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# **RADICALISM AND HOMESCHOOLING:** MEASURING RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY



**CONVEY Indonesia**  
**PPIM UIN Jakarta - UNDP Indonesia**



# RADICALISM AND HOMESCHOOLING: MEASURING RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY



**CONVEY REPORT**

Radicalism and Homeschooling: Measuring Resilience and Vulnerability  
Vol. 3 No. 1 Year 2020

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This CONVEY REPORT was written to provide a comprehensive knowledge about the findings of some researches concerning the topic of ‘Measuring the Resilience and Vulnerability of Homeschooling (HS) against Radicalism in Indonesia’. This research was considered a part of the program so-called Countering Violent Extremism for Youth (CONVEY), which was implemented in Indonesia by PPIM UIN Jakarta in collaboration with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Indonesia. This research was conducted by the PPIM UIN Jakarta in six Indonesian provinces, including DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, East Java, West Sumatra, and South Sulawesi.

The focus of this research was to analyze the potency of HS for being used as the ‘fertile land’ to the development of violent extremism, as well as the tool to inhibit the spread of violent extremism. This research was conducted right in the time when kids are being more involved in the action of suicide bombing committed in several regions of Indonesia. HS, in this context, is frequently utilized by particular syndicates to infuse the values and ideas of intolerance, hate speech, and radicalism which lead to violentt extremism.

On behalf of the research team, we are delighted to deliver our sincerest gratitude to the Project Management Unit of PPIM UIN Jakarta and UNDP Indonesia who has facilitated and supported this research. Our biggest appreciation goes to the Advisor of PPIM, Prof. Jamhari Makruf; the Executive Director of PPIM, Dr. Ismatu Ropi; and the senior researchers of PPIM, Dr. Didin Syafruddin, Dr. Fuad Jabali and Dr. Arief Subhan who had been providing supervisions to the processes of this research, from the establishment of the research instrument, data compiling, report writing to the dissemination of the results. We would also like to convey the deepest appreciation to Dr. Arief Subhan as the editor who carefully edited this research and willingly provided inputs for this CONVEY REPORT. Lastly, a deep appreciation goes to all of the researchers, assistants, supporting staffs and colleagues who willingly devoted their time and thought during the six months of research execution. Without the hard work from all of those parties, this CONVEY REPORT would never possibly be created.

Ciputat, 20 January 2020

**Writers**

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Intolerance and radicalism occurred in the world of education are now considered to be the specific problems in Indonesia. A national survey conducted by PPIM UIN Jakarta in 2017 and 2018 showed that intolerance and radicalism are growing in most of the Indonesian schools and colleges, influencing both the students and the teachers. Considering the trajectory of the case of violent extremism and terrorism that occur in Indonesia, the infusion and dissemination of 'narrow-minded' religious values are mostly held in families. This statement applies especially to the families which are disappointed by the prevailing systems due to their perceptions of 'inequity', which leads them to the feeling of being marginalized economically and politically, as well as their interpretations of anti-mainstream religious values.

Inspired by the bombing occurred in Surabaya, which was perpetrated by a family whose children were educated through the homeschooling method, this research tried to find whether the existence, the practice and the policies of homeschooling in the six provinces of Indonesia could strengthen the people or generate a vulnerability toward the concept of radicalism and violence extremism instead. Is it true that homeschooling could be the center of radicalism development? To what extent does the homeschooling abide the national curriculum and be able to grow the value of nationalism or to prevent the value of intolerance, radicalism and violent extremism? What are the problems and challenges faced by the homeschooling method in giving a contribution to the development of tolerance and the prevention of violent extremism?

Permendikbud (Minister of Education and Culture Regulation) 129 of 2014 is the only rule or the legal basis applied in Indonesia which concerns the implementation of homeschooling in the country. The definition of homeschooling in this research was under the Permendikbud no. 129 of 2014 mentioning that homeschooling is "an education service performed in-home by parents/families, or in any place with a singular, plural or community form, where the learning process can be conducted in a conducive atmosphere so that the unique potency within the students might be optimally developed." This research assumed that homeschooling has the potency to generate what was mentioned by Della Porta as a "spiral of encapsulations" which means a self-exile condition that can be worsened by the time, keeping the children away from the common values of citizenship.

The purpose of this study was to measure the resilience and vulnerability of the homeschooling method toward radicalism. The indicator employed by this research was the radicalism in the context of education, which would be in the form of (1) the rejection to any form of ideology applied in the NKRI (The Republic of Indonesia); (2) the intolerance toward diversity; (3) the rejection to gain interaction with different communities; and (4) the support to any form of violence. The benchmark of vulnerability toward radicalism would be: (1) the unwillingness to apply national curriculum (as required by Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014); (2) the unwillingness to hold the ceremony for the 'red and white' flag; (3) the unwillingness to introduce national symbols; and (4) the unwillingness to open oneself to other ethnics or religions. Meanwhile,

the benchmark of resistance included: (1) the willingness to teach Religion, Pancasila, Citizenship and Indonesian Language (in compliance with Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014); (2) the willingness to apply national curriculum; (3) the willingness to recognize and accept other ethnics and religions.

As many as 53 homeschooling services were involved in this research, and they were provided in six different provinces located in Indonesia, including (1) DKI Jakarta and the surrounding cities (Depok and South Tangerang), (2) West Java; (3) Central Java; (4) East Java; (5) South Sulawesi; and (6) West Sumatra. 21 homeschooling services out of the 53 were based on singular families, while 12 out of 53 were based on plural families and the remaining 20 were based on community. This research included 129 informants consisting of homeschooling practitioners and local education authorities. Around 85 out of those 129 were females and the remaining 44 were males.

This research revealed several findings. **First**, Indonesian Education Authorities at the city level was only authorized to guide and supervise the homeschooling performed in the form of learning centers (community-based HS) because it was categorized into a non-formal education. Meanwhile, the Education Authorities found it difficult to guide/supervise the singular (performed by a family) and plural (performed by a group of families) homeschooling because those kinds of informal education were considered to be beyond government's control.

**Second**, decentralization obstructed the Ministry of Education and Culture when they tried to supervise and evaluate the existence of families being deemed as the practitioners of homeschooling because the authority to perform the supervision and evaluation was already delegated to the Local Education Authorities. In regards to the practice, the Education Authorities of the cities in Indonesia did not possess an accurate database on the number of singular and plural homeschooling performed in their regions. They only had the data of the Community Learning Centers (PKBM) which were usually protecting the homeschooling communities.

**Third**, homeschooling (HS) had been developed and it had several variants. The results of this research indicated that HS could be categorized into two main typologies. The first would be the secular HS. For the concept, this kind of HS comprises some practitioners who bore non-religious objectives such as considering the interests, talents, and needs within the students while performing the HS method. The second would be the religion-based HS, containing the homeschooling practitioners who take the religion aspect as the main reason to choose a particular learning method and to formulate a specific learning content. This religion-based HS could be divided into Christian-based and Islam-based homeschoolings. Furthermore, the Islam-based HS was divided into the Inclusive Salafi HS and Exclusive Salafi HS. In this context, the definition of Salafi would be: (1) a kind of educational practice which is taught in the period of as-salaf al-shalih; (2) an Islamic education which uses the literature of Salafi as the reference; and (3) a kind of education which takes 'tahfidz al Qur-an' as the main learning content.

**Fourth**, there were several differences between the Inclusive Salafi HS and Exclusive Salafi HS, which include: (1) Inclusive Salafi HS, which introduces the diversity of Indonesia while the

Exclusive Salafi HS is focused on their groups; (2) Inclusive Salafi HS is always open to interact with other people of different religions while the Exclusive Salafi HS does not interact with other people of different religions other than Islam; (3) Inclusive Salafi HS applies the national curriculum (including the learning subjects such as Pancasila, Citizenship and Indonesian Language) while the Exclusive Salafi HS applies their curriculum and the national one is being taught only in a particular moment for equivalency exam; (4) Inclusive Salafi HS refuses to extend greetings to the believers of other religions for the Holy days but would accept if one of their members is willing to do so. Meanwhile, Exclusive Salafi HS refuses to extend wishes to the believers of other religions during major religious Holy Days, and absolutely rejects it.

**Fifth**, based on the benchmarks of vulnerability and resistance toward radicalism, this research found that: (1) the students of secular HS and Inclusive Islamic HS, whether the homeschooling was in the form of plural and community-based, tend to be resistant against the exposure of radical religious ideology; (2) the students of singular Exclusive Salafi HS tend to be vulnerable to radicalism because they experience the ‘spiral of encapsulation’.

## RECOMMENDATION

In an effort to prevent intolerance and radicalism, the government and the public should build strong cooperation. Through this research, we wish that Indonesian policymakers formulate a precise and relevant policy to improve the quality of homeschooling and to infuse the values of citizenship and the importance of respecting diversity and differences. This research has several suggestions for the government, policymakers, the associations of homeschooling practitioners and the entire Indonesia society:

### The Ministry of Education and Culture

1. Create a technical guide and an implementation instruction to the Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014 which particularly contains the main duties and functions of the concerning authorities on the coaching and monitoring for homeschooling in the city level.
2. Build a specific agency within the Education Authorities, both the national and the city level, which possesses the mandate in monitoring and evaluating every single education implemented by the HS communities (including their licenses, curriculums, teachers, facilities and environments).
3. Simplify the mechanism of singular and plural HS registration by providing ‘one-single online submission’ which should be created by the Local Education Authorities, so that the government is able to possess a comprehensive database.
4. Formulate the warranty system for the quality of UNPK (National Equivalency Education Exam) implementation and evaluate the quality of UNPK implementation continuously.
5. Build cooperation with the Local Education Authorities in order to promote education as the medium to moderate the religious values by developing the curriculum and the training for homeschooling teachers.



6. Provide some facilities for the HS students so that they could be socialized and acquainted, or gaining interaction with any other group of different backgrounds. That way, this ministry would be able to spread the value of tolerance and citizenship.

### **Ministry of Internal Affairs**

1. Build cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Culture to socialize the district heads of the cities in Indonesia about the coaching and monitoring of the practitioners of homeschooling which should be implemented by the Local Education Authorities.
2. Build cooperation with Indonesian district heads, DPRD (Regional House of Representatives), religious leaders and public figures in arranging local regulations and creating a conducive environment for the practitioners of homeschooling so that they would be willing to uphold their national identity, to respect the diversity and differences and to gain social interaction inclusively.

### **Association of Homeschooling Practitioners**

1. Promote the citizenship values which respect diversity and differences of ethical backgrounds, religions and social status by developing an inclusive curriculum.
2. Build cooperation with the Local Education Authorities to hold training and the program of capacity development for the concerning homeschooling practitioners. Those training should include the learning process which underlines the concept of national identity, inclusivity, tolerance, and moderation of religion.

### **The Families Practicing Homeschooling**

1. Encourage the children to think critically, nurture nationalism, foster empathy, and respect diversity/differences.
2. Open the minds of homeschooling children by visiting many kinds of worship places, or studying some arts, culinary and traditions by inviting/ visiting other people whose backgrounds are different from the children.

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## BACKGROUND

Intolerance and radicalism occurring in the world of education are now considered to be the specific problems in Indonesia. A national survey conducted by PPIM UIN Jakarta in 2017 and 2018 showed that intolerance and radicalism are growing in most of the Indonesian schools and colleges. The survey conducted by PPIM in 2017 indicated the fact that the majority of Indonesian youths (senior high school students and college students) tend to have a radical insight. The findings of the survey implied that 58.5% of the youths have a radical attitude/opinion while 51.1% of them have likely a little tolerance to “the other” or considered to be different in the eye of Islam, and the 34.3% are intolerant to the followers of other religions. Nonetheless, there is a paradox within their attitudes. Most of the students are perching in the level of ‘moderate’ (74,2%) at the action level. They tend to be moderate and tolerant to the non-Muslim (62.9%) when compared to the followers of Ahmadiyah or Shi’ite (33.2%) (Syafuruddin, 2018).

How about ‘early education’? Talking about pre-school education, the 2018 National Survey of PPIM found that kindergarten teachers have a more radical and intolerant insight when compared to the teachers of High School and Middle School. It can be proven by their supports to the establishment of ‘caliphate’ and the refusal to have non-Muslim neighbors (Yunita, 2019). Aside from all of that, the reports written on printed and online media mention that Indonesian radical groups have been infusing their radical insights right from early education underwent by children. For instance, a kindergarten teacher residing in Yogyakarta taught this kind of jargon to the children” Islam yes kafir no, Islam yes kafir no.” During the Commemoration of the proclamation of Indonesia’s independence, in August of 2018, a kindergarten in Bojonegoro, Central Java, attended a parade on the street of the city and the female children wore *niqab* (apparel which covers mostly the whole of the human body except the eyes) and bore weapon replicas as the costume. Those incidents were covered by national mass media (Tribunnews; Republika; Liputan6, 2018). Furthermore, the research conducted by PPIM on the textbooks for kindergarten students, which were released in Solo, found that those books introduced the elements related to *jihād* (a concept of war against the enemy of Islam) to the children, such as ‘bombs’, ‘headpieces’, ‘*gegana*’ and ‘kamikaze’ (Nasuhi [eds.], 2018, p.41).

Subsequently, suicide bombings which involved under-aged children now is occurring more frequently in Indonesia. A two-year-old child was involved in the suicide bombing committed by their mother on 13 March 2019 in Sibolga, North Sumatra, when she was obliged to surrender by the police ([www.suara.com](http://www.suara.com)). The mother, whose name was Solimah, was the wife of a terrorist suspect named Abu Hamzah. A year before (2018), two girls and two boys were allegedly to be the perpetrators of suicide bombings at two separate churches in Surabaya. Those girls were brought along by their mother (Puji Kuswati, 43 years old) while the boys were commanded by their father to blow themselves at the churches. The father himself committed suicide bombing at a different location ([tribunnews.com](http://tribunnews.com)) It was known later that those children involved in the suicide bombings were educated using homeschooling method ([ww.republika.com](http://ww.republika.com)). Based

on these cases, a family-based, non-school education, should be regarded as vulnerable to be utilized as the medium to infuse a narrow-minded religious value which supports violence.

Historically, one of the main reasons to perform homeschooling is to maintain and preserve the family's belief and value. The parents performing homeschooling cannot have their children being infused by any kind of values other than the ones believed by their family. According to Kunzman (2010), the practice of homeschooling implemented by the conservative Christians in the United States of America supports the main principals of the fundamentalists, which are: resistance toward contemporary traditions; prejudice toward the authority of institutions, professional skills; the control and centrality of parents within a family and; the existence of a relationship between faith and academics. They are also refusing the values of democracy. The US society who support homeschooling method is mostly composed of the people who have the objection to secularism held by public schools; the parents who perform homeschooling have a particular purpose, which focuses on educating their children in accordance with the uniqueness of their talents. Some parents consider that schools are no longer powerful in infusing the values of discipline and ethics.. Some of them also have an objection on the ways their children are treated at schools (Loy Kho, 2007; Seto Mulyadi, 2007).

In line with the findings of Basham et. all (2007), there are a number of reasons behind the increment of homeschooling practice within the families residing in the US and Canada.. Some of the reasons would be the parent's opportunity in embedding particular values and belief to their children, the increment of academic's 'jack power' for the students through the instruction model so-called 'one teacher one student', the opportunity to gain a closer and stronger relationship between parents and children, the opportunity for the children to gain a quality interaction with the adults and their peers, the lack of discipline in the public schools, the stronger control on their children (their students) toward the negative effects of intercommunication, a more affordable education fee, and a safer learning environment for their children.

Bahsam also found that the American and Canadian families who have an interest in homeschooling can be divided into two types, which are the ideologist one and the pedagogue one. In spite of the fact that the ideologist families cannot be grouped specifically, they tend to possess a conservative insight and religious practice, while the pedagogue families are the ones who prioritize the increment of academic quality and social life of their children.. Parents or guardians underline their obligations in educating children by developing their curriculum with the help of local and visual learning resources which could be deemed suitable to them.

The findings of Basham's research had successfully noted that the existence of the homeschooling method can be tracked within the history of American education as early as the decade of the 1870's. Several politicians and members of the USA government such as George Washington, John Quincy Adams, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt could be considered as the 'product' of homeschooling according to the history of USA. Later in the era of 1960-1970, homeschooling continued its popularity as an alternative education model for the American families, including the Canadian ones.. This homeschooling method represented a homogenous social population family which is

considered religious and conservative.. In the middle of 1980s, homeschooling was considered as an effective education model for maintaining the 'Christian breath' before the families of Muslim Americans noted their history as the main social group to be responsible for the rapid development of homeschooling. With that popularity, homeschooling was finally acknowledged and accommodated by the educational regulations and policies in the USA and Canada, just like public education, private education and any other types of education.

Meanwhile, Myers & Bhopal (2018) found a finding through an interview with the Muslim families in the UK that they choose the homeschooling model due to the more specific reasons. The first and foremost reason would be the pressure happened to the Muslim children from the kinds of the 'white peoples' at their schools. The white kids tend to correlate the Muslim kids with Islamic terrorist groups. We can take an example from the family of Siddiq and Rabeeha. They were accused to be the Muslim family which has a close theological relation with terrorist groups (the Islamic ones) and were called the 'sons and daughters of Bin Laden'. It indicated the racism behavior of the local communities and it leads the Muslim families to implement the home education for their children. In the same time, the Muslim families were intended to make home education as the medium to protect and promote religious values (Islamic values) for the sake of their children. This effort was considered an important facility to maintain their social identity as part of Muslim entity. By looking at those two factors, the Muslim families were finally choosing the home education for their children, in which this education method enabled the children to remain educated but also be spared from the action of racism. At the same time, homeschooling was considered to be the medium of actualization and conservation of the Islamic values and the Islamic identities of their young generations.

The findings obtained from those Muslim families completed the findings of the other researches conducted by Myres & Bhopal on the other families of different social groups, by which homeschooling is considered as the alternative method in educating their children. To the families with an adequate modality (whether in the context of the economy, social status or culture), home education is a part of the effort in improving their lifestyle status. Meanwhile, to the families with limited modality, homeschooling is an alternative that could be taken due to the difficulty in accessing education from formal institutions.. But generally, these two social groups agree that home education is an expression of dissatisfaction to the weakness of the system applied in formal educations, such as the bad teaching model and the excessive pressure felt by the student during the test (learning evaluation).

In Indonesia, homeschooling was originally known only by the kids who have a specific interest, talent and activities in the art (singers), sport (athletes) and any other non-academic sectors. It is because homeschooling is considerably flexible so they would not be bound by learning hours.. Then, homeschooling was chosen as the alternative to the 'school education' due to the increment of bullying in school and the effort to provide education for the 'children with special needs' (ABK). Entering the 2000's, homeschooling gained its popularity among the middle-classed urban people because this kind of education could give a customized education which would be suitable for the needs and the capability of their children. Nonetheless, researches

concerning the relation between homeschooling and radicalism had never been frequently conducted in Indonesia.

Therefore, through this research, we tried to see the existence, the practice and the policies of homeschooling in Indonesia.. Could the homeschooling strengthen the resistance of our society or even create vulnerability toward radicalism and violent extremism instead? To what extent the homeschooling complies the national curriculum, give a contribution to the growth of citizenship values and prevent the values of intolerance, radicalism and violent extremism? What kind of problems and challenges faced by the homeschooling method in giving a contribution to the development of tolerance and the prevention of violent extremism? This research focused on the two processes. Firstly, this research would explore the views and the responses of the stakeholders, including teachers, community administrators, and parents, about the homeschooling method. Secondly, this research would examine the education model applied by homeschooling from the aspect of regulation, curriculum, guidelines, and textbooks. The examination would also be conducted within the perspective of radicalism and extremism which lead to violent extremism.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Was it an exaggeration when we correlated the HS and religious radicalism just by referring to the indication of the ‘Surabaya bombing’ incident? There are some researches which focus on the HS and the religion. So, the topic of this research was reasonable and it should not be considered an exaggeration.

Table 1  
 Literature Review

No.	Literature	Content
1	Robert Kunzman, “Homeschooling and Religious Fundamentalism” (2010);	HS provides an ideal education background for supporting several main principles of the fundamentalists: the resistance against contemporary traditions; the prejudice toward the institutional authorities and professional skills; the control of the parents and centrality of the family; and the underline to the relation between faith and academic life; meaning that the intellectual world could only be meaningful if it could be harmonized with the doctrine of religion. It would be crucial to comprehend the HS with its fundamentalism streak, considering that fundamentalism is in the form of the continuum; therefore, we should not generalize it. The right thing to do would be encouraging dialogs and accommodating the practitioners of religion-based homeschooling to strengthen the wider structure of citizenship.
2	Martin Myers and Kalwant Bhopal, “Muslims, Home	With the ‘case study’ method and the snowballing technique, they explored six Muslim families residing

	<p>Education and Risk in British Society” (2018);</p>	<p>in the UK, and these six families are the parts of 33 families who participated as the respondents. The researchers of this research found the specific reasons why they chose to perform HS. The first and foremost reason will be the action of racism performed by the local white community which considered them as the representation of Islamic terrorism. The second will be the perception that HS is a kind of facility that could protect their children and grant them with the Islamic values believed by the parents, as well as the medium to maintain their social identity as the part of Muslim entity (ummah) For the case of another Muslim family residing in different regions, this research found that, according to the families with an adequate modality, HS is a part of their effort in improving lifestyle status. Meanwhile, according to the ones with limited modality, HS is an alternative learning model due to the difficulty in accessing education from formal institutions. Those two reasons are the reason why they chose homeschooling, and homeschooling is the expression of dissatisfaction toward the formal education system.</p>
<p>3</p>	<p>Patrick Basham, John Merrifield, and Claudia R. Hepburn, Home Schooling: From the Extreme to the Mainstream (2007);</p>	<p>This research identified the background of why American and Canadian parents tend to perform homeschooling for their children. Identification began from the definition of HS, the history of HS development in those countries, the formulated HS policies and governance, the academic performance of the HS students and the characteristics of the families who chose the homeschooling method. In those two countries, HS is defined as the educational activities for the school-age children, in which this educational activity is performed in their houses rather than in schools. It can be called ‘educational activity’ when the children undergo the education in their houses rather than at schools with the regular education process typically performed by the public schools, private schools and any other type of school. At the same time parents or guardians underline their obligations in educating their own children by developing their own curriculum and utilizing local and virtual learning resources which could be deemed suitable to them.</p>
<p>4</p>	<p>Maryono, “Islamic Homeschooling Upaya Membangun Karakter Islami (Studi Kasus Islamic Homeschooling Fatanugraha Wonosobo” (2013);</p>	<p>This research found three factors which increase the popularity of HS. The first is the perception that formal schools are considered failing in providing quality education, while HS is considered as the solution to the education service. The second is the parent’s motivation to improve the intelligence of their children which could not be performed by the formal schools. The third is the intention to fulfill the needs of Islamic character education so it could be harmonized with the academic needs of the children. Maryono noted that the parents consider the latest factor as the strongest motive,</p>

		especially in the case of HS Fatanugraha-- which might be the intriguing one—where character developing is performed through a couple of ways: adoption of ‘pesantren’ learning content in the form of ‘pengajian kitab kuning’ and the role-modeling (‘uswah hasanah’) through the behaviors of the tutors.
5	Ichsan Wibowo Saputro, Ideologi Pendidikan Islam di Homeschooling: Kajian Konsep Ideologi Pendidikan Islam dan Implikasinya di Homeschooling Group Khoiru Ummah (2017), the postgraduate thesis possessed by UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta;	This research correlates the branches of HS located in the cities occupied by the HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) The researcher here did not merely convey the link between the ideology of Islamic education applied by the HS Group Khoiru Ummah and the ideology of ‘HTI’s Islamic Movement’, but also made a conclusion that HS Group Khoiru Ummah is a network of a religious social movement with HTI acting behind it as the driver.

## APPROACHES AND METHODS

In order to analyze whether homeschooling (HS) could be used as the medium to propagate the concepts of intolerance and radicalism or the medium to prevent them, we tried to find how the homeschooling policies of Indonesian government are implemented in the six provinces, namely Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, East Java, West Sumatra, and South Sulawesi. Data compilation was conducted from August until September 2019, and it involved as many as six researchers and six researcher assistants. The research began with a document study followed by in-depth observation and interview which included 129 informants consisting of 85 females and 44 males. The informants were obtained through the snowballing method. The election process of homeschooling was administered with the snowballing method due to the lack of data, both at national and regional level (province or city level), regarding Indonesian homeschooling. There were three kinds of HS mentioned in Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014, including singular HS, plural HS, and Community-based HS. These three kinds of HS would be explored and determined through the snowballing approach. There were 53 53 homeschooling involved in the data compilation, including 21 singular HS, 12 plural HS and 20 community-based HS.

During the process, we tried to see as to how far the regulations made by the government are implemented and performed by the Local Education Authorities, or, as to what extent the government’s regulation identifies the key factors (administrators, parents, and tutors) which influence student’s ability in consuming the values of intolerance and radicalism. To complete the collected data, we used a qualitative approach and model. We performed an in-depth study on homeschooling, which is considered an important education symptom of this world, but we tried not to make a generalization. In order to create a representative description, we performed data compilation, in-depth interview with the HS practitioners (Singular, Plural, and Community) and the policymakers (the owner of Nonformal Education (PNF) and the Education Authority of Nonformal Education) residing in the six provinces, observation on



the three kinds of homeschooling, document analysis (regulations, teaching materials, and curriculums), and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). We invited some policymakers ('Ministry of Education and Culture' and BNPT (National Counter Terrorism Agency)), the administrators of PKBM and the homeschooling associations which were involved in the management, implementation, and supervision of homeschooling. They discussed the way to build the resistance for homeschooling so that they could be protected from the danger of radicalism. They also discussed how to turn some exclusive homeschooling to be more inclusive, willing to prioritize friendly dialog when facing conflict and promote the values of citizenship, as well as to prevent radicalism and violent extremism.

This research was conducted in 6 (six) cities and 6 (six) provinces which were selected purposively according to several reasons, including the closeness to religious movements and the level of vulnerability toward radicalism (according to the notes given by BNPT or 'Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme'). This study had successfully found several types and categories of homeschooling as mentioned in the following table.

Table 2  
Types of HS

Region	CATEGORY		
	Singular HS	Plural HS	Community HS
Jadetangsel	4	3	3
Bandung	6	4	2
Solo	3	0	5
Surabaya	3	3	4
Makassar	2	1	3
Padang	3	1	3
TOTAL	21	12	20

Table 3  
The Scope of Regions

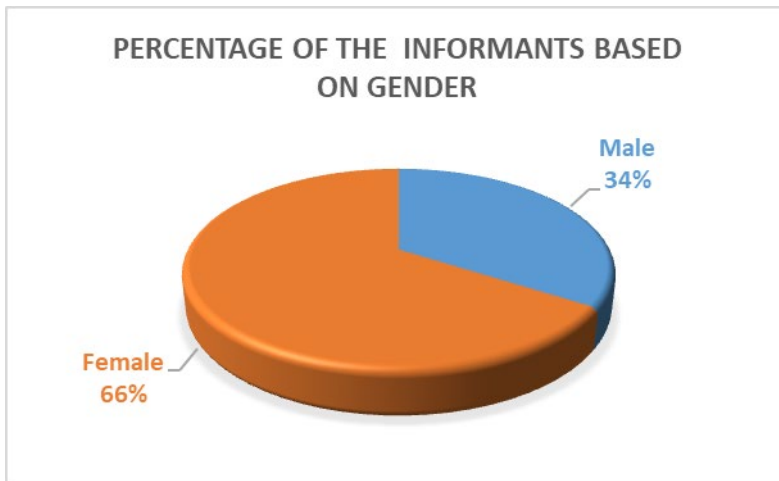
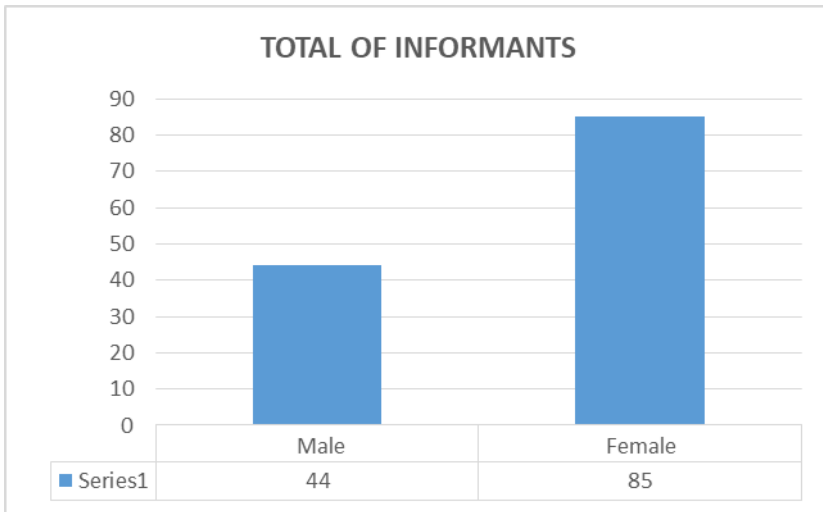
No.	Region	Type	Respondent	Category
1	Jadetangsel (10 HS = 3 religion-based exclusive HS, 2 religion-based inclusive HS, 1 Christian HS, 4 secular HS)	Singular HS	HS Tunggal Ana	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Tunggal Nana	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Tunggal Nada	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Tunggal Radit	Secular
		Plural HS	HS Karunia Indah	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Pahlawan	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi

			HS Teladan	Secular
		Community HS	PKBM Bina Insan Mandiri (Master)	Secular
			Eagle Nest Homeschooling	Christian-based
			PKBM Bina Potensi Insan Mandiri	Secular
2	Bandung, West Java (12 HS = 1 Exclusive Salafi HS, 6 Inclusive Salafi HS, 1 Christian HS, 4 secular HS)	Singular HS	HS Tunggal Sari	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Tunggal Nia	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Tunggal Ria	Secular
			HS Tunggal Tina	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Tunggal Widya	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Tunggal Nadin	Christian-based
		Plural HS	HS Telaga	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Bersama	Secular
			HS Gotong Royong	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Belantara	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi
Community HS	HS Pewaris Bangsa	Secular		
	HS Taman Sekar	Secular		
3	Solo, Central Java (8 HS: 1 Exclusive Salafi HS; 4 Inclusive Salafi HS; 3 secular HS)	Singular HS	HS Tunggal Anugerah	Secular
			HS Tunggal Cahaya Setia	Secular
			HS Tunggal Wangi Melati	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
		Plural HS	HS Kak Seto	Secular
			Kuttab Ibnu Abbas	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Cahaya Rejeki	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Ar-Ridho	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			Syifa	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
4.	Surabaya, East Java (10 HS = 1 Exclusive Salafi HS, 3 Inclusive Salafi HS, 1 Christian HS, 5 secular HS)	Singular HS	HS Tunggal Unggul	Secular
			HS Tunggal Al-Khair	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Tunggal Azmi	Secular
		Plural HS	HS Duta Bangsa	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi

			HS Bunga Mawar	Secular
			HS Insan Mulia	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
		Community HS	HS PKBM Primagama Pakuwon	Secular
			HS PKBM Pena Surabaya	Secular
			HS Sinar Mulia Indonesia	Christian-based
			HS Thayyibah	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi
5.	Makassar, South Sulawesi (6 HS = 2 Exclusive Salafi HS, 1 Inclusive Salafi HS, 1 Christian HS, 2 secular HS)	Singular HS	HS Tunggal Naya	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi
			HS Tunggal Mira	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
		Plural HS	HS Kasih Bangsa	Christian-based
		Community HS	HS Cendekia	Secular
			HS Primagama	Secular
			HS Ikhwan	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi
6.	Padang, West Sumatra (7 HS = 2 Exclusive Salafi HS, 1 Inclusive Salafi HS, 4 secular HS)	Singular HS	HS Tunggal Hana	Secular
			HS Tunggal Cokro	Secular
			HS Tunggal Ita	Inclusive Islam-based Salafi
		Plural HS	HS Umat Mulia	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi
		Community HS	PKBM HS Primagama	Secular
			PKBM HS Markazul Quran	Exclusive Islam-based Salafi
			PKBM Farilla Ilmi	Secular
<b>Total: 53 HS (21 Singular HS, 12 Plural HS and 20 Community HS)</b>				

*Note: The actual names of Singular HS and Plural HS are disguised*

The total number of interview informants was 129 (85 females and 44 males) with the composition of HS practitioners (Singular, Plural, and Community) and policymakers (owner of Nonformal Education (PNF) and the Education Authority of Nonformal Education). Our data showed that the number of female respondents was bigger than that of the male respondents. This condition indicated that the implementation of HS, as confirmed by some of the informants, is the obligation of mothers. This was in line with an adage saying that “mother is the very first school” (*al-umm madrosatu al-ula*).



## DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

In the context of this research, the definition of homeschooling was in accordance with the definition of 'Sekolah Rumah' determined by Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014 saying that homeschooling is "a process of education service consciously planned and performed at home (or in any place) by parents, in which this education service might be in a singular, plural or community form, where the education process could be implemented in a conducive atmosphere in order to develop the unique potencies of the students in an optimal way"

Meanwhile, the definition of radicalism would be the 'ideas and action performed for a fundamental change in the social politics, in which these ideas and actions justify violent approaches (both in the form of communication and action)' and it has the following characteristics:

1. refusing any form of ideology applied in 'Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia'/Unitary State of The Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (including refusing Pancasila, being reluctant to sing 'Indonesia Raya' or to salute the 'Red and White' flag;
2. being intolerant to diversity;
3. being reluctant to build interaction with different communities (exclusive);
4. frequently blaming other people and prone to superiority complex; and
5. supporting any kind of violence.

In order to measure the resistance against radicalism, we used the following indicators:

1. Willingness to implement Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014 on homeschooling, where HS practitioners teach religion, 'Pancasila and Citizenship' and Indonesian Language (Article 7, paragraph 2);
2. Willingness to apply national curriculum;
3. Willingness to open their selves to the other groups with different religions.

Meanwhile, in order to find the level of vulnerability toward radicalism, we looked for some indicators showing that those homeschooling are:

1. Not teaching the learning contents so-called 'Pancasila and Citizenship' and 'Indonesian Language' (Article 7, paragraph 2);
2. Not performing the ceremony for 'Red and White' flag;
3. Not introducing the national heroes to the students;
4. Not teaching how to sing national songs and not introducing national symbols (flag, the picture of the president and vice president, 'burung garuda').

Based on the above conceptual framework, this research assumed that:

1. Any kind of education can be a strategical media for the transmission of any kinds of values, including religious values;
2. The flexibility of homeschooling generates the resilience and Vulnerability related to the cultivation and transmission process of radical religion values;
3. HS might generate the 'spiral of encapsulations' which alienates children from the common values.

## FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

### National Regulation on the Homeschooling

Constitutional and operational foundations for the implementation of Homeschooling had been provided by the Indonesian government. The first constitution will be Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System mentioning three educational tracks namely 'formal education (the school track)', 'non-formal education (the non-school track)' and 'informal education (the family or independent track)'. The second constitution is PP No.19 of 2005 on the National Standard of Education'. The third is Ministerial Regulation No. 14 of 2007 on the Standard Content of Equality Education. The fourth is Ministerial Regulation No. 3 of 2008 on the Standard Process of Equality Education. The fifth is Ministerial Regulation No. 17 of 2010 on the Implementation Process of Equality Education. The last constitution is Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014 on Homeschooling.

Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014 is the only regulation concerning the concept of homeschooling that has ever been released by the government. This regulation divides the types of HS (article 5) along with the implications during the implementation. In Article 6, it has been mentioned that singular HS and plural HS must undergo the registration process, while the Community-based HS must obtain the . However, it is mentioned in Article 13 that "local governments shall perform coaching to the homeschooling", meaning that the duty in performing administration, quality development, monitoring, and evaluation is handed to the Local Government, or the local Education Authorities exactly.

This research found that two out of the six Indonesian cities/regencies issued additional regulations to complement Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014. Those additional regulations were Perda (Regional Regulation) Kota Surakarta No. 12 of 2017 on the Implementation of Education, Article 70, paragraph 1-3 and Perda Kabupaten Bandung No. 26 of 2009 on the Implementation of Education System in Badung Regency. Those regulations specify the homeschooling concept. The Head of Office in Depok confirmed through an interview that they had released an appeal letter regarding the HS method in 2010 but canceled by the same Office in 2011. The Office of Makassar also confirmed that the local government had an interest in creating a regulation about HS, but it never been implemented.

The Education Authorities did not possess the data about HS that might be happening in their regions. Thus, the implementation of the rule written in Permendikbud (Article 6), that Singular HS and Plural HS shall undergo a registration process under particular requirements, was considered lacking. This condition generated disharmony between the rapid development of HS and the implementation of the regulation, in which this regulation could be used as the

mechanism to monitor and evaluate the HS for maintaining and improving the quality of HS, as well as for preventing some religious ideologies.

Even though homeschooling regulation had been provided by the central government, most of the local Education Authorities did not actually understand the meaning of homeschooling and the kinds of important mechanisms/procedures during the coaching and monitoring. This research found that this situation was caused by the following factors:

- a. Permendikbud No. 129 of 2014 contained no Technical Rules or Implementation Instructions which were supposed to stimulate the implementation of this very regulation;
- b. No database related to the HS were found;
- c. The local Education Authorities had no specific departments specializing in monitoring and evaluating the education process implemented by HS communities;
- d. The warranty of implementation quality was lacking.

## The Categories and Typologies of Homeschooling

This research had successfully formulated the categories of homeschooling with the help of the informants. These following tables will present you with the categories of homeschooling and the amount of HS per category based on our findings:

Table 4  
Mapping

Name	Category		Description
HS	1) Based on non-religious sectors		This kind of HS is based on the interests, talents and needs of the students.
	2) Religion-based	Christian-based	This kind of HS puts the religion, either Christian or Islam, as the main part of the education program.
		Islam-based	

Table 5  
HS Categories

CATEGORY	SECULAR	RELIGION-BASED			TOTAL
		CHRISTIAN	ISLAM		
			Inclusive Salafi	Exclusive Salafi	
Jadetangel	4	1	2	3	10
Bandung	4	1	6	1	12
Solo	3	0	4	1	8
Surabaya	5	1	3	1	10

Makassar	2	1	1	2	6
Padang	4	0	1	2	7
Sub Total	22	4	17	10	53

Based on our findings, the Islam-based HS was considered the ideal education service, as practiced by the salaf (*al-salaf al-shalih*). Thus, we divided this Islam-based HS into two main typologies. The first was Inclusive Salafi HS and the second was Exclusive Salafi HS. The definition of Salafi is somewhat broad, but it emphasizes the concept that humans should refer to the period of ‘al-salaf al-shalih’, the purification of ‘tahwid’ and the effort in protecting ourselves against the things that would lead us to be ‘shirk’.

<b>Salafi</b>	
This kind of HS was considered to be: (1) the education practice performed based on what was taught in the period of ‘salaf al-shalih’; (2) the education model which employed the literature of ‘salafi’ during its Islamic education process; (3) the education model which took ‘Tahfidz Al-Qur’an’ as the main learning content.	
Inclusive	Exclusive
Introduces the diversity of Indonesia;	Focuses on its own group;
Builds interaction with the followers of religions other than Islam;	Does not build interaction with the non-Muslim;
(Some of them) accept non-Muslim students;	Does not accept non-Muslim students;
Applies national curriculum (including Pancasila, PKN and Indonesian Language).	Applies its curriculums. The national curriculum will be taught when the students have to undergo the ‘equivalency exam’ (including Pancasila, PKN, and Indonesian Language);
Refuses to extend greetings to the believers of other religions for their holy days , but would accept if members of their group is willing to do so.	Absolutely refuses to extend greetings to the believers of other religions for their holy days. .

The detail of HS and its typology will be presented by the following table. The HS was grouped according to the locations.

### HS in Surabaya

No.	HS	Typology	Information
1	HS Thayyibah	Islam-based Exclusive	This Community HS found the other religions as the enemy of Islam. All of the students of this HS were Muslim and they did not interact with the followers of the other religions. Extending greetings to believers of other religions for their holy days was forbidden. Never performed flag ceremony. Never taught the learning content called PKN (Pancasila and Citizenship Education). Never introduced national heroes because



			the ones being introduced were the Islamic public figures.
2	HS Bunga Mawar	Secular	It was a Plural HS. It applied the national curriculums. The students came from different backgrounds (economic, social and religion). The students were accustomed to extending greetings to the believers of other religions for their holy days. Most of the students had been dropped out from their formal schools.
3	HS PKBM Primagama Pakuwon	Secular	It was a Community HS with different kinds of students. This HS taught the diversity of Indonesia. The modules were adapted from national curriculums. The participants of this HS were the school-aged children whose parents chose the homeschooling method as the suitable education model to them. The education substance of this HS was pragmatic, which was 'passing the National Exam with favorable scores', because this HS was output-based.
4	HS Insan Mulia	Islam-based Inclusive Salafi HS	It was a Plural HS which only taught Islam. The teaching contents were created by the graduates of Sunan Ampel majoring 'Tafsir Hadis'. Those contents were included in the syllabus of religious subjects. Nonetheless, the students came from different religious backgrounds. Teachers wore 'jilbab' in this HS but they did not wear 'niqab'. This HS applied national curriculums. Willing to extend greetings to believers of other religions for their holy days. Performed the flag ceremony. Willing to build interaction with the followers of other religions.
5	HS Duta Bangsa	Islam-based Inclusive Salafi HS	It was a Muslim-only Plural HS. The students did not build interaction with the followers of other religions. They refused to extend greetings to believers of other religions for their holy days because they found it unimportant. The learning contents came from many kinds of sources and not being limited to a particular 'madhab'. They emphasized the content called 'Tahfidz Al-Qur'an' and tend to be textual in comprehending religions. They taught PKN by referring to the Islamic examples. Introduced other religions acknowledged in Indonesia.
6	HS Al-Khair	Islam-based Inclusive Salafi HS	A Plural HS. All the students were Muslims. They did not introduce other religions. Although the female tutors wear 'niqab', the students were not separated based on their genders. The main reference would be Salafi books. The education process was administered in 'pesantren' but the students came from different religions, professions, and backgrounds.
7	HS Unggul	Secular	This HS was administered by a family. It was not religion-based and did not emphasize religious symbols. This HS taught the contents required by the government for the sake of student's graduation. It emphasized the talents of the students.
8	HS Azmi	Secular	This Singular HS was administered by a family. The mother of this family served as the tutor. This HS was

			not religion-based and did not emphasized religion symbols. Focused on academic achievement in school. Taught the contents required by the government for the sake of student's graduation.
9	HS Sinar Mulia Indonesia	Christian-based	This Community HS was focused on Christian-based religious education. It educated children to be strong in Christianity. This HS was nationalist. It taught diversity by performing activities together.
10	HS PKBM Pena Surabaya	Secular	It was a Community HS. It did not take a dominant portion in the curriculum. It applied nation curriculums adjusted according to the talents of the students. It built interaction the people of different religions. It taught that everyone deserves good deeds.
Secular = 5 Christian-based = 1 Islamic-based – Inclusive Salafi = 3 Islamic-based – Exclusive Salafi = 1			

### HS in Makassar

No.	HS	Typology	Information
1	HS Mira	Islam-based Inclusive Salafi	This Singular HS focused on the content of 'Tahfiz Al-Quran' and the basics of Islam. It used Montessori method but did not apply the national curriculum. Although this HS did not hold the flag ceremony, it built interaction with Homeschooling Muslim Nusantara (HSMN).
2	HS Naya	Islam-based Exclusive Salafi	This Singular HS focused on 'Tahfiz al-Qur'an.'It only socialized with its own family. It never built interaction with other people or the followers of other religions. It never extend greetings to other believers of other religions for the holy days. It employed a personalized curriculum. The framework was arranged from fitrah based education by design thinking, and 'Tahfiz al-Qur'an' was considered to be the main learning content. The teacher taught Al-Qur'an textually.
3	HS Ikhwan	Islam-based Exclusive Salafi	This Community HS was related to the network originated from Malaysia, which was Global Ikhwan, a reincarnation of Darul Arqam. This HS had its own dormitory, as well as religion and common curriculums. The students did not build interaction with other people and did not extend greetings to the believers of other religions for the holy days. .However, this HS took part in religious social activities (Tahlil). The religious curriculum was arranged by Global Ikhwan.
4	HS Cendekia	Secular	This Community HS resembled a public school. What made it different was it was not established formally. It applied national curriculum, built interaction and willing to extend greetings to the believers of other religions for their holy dayss.. All the contents were taught, including the religions provided in Indonesia. It did not have religious affiliation.

5	HS Kasih Bangsa	Christian-based	It was as Christian-based Plural HS, but accepted Muslim students too. It applied the national curriculum, they were open to believers of other religions. Willing to extend greetings to believers of other religions for their holy days. Most of the students were Children with special needs.
6	HS Primagama	Secular	It was a community HS. It was not any different from the headquarter office or the other branches. The students came from different backgrounds and it taught the diversity of Indonesia. The modules were adapted from national curriculums. The participants of this HS were the school-aged children whose parents chose homeschooling as the suitable education model for them. It commemorated national holidays. It introduced national heroes. The teachers taught different kinds of religions, ethnics, etc. It did not separate students by their genders. The education process did not brainwash the students.
Secular = 2 Christian-based = 1 Islamic-based – Inclusive Salafi = 1 Islamic-based – Exclusive Salafi = 2			

### HS in Padang

No.	HS	Typology	Information
1	PKBM HS Markazul Qur'an	Islam-based Exclusive Salafi	It was a community HS and it focused on Al-Qur'an. The teachers believed that by memorizing Al-Quran, then the students would be brilliant in any kind of subject. The students were separated by their genders. The students did not build interaction with other people. They refused to extend greetings to believers of other religions for their holy days. The national curriculums were taught only for the sake of the national exam.
2	HS Umat Mulia	Islam-based Exclusive Salafi	It was a Plural HS consisting of 10 families. This HS did not introduce other religions. The students did not build interaction with other people. They did not perform the flag ceremony. They did not teach PKN. The curriculum was arranged independently according to the visions and missions of the families. They performed HS with their motivations. The learning activities and modules were arranged independently for their kids. The applied learning base was Al-Qur'an. The purpose of this HS was to prevent their kids from the hellfire.
3	HS Hana	Secular	The main reason why the practitioners of this Singular HS chose the homeschooling method was that they intended to provide a customized education for their child, considering that all the children would gain a similar treatment when they attend public schools. This HS used a variation education method. During the education process, this HS introduced many kinds of religions.

4	HS Ita	Islamic-based - Inclusive Salafi	It was a singular HS, focusing on Islamic education ('tahfiz'), but the students were allowed to build interaction with the non-Muslim within a writing group. The students were allowed to attend people's activities or any other activity hold by the organizations of different 'madhab'.
5	PKBM HS Primagama	Secular	It was a community HS. It was not any different from the headquarter office or the other branches. The students came from different backgrounds and it taught the diversity of Indonesia. The modules were adapted from national curriculums. The participants of this HS were the school-aged children whose parents chose homeschooling as the suitable education model for them.
6	PKBM Farila Ilmi	Secular	This PKBM Community HS focused on non-formal education and the equality for marginal kids (the kids of scavengers, fishers, etc.) It provided education service within classrooms or via online learning. It applied the curriculum from Education Authorities. It taught the content called citizenship and introduced many kinds of religions.
7	HS Cokro	Secular	This Singular HS chose the homeschooling method because their child was being bullied. This HS focused on the comfort of their kid. The curriculum was customized according to the interest of the kid. This HS introduced different religions allowed their student to build interaction with the followers of other religions. "Learning can be performed anywhere and anytime. It is just the same as the concept applied in Church. The church does not necessarily mean a space. It is about our perception of classroom and worship place. The definition of the Mosque will also be the same."
Secular= 4 Islamic-based – Inclusive Salafi = 1 Islamic-based – Exclusive Salafi = 2			

### HS in Jakarta-Depok-South Tangerang

No.	HS	Typology	Information
1	HS Karunia Indah	Islam-based Exclusive Salafi	It was a Plural HS initiated by a Muslim family which was a member of Jemaah Tabligh (JT) (a salafi group based in India). All the females of this family were wearing 'niqab'. They believed in the concept of 'al-um madrasatul ula'. The curriculum was focused on hadith memorization, 'tahfidz al-Qur'an', learning contents created by JT and the Urdu language. Their reason was as simply as 'to gain bless from Allah'.
2	HS Pahlawan	Islam-based Exclusive Salafi	It was a Plural HS with a concept of 'boarding homeschooling'. The practitioners were the followers of Salafi and they were also the ex-members of JI (Jemaah Islamiyah). The females were wearing 'niqab'. The education was focused on 'tahfidz al-Qur'an'. National

			curriculum was taught only for the sake of the 'equivalency exam'. The flag ceremony was replaced with 'training dawah'. The extracurricular activities included equestrian sport, archery, and swimming. They found that formal schools are not in line with the values of Islam.
3	HS Ana	Islam-based Exclusive Salafi	It was a Singular HS consisting of one family which followed the Salafi. They seemed to be unfriendly. They did not teach PKN. They focused on 'muroja'ah/tahfidz al-Qur'an'. They were referring to PKBM/HS Generasi Juara.
4	PKBM Bina Potensi Insan Mandiri	Secular	It was established for the 'children with special needs' (ABK). They focused on the interests and the talents of their students. They used the national curriculum but with the lowered standard. They taught 'life skills' with the hope that the public would like to welcome their students sincerely. This HS taught the values of citizenship and many kinds of religions.
5	Eagle Nest Homeschooling	Christian-based	It was a Christian-based Community HS. This HS taught their students to be strong in Christ. All the students were Christian. This HS was nationalist. It taught diversity through an activity called 'playdate'. The adopted the modified version of the foreign curriculum.
6	PKBM Bina Insan Mandiri (Masjid Terminal)	Secular	It was a Community HS established out of the reason that social-economy obstructs access to formal education. 'Sekolah Master' (Masjid Terminal) taught common learning contents and religions. The purpose of this HS was to cut the chain of poverty with education.
7	HS Nada	Islamic-based - Inclusive Salafi	It was a Singular HS administered by a couple of parents who wore 'hijab' and followed the Salafi. They focused on 'tahfidz al-Qur'an' and the teachings of Salafi. The also taught foreign language (Mandarin) online. The portion of common learning content was lacking. They taught the diversity of Indonesia but refused to extend greetings to believers of other religions for their holy days.
8	HS Teladan	Secular	It was a Plural HS focusing on the education for children with special needs (ABK). The students came from different religions. They interacted with each other.
9	HS Nana	Islamic-based - Inclusive Salafi	This HS expressly stated that they were Salafi. They found that education should be able to turn the students to be the 'maisah' (the breadwinner) for their families and their selves. It applied "kurtilas" with the addition of Islamic Salafi contents believed by the families. This Singular HS was quite tolerant to the people of different religions. Even their children mingled with non-Muslims. This HS established a PKBM and Homeschooling Muslim Indonesia (HSMI).
10	HS Radit	Secular	This Singular HS was motivated to perform homeschooling for the children with special needs (ABK). This HS focused on developing talents and interests. It was related to PKBM Generasi Juara.

			It was tolerant to believers of other religions. It used a personalized curriculum while the national one was taught as an addition.
Secular = 4 Christian-based = 1 Islam-based – Inclusive Salafi = 2 Islam-based – Exclusive Salafi = 3			

### HS in Bandung

No.	HS	Typology	Information
1	HS Sari	Agama – Islam Salafi Inclusive	This Singular HS was inspired by the diary of their kid, mentioning that they want to give al-Qur’an as the crown for their parents. This HS focused on al-Qur’an learning and ‘tahfidz al-Qur’an’, but they also kept interacting with the people of different religions due to their relation with HS Pramuka. The taught PKN through internalization of the values of life.
2	HS Ria	Secular	This Singular HS was established out of the critics to formal schools. This HS was willing to open itself to other religions or races. It had a relation with HS Pramuka. The students learned PKN directly by managing the correspondence of government’s offices. It applied ‘waldroft’ method.
3	HS Nadin	Christian-based	It was a Catholic-based Singular HS. The students built interaction with the people of different religions through the relationship with HS Pramuka and HS Pewaris Bangsa. The curriculum focused on the student’s talents.
4	HS Nia	Islamic-based – Inclusive Salafi	It was a Singular HS administered by a mother who served as the tutor. The applicable teaching method was ‘an education in the home’. This HS focused on the convenience for children’s education, the and the development of children’s interest and talents. The tutor of this HS wore ‘niqab’ every day. This HS emphasized the content of ‘tahfidz al-Qur’an’.
5	HS Telaga	Islamic-based – Inclusive Salafi	It was a Plural HS. It focused on religious education and the values of religion. They were willing to mingle with believers of other religions and extend greetings to them for their holy days. They intended to seek an ideal education for Indonesian children. Focused on textual learning and the aspect of worship. The learning contents were merely based on ‘tauhid’ and ‘sirah nabawiyah’.
6	HS Taman Sekar	Secular	It was a Community HS and established out of the critics to the so-called ‘boring’ formal schools. Religious contents were not dominating the curriculum of this HS. This HS used national curriculums which were customized according to student’s talents. The students built interaction with the people of different religions. This HS taught good deed to everyone.

7	HS Widya	Islamic-based - Inclusive Salafi	It was a Singular HS emphasizing religious education and prioritizing religious symbols, but the teaching method was not really 'narrow-minded'. This HS also emphasized textual learning and the aspects of worship. The learning contents were merely based on 'tauhid' and 'sirah nabawiyah'.
8	HS Pewaris Bangsa	Secular	It was a Community HS. This HS modified the national curriculum according to the talents of the students. Mingled with believers of other religions. Had no objection to extend greetings to believers of other religions for their holy days.
9	HS Belantara	Islamic-based - Exclusive Salafi	This Plural HS was established only for the Muslims deemed to be in their circle. The Islam values were taught textually. The main curriculum was 'tahfidz al-Qur'an'. The applicable learning method was 'indoctrination'.
10	HS Tina	Islamic-based - Inclusive Salafi	This Singular HS focused on religious education. The curriculum was taken from Cambridge and the focus of this curriculum was on student's development. It performed textual learning and prioritized the aspects of worship. The learning contents were merely based on 'tauhid' and 'sirah nabawiyah'.
11	HS Bersama	Secular	This Plural HS focused on the universal life aspects underlining the values of diversity, especially diversity in the context of religion. This HS built interaction with any other group of people.
12	HS Gotong Royong	Islamic-based - Inclusive Salafi	This Plural HS focused on religious education for Muslims. Although this HS was Islam-based, it had the feeling of empathy for other groups. The learning was textual and the education was focused on the aspects of worship. The religious learning contents were merely based on 'tauhid' and 'sirah nabawiyah'.
Secular = 4 Christian-based = 1 Islam-based - Inclusive Salafi = 6 Islam-based - Exclusive Salafi = 1			

### HS in Solo

No.	HS	Category	Information
1	HS Kak Seto	Secular	It was a Community HS. It broadened the access to education by accepting students of various religions. The additional curriculum would be extracurricular activities such as Friday Class. It was a member of Asahpena.
2	Kuttab Ibn Abbas	Islamic-based - Exclusive Salafi	It was a Community HS. It was a Community HS, creating the cadre of 'ulama' by teaching the 'curriculum of faith' and 'curriculum of Qur'an'. The common contents such as Indonesian Language, Mathematics, and PPKN were labeled as the 'curriculum of nafi'ah'. Students were separated according to gender. They began the learning

			activity with declaring pledges which said, “Allah is our Lord (Allahu Robbuna), Muhammad is our Prophet (Muhammad Rasuluna), Islam is our Religion (Islam Dinuna), al-Qur’an is our holy book (Alquran kitabi), followed by declaring the two shahada so that the students had a strong faith since the early time.
3	HS Cahaya Rejeki	Islamic-based – Inclusive Salafi	It was a Community HS. this HS provided education for the ones who chose informal track. It applied the national curriculum but added with ‘tahfidz al-Qur’an’. They claimed to have some non-Muslim students too.
4	HS Ar-Ridlo	Islamic-based – Inclusive Salafi	It was a Community HS. The purpose was to empower the community residing in the Silir ex-localization, or to empower the marginal people, according to ‘Islamic da’wah’. it used the national curriculum but prioritized ‘Islamic Sharia’.
5	Syifa	Islamic-based – Inclusive Salafi	It was a Community HS. The purpose of this HS was to accommodate children with special needs and the ones who had difficulties when learning at formal schools. They used national curriculum with addition of ‘tahfidz al-Qur’an’.
6	HS Anugerah	Secular	It was a Singular HS. The purpose was to educate children who had learning difficulties and to encourage them to have some talents like singing and writing. They advised the students to interact with many kinds of people regardless of their religions and to help each other. The students were taught how to sing national and Javanese songs.
7	HS Cahaya Setia	Secular	It was a Singular HS. The learning activities were adjusted to the learning speed of the students. It taught science. The curriculum was inspired by the philosophy of Charlotte Mason. The religious education was practice-oriented, not textual.
8	HS Wangi Melati	Islamic-based – Inclusive Salafi	It was a Singular HS. this HS believed in the principle that the main duty in educating children should go to the parents. The learning activities began with ‘tahfidz al-Qur’an’. They believed that by comprehending religious values, and by practicing the values in a disciplined manner, the students would gain a good provision to live. The students interacted with many kinds of people.
Secular = 3 Islam-based – Inclusive Salafi = 4 Islam-based – Exclusive Salafi = 1			

## Measuring the Resilience and Vulnerability of Homeschooling

Self-resistance against radical values and the ‘spiral of encapsulations’ could be found in 53 HS observed in this research. Those 53 HS were in the category of Secular and Inclusive Salafi HS (both in the form of plural and community HS). It was so because they provided their students with access to socialize with their community. Several of those HS even encouraged



their students to engage in the social activities held by the community. Meanwhile, the singular HS, especially the ones that had never been registered in Education Authorities (meaning that they had never submitted the educational documents arranged for their students), possessed vulnerability toward the exposure of radical religious ideologies at a very first stage.

The possibility to experience the 'spiral of encapsulation' would be greater in the students of Exclusive Salafi HS because the access to be engaged with communities were lacking. The vulnerability would even be worsened if this kind of HS met the following parameter: (1) never taught the learning contents called Religion Education, Pancasila and citizenship, and Indonesian Language (Article 7, paragraph 2); never performed the 'red and white' flag ceremony ; (3) never introduced national heroes; (4) never taught national songs; and (5) never introduced national symbols (flag, the picture of the president and vice president, the Garuda symbol and national heroes). According to the findings, resilience and vulnerability could be seen in the six regions, and the 'emphasize points' would be;

## Solo

In Surakarta, the aspect of resistance could be seen in Secular HS. The point to be emphasized was, according to one of our informants named Anugerah, to encourage the students to build interaction with the peers (in their circle) who have similar interests and with the children in the neighborhood. That way, Anugerah will be assured that their children could remain socialized despite the condition of being homeschooled. Anugerah's children were even interacting with the children of different religions.

It has been confirmed that Anugerah lived in an environment where people followed different kinds of religion. Some of their neighbors were Catholic or Protestants. There even were some people of *kejawen* religion. But Anugerah (which was the follower of "Tarekat Siddiqiyah Jombang") said that the people could get along well, and they helped each other when one of them passed away.

*"We regularly interacted with each other. We have no problem. To the best of my knowledge, because I am a new person here, we had never felt disturbed. I have two Catholic students here in the Bangkit Jiwa. We get along well here. When a Christian died, the entire neighborhood will help them with the funeral service, including the Muslim ones. Similarly, when a Muslim died, Christians would pay a visit and give a hand. That is the condition here. I won't be fanatic when I have a particular principle. I understand differences."*

On the other hand, PKBM was considered as vulnerable. We can take an example from the PKBM Kuttab Ibnu Abbas. This PKBM was administered by Yayasan Hamalatu al-Quran, and the founders (doubled as the chairs) were Muhammad Mu'idinillah and Aminudin Hidayat ST. The vision of PKBM Kuttab Ibnu Abbas was "To Create *Qurani Ulul Albab* Generation who Have Good Morals". Meanwhile, the missions were 1) to build the faith in the context of 'aqidah', worship,

and 'muamalah', 2) to create Qurani Ulul Albab generation through knowledge and practice, 3) to turn the generation to be independence, caring and reliable.

Speaking of the curriculum, it was mentioned in the leaflet created by PKBM Kuttab Ibnu Abbas that they used the combination of Faith, Quran and 'Ulumunnafi'ah' contents. The first learning content comprised the infusion of 'tauhid' values from Quran and Sunnah, the infusion and habituation of good deed, comprehension of 'al-Qur'an' through 'tafsir', comprehension of 'assunnah' (hadiths), and the comprehension of Arabic Language; 'sirah nabawiyah', 'shahabat' and 'tabiin'. The second content comprised the education of 'iqro', 'kitabah', 'tahsin' and 'tafsir Alquran' and 'tadabbur al-Quran'. The third content comprised the education on reading and writing in Arabian and Latin language, science (biology, mathematics, and English), and any other subjects needed and preferred by the students.

The aspect of 'citizenship education' in this PKBM would be a kind of source to generate vulnerability at a particular level. According to the observation, there were no national symbols installed in the classrooms, such as the 'red and white' flag, 'Garuda', and the picture of President/Vice President. Furthermore, they had never celebrated the Commemoration of Independence on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August. Ustaz Danang, one of our informants, confirmed that PKBM Kuttab Ibnu Abbas did not celebrate Indonesian Independence Day. *"We are informal (institution). We cannot adopt it (the concept of Independence Day) unless we were a formal institution. We have no time either."*

## Surabaya

In Surabaya, HS PKBM was considered the barometer of HS with resistance against radicalism and extremism. This PKBM was invented by H. SH in the 1990s. This PKBM was said to be quite inclusive. But in the 2000's, this PKBM changed its location to an alley located in a kind of housing, and they implemented the education process in a boarding school. Although they were administered in a 'boarding school' concept, they kept accepting students with many kinds of backgrounds.

*"The education process here is focused on the packaged learning contents, nothing more, especially after we moved to this boarding school. This PKBM is no longer teaching religious contents because most of our students are 'santri' (meaning that they have learned religion in their boarding school). As for the students outside the boarding school, we don't expect anything from them" (SR, HS-Att)*

The curriculum of this PKBM was focused on the happening learning variables, which was 'tahfidz'. Nearly all of the learning contents were Islam-based. It has to be noted that this PKBM taught any other contents such as PPKN, Indonesian Language, etc. They are adopted in accordance with the direction of the Education Authorities. The later statement indicated that

this HS possessed resilience against the values of intolerance because they taught nationalism insight.

Nonetheless, there was still vulnerability behind those variables serving as the resilience creators for this institution. In the context of Surabaya, resilience and vulnerability could be opposing each other harmoniously when the aspects of each institution are in a balance condition. Once the two aspects become partial, then the condition would be unfavorable. In Surabaya, the vulnerability would be in the form of opportunities which can be exploited by some parties having a personal interest or group interest.

There were several things which lead the Surabaya HS to a condition of vulnerability. The first was that those HS were established out of the critics to the education system provided by the government. This condition might be utilized as a tool to break the establishment of the existing education. The second was that formal schools did not fully optimize the education system for the local learning content, developing the amount of HS with their characteristics. Local contents were considered the energy to fulfill the entity of Indonesian society. The third was that those two conditions lead some parties to take systematic ways for limiting the role of the Indonesian government in infusing the ideology of citizenship and the values of Indonesia.

The fourth was that HS was only focused on academics of the students, while the issues and contents about statehood were left behind due to the education system which focused merely on academic achievement rather than the values of citizenship. The fifth is that several HS was only focused on their ideology infused systematically in the system.

## Jadetangsel

Meanwhile, in Jadetangsel, HS Karunia Indah would be one with the biggest vulnerability. This HS was the branch of PKBM Bina Insan Kamil. Technically, they used the national curriculum (the curriculum of 2013). Common textbooks of Indonesian Language, PPKN, Mathematics, Natural Science and Social Science were apparently provided in their bookshelves as the reference, but those subjects were not taught during the learning activities.

The thing that was so intriguing about this HS Karunia was that it used the textbook translated from Indian Language (read: Jamaah Tabligh) under the title of 'Deeniyat.' This book was consisting of the contents related to 'Al-Quran', *hadith*, *fqih*, the History of Islamic Civilization and Arabic Language. Furthermore, they also had a book titled '*40 hadiths & 8 adab sunnah sehari-hari*' published by HS Karunia Indah.

Note that HS Karunia Indah was a medium for the struggle of Jemaah 'Tabligh', so it frequently used to implement 'mashurah' and 'khuru' in foreign countries. Naira, one of our informants, had a story about the 'mathsuroh' held in Brunei Darussalam.

*That's true. We just came back from Brunei Darussalam because we attended 'mathsurah' there. We had to be accompanied by our true 'mahrom' such as mother,*

*children, husband and father. Mathsurah is held once per 3 months and it lasts for 3 days, meaning that Mathsurah is performed 10-15 day per year. It can be held once per 2 months when they have enough time and money. Mathsurah is a kind of 'dakwah' with a purpose to send women back to their homes rather than to get them out. So, we were out for mathsurah but we will apply it in our homes later.."*

This fact indicated the exclusivity within HS Karunia. According to the observation, they put a big poster of "markazul Islam" on the wall of their classrooms but there were no national symbols like the picture of the president, the picture of vice president or the picture of national heroes. Furthermore, a student named Nurul told us during the learning activity that she had never been taught how to sing 'Indonesia Raya'. Nurul said that she frequently interacted with her non-Muslim friends. But when they give her food as a gift, she would naturally check whether the food could be considered halal. It implied that she had a suspicion within her friendship.

## **Makassar**

In Makassar, the vulnerable HS showed exclusivity. This HS passed the exclusivity to their students, making it difficult for them to socialize with other people. They only built interaction with the fellow community members, staying away from those of other groups.

Permendikbud no. 129 of 2014 was the only homeschooling regulation applied in Makassar. There was no regulation in the level of the province (governor's regulation) or city (the regulation of mayor) to manage the implementation of homeschooling.

Thus, when we asked for confirmation about the existence of radicalism, Yasmain (one of our informants) answered that radicalism is a common thing to happen, and it was due to the looseness of homeschooling regulation. "It seems like homeschooling regulation overlaps the PKBM".

## **Bandung**

Bandung was the anti-thesis of Makassar because, in Bandung, the regulation was an important thing to use when we want to measure the resilience and the vulnerability of HS. The strong resilience toward radical Islamic HS could be seen through the following factors:

- a. Intervention from the governments of Bandung was considerably effective for the development of HS. It was indicated with the provisions and programs to develop the HS. We found to provisions considered to be related to the development of HS, including the Regional Regulation number 2 of 2008, whose one of the paragraphs describes the opportunity of informal HS students to be transferred to the formal or non-formal schools after "gaining recognition from the Authorities appointed by local government". The result of informal education was also considered equal to formal

education as mentioned in the chapter III of part our which says that “the result of informal education will be recognized after being tested by the Authorities appointed by the Local Government”. Meanwhile, the other article says that “the result of non-formal education will be appreciated and the competency would be recognized after it passed the competency test, held by the testing agency appointed by the local government”. These provisions assure that HS students could continue their education to a higher stage. It can be proven by a fact that one of the ITB students used to be homeschooled.

Government’s intervention toward the HS performed in Bandung was strengthened by the Regulation of Mayor Number 31 of 2019 which concern on testing procedures, the transfer to another education track and the recognition of learning result for the students of formal education and informal education.

Furthermore, the government of Bandung frequently held many kinds of activities for the development of HS. It was noted that the Education Authority of Bandung had successfully sponsored 10 related activities in 2016, ranging from scientific competitions to the model arrangement for the implementation of HS and the socialization performed by the overseers of PKBM which supports HS students. During the implementation of those activities, the atmosphere of openness between the HS of different religions, races, and ethnicities was unbelievably pleasant.

According to the observation, the religious people of HS Pramuka with different characters and ideologies were able to build a friendly interaction and communication without any partition. When we performed observation on HS Pramuka in Taman Lansia, we found several females with ‘hijab’ and ‘niqab’ who were not reluctant to communicate with Chinese adults. Dita, the coordinator of HS Pramuka (she wore a quite long ‘hijab’, could easily build interaction and socialize with other people, even with the ones who did not wear ‘hijab’.

- b. A close relationship between the government of Bandung and the popular practitioners of HS. It was a distinctive factor which would be helpful to prevent the development of religious radicalism in the homeschooling system. As of the appointment of Dr Elih Sudyapermana as the chair of the Education Authorities of Bandung, many HS families said that they felt supported by the local government. The officials of Education Authority in Bandung confirmed that they had a good relationship with the founders of HS, especially the founder of Community HS and Plural HS.
- c. The effort given by the local government for improving the wellbeing and achievement of the school’s overseer (during the reigning of Elih Permana) generated a kind of resilience which could minimize the development of radical HS. The ‘tupoksi’ of the overseer would be to monitor the non-formal and informal education. Consequently, the position of school overseer, which used to be recognized as ‘the second class livelihood’, is now being demanded by a large number of people because the salary of overseer has reached 13 million Rupiah, which is more than the salary of supervisor. In many kinds of occasions, Elih tried to emphasize the importance of tolerance, as well as the importance

of respecting diversity. During the awards for individuals who gave a good contribution to the development of education in Bandung (including the practitioners of HS), Elih mentioned the importance of creating a generation who could turn diversity into an evenness, resulting in harmony for the people of Indonesia.

- d. An intensive interaction and communication performed face to face or through social media with the growing HS practitioners residing in Bandung. The government held a regular meeting with the HS practitioners became a wrecking ball that destroys radicalism, resulting in the amalgamation between the HS of different backgrounds and ideologies within a single activity where they could support each other. The abundance of homeschooling agencies, along with their strong networks, generated a difficulty in identifying exclusive HS, or the HS which alienated themselves from the other group of people. Sanny Darmawan, the oldest HS practitioner in Bandung, said that:

*"It would be very hard to manage homeschooling independently, or just by the help of your own family. Children need to grow. They also want to mingle and play with their peers. Thus, the parents who perform homeschooling should not be self-centered"*

Meanwhile, the Exclusive Salafi HS (operating in Bandung), was vulnerable for being used as the media of radical HS development because they alienated themselves from the people outside their circles, being intolerant and having a vision of Islamic state. In the case of Bandung, it was not easy to find the 'Exclusive Salafi' because they were reluctant to open themselves. This statement was approved by an informant of this research:

*The radical ones wouldn't open themselves to other people, would they? They won't be interviewed this way. But I think I've never met radical homeschooling here in Bandung. We were mostly tolerant. We found homeschooling eases our life because there are so many things in schools that won't be suitable (for our children). We'll never be able to change the whole school, though. (Wiwid, 15 August 2016)*

Dita also approved the 'not-so-amiable' behavior of Exclusive Salafi HS. Most of the exclusive salafi HS were singular HS. During the informal interview, Dita said that *"Some future members of HS Pramuka came here and they wanted to join us. But after they saw our activities, which were attended by many kinds of children with different religions, they never came back"*.

This kind of attitude was taught by the parents to their children. Shahra Ramadhani, who had undergone homeschooling for two months when attending the interview with us, said that she needed to ask permission from her parents when she wanted to mingle with her non-Muslim friends, because they were worried about her faith if she made friends with non-Muslims. Shahra came from a family who was very strong in performing the values of religion.

## Padang

In Padang, Singular Homeschooling possessed resilience against exclusivism. The singular HS in Padang taught their students to understand diversity in the context of ethnic and religion. Hana and Adit, for instance, would frequently bring their children to a 'cultural village' situated around their houses. Similarly, Cokro and Nita would introduce many kinds of religions and elaborated on the differences between religions and ethics to their children. Hana emphasized the critical and objective thinking of her students when assessing some problems. She told her students that every nation has bad people. She took an example from a Chinese movie that contains the villain and hero. She promoted the concept of 'love the motherland' and the sense of nationalism. She taught me how to memorize 'Indonesia Raya'. As for the education of citizenship, she said that she had many things to say during the educational trip.

Meanwhile, HS Umat Mulia and PKBM HS Markazul Qur'an were considered to be the ones possessing vulnerability because they were reluctant to build interaction with non-Muslims. Here is the confirmation from an informant when being asked about tolerance:

*"So, tolerance is just like the tasamuh, between the followers of religions, or the process of socialization. When we believe in different religions, we'll use the concept of 'your faith is just for you, and my faith is just for me'. 'Lakum diinukum waliyadin'. But our students had never practiced 'tasamauh' because we haven't yet met the ones with a different religion. Thus, our students have not yet comprehended the subject of tolerance and socialization"*

## GENDER

This research was focused on the aspect of gender strengthening. The majority of our informants (the practitioners of HS) were females. The total number of informants was 129 with a composition of 85 females (66%) and 44 males (34%). In the process of instrument design, we conducted informant election and observation through the aspect of equity between men and women. Gender issue in the aspect of development is still happening, either in the context of education, health, economy or politics, even though Inpres (Presidential Instruction) No 9 of 2000 (on Gender Mainstreaming) had been released by the government, where every Ministry and State Institutions are required to create a program to minimize gender gap. Besides, the government had also released policies on gender mainstreaming for many kinds of RPJM (National Medium Term Development Plan), including the RPJM of 2019-2024 for assuring the implementation of gender equality and justice amongst Indonesian people.

In point of fact, this research found that homeschooling strengthens the values of gender inequality. HS practitioners tend to institutionalized the system of patriarchy which emphasizes the 'division of labor' and unequal relation between men and women. Mansur Fakhri (1997) mentions that there are five forms of gender injustice, namely subordination, marginalization,

stereotype, double burden, and violence. These forms of gender injustice could be used in the analysis process in order to find the existence of gender inequality in the context of HS. Speaking of the 'marginalization', this research found (in the case of Bandung) that several female practitioners of HS (both singular and plural) terminated their careers to focus on educating their children 'In home.' Dita, for example, had to quit her job after served as a lecturer for 13 years because she had to implement homeschooling for her children. Dita said that she taught her three children by herself in the beginning, but her husband was eventually involved in the HS. Dita's experience implied that women are marginalized economically.

Furthermore, most of the HS practitioners were still applying the conventional division of labors, emphasizing the dichotomy during the job division within the family. The role of a husband would be in the strategical side, such as determining the vision of his family, determining the education for his children, evaluating children's achievement, and acting as the breadwinner. Meanwhile, the role of a wife would be on the technical side, such as acting as the teacher for her children.

*The husband is the one to determine the vision of the family. His role is not on the technical side, but he works on the vision and mission instead. Character building would be the responsibility of the husband. They would discuss their ideas and the wives would implement the idea. Husbands usually give advises about the implementation, but they would not be involved in it. We count on our husbands for the character building. They would determine the direction of their kids, and they evaluate the capability. Although two of my children are not homeschooled, my husband would still be the direction determinant and he would evaluate the achievement of our kids. (Nurhasanah, 14 August 2019).*

Gender inequality is indicated by the increment of the burden that should be bore by the wives. They were not only required to do chores because they had to be a teacher too. This increment of burden could result in frustration, just like what happened to an HS practitioner residing in Bandung. Sani felt frustrated because her kid quit school and chose to be homeschooled, but he/she ended up playing video games for the whole year. Women would usually feel frustrated when they chose to implement homeschool for the first time because they have no clue on how to determine curriculum and learning strategy that would be suitable for their kids. This statement was approved by Nurhasanah. The level of stress would be increased when their homeschooled kids had to undergo National Exam (UN).

In West Sumatra, the education about the roles of the genders, and the equality for men and women in accessing education, expressing themselves and conveying ideas was performed in most of the HS located in three regions of West Sumatra. Job division between fathers and mothers who perform homeschooling (in the effort of helping their children to learn) was quite balanced.

But we found that female HS students were experiencing some difficulties. These difficulties were related to the view of religion applied in the homeschooling or the personal views of the student themselves, as mentioned by an informant, M.



*“As for now, we haven't yet successfully separated the students based on their genders due to the current reality. But we installed a partition because teenagers are quite difficult (to handle). They will find their way, anyhow. So, we installed partition to be the limit between male and female students”*

## CONCLUSION

Homeschooling (HS) becomes a popular learning method between the urban societies of Indonesia because it is flexible and it can be customized according to the talents and the interests of the students. Nevertheless, the homeschooling regulation can only be applied to the community-based HS and it has not yet successfully reached the singular and plural HS, making them a vulnerable ‘abandoned land’ to the transmission and cultivation of narrow-minded or radical religion values.

Homeschooling is a potential medium for the development of a ‘spiral of encapsulation’ which alienates children from the common values that are supposed to open their minds. Homeschooling can be used as the controlling tool for the group of people who commits violent extremism by forming a ‘spiral of encapsulation’ through the narration of identity exclusivism and religious values which negate the legitimation of the existing system, and by refusing the concept of diversity. However, this condition can be handled by most of the homeschooling practitioners (inclusive or secular HS), where the promotion of citizenship values, social cohesion, and respect for diversities is being prioritized. Therefore, we need implementation and comprehensive regulation to oversee and guide the variants of homeschooling in Indonesia.

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## PROFILE OF THE INSTITUTION

Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta is a research institute founded in 1994. PPIM has successfully conducted researches on the sector of policy advocacy and publications related to the issues of religious life and religious education in Indonesia. by cooperating with UNDP Indonesia, PPIM UIN Jakarta has successfully implemented a program called Countering Violent Extremism for Youth (CONVEY) in Indonesia (2017). the purpose of this program was to promote peace for Indonesia based on the potency of religious education in handling intolerance, anti-diversity, radicalism, and violent extremism among young people. Furthermore, PPIM has also published 'Jurnal Internasional Studia Islamika' focusing on the study of Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia







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