has been implemented by discussion. This is due to the lack of mutual respect and tolerance that sometimes triggers dissent. Therefore, it takes an attitude of tolerance in everyday life so that the termination of a problem can be done through consensus deliberation steps.

### ***6. Restraining selfish acts***

Lack of tolerance between humans can be caused by a sense of selfishness that is too high. It takes control of selfishness in every human being so that later there will be no conflict on behalf of private matter.

Those are some benefits of tolerance in everyday life that we can apply in school. To create a sense of comfort and tranquility, it takes mutual respect and appreciation for the opinions of others and not promote selfishness in deciding things. That's some information the author can give, in hopes of inspiring us all in our daily lives.

## Case Study 4:

# School, religion, and tolerance

by Armi Tubagus, PAI teacher, SMAN 1 Tomohon

*“The higher the level of understanding of one’s religion, the greater the sense of tolerance. True religion comes as an answer, enlightenment, and liberation over any doubts.”*

The peak of tolerance is calmness, peace, and freedom. That is our responsibility as human beings to carry out our duties as beings who are subservient to God. In a pluralistic society, diversity is a determination, and not a necessity. In that context, religion is to be understood and lived as a way to God by humanizing human beings born from various backgrounds, tribes, religions and races, for the sake of mutual benefit for each group. The role of religion is crucial in realizing the values that have been agreed upon when establishing the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, namely the pluralism based on God Almighty. Therefore, the existence of religion cannot be separated from the role of religious leaders as protector and guardians who serve as the guardians of the unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

On one occasion in a short lecture, Prof. Quraish Shihab explained clearly an example of tolerance in Islam during the formulation of the Hudaibiyah Covenant. At that time, the Prophet wrote “Bismillahi ar-Rahmani ar-Raheem.” However, the Mushrik did not approve of it. They demanded the sentence Bismillahi ar-

Rahmani ar-Rahim be changed into: Bismikallahumma. The Prophet instructed Ali ibn Abi Talib: "Remove basmalah and write a sentence bismikallahumma as they've wished."

After that, the Prophet drew up a covenant and declared: "This is the covenant between Muhammad Rasulullah and the representative of the polytheists of Mecca." The leader of the delegation of the polytheists then said, "If we were to recognize you as the apostle of God, we would not fight you." Makkahulislah "This agreement between Muhammmad son of Abdullah!" Finally, the Apostle complied, "By all means: remove the word "Prophet" and replace it with 'Muhammad the son of Abdullah.'"

Upon hearing that, Sayyidina Ali and his friends could not tolerate further. They adamantly removed it. However, the tolerant prophet insisted on the removal of the expression 'Messenger of Allah' for the sake of mutual benefit and peace. Reflecting from this story, the same thing happens when the founders of the nation formulated the concept of the State, until the agreement was met between the ideology of nationalism and the ideology of religion.

### **The roles of teachers and religious education**

Alex R. Rodger, author of *Education and Faith in an Open Society*, states that "Religious education is an integral part of education in general and serves to foster the understanding needed for people of different faiths, as well as to strengthen the orthodoxy of the faith for them." The author agrees with that view, which in practice is in tune with the implementation of the 2013 curriculum in almost all schools in Indonesia. The curriculum application has adequately accommodated various issues of tolerance and harmony although in some cases it still needs further development.

However, practicing a tolerant life in society is not without obstacles. It can be seen from the rapid development of social media and technology that has not been accompanied by the ability of society in general to digest and comprehend the problem in its entirety. It is little wonder then if false information or partial



publication interfere with tolerance in life itself.

The awareness of diversity that has become a decree for the life of the nation and state of Indonesia is ideally best implanted early in school environment. School is a “small” environment whereby critical power can be highlighted directly and proportionally to the wide-open opportunity to seek knowledge and wisdom. Schools are also a place to practice the values of tolerance not only through texts, but also through opportunities when right and wrong get an equal place in the presence of science with the supervision and guidance of teachers as parents in school.

The writer, who currently teaches at SMUN 1 Tomohon, feels that there is no problem if we live as a minority or a majority, as long as we always instill a sense that the Indonesian society is one, while still growing the attitude of respect, mutual respect, and belonging to each other. In addition, we must also live with the confidence that every belief is true according to the belief of each believer. That attitude is what the writer conveys as a teacher, so that the values of tolerance and diversity are maintained and preserved well. In this place, people from different religious groups love each other who are standing upon the same earth and breathing the same air. We all get the same opportunity because the authors and institutions believe that planting, caring for and maintaining tolerance is a common goal to achieve a nation's progress. The author believes that openness and self-confidence are the key to facing an increasingly global world. Islam and its interpretation may vary, but one thing is clear and certain is Islam is a religion that brings grace and prosperity to the entire universe.

Finally, it has become our common duty as humans to glorify other human beings as a form of our gratitude as creatures of God. Together we carry out our respective duties in every occasion. When the author is given the flexibility to manifest in the writer's position as a teacher, then it is the author's duty to reach together the ideals of the founders of the nation starting from the school environment.

Affirming to the need to embrace friendship in the diversity of origins, the author would like to quote a sentence from Sayyidina 'Ali bin Abu Talib: “He who is not your brother in faith, is a brother in humanity”

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: List of sampled schools

No	City	School
1	Kota Padang (West Sumatera)	SMA Negeri 1 Padang
		SMA Negeri 2 Padang
		SMA Negeri 9 Padang
		SMA Negeri 16 Padang
		MA Negeri 1 Padang
		MA Negeri 2 Padang
2	Cirebon Regency (West Java)	SMA Negeri 1 Sumber
		SMA Negeri 1 Plumbon
		SMA Negeri 1 Arjawinangun
		SMA Negeri 1 Jamblang
		MA Negeri 1 Cirebon
		MA Negeri 2 Cirebon
		SMA Negeri 1 Cirebon (our initiative)
		SMA Negeri 2 Cirebon (our initiative)
3	Cab. Sukabumi (Jawa Barat)	SMA Negeri 1 Sukaraja
		SMA Negeri 1 Cisaat
		SMA Negeri 1 Cikembar
		SMA Negeri 1 Jampang Kulon
		MA Negeri 1 Sukabumi (Cibadak)
		MA Negeri 3 Sukabumi (Surade)

4	Surakarta (Central Java)	SMA Negeri 1 Surakarta
		SMA Negeri 3 Surakarta
		SMA Negeri 5 Surakarta
		SMA Negeri 6 Surakarta
		MA Negeri 1 Surakarta
		MA Negeri 2 Surakarta
5	Denpasar (Bali)	SMA Negeri 2 Denpasar
		SMA Negeri 3 Denpasar
		SMA Negeri 4 Denpasar
		SMA Negeri 8 Denpasar
		MA Tawakkal
		MA Al-Ma'ruf
		SMA Negeri 7 Denpasar (our initiative)
6	Tomohon (North Sulawesi)	SMA Negeri 1 Tomohon
		SMA Negeri 2 Tomohon
		SMA Kosgoro
		SMA Kristen 1
		SMA Lentera Harapan
		MA Mardhatillah
		SMA St. Lokon (our initiative)

## Appendix 2: Interviews

### *List of informants in research locations*

#### *Padang (West Sumatera)*

Position	Institution	Date	Gender (Total)	
			Men	Women
Student Affair	MAN 2 Padang	2 October 2017	1	
Student Affair	SMAN 1 Padang	6 October 2017	1	
Head Deputy of Curriculum	MAN 1 Padang	13 October 2017		1
Student Affair				1
Former Rohis Chairperson 2016-2017	SMAN 1 Padang	6 October 2017	1	
Non- muslim student representation	SMAN 1 Padang	6 October 2017	2	
Non-muslim student representation	SMAN 1 Padang	6 October 2017		2

Tahfidz advisor, teacher non-civil servant	SMAN 1 Padang	6 October 2017		
Student Affair	SMAN 9 Padang	10 October 2017		1
PR				1
OSIS Chairperson			1	
PAI Teacher			1	
Defending the State Activist	MAN 2 Padang	3 October 2017	1	
OSIS Chairperson			1	
Rohis Chairperson			1	
Defending the State Activist	MAN 2 Padang	3 October 2017	1	
Student Affair	SMAN 2 Padang	11 October 2017	1	
PAI Teacher			1	
Rohis Chairperson	SMAN 2 Padang	11 October 2017	1	
OSIS Chairperson				1
MPK Chairperson				1
PR			1	
Principal	SMAN 16 Padang	12 October 2017	1	
Rohis			1	
Student Affair				1
Rohis Alumni	MAN 1 Padang	13 October 2017		1
OSIS and Rohis			1	
Catholic Bishopric Of Padang	Catholic Library	13 October 2017	1	
Catholic Public Guidance	Ministry of Religious Affair Regional Office	7 October 2017	1	
Ministry of Religious Affair Regional Office of Padang				
Lecturer of Political Study	IAIN Imam Bonjol	18 October 2017	1	
Sociology	IAIN Imam Bonjol	18 October 2017	1	
Christian Head of Public Guidence	Ministry of Religious Affair Regional Office	19 October 2017	1	
Lecturer of Anthropology Law at IAIN Imam Bonjol	IAIN Imam Bonjol	21 October 2017	1	

*Cirebon Regency*

Position	Institution	Date	Gender (Total)	
			Boys	Women
Principal	MAN 2 Ciwaringin	3 October 2017	1	
Student Affair			1	
OSIS Advisor			1	
Line Troops Advisor			1	
PKS advisor			1	
MBD Student			1	4
OSIS Student			1	
School Committee		4 October 2017	1	
Supervisory Council		3 October 2017	1	
Alumni (Iman)			2	
Principal	MAN Plered		1	
Student Affair			1	
OSIS Advisor			1	
Tahfidz Advisor		5 October 2017	1	
Wahdaniyah			1	
(Rohis) Advisor				
OSIS Student			1	
Wahdaniyah Student			1	
Rohis Alumni/Instructor		14 October 2017	1	
Principal	SMAN 1 Sumber	4 October 2017	1	
Student Affair			1	
OSIS Advisor			1	
Rohis Instructor			1	
Rohis Advisor		7 October 2017	1	
Osis Student			1	
Rohis Student		14 October 2017	1	3
School Committee			1	
Principal	SMAN 1 Plumbon	13 October 2017	1	
Student Affair		12 October 2017	1	
Osis Advisor			1	
Former Rohis Advisor		9 October 2017	1	
Rohis Advisor		12 October 2017	1	
Osis Student		12 October 2017	2	2
Rohis Student		12 October 2017	2	
Rohis Alumni				1
Teacher			1	

Principal	SMAN 1 Arjowinangun	9 October 2017	1	
Student Affair		11 October 2017	1	
Osis Advisor			1	
Rohis Advisor			1	
Osis Student		13 October 2017	1	
Rohis Student			1	
Teacher			1	
Student Affair	SMAN 1 Jamblang	11 October 2017	1	
Osis Advisor			1	
Line Troop Advisor			1	
Rohis Advisor		6 October 2017		1
Rohis Student			1	
Osis Student			1	
PPKN Teacher		11 October 2017		1
School Committee			1	
Rohis Ikhwan Advisor	SMAN 1 Cirebon	19 October 2017	1	
Rohis Akhwat Advisor		19 October 2017		1
Teacher		18 October 2017	1	
Principal	SMAN 2 Cirebon	18 October 2017	1	
Osis Advisor			1	
Teacher				1
Head	Ministry of Religious Affair Cirebon Regency	19 October 2017	1	
Member	Supervisory Council Education of Cirebon	19 October 2017	1	
Head of Madrasah	Municipal Ministry of Religious Affair Cirebon	19 October 2017		1
Manager	NU Cirebon	19 October 2017	1	
Former Chairperson	GP Ansor-Densus 99	14 October 2017	1	
Radicalism Activist and Observer	PB NU-Fahmina	19 October 2017	1	
Terrorist Pesantren Researcher	Fahmina/UGM	2 October 2017	1	
Researcher and former member of JAT	Fahmina/UIN Jakarta/ JAT	2 October 2017	1	
Terrorist Pesantren Researcher	UNU Jakarta	20 October 2017	1	
Member	Intra-Faith Youth	2 October 2017	1	
Coordinator	Staman-Fahmina	2 October 2017	1	



***Sukabumi Regency***

Position	Institution	Date	Gender (Total)	
			Men	Women
Madrasah Education Section Head	Ministry of Religious Affair	4 October 2017	1	
BPPW III Service	Education National Division	12 October 2017	1	
Member/Mentor	FKUB & Lensa	22 October 2017	1	
General Chairperson	Fomaksi	10 October 2017	1	
Regional Chairperson 2	Foksi		1	
Member	Fopulis		1	
Principal	SMAN 1 Sukaraja	4 October 2017	1	
Curriculum Head Deputy & Student Council		2 October 2017	1	
Student Council				
Student Affair		3 October 2017		1
Teacher & Advisor of RMA		2 October 2017		1
(School Mosque Youth)		4 October 2017		
Chairperson OSIS			1	
Chairperson RMA				1
MPK				1
Administrator OSIS (KIR)				1
Chairperson Committee		12 October 2017	1	
Principal	MAN 1 Sukabumi (Cibadak)	5 October 2017	1	
Student Affair			1	
Head Librarian		6 October 2017	1	
General Chairperson OSIS			1	
Chairperson Kharisma			1	
Chairperson I		6 October 2017		1
Chairperson II				1
MPK			1	
Hijab Student				1
Student Affair				1
Student affair staff/	SMAN 1 Cisaat	9 October 2017	1	
Advisor Osis				
Principal		12 October 2017		1
Chairperson OSIS				1
Chairperson RMAI (Rohis)		10 October 2017	1	
Chairperson I			1	
MPK			1	
non-muslim student		12 October 2017	1	

Principal	SMAN 1 Cikembar	13 October 2017	1	
Student Affair			1	
Chairperson OSIS			1	
Division coordinator			1	
Chairperson MPK			1	
Vice MPK				1
Chairperson Forma (Rohis)		11 October 2017	1	
Physics Teacher			1	
Christian Student				1
Christian Student				1
Christian Student			1	
Muslim Student				1
Committee		13 October 2017	1	
Student Affair	SMAN 1 Jampang Kulon	16 October 2017	1	
Osis advisor		17 October 2017	1	
Guidance and Counseling team				1
Kasubag TU		17 October 2017	1	
Committee/Tomas Jampang Kulon			1	
Chairperson OSIS			1	
Chairperson MPK		16 October 2017	1	
Chairperson DPK			1	
Rohis Representative				1
Chairperson Rohis				1
Catholic student		18 October 2017	1	
Principal	MAN 3 Sukabumi (Surade)	20 October 2017	1	
Student affair		19 October 2017	1	
Pesantren & religious student affair		19 October 2017	1	
MPK & OSIS administrator		19 October 2017	12	28
School Chairperson committee/ founder		20 October 2017	1	
School Committee			1	
Student in hijab				1
Student in hijab				1
Student who area active in QUC			1	
Student who area active in QUC		20 October 2017		1
Student wearing a veil				1
Pesantren Person in charge & manager of dormitories			1	

Surakarta

Position	Institution	Date	Gender (Total)	
			Men	Women
Student Affair	SMAN 3 Surakarta	17 October 2017	1	
Rokris			1	
Rohis Advisor			1	
Arabic Student				1
Principal			1	
Rokris Advisor			1	
Girl Rohis				1
OSIS			1	
		18 October 2017		1
Rokris				1
MPK			1	
Rohis			1	
Chinesen Student				1
OSIS	SMAN 1 Surakarta	5 October 2017	1	
Rohis advisor /		7 October 2017	1	
PAI Teacher				
Rokat				1
Principal		5 October 2017		1
Girl Rohis		7 October 2017		1
MMPK		5 October 2017	1	
Rokris		7 October 2017		1
Committee			1	
Student Affair		4 October 2017	1	
Boys Rohis		7 October 2017	1	
Rokris Advisor/		7 October 2017	1	
PA Christian Teacher				
Principal	SMAN 6 Surakarta	20 October 2017	1	
Student Affair		11 October 2017	1	
PAI Teacher		13 October 2017		1
Rokat Advisor/				1
PA Catholic Teacher				
MPK		14 October 2017		1
Rokris Advisor/		13 October 2017		1
PA Christian Teacher				
OSIS		14 October 2017	1	
Boys Rohis			1	
Girls Rohis		20 October 2017		1
Rokris				1
Rokat		13 October 2017		1

Rokat	SMAN 5 Surakarta	3 October 2017		1
Rokris				1
Rohis			1	
			1	
Rohis Advisor/ PAI Teacher		October 21st 2017	1	
Student Affair		3 October 2017		1
OSIS		3 October 2017		1
Principal		October 21st 2017	1	
Rokat Advisor				1
Rokris Advisor			1	
Boys Rohis				
Student Organization of Religious Program (OPPK)	MAN 1 Surakarta	19 October 2017	1	
Student Organization		18 October 2017		1
Boarding School (OPBS)				
OPPK Advisor and OPBS			1	
OSIS Advisor			1	
Girls Rohis				1
OSIS		29 October 2017	1	
Student Affair			1	
Principal, Pjs	MAN 2 Surakarta	12 October 2017	1	
MAN 1 Solo		6 October 2017		
Student Affair			1	
Civic teacher/ Scout advisor		12 October 2017		1
Fikih teacher				
Student Council			1	
Boys Rohis			1	
Boarding School Student		8 October 2017		1
OSIS		6 October 2017	1	
Boys Rohis (Period 2016/2017)		9 October 2017	1	
Student (Wearing A veil)		8 October 2017		1
Regular Student		9 October 2017		1

Denpasar

Position	Institution	Date	Gender (Total)	
			Men	Women
PAI Supervisor SD-SMA Of Denpasar	Ministry of Religious Affair	20 October 2017	1	
Madrasah Supervisor Of Denpasar	Ministry of Religious Affair			1
School supervisor of Denpasar	Education National Division	20 October 2017	1	
Chairperson	PW Muhammadiyah Bali			
	PW Nahdatul Ulama Bali	17 October 2017	1	
	MUI of Denpasar		1	
	Diversity Activist,	18 October 2017	1	
	Owner of Fair Trade			
	Female Activist	20 October 2017		1
Head of Madrasah	MA Tawakal	19 October 2017	1	
Student Affair				1
Osis Chairperson			1	
Spiritual Division				1
non-OSIS student				1
Student parents				1
Head of madrasah al-Ma'ruf	MA Al-Ma'ruf	3 October 2017	1	
Osis Advisor			1	
Chairperson osis				1
non-osis Student				1
Student Parents				1
Principal	SMAN 3 Denpasar	8 October 2017	1	
Student Affair			1	
osis Chairperson			1	
non-osis Student			1	
Muslim student			1	
Committee Chairperson		19 October 2017	1	
Student Affair	SMAN 4 Denpasar	11 October 2017	1	
osis Chairperson				1
non-osis Siswa			1	
Krisma, muslim student				1
Committee Chairperson		19 October 2017	1	

Principal of SMAN 8 Dps	SMAN 8 Denpasar	17 October 2017	1	
Student Affair			1	
osis Chairperson			1	
Devotion Division			1	
Chairperson MPK,				1
Muslim student				
Principal			1	
Student affair				1
Committee vice chairperson	SMAN 2 Denpasar	12 October 2017	1	
osis Chairperson			1	
Osis Vice chairperson				1
Devotion Division				1
MPK Chairperson				1
Rismanda, muslim student				1
Islam education Teacher		18 October 2017	1	
Islam education Teacher	SMAN 7 Denpasar	20 October 2017	1	

## Tomohon

Position	Institution	Date	Gender (Total)	
			Men	Women
Principal	SMAN 1 Tomohon	11 October 2017		1
Student Affair		11 October 2017		1
OSIS		11 October 2017	2	3
Non- OSIS		11 October 2017		2
Catholic Education Techer		11 October 2017		1
Islam Education Teacher		7 October 2017		1
Catholic Student		11 October 2017	1	1
Muslim Student		11 October 2017		2
School Committee		7 October 2017	1	
Parents		15 October 2017	1	
Principal	SMAN 2 Tomohon	16 October 2017	1	
PR (Catholic Teacher)		16 October 2017		1
Student Affair		16 October 2017	1	
OSIS		18 October 2017	2	1
non-OSIS Catholic Student		18 October 2017		2
Teacher/Homeroom		18 October 2017		1

Principal	Kosgoro Highschool	6 October 2017	1	
Student Affair		5 October 2017		1
School Committee		6 October 2017	1	
OSIS		5 October 2017	1	
No-OSIS		5 October 2017		1
Muslim student (Non-OSIS)		5 October 2017		1
Islam Education Teacher		6 October 2017		1
Principal	SMA Kristen 1	10 October 2017	1	
Student Affair		6 October 2017	1	
OSIS		6 October 2017		1
Non-OSIS (advent)		6 October 2017	1	
Muslim Student		6 October 2017	1	
School Committee		12 October 2017	1	
Principal	MA Mardhatillah	3 October 2017	1	
House Dean		13 October 2017		1
Student Affair		13 October 2017	1	
Foundation (School Committee)		10 October 2017	1	
OSIS (Santri Council)		3 October 2017		1
Non-OSIS		3 October 2017		1
Principal	Lentera Harapan Highschool	13 October 2017		1
Student Affair		12 October 2017	1	
School Committee		13 October 2017		1
OSIS		12 October 2017	1	1
non-OSIS student (Catholic)		12 October 2017		1
Foundation Operational Director	St. Lokon Highschool	17 October 2017	1	
Foundation Financial Director		17 October 2017	1	
House Dean		17 October 2017	1	
Student Affair		17 October 2017	1	
OSIS		17 October 2017	1	1
Non-OSIS (Hindu, Buddhist, Konghucu, Christian)		17 October 2017	2	2
Principal		17 October 2017	1	
Pastor/General Chairperson Perutz	GMIM	7 October 2017		1
Activist	Mawale Movement	8 October 2017	1	
Chairperson	FKUB Tomohon	6 October 2017	1	
Madrasah Supervisor	Ministry of Religious Affair	9 October 2017	1	

Head	Education National Division	20 October 2017		1
Secretary		20 October 2017	1	
PSMA Division Head		20 October 2017	1	
Chairperson	MUI	15 October 2017	1	
Lecturer	Christian University Indonesia Tomohon	7 October 2017		
Chairperson	Mujahidin Foundation	14 October 2017	1	



## Appendix 3: Institutional Profiles

### The MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity

The MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity's statute of establishment (2002) states the institute's basic commitment as a cultural movement in the context of Islamic, humanitarian and Indonesian-ness. These three areas are central and important in the course of intellectualism and activism of Prof. Dr. Ahmad Syafii Maarif--former Chairperson of PP Muhammadiyah and former President of the World Conference on Religion for Peace (WCRP).

The existence of the MAARIF Institute is an inseparable part within the existing network of Islamic Thought Reform (PPI) movement in Indonesia today. The movement for renewal is a necessity as well as the demand of history. The complexities of modern humanitarian problems and contemporary issues that ensue, such as the issues of democracy, human rights, pluralism, gender, inter-religious dialogue and civilization and a host of other issues, do require new insights and explanations of the teachings of Islam.

It is also realized that the MAARIF Institute's programs and activities cannot be separated from the sociological needs of the Muhammadiyah association although there is no structural relationship with this organization and without reducing the commitment to continue expanding the institutional radius of the institution. Muhammadiyah, according to many circles, is often regarded as a representation of the modernist-moderate movement in Indonesia actively promoting Islamic thoughts, preaching and social action. Therefore, fighting for the current renewal of Islamic thoughts within the Muhammadiyah movement is a major concern of the MAARIF Institute as part of the preventive efforts while strengthening the moderating elements in Indonesia.

### **Center for the Study of Islam and Society of UIN (Islamic State University) of Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta**

Center for the Study of Islam and Society (CENSIS or PPIM) is an autonomous research institute within the Islamic State University (UIN) of Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. Founded on 1 April 1995, it aims to invite a number of scholars from various disciplines and backgrounds to conduct some research activities, assessment, training, and dissemination of information especially about Islam in Indonesia and Islam in Southeast Asia in general. PPIM is currently a university-based strategic research institute in Indonesia with experience in religious studies and social issues with extensive publications and networks, both at home and abroad.

The birth of PPIM and the spirit it carries is a response to the academic discourse which, to the decade of the late 1980s and early 1990s, still regard Islam in Indonesia as a “periphery” issue. Indonesian and Southeast Asian Islam is less glaring because it is not considered an important part or even apart from the mainstream Islam as it developed in Arabia, North Africa, Iran and even sub-continent countries. The syncretic Southeast Asian Islam, as suggested by Clifford Geertz, is considered “not the real Islam.” This was also exacerbated by the incomprehension of some of the international community at that time about Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia due to various factors. For example, first, the lack of in-depth research on the diversity of Islam in Indonesia by Indonesian Muslim scholars themselves is certainly more understanding about Islam in its territory. Secondly, many studies may have been done, but the results are not widely publicized and are less communicated to the world.

In fact, as Anthony Reid discloses, Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia is very interesting to study from any point of view. The large Muslim population of Southeast Asia has become one of the Islamic forces in the region. Geographically, Indonesia and Southeast Asia, based on islands

with fertile soils, have also influenced the community's religious style. The tendency of agrarian societies to prioritize the solidarity of social groups causes them to be more tolerant or open to differences. It caused Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia to be better prepared to deal with the new cultural, ethnic, religious, and new ideas. The development of Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia with its own distinctive features and phases of development has indeed attracted the attention of many scholars. The rise of Islam in this region is marked by the splendor of religious practices and the proliferation of the writings of indigenous Islamic scholars on the re-actualization and transformation of religion into social, political and economic life, coupled with the strengthening of democracy, gender, human rights and the idea of Islam and civil society, describes the dynamically developing Islamic discourse.

Later, especially after the tragedy of September 11, Islamic discourse in Indonesia also changed drastically. Terror events, including the 2002 Bali Bombing, helped bring Islam in Indonesia into the vortex of Islamic discourse and global terrorism. As the tendency of conservatism and religious radicalism strengthens, Muslim society in Indonesia is faced with the complicated issue of religion and its role in the public sphere. Therefore, it is an urgent need to develop an institution capable of conducting intensive research and study on the phenomena and dynamics of Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. For that reason, the Center exists.

Now, in its twentieth, PPIM focuses on strategic studies on religious life and education to influence the policy and change of society in Indonesia. In addition, it remains committed to developing and disseminating the richness of Indonesian Islamic traditions at various levels to enrich the values of life and humanity in a broader context.

## UNDP

UNDP works with all levels of society to help realize a nation that can

survive in difficult times and encourage and continue its growth to improve the quality of life of the community. UNDP is present in 177 countries and regions in the world, providing a global and local perspective to empower people and build a resilient nation.

