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NATIONALISM AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: WHERE ARE POLITICAL PARTIES INCLINED TO?



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PPIM UIN Jakarta - UNDP Indonesia

NASIONALISM AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION:

Where are Political Parties Inclined to?



CONVEY REPORT

Nationalism and Religious Education: Where Are Political Parties Inclined to?

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GLOSSARIES

Indonesian	English
PPIM UIN Jakarta	Center for the Study of Islam and Society
PDI Perjuangan	Indonesian Democratic Party Struggle
Partai Gerindra	Great Indonesian Movement Party
Partai Golkar	Party of the Functional Group
PKB	National Awakening Party
Partai NasDem	Nasdem Party
PKS	Prosperous Justice Party
Partai Demokrat	Democratic Party
PAN	National Mandate Party
PPP	United Development Party
Partai Perindo	Indonesian Unity Party
Partai Berkarya	Berkarya Party
PSI	Indonesian Solidarity Party
Partai Hanura	People's Conscience Party
PBB	Crescent Star Party
Partai Garuda	Garuda Party
PKPI	Indonesian Justice and Unity Party
Pancasila	Five principles

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

A political party is one of the main democratic pillars having strategic roles not merely in determining the political dynamics of a society but also in formulating public policy. The political party plays a significant role in formulating laws, including those related to religion and religious education. In relation to religious life and religious education in Indonesia in the last several years, political party's role became vital and it is expected to be able to be made as a determinant for policy in the midst of the emergence of religious attitude and behavior that are exclusive, closed, anti-nationalism even pro-violence in society and also penetrated to education (PPIM, 2016, 2017, & 2018; Puspidep, 2017 & 2018; Wahid Institute, 2016; Maarif Institute, 2018; PSBPS, 2019). The political party as one of the democratic pillars has an important role in maintaining the state's unity.

This CONVEY Report is compiled in order to provide an illustration of a political party's view on religious education. This writing is the report of research conducted by PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Political Party's View on Religious Education. In the context of a multicultural Indonesia, religious education is a medium in producing future generations to be placed at the frontline of the nation and state in various sectors: social, politics, economy, culture, and so on. Therefore, inclusive, tolerant, and compassionate values leading to humanity must be embedded in them through religious education prioritizing dialogic and critical thinking aspects without hegemony and indoctrination.

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Writers

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research was aimed to see the political parties' view on religious education vision-mission by investigating the political parties' policy and to what extent the political parties respond to nationalism, diversity, and Indonesianity issues. In the context of multicultural Indonesia, religious education should lead to tolerant, harmonious, understanding, and respectful behaviors without discrimination and violent actions as well as initiating collaborative attitudes between different religious communities and believers.

This research was focused on digging the view of 16 political parties (PDI Perjuangan, Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, PKB, Party NasDem, PKS, Demokrat Party, PAN, PPP, Perindo Party, Berkarya Party, PSI, Hanura Party, PBB, Garuda Party, and PKPI) related to religious education matter by emphasizing three main questions: a). To what extent the political parties' views on religious education vision and mission? How is political parties' view on an ideal image of religious education? What are the crucial problems in religious education deemed as a priority? To what extent the political parties respond the religious education and the latest religiosity? b). How are the program and policy related to religious education and religiosity of each political party? What policy issued by the political parties related to religious education? What is the future agenda of the political parties in connection to religious education and religiosity? c). To what extent the political parties respond and view on religious education and religiosity in relation to nationalism, diversity, and Indonesianity?

This research found out that the political parties related to religious education can be divided into three typologies. First, Islamic Party including a). Modern Islamic Party such as PKS, PPP, PBB, and PAN. PKS and PPP are more focused on Islamic superiority supremacy in religious education. While PBB is a Modern-Formalistic party, with modern aspects in Indonesian-ness nuance, not concurring with the adoption of *Salafi-Wahabi* Islam from the Middle East. On this matter, PAN also developed a modern religious education notion by emphasizing religious integration in all subjects, as well as confirming the need for religious education supporting pluralism; b). Moderate-Traditional Islamic party such as PKB prompting the importance of strengthening traditional education institutions of *pesantren* and *madrasah* as well as accommodating local culture as a way to strengthen moderate Islam based on *rahmatan lil 'alamin* as an effort to block radicalism view.

Second, Nationalist-Religious. This type of political party stands in the middle. This political party supports religious education and religious agenda in politics sector, but not too involved (interventionist). This political party is stressing on the need to balance the state/nation and religiosity. Third, Nationalistic like PDI Perjuangan emphasized that religious education as the nation's Concept subordinate. For PDI Perjuangan, Pancasila Education is the foremost aspect of religious education. PDI Perjuangan tends to deny the state's role in religion, or at least the state should not be too involved because religion is a private domain. PDI Perjuangan viewed that the current religious education is more Islamic. Other than PDI Perjuangan, PSI is a political party having a notion that liberal religious education may support the implementation of religious

studies to initiate understanding between religions. For PSI, religious education tends to strengthen orthodoxy as a threat because it is based on exclusivism. Meanwhile, NasDem Party has a view that it needs a state's intervention in religious education strengthening especially in order to prevent radicalism. For NasDem Party, the state must be assertive to *Salafi-Wahabi* who tends to cause intolerance and violence. On a certain degree, PDI Perjuangan, PSI, and NasDem Party are those concurrently strictly refusing religious regulation, such as Sharia Regional Regulation that is regarded as discriminative to minority groups and it endangers the unity of Indonesia.

As policy research, the present research was aimed to offer the know-how of roles for political parties, as one of the democratic pillars, in viewing religious education in Indonesia. At last, this research delivered some policy recommendations to government and policy maker to:

1. Encourage political parties to strengthen the compatibility between religious knowledge and nationalism in the vision, mission, regeneration, and recruitment as well as Articles of Associations of Political Parties.
2. Strengthen dialogic and democratic space for civil society element to voice out their aspiration in connection with religious education formulation policy towards political parties. This practice may be executed by receiving people's aspirations from various circles as an effort to revise the policy related to religious education.
3. Support the government role, on this matter, is the Ministry of Home Affairs, in strengthening the party's regulation supporting the compatibility between religious and nationalism education.

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BACKGROUND

A political party is one of the main pillars of democracy having a strategic role not only in determining the political dynamics of a society but also in formulating public policy. The political party plays a significant role in formulating laws, including those related to religion and religious education (Mujani & Liddle, 2018; Muhtadi & Mietzner, 2019; LIPI, 2018 & 2019).

In relation to religious life and religious education in Indonesia in the last several years, political party's role became vital and it is expected to be able to be made as a determinant for policy in the midst of the emergence of religious attitude and behavior that are exclusive, closed, anti-nationalism even pro-violence in society and also penetrated to education (PPIM, 2016, 2017, & 2018; Puspidep, 2017 & 2018; Wahid Institute, 2016; Maarif Institute, 2018; PSBPS, 2019). The political party as one of the democratic pillars has an important role in maintaining the state's unity.

Historically, political parties in Indonesia started to be formed during the election preparation in 1946 characterized by the formation of 137 political parties. The election plan of 1946 failed to be held. However, at least 27 political parties still existed until 1954 as specified in the political parties' profile book published by the Old Order government. In 1955, the first general election in Indonesia was successfully held. The general election was recognized democratically. The result of the 1955 general election clearly indicated that there is a division of ideology and stream of social politics in Indonesian citizen at that time. There were four major political parties winning the most votes; PNI, Masyumi, NU, and PKI. Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) was a representation of the nationalist community, Masyumi from the modern community, and NU from the traditionalist community. As for the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was the representation of the communist community.

When the regime changed, the Old Order collapse and substituted by the New Order under the leadership of President Soeharto, then there was a simplification of the party's number participating in the general election. The 1971 general election was only participated by 10 political parties. The next election (1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, dan 1997) – after the fusion or merger of political parties in 1973 – only participated by 3 candidates; Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party/PPP), Golkar Party, PDI Perjuangan. A number of Islamic political parties were merging into PPP. The Golkar Party claimed itself as a “Kekuatan Kekaryaannya (Working Power)” based on development and economic welfare, not admitting itself as a political party. Because the political party was rated having a poor image, that it only pursues their own interest which is: power. While PDI was a fusion of Nationalist parties, Catholic Party and Christian Party (Parkindo).

During the New Order, six general elections were held, Golkar Party used to obtain the most votes, followed by PPP and PDI Perjuangan. In the practice, Golkar Party became a government party. Due to its continuous domination, Golkar Party was often called a hegemonic party. For the semi-authoritarian New Order government, the absolute win of Golkar Party in general

elections – due to its domination in parliament – was highly needed to secure the government policies in parliament.

Almost all government agendas, including those related to politics, religion, and education, obtained the full support from Golkar representatives in legislative. The other two parties, PPP and PDI Perjuangan, did not perform their parties' role and function normally as it should be in a democratic country. That is because the New Order regime did not want the critical opposition power to grow.

In the reformation era signaled by the collapse of the New Order, Indonesia was entering a democratic climate carrying a number of significant changes agenda in the general election and party systems. The transition period of government allowed the establishment of political parties. Hence, no more restrictions like that of the previous era. The first general election in the reformation era was held in 1999 participated by 48 political parties. In the next general election, 2004, it was participated by 24 political parties. Then, in the 2009 general election, it was participated by 38 political parties. In 2014, with 12 political parties and in the last general election, 2019, 16 political parties at the national level officially participated. 12 political parties were the participants from the previous General Election, while the other 4 political parties were new. It is important to be noted, that since the 2009 general election, there were 6 local political parties established in 2009, 3 political parties in 2014, and 4 political parties in 2019.

This multiparty general election has brought significant changes in the composition of parliament or legislative body. It differs from the New Order era where government control on parliament was very strong through its "arm extension", that is Golkar Party's representatives who are a majority as well as the representatives from the army who obtained a significant portion of chairs in the parliament. This configuration changes in line with the more democratic multiparty general election. At this point, no more dominant political power who tends to monopolize political processes in the parliament. With more parties' representatives in parliament and a more widely distributed chairs, the policymaking in parliament shall eventually involve more parties. Negotiation and compromises process involving parties are inevitable in order to realize a number of policies, including in the law's drafting. Theoretically, the more actors involved in the legislation process at parliament, the more the end product reflects various views and/or interest – in this case especially the political parties having influence in the parliament.

The studies on political parties and religious education (Islam) policy have not been much considered. Even though, serious attention to religious education involving politicians is vital because from the educational institutions the future generations are expected to be able to create peace from various sectors: social, economy, politics, and culture. Therefore, it needs extensive study to know what policy and activity taken by political parties in relation to religious education, and how the political parties play their roles in the education sector that is in the last few decades has been penetrated by intolerance and radicalism, (PPIM, 2016, 2017, dan 2018; Maarif Institute, 2018; Wahid Institute, 2016; Puspidep, 2018; CSRC, 2018).

As we know that, in some countries, the policy concerning education and religiosity is one of

several vital arenas of tension and competition involving social and political power, not only in Islamic countries but also in several secular Western countries (Kuru, 2009: 8; Bader, 2007: 155). Kuru noted that at least there are six controversial issues related to the state's policy on education in three secular countries (French, Turkey, and United States), namely: (1) the usage of religious clothes and symbols by students in public schools; (2) religious pledges and prayers in public schools; (3) private religious education; (4) religious instructions in public schools; (5) society funding for private religious schools; and (6) worship regulation in public schools.

In various Islamic countries, such as those recorded by Cesari (2004), issues related to religious education often trigger contention either in government, political parties, even in society. Generally, some sensitive issues triggering contention in connection with the belief of minority (internal Moslem or non-Moslem) that is not sufficiently accommodated in religious education, also the issue of Islamism, secularization, and so on.

In the context of Indonesia, the above phenomena are not so different. In the New order era until the reformation era, the policy for national education and religious education had existed as a political contention occurring in society up to parliament. The debate and contention topics were varied, from the duration of teaching hours, education purpose wished to be achieved, until those related to the state's autonomy and intervention in religious matters. The regulation of school costume became a controversy in the 1980s, where the policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture at that time prohibiting the hijab for Moslem female students was regarded as harming the Islamic community.

The contention was escalated, how should the suitable national education paradigm be implemented in Indonesia. Some said that secular education is the best, while the other said that such education is not suitable for Indonesian people who are religious. The polemic about national education policy kept growing. At the beginning of the New Order era until the 1980s, the government's attitude and policy on education and religious education were considered very secular. Even by the critics, by especially Islamic figures, rated as anti-Islamic policy. The situation changed drastically after that. Approximately from the late 1980s to this date, the national education policy is considered "religious". The long process of the birth of UU Sisdiknas of 1989 and UU Sisdiknas of 2003 must go through a fierce debate involving government, political parties, and groups of society. One of the most highlighted problems was the regulations related to religious education. Several groups refused the establishment of regulation on religious education stating that there were some indications of the state's excessive intervention in a private matter. It indicated stronger conservatism affecting the policy content. Some parties were also worried about discrimination and intolerance potentials. On the other hand, the new policy supporter of religious education in school said that the regulation is more advanced than the previous regulations since it assured the rights of students to get religious education according to their religions and including the teachers of the respective religions.

It is undeniable that this day until later on, issues related to religious education policy in school shall be always become a topic showing pros and cons in society. The polemic continuously occurring is inseparable from the reality of Indonesian citizens who are diverse and fragmented, thus in order to find the religious education policy and national education formulation that

is truly reflecting public good is not easy. Multiculturalism reflected in the diverse culture, religion, tribe, ethnic, and others on one side is a treasure that we must be thankful for, but if it cannot be managed well, including if it does not obtain reasonable portion in the government's policy (including on national education and religiosity regulation) it shall be "a ticking time bomb" which have the potential to blow up our house, Indonesianity, any time.

Institutionally, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) with its legislation function is a strategic body in determining the formulation and direction of Indonesian national education regulation. It is not exaggerated if today the burden lies on the shoulder of politicians representing citizens in parliament as a legislator to be able to reformulate the direction and policy of the national education and religious education in line with the spirit of diversity in the nation and state life, strengthen nationalism knowledge, respect the diversity and grow tolerance. Based on the above reasons, research to scrutinize the attitude and view of political parties concerning religious education in Indonesia becomes very important to be conducted.

DEFINITION AND CONCEPT

A. Universal Values

Universal values in this research are defined as the values applied for all human sourced from religious teaching (Islam). Thus, universal values related to the teaching substance of religious education and religiosity are the same as those need to be realized in the laws on religious education in Indonesia.

B. Internal and External Tolerances

Internal tolerance in this research is defined as a relation of understanding each other, either in the religious community (internal tolerance) or between humans with a different religion (external tolerance), that is based on the difference and similarity in a religious community or between religious communities. Hence, what kind of internal and external tolerances related to the behavior of a religious community that must be taught by teachers to students and manifested in the laws supported by political parties.

C. Religion and the State

Religion and the State (Islamism) in this research are defined as the view of political parties' figures on the relation between religion and the state (Islamic country, secular country, NKRI, and others). Therefore, the relation between religion and state can be seen from the attitude of political parties which is then manifested in the laws whose legislation process is supported by the political parties. The relation pattern between country and religion creates several types of the country that can be illustrated in the spectrum of religious country, country recognizing official religion, secular country, anti-religion country (Kuru,

2009). Some secular countries tend to accommodate religions, the other tends to be hostile to religions, while in the middle is a secular country who is neutral to religions.

D. Political Party's Program and Policy

The political party's program and policy in this research are defined as the program and policy of the political party that can be accessed via the party's website and interview with the party's administrator, especially in regard to education in Indonesia, specifically religious education. The political party's view on nationalism and religion can be formulated in a number of party's type or variety. In this research, the political party's program and policy were investigated further in relation to their attitude in viewing religious education and religiosity as well as how to develop religious education and religiosity at school.

APPROACH AND METHOD

This research was conducted in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, with the representatives of 16 political parties that participated in the 2019 General Election with 3 or 6 informants from each party. In the planning of this research, 75 informants were targeted. However, during data collection, we faced problems, so only 46 informants were successfully interviewed. Whereas the sixteen political parties and the number of informants from political parties are as follow:

Party	Number of Informants
PDI Perjuangan	3
Gerindra Party	2
Golkar Party	4
PKB	3
NasDem Party	4
PKS	4
Demokrat Party	2
PAN	6
PPP	4
Perindo Party	2
Berkarya Party	1
PSI	1
Hanura Party	2
PBB	3
Garuda Party	3

Party	Number of Informants
PKPI	2
Total	46

This research used an analysis unit of political parties' representatives who participated in the 2019 General Election. The data used in this research were obtained from interviewing 46 respondents representing 16 political parties who participated in the 2019 general election. This research was to obtain interview data from three or six representatives from each political party. As the informant of research, the relevant people were interviewed by the writers to get the necessary information in order to answer the research questions. This research used a qualitative approach by in-depth interview to the informant comprising from chairman, general secretary, education head department or those related to religious education, such as the member of DPR RI commission from the respective political party related to education, member of Legislative Body, member of Budget Body or member of DPR RI Fraction from the respective political party. In this research, document analysis was also conducted from the party's data and using the instrument as the interview guidelines adjusted to the vision, mission, program, and policy of the political party.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION POLITICS IN INDONESIA: FROM LIBERAL TO CONSERVATIVE?

To date, serious research related to the view and policy of the political parties in Indonesia on religious education has not been much considered. From various studies on post-reformation political parties, they were more focused on their electoral side and the role of the party in general. For instance, related to the party's winning strategy in Legislative Election (Pileg), Regional Head Election (Pilkada), or Presidential Election (Pilpres). Those studies are related to the political party's campaign and communication, recruitment and political cadre, party's funding, their roles in legislative and the likes. Only a few studies discussing the party's religious orientation (seen as a part of the political culture), have been conducted by some experts. The same applied to the aspects related to national education, research on the roles and works of political parties in the said field is rarely found.

Another aspect often discussed by a number of experts in democracy era, among others is the study related to the party's ideological congruence with its implemented policy. It investigated to what extent there is a consistency between the party's program and policy realization (especially if the relevant political party wins the general election and becomes a party in government). That surely includes how big the values proposed by the party or party's ideology plays a role in the policy formulation: does the ideology become a determining, less determining or non-determining factor? By looking back at the political portrait in Indonesia, we can highlight that the tension related to ideology and policy involving political parties, or political parties and government in the state is actually not new. Some of the tensions can be traced back to the multiparty era with sharp ideology fragmentation, especially after the 1950s, up to the simpler New Order party system.

By looking back at the political history in Indonesia, it can be noted some tensions and enmities involving political parties in parliament. Among them is caused by an ideological tension. During the New Order era, PPP who is at that time was considered to represent the Islamic power often criticizes the government's policy deemed deviated from Islamic teaching. For example, the case of Marriage Bill (1974), the infiltration of belief to GBHN, P-4, and the policy of Pancasila's main principle for all mass organizations and political power (Effendi, 2009). With the policies tend to "secular", oftentimes a number of Islamic elements accuse the government of running anti-Islamic politics.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the situation changed. The government previously considered hostile to Islam, not has become a supporter of the Islamic agenda. Even, the government itself sponsored many projects that are considered by a group of people – especially the nationalist group – as an Islamization project. The policy such as Islamic banking establishment, establishment of Indonesian Moslem's Intellectual Association (ICMI), Religious Court Law, and National Education System Law, also positions in the government's bureaucracy are mostly occupied by Islamic parties, are rated as evidence of changes to a more Islamic government.

In the transition era of democracy, “ideology” for a moment indicated the signs to revive. This assessment is mainly based on the emergence of aspiration from a number of Islamic groups to revitalize the Jakarta Charter through an amendment to UUD 1945. PBB and PPP became the vital element in this effort, even though this initiative was less accepted by the other political parties and failed to be realized. However, a number of contestations to arrange other regulations in parliament, a number of Islamic parties kept trying to tint the ideology, such as in Bill discussion on “anti-pornography. At the level of regulation formulation, generally continuing the previous policy providing space to accommodate Islamic interests, although oftentimes it had to go through complex negotiation in parliament.

In the reformation era, a quiet interesting phenomenon occurred was the behavior shift of political parties from “nationalist-secular” to a more moderate way. The most prominent example was PDI Perjuangan at the beginning of reformation tried so hard to improve its image to be more accepted by Moslem society. The image of PDI Perjuangan as a secular party even once considered as anti-Islam is harmful. PDI Perjuangan then reached the “right” by accommodating several Islamic aspirations, among others by establishing *Baitul Muslimin* (BM) and invited some Moslem’s activists to contribute through PDI Perjuangan. The shifting pendulum of PDI Perjuangan from the ideological spectrum of “nationalist-secular” to a more moderate “less secular” by accommodating Islamic aspirations and a number of Moslem elites, then followed by the tendency of the other nationalist parties such as Demokrat Party, Gerindra Party, and NasDem Party confirmed themselves as Nationalist-Religious parties.

For Islamic parties, the shifting phenomenon in nationalist parties to be more accommodative towards Islam has become a challenge. At least there were five Islamic political parties existed and quite influential in the reformation era, namely: Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party/PKB), Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party/PKS), Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party/PPP), Partai Bulan Bintang (Crescent Star Party/PBB) and Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party/PAN). Facing a more competitive competition in Islamic parties’ internal or other parties inclined to moderate, some of these Islamic parties implemented various methods and strategies. On one hand, they are expected to be successful electorally – which often urges them to behave pragmatically – but also have to affirm its identity as an Islamic party. Some of them were successful so they can survive to be Islamic parties taken into consideration nowadays, but some of them failed. It is important to be noted that, among Islamic political parties, even though they are concentrated into one religious identity cluster, but in the political practice they often have different ways, either in terms of how to respond issues, their positions on a certain policy, to the matter of political coalition.

AN INCREASINGLY RELIGIOUS NATIONAL EDUCATION

Political parties have a positive impact on religious education (Islam) in the long history of their existence. At least, political parties have an agenda and activity program to improve religious education quality. Nowadays, parties indeed have established the right-wing organization to perform religious activities. But do they have a serious concern about the improvement of religious education (Islam)? Nevertheless, political parties especially after the reformation era, have an important role in the policymaking process in Indonesia, either through their representatives in government or the legislative body.

By leaning to history, the founding fathers had placed education as a vital element in developing a newly independent country. In the Presidential Cabinet established just a few days after the proclamation, the Minister of Education – held by Ki Hajar Dewantara – was included. The new government surely had a big expectation for the success of education in the state. For a newly independent country, education is a strategic medium to keep up its development with other countries, that is by producing more educated people. The essence of education for a country's development can be seen from the national education goal as specified in Article 3 of Law Number 4 of 1950: The goal of education and teaching is to construct morally competent and democratic people and responsible for the public and state welfare.

The terms of 'democratic' and 'democracy' often found in the articles of Law as well as in its explanation showed that the content of regulation is very dependent on the spirit of the era. After Indonesia became independent, the founding fathers wished Indonesia to be a modern and democratic country, not fascist or feudal like many others worried. The passion inspired the formulation of national education laws in the formative era. The roles and functions of education held by the government are not only to educate its people or prepare skilled manpower for employment but – through government's intervention – education is also often used as a medium to legitimate government's policy. In many authoritarian governments, the most frequently used method is through indoctrination in schools to shape the behavior and mindset reflecting the ruler ideology.

In such situation, education is no more a free, dialogic, and education discourse space, but only provides legitimation or justification for the ruling government. During the Guided Democracy, President Soekarno was clearly trying to control education policy to support his conceptions, in this case, s Political Manifesto (Manipol)/1945 Constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesia Identity (Usdek). At that time, the direction and goal of national education were inseparable from the main goal of revolution proposed by Soekarno, namely imperialism, feudalism, and capitalism. In the Presidential Decree Number 19 of 1965 concerning the Principles of Pancasila National Education System, clearly illustrated how national education politicization supporting the ruler ideology at that time.

In PP (Government Regulation) Number 19 of 1965, it is stated that the function of education is as a revolution tool, Pancasila and Manipol Used as the basis inspirit the national education

(article 1). The purpose of education is to produce Indonesian Socialist Human, as specified in article 2 of National Education Purpose: Our National Education Purpose, either held by Government or by private parties, from the Pre-School Education to Higher Education, is to produce morally Socialist citizens, responsible for the implementation of Indonesian Socialist Citizens, fair and prosperous spiritually or materially and have the spirit of Pancasila.

Tap (Resolution of The People's Representative Council) Number II/MPRS/1960 concerning the Outline of National Development Pattern, it is also formulated the purpose of national development policy. It is mentioned in Article 2 (5): Implementing the policy and national education system leading to the establishment of experts in development in accordance with Indonesian Socialist human, having noble disposition.

By taking into account the purpose of national education on the two regulations emphasizing the realization of "Socialist Citizens" or "Socialist Human", there seemed to be an influence of President Soekarno's conception at that time continuously promoting revolution for socialist citizens in Indonesia. This conception was also directly instructed to be taught at schools through the subject of Pancasila and Manipol (Political Manifesto) that must be taught at the level of lower education to higher education. For some critics, this kind of education policy was considered as a form of national education politicization by the regime directed to shift to the "left".

At the beginning of the New Order, with a government model having the same tendency of centralistic and semi authoritarian-politics, education in Indonesia also could not be separated from the government's point of view. The orientation of the new ruler emphasized on the creation of "order and development ideology" as an antithesis of the previous situation deemed full of chaos. The New Order Government intended to perform 'depoliticization' on education as an antithesis of the previous policy. Education was not only a political revolution tool but also as a medium to prepare skilled manpower ready to be employed. However, in the practice politicization on education was continuing. Politics of uniformity and centralized system were implemented in education policy. Indoctrination via education, as in the Old Order era, still occurred not with a goal of "Socialist Human" anymore but with "Pancasila Human".

At all levels of education, all students are obliged to take Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) subject. PMP material was taught in a 'one-way' method, its interpretation was very state-centric and its spirit was on the basis to provide justification for the government's ideology and policy. For some parties, especially the Islamic community, education policy at the beginning until the middle of the New Order was deemed secular. Turmoil emerged, among others related to the more marginalized religious worries in education – especially after Pancasila's main principle policy – there was a prejudice that Pancasila teaching would substitute religious teaching in schools. In addition, the discontentment of the Islamic community was also related to the prohibition for Moslem female students to use Moslem wear (hijab) at schools.

In 1989, there was a new regulation concerning education, Law Number 2 of 1989 on the National Education System. In the late 1980s up to the beginning of the 1990s, there were many political experts as the result of the government's relation shifting with the Islamic community.

If previously the relation was poor and conflict often occurred, from the late 1980s, President Soeharto started to show a positive approach to the Islamic community. In the social policy sector, politics, or economy, the government's tendency to "social interest" became more and more clear. The establishment of Law Number 2 of 1989 was also mostly interpreted as a form of accommodation and support to the Islamic community's aspiration. In this law, the purpose of national education was: To educate citizens and develop Indonesian human as a whole, that is faithful and pious human to the God Almighty and virtuous, having knowledge and skill, physical and spiritual health, having steady and independent characteristics as well as social and nationality responsibility" (Article 4).

The discussion process of the above Education Bill did not run smoothly. There were several aspects in Bill deemed controversial so that was refused by some groups. One of the objections was related to the clause on religious teaching at schools. Some "secular nationalist" politicians declined the provision, while the other group, Islamic communities either in Golkar Party or PPP, were very supportive. Some parties criticizing Law number 2 of 1989 have an opinion that the education regulation tends to the majority religion interest or Islam. The emergence of "faithful" and "pious" for the purpose of national education, was rated as evidence of alignment.

After the Old Order, Indonesia was entering the democratization era, many important changes happened in the national political constellation. The role of the country was no longer as strong as the previous period. The multiparty system started to prevail had shown new actors, especially in the parliament, that is political parties. After the first general election of 1999 reformation, political parties played an important role in formulating national policies, either in political, economic, social, cultural, education aspects, or religious aspects. A number of educations regulations formed in the reformation era, especially Law Number 22 of 2003 on the National Education System, deeply indicated the influence of political parties in parliament. The discussion of National Education Bill in the transitional period was quite harsh, tug of war happened between fractions in parliament so that the law produced later could accommodate more votes and interest of the party.

In Law Number 2003 Article 3 concerning Sisdiknas (National Education System), it was stated that the purpose of national education is: To develop the student's potential to be a faithful and pious human to the Almighty God, has noble moral, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative, independent, and become a democratic and responsible citizen.

This purpose formulation is the result of a long compromise between fractions involved in the discussion of law design, but not all fractions are willing to accept the formulation. PDI Perjuangan declared their political stance to decline the Sisdiknas Bill because they thought that the design content is very aligned to a certain religious group, in this case, is the Islamic aspiration and it does not reflect the diversity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Meanwhile, for other political parties, the Sisdiknas Law is considered as the best result achieved and has represented the aspirations of all communities.

Table 1. Purpose of National Education

Regulation	Purpose	Keywords
Law Number 4/1950	Shaping skilled ethical human being as well as democratic and responsible citizens for the society's and state's welfare	Ethical human, Democratic citizen
PP Number 19 of 1965	Creating ethical Indonesian Socialist citizens, responsible for the establishment of Indonesian Socialist Society, fair and prosperous spiritually or materially, and Pancasila spirited.	Socialist citizen, Pancasila spirited Socialist Society
Law Number 2/1989	Educating people and developing a completely Indonesian human, the faithful and pious human to the Almighty God and virtuous, having knowledge and skill, physical and spiritual health, having a steady and independent character as well as responsible to the society and country.	Complete Indonesia Human
Faithful and Pious Human to the Almighty God Law Number 20/2003 Virtuous Human Democratic citizen	Improving the students' potentials as the faithful and pious human to the Almighty God, virtuous, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative, independent, and become a democratic and responsible citizen	Faithful and Pious Human to the Almighty God

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION REGULATION: FROM LIBERAL TO ISLAMIC?

Religious teaching for students at school became one of the main focuses of national education policy. The government included a religious teaching clause in national education regulations. The provision of religious education at school at least for government is important in order to show that national education is not “anti-religion” or too secular. Although if it is reviewed further, various regulations existed since the post-proclamation formative period until after reformation there were some provisions shifting of religious teaching at school that were more conservative. Compared to the law funding regulation related to the existing national education, the spirit of religious education implementation as specified in Law Number 4/1950 is liberal, in the context of providing rights for students and parents to choose whether to take the religion subject or not. Concerning the religious teaching overseas, Law Number 04/1950, article 20: In public schools, there is a religious subject; the parents shall determine to include their children in the subject or not.

Furthermore, the explanation of this article stated that adult students may choose to take the religion subject or not. Based on the content of the article and its explanation, there is no obligation for students to take the religion subject at school. This policy can be seen as an appreciation form to the students’ rights as well as showing a more democratic attitude. This article is confirmed by the following regulation, among other the Decision Number II/MPRS/1960. In Article 2 (3) of Tap MPR (Resolution of The People’s Consultative Assembly), it is stated that: Stipulating religious education as a subject at schools from public schools to State universities with a definition that students serve the right not participate if the adult parents/student stated their objection.

Based on the above article, the government enacting religious education as a subject prevailing from the Public School (Elementary School) level to the state universities level, but the parents or adult students have a full right to take the class or not. A quite striking provision changes emerged in the new regulation existed a while after “the end” of the Old Order under President Soeharto. Through the Provisional Number XXVII/MPRS/1966 where the previous right was given to parents and adult students to choose, it was erased from the new regulation. The implication, religion subject became compulsory for all students from the lowest level (elementary school) to university. However – with human rights reasoning – the Tap MPRS still provides a little freedom for students, that is in terms of choosing religion subject according to their own religions or as they wished. In Chapter I Article I Provisional Number XXVII/MPRS/1966 on Religion, Education and Culture, it is stated: Amendment to the dictum of MPRS Provisional Number II/MPRS/1960 Chapter II Article 2 clause (3), by erasing the words “with the definition that students serve the right not to participate if the parents/adult student stated their objection” so the sentence shall be written as “stipulating religious education as a subject at schools from elementary school to state universities”.

In the article explanation section, it was stated that: (a) All religions recognized by the Government shall have the same opportunity; (b) For tolerance and based on human rights

principle, every student is free to choose religion subject according to his/her belief/wish. The historical context and political situation of the regulation requiring students to take this religion subject cannot be separated from the government's effort to protect education from the influence of communism doctrine or concept (Suhadi dkk., CRCS, 2015). In addition, in the Tap MPRS, it is also stated that one of the contents of education is "strengthening religious beliefs". This point is interesting to be observed because it can be considered as the starting point underlying further development placing faith and piety as an inseparable part of the national education purpose as reflected in the following regulations. In short, after the collapse of the Old Order and the disappearance of communist power in Indonesia, the influence of religion became more secured in the national education regulation.

During the New Order, a number of fierce frictions have aroused to the surface in relation to the relation between national education and religious practice at school, and also about the religious education regulation.

The New Order Government at the beginning of its regime showed a strong tendency to perform secularization of national education. As recorded by Tayeb (2018), during the 1973 parliament assembly discussing the Broad Guidelines of State Policy or GBHN of government's party, Golkar Party, proposed to erase religious education class from public schools. This proposal was drawn due to a strong objection from the Islamic party, PPP. The government also reduced the religion lesson hour at schools up to half of it. The obligation for all students to take Pendidikan Moral Pancasila (Pancasila Moral Education/PMP) – generally an indoctrination – was also considered as marginalizing the vital role of religious education. Moreover, there were some teaching materials in PMP that were considered "misleading" by a number of Moslem figures at that time. The government was also considered as deliberately choosing the education ministries having a secular view in order to smooth out their agenda, such as Daoed Joesoef, Nugroho Notosusanto, and Fuad Hasan.

At the beginning of the 1980s, there was a polemic triggered by the attitude and policy of the Education Ministry considered wishing to marginalize the role of religion in education. A number of policies of the Education Ministry, Daoed Joesoef had triggered the anger of several Islamic elements because he was deemed secular, such as: the abolition of school holiday during the fasting month (Ramadhan) and the regulation for students' clothes having an impact on the limitation and prohibition for Moslem students to wear hijab. In addition, he also proposed that religion subject should not be taught at schools. Religion matter, he thought, was in private territory thus its is not proper if schools taught religion. On the same basis, he also disagreed that religious celebrations were conducted at public schools even in the government's institutions. In his position as a state's official, he also avoided behavior and statement reflecting an affiliation with a certain religion. Inevitably, Joesoef's view and policy were strongly criticized by Islamic figures. For the opponents, separation between religion and education proposed by Joesoef was considered as a harmful step for Moslem's interest. One of the vocal opponents to Joesoef's policy was H.M Rasjidi, a conservative Moslem figure who once served as the first Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia.

Different from the previous polemic, where the Islamic community refused the education policy deemed secular and harm their interest hence the contestation occurred a while after it was the opposite. It was the issuance of national education regulation deemed inclined to the Islamic community interest, while it harmed the minorities. This is highly possible occurring coincide with the collapse of the regime position previously considered secular became more pro-Islam.

A fierce debate in parliament concerning religion teaching at schools happened during the discussion of the National Education System Bill in 1988/1989. The shifting of government's attitude considered accommodating more the Islamic interest can be seen from several policies at that time, including in the bill of Sisdiknas Bill proposed to DPR RI. The main point triggering debate was on the proposal to let the students getting religion subject according to their respective religions. This clause was intended to be implemented not only for public schools but also for private schools. After passing a long debate, finally, it was not the 1989 Sisdiknas Law but contained in the Government Regulation (PP) Number 28/1990 on Basic Education. In Government Regulation Article 16 (1) on student's right, it is stated: (students have the right) to receive religious education according to their religions. Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party/PDI) since the beginning showed their disagreement. The political party is a fusion result of nationalist parties and Christian-Catholic disagreed. PDI's attitude was supported by some non-moslem minority elements. Some CSIS figures – a think-thank institution for the government policy of The New Order also disagreed. They stated that the government should not interfere with and control religion because religion is not the state's body but private's, including on the matter of religion teaching at school (Tayeb, 2018).

For PDI Perjuangan, the new provision of religious education as well as the formulation of the articles existing in Law Number 28/1990 were considered aligning to a certain religion (Islam). A similar reason was discussed by several politicians from PDI Perjuangan in the discussion of Sisdiknas Bill in the reformation era. Article on religious education which was then rectified as a part of Law Number 20/2003 on National Education System rated inclining to the aspiration of the Islamic community, even compared to the regulation previously implemented. Law Number 20/2003 Article 12 (1) point a, stated that: Every student in every education level serves the right: a. to get religious education according to his/her religion and taught by the respective teacher.

In the explanation section, it is mentioned that "Religious lecturer and/or teacher having the same religion as the students shall be facilitated and/or provided by Government or regional government in accordance with the needs of the educational unit..." While for the supporters, the article was considered as a reward to human rights in specific and it should be implemented to respect different believers, but from the perspective of PDI Perjuangan the provision infringed diversity principle and harmed the State's continuity. Currently, one of the politicians from PDI Perjuangan even explicitly mentioned that the Sisdiknas Law is very Islamic. Hence, PDI Perjuangan insisted to revise the Sisdiknas Law.

For Islamic political parties, the clause "getting religious education according to their religions and taught by the respective lecturer" is a form of respect to human rights and corresponding to pluralism principle (the Last Opinion of FPAN in the Bill Discussion Process on Sisdiknas,

2003). Moreover, the addition of article and paragraph related to religious education is an elaboration of the first point of Pancasila, and a confirmation that Indonesia is not a secular country. A similar view was also stated by the representative of PPP. FPP spokesman, Abdh Paddare, while citing some Al-Qur'an verses said that pluralism has been accommodated well by providing rights to every student to learn, fathom, and implement his/her religion. For FPP, the Sisdiknas Bill (especially related to religious education) has contained religious freedom principle, and even prohibited teaching coercion of a certain religion to the other believers (the Last Opinion of FPP, in Discussion Process). Partai Bulan Bintang (The Crescent Star Party/PBB) fraction delivered a stricter statement by saying that rejection of the article is equal to reject the constitution (1945 Constitution). According to FPBB spokesman, if a Moslem student taught by non-moslem teacher or vice versa, it is considered as inappropriate, ironic but irrational (the Last Opinion of FPBB in Discussion Process). The strict attitude shown by Islamic political parties, undoubtedly, was affected by dissatisfaction as well as their worries especially to the Moslem students studying at Christian schools who are required to join the class of Christian subject (Yusuf & Sterkens, 2015). The suspicion of Christianization motive that has been going on for a long time in the Christian educational institutions is one of the reasons for them to arrange teachers and students with the same religion.

In the Bill discussion process which was then validated as Sisdiknas Law 2003, the role and influence of the three Islamic fractions are prominent. No wonder that according to the opponent the Sisdiknas Law is known as a regulation that is too religious, even Islamic. The strong dynamic nuance is not only referring to the procurement of religion teacher with the same faith as the students but also clearly indicated on the religious education purpose. In article 30 (2) it is stated: Religious education is functioned to prepare the students to be a member of social understanding and implementing their religion's teaching values and/or to be a theologian.

This article confirms that religious education was initially aimed to improve the student's religiosity towards their religion, a principle referring to mono religious model is not for the purpose of learning religions (multi-religion studies), let alone studies based on a dialog between believers (inter-religious mode) (Yusuf Sterkens, 2015).

The pros and cons emerging in parliament in connection to "religious education" among others is caused by disagreement on the related concept between country and religion, especially in terms of to what extent a country needs to interfere and shall not interfere in religious matters. Nevertheless, all fractions seemed to have agreed that Indonesia is not a secular country, where the state's role and religion need to be strictly restricted, but the elaboration on the relationship between country and religion that is not secular is still vague. PKB fraction – a political party considered as the representative of NU community – highlighted the matter of this secular or non-secular country in the Sisdiknas Bill discussion. Ali Masykur Musa (AMM) stated that there are three types of relation between country and religion, each having a different consequence, namely: integrality or the union of country and religion, symbiotic mutual (interaction), and secularistic signaled by a clear separation between country and religion. In the context of the Bill discussion that is very religious, PKB supported to the extent that it is symbiotic mutual.

But PKB will reject it if it is integrality. In the framework of understanding, AMM proposed that the clause “religion as the source” should be erased since it leads to the paradigm that the state and religion are united, and it should be substituted by “..carrying religious values” because it is rated to reflect a more acceptable symbiotic mutual model.

FKKI was also questioning a number of articles providing a major intervention space for the state in a religious matter which is private. By referring to article 13 (1) – initial bill – on religious education, Astrid Susanto (AS) delivered her fraction’s last opinion by saying that FKKI agreed that the state shall confirm and acknowledge the students’ rights. However, since religion involves private and society (students and parents), FKKI considered that the state shall not and should not intervene especially when the implementation is regulated by the Government Regulation (PP). Thus, FKKI stated their objection to the article, unless if there is an addition of “...where the state/government does not intervene” may be accepted (the Last Opinion of FKKI in Discussion Process). In relation to the article, FKKI argued that: The state’s role is limited to the acknowledgment and confirmation of the existing rights and facilitate if needed/requested by private or society, but the state shall not intervene too much in the matter included as private and society (in this case students and parents) in the usage of right.

The state’s matter and religious education continuously become a debate topic according to the US are inseparable from the major unfinished problem of the relationship between the state and religion in Indonesia. Indonesia. Due to this unfinished completion (the relation between the state and religion), it is said, that it will potentially become a serious latent problem in the nation and state life. “Acknowledged or not, though it is already 58 years, in reality, we still cannot complete the self-struggle, regarding the format and substance of a country of nationality, that is not a secular country but at the same time also not a religious Country. We, as a nation, indeed have not succeeded in resolving the problem among us, thus it still becomes a serious latent problem in the nation and state life” (the Last Opinion of FKKI).

As already known, in the last opinion, FKKI agreed with “giving some notes” for Sisdiknas Bill validation to Law (UU). Among all fractions involved in the Bill discussion, only PDI Perjuangan fraction who disagree. PDI Perjuangan also refuses to attend the plenary meeting, and not stating their last opinion. A number of Christian politicians from FKKI and FKB also delivered written letters on their disagreement with the Bill.

The opinion and position of fractions in DPR RI (Republic of Indonesia House of Representatives) regarding the religious education article in 2003 Sisdiknas Bill.

Name of Fraction	Attitude to the Validation of 2003 Sisdiknas Law	Opinion on the religious education provision in 2003 Sisdiknas Law
PPP Fraction This Bill consists of religious freedom and prohibits teaching coercion of a certain religion to the other believers.	Agree	The state’s pluralism has been accommodated by giving rights to every student to learn, fathom, and implement their beliefs.

Name of Fraction	Attitude to the Validation of 2003 Sisdiknas Law	Opinion on the religious education provision in 2003 Sisdiknas Law
Golkar Party Fraction	Agree	Not offending the article/provision on religious education
Daulatul Umah Fraction (FDU)	Agree	Not offending the article/provision on religious education
PBB Fraction	Agree	Article 13 (1) is a smart, logical, and rational formulation. Rejecting this formulation is (means) rejecting 1945
PKB Fraction	Agree	The role of government is still needed, though restricted, in religious education management. Sterilizing the public sector (including Sisdiknas Law) from religious influences in the context of Indonesian culture may potentially contain the threat of misleading to demoralization, pragmatism, and so on.
Reformasi Fraction	Agree	Article 13 (1) is a direct elaboration of the constitution: Belief in One Supreme God in accordance with the principle that Indonesia is not a secular country. As the acknowledgment of human rights and implementation of pluralism.
TNI (Indonesian National Armed Forces)/ Polri (Indonesian National Police) Fraction	Agree	Not offending the article/provision on religious education
PDI Perjuangan Fraction	Not present	No comment
KKI Fraction	Agree (with notes)	Criticizing article 13 (1), the country should not and need not intervene. The role of the country is limited to the acknowledgment and confirmation of the existing rights and facilitation if needed/requested, but the country should not intervene too much in the matter of private/society.

Table 2. Provision of Religion Teaching at School

Regulation	Important Point of the Article and Its Explanation	Characteristic and Provision
Law Number 4/1950	In public schools, there is a religion subject; parents may determine to include their children in the class or not. Adult students may take the class or not	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religion subject specified only for public schools The right of parents and adult students on religion subject

Regulation	Important Point of the Article and Its Explanation	Characteristic and Provision
Provisional Number XXVII/MPRS/1966	Make religious education as a subject at schools from elementary school to universities. For tolerance and based on human rights, every student may choose the religion subject according to their beliefs/wishes	Religious education at all schools Students are free to choose religion subject
(Government Regulation) Number 28/1990	Students serve the right to get religious education according to their religions	Religious education at schools according to the student's religion
Law Number 20/2003	Every student in every education level serves the right to get education according to their respective religions and taught by an educator with the same religion	Religious education at school is according to the student's religion The teacher must have the same faith as the student

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

A. Islamic Party on Religious Education: Faith and Piety as the Main Priority

The view of political Islamic parties on religious education is varied, although there are a number of similarities. For Islamic parties, religious education is vital not only for the purpose of improving students' moral, but also to strengthen the faith. But they are different in some aspects, for instance, related to the need for religious education to be designed as religious studies. Several politicians of these Islamic political parties are also aware of the need for more attention from the government for the improvement of religious education, either related to curriculum, funding assistance, and others. All this time, religious education is still set aside compared to public education. In the view of Islamic parties nowadays, some improvement in religious education aspects are highly needed. But, regarding the priorities that need to be improved, they have different views.

Here, PKS, PPP, PKB, and PAN are categorized as Islamic parties. In line with Yusuf (2009), a religious party or in this study context, the Islamic political party is mainly characterized by its ideology coming from and shaped by Islamic ideas, and mobilize the grassroots with Islamic identity basis. In the five Islamic political parties, there are some similarities, but also variations.

The tendency of a conservative Islamic model can be seen in the thought and notion of the politician from Partai Keadilan sejahtera (PKS), Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB), and Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP). These conservative Islamic aspects are characterized by among others: first, they want a more specific religious education policy to the improvement of character, faith, and piety; second, the

main problem regarding religious education is the materials in religion subject are deemed quite weak in boosting the faith and piety; third, if religious education is thoroughly taught then character education is not or less needed, because all of the values have been included in religious education; fourth, imbalance religious education leaning to a certain religion is considered not normal; fifth, they disagree or agree with the religious education (religious studies) but mostly caused by unfair state policy.

The other Islamic based political parties, such as Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) and Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN), have a more open tendency. PKB specifically emphasizes the importance of religious education which also based on traditional values, this is can be performed among others through *pesantren* (Islamic boarding) empowerment. With accommodative education on the developing tradition in society, it is expected to be able to block negative excesses such as radicalism currently growing fast. PAN highlighted the importance of religious education supporting pluralism and diversity.

1. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party/PKS): Education for Perfect Faith

Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party/PKS) is one of the parties encouraging religious values to be included in the government policy especially in education policy. At the beginning of its birth in 1998, this party was known as Partai Keadilan (Justice Party) or PK. The birth of PKS is inseparable from the Islamic propaganda activities in the 1980s. At that time, Islamic movements started to dominate mosques as the movement basecamp, especially the university's mosque. The fresh breeze of democracy brought a new climate to the activists' ideals for Islamic propaganda to achieve a nation and country blessed by God. They believe that in order to achieve the Islamic propaganda goal, it needs democratic methods acceptable by the public (Al-Hamdi, 2013: 117).

Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) made education aspect as the top priority in the platform. Religious education but highly focused on education. PKS argued that the root of the crisis faced by this country is actually coming from the human itself and the values developing in their social network. Thus, religious character education is highly needed by the next generation. Therefore, PKS platform is in Islamic nuance and from this religious spirit PKS education agenda emerged with the saying:

"Strengthening the role of National Education as the medium of character building for Indonesian who prioritize religious values in all aspects of their lives. This effort reflects the sincerity in placing Education as the backbone of civilized Indonesia in the future." (See: "Falsafah Dasar Perjuangan dan Platform Kebijakan Pembangunan PK Sejahtera").

PKS has a view that in the morality aspect, national education regulated in 1979 Sisdiknas Law is considered not quite successful in embedding the noble moral value to students. The religious values foothold specified in the 1945 Constitution and

National Education System Law has not been fully implemented yet by the policymaker, especially in the implementation of the learning-teaching process at schools.

Strengthening moral and faith

In the view of a PKS senior member, Jazuli Juwaini, in the past education was running without a strict moral framework, hence it lost direction and the most basic essence, that is to produce Indonesian humans who are virtuous, faithful and pious to the Almighty God (Juwaini, 2011). Therefore, in the formulation of the 2003 Sisdiknas Law, PKS was included as one of the parties giving full attention to religious education.

“Believing in one supreme God means ensuring every believer in performing their religion. At the same time, it means that in Indonesia one must believe in God, those who are not, all must believe in God. While to confirm the belief can it be through themselves or the education process? when you said that it must be through the education process, that is the urgency of the religious education process.” (JJ, Party 10)

In this Tarbiyah view, education is one of the important efforts to develop morally. According to UNESCO, there are 4 guide pillars in educating moral, they are (1) learning to know; (2) learning to do; (3) learning to become; and (4) learning to live side by side (Juwaini, 2011). With that consideration, PKS took an active role in the formulation of National Education System Law number 2 of 2003. However, PKS considered that the implementation of the national education system nowadays is still not successful enough to achieve the national education goal. One of the causes is national education that is still emphasizing cognitive ability, not on the value implementation. As stated by one the party’s activists, *“current education is only focused on memorizing, not the implementation of value”* (LH, Party 10)

The purpose of education emphasizing on this value system is in line with the purpose of Islamic education underlying or becoming the guideline of PKS. According to the interviewees, the purpose of Islamic education is to enhance moral values to reach the level of *al-karimah* moral. It is in line with those contained in the duties of prophet *Rasulullah SAW* specified in a hadith, saying “truly I was sent to guide humans in achieving noble moral”. In the view of Islam, the grandeur of morals is the key success of education. Education itself is functioned to prepare the human who are able to manage prosperous life in the world and the hereafter (Juwaini, 2011). So that the main purpose of education according to Islam is faithful and pious human as specified in Allah’s commandment in surah Ali Imran: 102.

Religious education is a subject in shaping citizen’s moral character so that an ideal religion teaching at school is the subject that is able to shape the citizen’s character theoretically but also implemented in daily life.

According to Jazuli Juwaini, the notion of character education strengthening is actually manifested in religious education hence character education is no longer needed. Religious education may develop the students' moral where all attitudes, actions, deeds, and words shall be controlled by the constructed self through religion values as the control. Sayyid Sabiq said that a person who clings firmly to religion, always keeps his/her heart under control, always incline to things that are allowed by God, clean from any stains, and can bring him/herself to be more pious. If the religious beliefs become an integral part of one's character, the said belief will control all of his/her actions, feelings even words (Juwaini, 2014).

Learning Islam is enough to be tolerant

The notion of religions introduction to students is deemed incorrect for PKS. A politician from this Islamic party believed that a strong religious understanding will automatically result in a tolerance attitude in every individual (LH, Party 10). Thus, an introduction to different religions is not necessary. Truly, in Islam religion itself differences are already taught in Al-Qur'an so confirming the teaching of each religion is enough.

"Religious education, providing space for other religions? I think it is not the point/religious education that confirms the believers of their own beliefs. By constantly understanding tolerance. That is the key point. And tolerance is a part of religious teaching" (JJ, Party 10)

From the abovementioned various answers, it can be concluded that building a tolerance attitude may be performed by understanding and deepen the teaching of each religion. This growing tolerance is only depending on the "knowledge" corresponding to the religion. If tolerance is only taught based on one teaching, then it will only build inner tolerance and opens the space for indoctrination.

Aside from different religions, the interviewees tend to ignore the introduction to different sharia in the internal of Islam itself. According to the interviewees, Islam is only one, *ahlu sunnah wal jamaah*. For the interviewees, teaching Islam based on *ahlu sunnah wal jamaah* is enough, and the differences do not need to be introduced.

"Islam is, ahlu sunnah wal jamaah. Islamic community in Indonesia mostly follow Syafi'i teaching. Hence, NU, Muhammadiyah, exactly, PKS is not a part of it, PKS is a political party. It is a social organization based on its own uniqueness. Therefore, if there is notion to combine, it is not true. The people back in the Prophet era also had differences and it was okay. After the prophet, many teachings emerged and it is okay as long as based on Al-Qur'an and hadith, not to seek for a job." (ENH, Party 10)

In relation to the future agenda, according to PKS, the most crucial thing to be done is education improvement that is not only focused on the development of knowledge but also balancing out with religion. Therefore, religious education needs to be revitalized. JJ –PKS politician- in his book said that a number of strategies need to be executed in order to improve religious education, they are: First, perfecting the statutory device and its implementation; Second, Improving the teacher quality in the learning process; Third, Improving the quality of learning process by reviewing the curriculum material of religion subject; Fourth, improving the quantity of religion subject at schools; Fifth, Improving the role of the school as a religious educational institution.

As a political party, PKS cannot perform it directly but through laws and regulations making since it is the authority of the ministry. PKS has numerously tried to help the teacher community of Madrasah Diniyah Taklimiyah (MDT) to defend their welfare because all this time they were only paid from the parents' donation. However, this proposal is still not approved by the finance ministry.

According to the interviewee, *pesantren* as one of the education institutions reaching all layers of society must be directed to be able to provide manpower, experts, not only theologian or religious leaders. The program currently introduced by PKS is the development of vocational *pesantren* creating alumnus that are able to compete in the nation's development, *pesantren* is expected to be able to create a character and special expertise for the development of Indonesia in the future.

2. Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP): Gives Islamic breeze in Education

Different from PKS that was established at the beginning of the reformation era started from Partai Keadilan (PK) – as well as other Islamic or Islamic-based parties such as PBB, PKB, and PAN. Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) has a long historical background. It became a political party participating in the general elections of the New Order. PPP is the oldest Islamic party in DPR RI. This party is a fusion of several Islamic parties in the New Order era, in 1973. Some Islamic parties incorporated in the fusion are Nahdlatul Ulama, Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia, Partai Tarbiyah Islamiyah, and Parmusi. By mentioning as the fusion party, it means that PPP is a combination of various Islamic parties whose identities were fused and became a single identity of PPP.

As an Islamic based party, PPP has the vision to realize a just, prosperous, spiritually and democratically safe civil society in a vessel of the Unitary Nation of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila with the blessing of the Almighty God. In order to achieve the vision, PPP tried to fight for the religious values infiltrated into the law products made by parliament. PPP stated itself as an Islamic party based on *ahlu sunnah wal jamaah* (AD/ART, Conference Result of 2016). One of its principles is to

perform *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*. The view of PPP on religious education is that it is wrong if religious education must be excluded from national education.

Religious education as *Fardlu 'Ain*

In the view of PPP, learning religion is a must for every believer. One of the interviewees said that “...*religious education is fardu ain, other sciences are fardu kifayah. Why is it called fardu 'ain, because it is attached to itself. You choose Islam, then you must learn Islam* (SM, party 15)”. Religion is indeed something attached to and becomes an identity of someone. Religion is a teaching containing doctrine, the order of values, and behavior. Hence, when someone chooses a certain religion, then he/she is required to learn the teaching and order of values of the respective religion so that he/she may implement it well.

Since learning religion is compulsory, then religious education is an inseparable component from the national education system starting from elementary level to university. National educational system Law Number 20 of 2003 has accommodated the expectation. Even the Law stated that the function of national education is to develop the potential of the student to be a faithful, pious, virtuous, smart, creative and innovative, physically healthy, and becomes a Pancasila individual. Viewing from the function of national education, religious education is the foremost and main curriculum that must be taught to students, then followed by language, nationalism, and so on (RM, party 15)

A whole religion teaching, not learning religions

PPP believes that a correct religion teaching at school is able to shape the students' character positively. One of the methods is by teaching religion as a whole. A whole in the context of teaching material that is not teaching about fiqh, halal, and haram, but more to tawhid and moral (AB, party 15). By teaching religion as a whole, then a good character may be created. Religion and character are interrelated things. Character is inseparable from religion; by teaching religion means teaching character – that in the terminology of religion is called moral. PPP highlighted the notion of character revitalization delivered by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, as an unnecessary notion. For PPP, character education is already integral in religious education. “when talking about a character, it means talking about behavior, when talking about behavior in religion it is called moral. If the religious education is finished, so as moral, then the nation's character revitalization is not needed” (RM, Party 15)

A whole religious education is not in the context of teaching/introducing religions (Religious Studies). Although some politicians outside PPP considered that introducing other religions including inviting students to visit different worship places may be able to result in respect, for PPP such content and method are not necessary (AB, party 15)

In the last few years, emerging phenomena related to education drew PPP's attention. Among others is the emerging of "exclusive" schools that tend to be different from schools in general, starting from the curriculum and practices taught. To avoid the development of exclusivism in religious education, PPP proposed the concept of the social contract and social control in the education world. Social contract means that schools built must have a strong commitment to the social contract of Indonesia that is Pancasila, and on the other hand, the schools' foundation must be under society's control. Those who want to build schools must be able to present their intention to the public and involves the surrounding society as the control (SM, party 15). Hence, school is not alienated from its surrounding environment.

Siding with majority, voicing Islam

Policies issued by PPP especially those related to religious education, are reflecting the ideological interest of the political party. From the beginning, PPP is a party that adopted Islam as the principle and committed to defending the principle as a form of loyalty to the nation's founding father mission. As expressed by one of the interviewees "... what I am fighting for is not only for the interest of PPP, not for political interest but for the nation's interest, this nation's founding father will cry if we don't defend the divinity values" (RM, Party 15)

PPP involvement in religious education issues is more and more real since this party was established from the spirit to ensure that religious values are included in a number of laws. In the party's Articles of Association/Bylaws, PPP wished to realize a faithful and pious civil society and human being. In accordance with the spirit, PPP supports the inclusion of religion in the national education system, even PPP has a major involvement in making religious knowledge as a cluster of knowledge in higher education Law of 2012, so that religious knowledge must be taught in all universities. PPP was also intensely involved in a discussion on national bookkeeping law. PPP includes the role of the Ministry of Religion as an authority and is responsible to determine the content of religious education books.

As an Islamic based ideological party, PPP seemed to place itself as a majority vote supporting party – even though not suppressing minority. PPP support to the regulations in education is based on the majority's wish. For instance, the usage of Moslem clothing at schools. Some nationalist parties rejected this idea because Kemendikbud (Ministry of Education and Culture) already arranged the regulation of clothing at schools since this policy did not reflect an inclination to a certain minority group. However, PPP considered that the policy basically does not need to be questioned for the majority wished for it, and for the other religions they do not require to follow it if the policy is contradicting their principles and beliefs.

PPP struggles to ensure that religious education runs smoothly based on beliefs as well as the expectation that a perfect religious education basically can create a positive character and avoid students from intolerant behavior. Giving character-building oriented religious material may avoid someone to act radically and intolerantly. Religious education is inseparable from character education, even character education is a part of religious education. If religion is given completely, then the character will automatically be shaped.

PPP struggles to realize that religious education runs smoothly is indeed not easy. Nevertheless, for PPP, the spirit to keep fighting for the inclusion of Islamic value in laws – including religious education – must be maintained, because this is *jihad*. One of the interviewees argued “for me, this is a spirit that must be continuously surged. It is one of the efforts of PPP to ensure that religious education always becomes a content attached to various policies.”

What PPP had done, once again, cannot be separated from the ideological role becoming a guidance factor and policy orientation taken and executed by political parties.

3. Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB): Islamic Integration and Modern Islamic Vision in Education

PBB was established in July 1998. This Islamic party declared itself as the successor of Masyumi has a general Purpose to realize Indonesian national ambition as referred to in the Preamble of 1945 Constitution and to develop democracy life by respecting people’s sovereignty in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Islamic teaching principles. While its special purpose is to upraise the Islamic sharia in the life of every individual, family, society, nation, and state PBB is based on Islam placed as the foundation of the nation and state life. This party is an association that beliefs in and based on Islamic universalism, either as the true source or values and norms source in every activity of this association.

Islamic Universalism in Education

Conceptually, religious education in the view of PBB has a definition that every student must understand that Islam and knowledge are united, there is no separation between them. Including there is no separation between religion and country. Islam is a comprehensive way of life oriented to totalistic Islamic sharia. Islam is inseparable from political, legal, and society’s life. Therefore, a Moslem student should have a perception of the inevitability of unity between religion and society, religion, and country; or society and country must be built on the basis of Islamic values. Human exists in the interaction relation between God, nature, and human bound by the principles of faith (MSKB, 03).

Religious education institution has a responsibility to educate Islamic doctrine

in accordance with Al-Qur'an and Hadith on every education level proportionally from elementary level to university by formulating the epistemology of science to achieve an education balance between religion and general by providing religion teacher corresponding to the student's religion either in public or private school (AFN, 03).

Islamic Education and Nationalism

How PBB realize Islamic teaching to the state context? According to PBB, to the extent, the matter of religion has not been regulated by country while the country involved then PBB shall fight for it via political party.

"So, the Islam being fought for is in the context where parts of the religion's instruction are not regulated by the state yet while the state is involved, that is what we fight for. Thus, anything not regulated yet by the state where the state should have, in order to avoid conflicts. Then it is being fought for through the legal constitution path. (MSKB, 03)

One vital thing in order to realize Islamic universalism value in Indonesia is the first principle of Pancasila that is, Believing in One Supreme God. This first principle contains a meaning that the freedom of belief is assured by the state, every citizen is free to perform his/her religion according to his/her respective belief and the implementation of religion teaching is protected by law to avoid conflicts.

However, in the event that there is a problem in the implementation of religion contradicting the state's concept then the state must directly handle it by involving religious educational institutions. Since only the religious education institution understands religious issues. But so far, the state did not involve religious education institutions such as IAIN and UIN in all religious problems occurring in the country.

4. Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB): Islamic Education Based on *Pesantren* and Tradition

Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa air PKB is a political party duly established on 23 July 1998 in Jakarta. The establishment of PKB is inseparable from the role of the biggest social organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). A number of figures from this traditional Moslem organization initiated the establishment of this political party. NU itself has a moderate religious view. The most prominent figure behind the establishment of PKB is Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur. PKB as a political party with a strong Islamic nuance is visible in its struggle principle. It is mentioned that the struggle principle of PKB is the devotion to Allah SWT, upholding truth and honesty, erecting justice, maintaining unity, stimulating brotherhood and togetherness in accordance with the Islamic values of Ahl-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah (AD/ART article 4,

Conference Result of 2014). As a political party, PKB declared itself as a nationalist, democratic, and open political party (AD/ART article 5). One of the visions of PKB is realizing a just and prosperous society physically and spiritually, also materially and spiritually. While the mission of PKB, one of which is in the field of education. The education mission is “Enhancing HR quality having noble character, independent, skilled, and professional as well critical to the social environment around them, realizing a national education system that is populist, cheap, and continuous”. The Vision and Mission of PKB consist of special concern to religious understanding, and not only in ritual but also in the implementation of religious values.

Pesantren as a Prototype of Moderate Education

PKB’s concern on the aspect of life diversity in the country, including one of which in educational institutions can be seen from a number of programs and policies implemented. PKB is the initiator of Pesantren Bill establishment widely discussed during 2019. PKB previously also has a special agenda prepared beforehand. The Vice-chairman of Commission VIII of FPKB stated that “PKB already has a dip program for the conference, that are education, missionary endeavor, and social empowerment. The three are the main priorities of PKB without neglecting each other”. (MD, Party 11).

PKB has a viewpoint that religious education should be the breath in the nation and state life of Indonesian society. In the context of general education, it must be filled with religious education not only concerning ritual, but also the actualization of noble character, character education, and so on. The implementation in the field can be formalized or strengthened in the missionary endeavor. PKB concentration in the education world is indicated one of which by the initiation of Pesantren Bill and the inputs infraction and government for education.

Accommodation of Culture and Moderatism

PKB since its establishment to this date has given a special concern to education. One of the interviewees from PKB said: “education becomes the main program of PKB. Even since the first conference of PKB up to this upcoming conference in August 2019, education has become one of the core issues in GBPP (Garis Besar Perjuangan Partai /Guidelines of Party’s Struggle) of PKB, which was decided in the highest forum called a conference. At the conference, there is always a special concern about education. Why? One of the reasons is if we want to have an advanced country if we want to have excellent HR, if we want to win in building Indonesian civilization, and able to win the global competition, one of the key points is education. Why? HR. We will not win the global competition, make an excellent civilization according to the GBPP of PKB, if we do not have a great education system.

In reality, our education institution, our education system, our education downstream situation there is still an imbalance between bona fide and non-bonafide education institution, in the village and city, public and private, general and those with religious education” (HW, Party 11).

PKB sees that from the State Budget (APBN) in Sisdiknas Law, only 20 percent for education. And from the 20 percent of the fund, PKB is questioning how much allocated for religious education. The allocation is very little, though education is for all. According to PKB party, education means equality, equality of all education institutions before the government. However, from the budget allocation, the above-mentioned definition of education is still far away. Not only public education institutions, religious education institutions also did not receive the portion expected by PKB.

***Pesantren* and Budget Strengthening**

As a political party initiated by the biggest mass organization in Indonesia, a number of programs and activities that consistently have been performed by PKB to present the best religious education in Indonesia. For the period of 2019-2024 later, PKB declared to concentrate on three things; 1) education, 2) people's economy or small economy, 3) social missionary endeavor. The three are said to be the core struggle of PKB, including *Pesantren* Bill currently discussed and defended. The Bill is explained by PKB as the key to build the nation starting from education. In connection with education, the Chairman of PKB, Muhaimin Iskandar, and all administrators of DPW across Indonesia held an audience with the President. In the audience, PKB requested that 20% of the budget should not be allocated for education institutions, either highly qualified private or public. PKB requested that the budget should be specially allocated to underdeveloped education institutions and with minimum infrastructure.

The proposal of *Pesantren* Bill by PKB is a step so that the government would do the same for religious education. In addition, there is also adequate budget allocation. “Today most people are talking about radicalism, terrorism, then blame the religion, blame the religious education but did not pay attention to it, only blaming it. PKB is striving for *Pesantren* Bill and others because just like I said, qualitatively more private educations are initiated by *pesantren*, either from NU or Muhammadiyah. *Pesantren* is not only owned by NU, but even HTI also has *pesantren*. But will the government support HTI? Since within the *Pesantren* Bill it is clearly stated the Indonesian Islam, still with Pancasila, NKRI is unnegotiable. If the *pesantren* is owned by the terrorist, then it must be closed”. (HW, Party 11).

5. Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN): Inclusive and Character Religious Education

PAN is one of the political parties established from the reformation euphoria becoming the spirit of democratization in Indonesia in the mid of 1998. In the AD/ART article 4, it is confirmed that "PAN is an open, diverse, and independent political party in Indonesia". One of the implementations of it is the party's organizational structure either from the central or regional consisting of the combination of figures from various ethnicities, religions, races, and communities.

The diversity of PAN showed that this party with the blue sun symbol is a plural and inclusive modern party as the reflection of Indonesian diversity upholding the principle of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* meaning different but still one (Sutipyo and Asmawi, 1999:160)

The religiosity constructed by PAN is clearly specified in the AD/ART Article 5 that "The identity of this party is upholding religious and humanity moral". It explains that PAN uses religious values as the movement foundation integrated with Pancasila values and aimed to "uphold and constitute people's sovereignty, justice, material, and spiritual advances" (AD/ART Pan Chapter III article 6).

PAN is one of the political parties initiating National Education System Law in 2003, even this party became a part of the team compiling the Sisdiknas Bill before validated as Law in July 2003. The pros and cons, as well as polemic accompanying the implementation of Law, demoted to several Laws and Government Regulation such as The Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 14 of 2005 concerning Teacher and Lecturer, PP Number 19 of 2005 concerning the Education National Standard, Permendiknas RI Number 12 of 2006 concerning the Standard Content for Basic Middle Education Unit, PP of the Republic of Indonesia Number 55 of 2007 concerning Religious Education and Religiosity Education, PMA of the Republic of Indonesia Number 16 of 2010 concerning the Religious Education Management at Schools, and PMA of the Republic of Indonesia Number 13 of 2014 concerning the Islamic Religious Education, did not hinder PAN to constantly giving more attention to the effort of education quality improvement in Indonesia in relation to curriculum, facilities, and infrastructure, improvement of teacher quality, and others.

Reviewing Religious Education Management

For PAN, an ideal education system must be open and not compartmentalized in the classification of rigid education type. The world needs an established scientific integration to be able to produce students with character and ready to face the changing times. All this time, the matter occurred and became crucial is about how education in Indonesia is compartmentalized in the category of religious education and general education. Religious education is also divided into religious education managed by the Ministry of religion and religious

education at public schools managed by the Ministry of National Education, it is further divided into the religious education managed by public school and private school. These classifications indicated how religious education in Indonesia still have not found a comprehensive format (AHN, Partai 01).

In reality, an effective and comprehensive education formula has been implemented in the form of Sekolah Insan Cendekia (SIC) establishment by BJ. Habibie. In the institution, the integration between religious education and science is very strong and able to produce established alumnus in the field of technology but has a strong character and religious provision. For PAN, the integrated model is very ideal and should be developed widely in many other education institutions either public or private (AHN, Party 01).

Incomprehensive budget problems become a quite serious concern for PAN politicians, if the government paid more attention to the needs of religious education institution such as *madrasah* and *pesantren* then a mutual symbiosis shall occur between government interest in controlling the substance content of religious education and education institution interest as the administrator controlled (SPD, Party 01).

Religious Education Model Idealism in Indonesia

Even though there is no rigid and formal party's policy in relation to the issue of religious education, as a political party with special concern in education, PAN considered that ideally religious education is integrated with education as a whole. The integration mentioned here is how the values in religious education such as character, mora, humanity, and others can be the value of the system, model, and smallest part of education. Education basically is a liberation, "education is a liberation from ignorance then the liberation from confinement, from backwardness, from poverty, and also how we can define ourselves independently" (SPD/Party 01). At this point, PAN is actively positioning itself as a supporting party for the validation of *Pesantren* Law as well as Religious and Religiosity Education.

Securing Country through Religious Education

In addition to bearing the mandate of the Preamble of 1945 Constitution to educate the nation and maintain world peace, Education, especially in connection to religious education is not only as a methodology of knowledge transfer but also to shape the students' character to prepare them for free competition after their formal education.

Since it is directly associated with the national education system, the Vision of Islamic education is surely in line with the vision of national education, that is to realize the faithful and productive human being as a member of a diverse

Indonesian citizen. While the mission of Islamic education as the manifestation of the vision is to realize Islamic values in shaping Indonesian human beings, the pious and productive human being. Because with the mission Islamic education becomes an alternative. This is in line with what PAN wished for as the mediator between people's interests and the state's interest.

B. Religious Nationalist Party on Religious Education: Nationality and Religiosity Synthesis

By sorting out the parties in Indonesia into three ideological spectrums: Islamic, Islam-Nationalist synthesis (accommodationist), and Nationalist, the viewpoint and policy of some political parties: Golkar Party, Gerindra Party, and Demokrat Party, Hanura Party, and some new parties such as Berkarya Party and Garuda Party, for the most part, reflected the mid-model or synthesis between Islamic and Nationalistic. The dominant characteristic of this middle ideological party is its moderate viewpoint and policy, in the context of accommodating a number of key elements existed within Islamic and nationalistic. This middle positioning is not unrealized by the relevant political parties. The evidence is that they consciously identify themselves as a moderate party or as the party with nationalist and religious ideology. In the political practice, especially these moderate political parties an extreme maneuver is often conducted, such as building an alliance with Islamic groups or initiating religious regulation in some regions, but the party frames such movement as a temporary strategy for the requirement and not reflecting the ideology or public policy of the political party. In the framework perspective of the relationship between the state and religion, a number of experts called those in the middle position as conservative (Yavuz: 2009) and accommodationist (Kuru: 2009).

The middle viewpoint related to religious education has several characteristics, among others: (1) stressing on religious education that should strengthen pluralism and nation's knowledge; (2) admitting that there is intolerance and radicalism problem, either caused by the problem emerging from the religious education itself or external factor; (3) stressing on the role of government that need to be involved in advancing religious education, especially from the aspect of budget and control; (4) Even though allowing government involvement in religious matters and even in the establishment of religious regulation, but they should not be too involved, including in terms of religious education curriculum details; (5) has a relatively moderate viewpoint, in the context of religious education and character education strengthening nation's knowledge in a balanced position, strengthening each other; (6) generally disagree with religious educations, but also not wishing for supremacy of a certain religion in education policy. This moderate view is indicated in the view and opinion of several politicians from Golkar Party, Demokrat Party, Gerindra Party, Hanura Party, and some new political parties.

1. Golkar Party: Religious Education is needed but it must strengthen nationalism

Golkar is a political party having the longest experience in contestation history in Indonesia. With its long experience, Golkar Party often interacts with various issues developing in society, including religious education. It can be seen, one of which, from the response of Golkar Party to the *Pesantren* and Religious Education Bill it supported with some critical notes for the education problem as well as its effort to prevent the higher education institutions from radicalism.

The critical attitude of Golkar Party towards education problems especially related to religion showed that there are still problems in education that must be handled on one side, and the concern of Golkar Party to find a solution for the problems of religious education and nationality. Hence, it is interesting to see the foothold of Golkar Party in portraying religious education in the midst of the growth of various religious understandings that at a certain point is diametral with the spirit of diversity and nationality. In such situation, what is the step of Golkar Party in responding and positioning itself as a big party in the midst of the party's idealism demand and electoral temptation.

The Substance of Diversity and Nationality

Legally formal, Golkar Party has no specific vision and mission concerning religious education. In the articles of association of Golkar Party, education is placed as a process of educating citizens that determines the development and advancement of the country. Meanwhile, religion is placed as a part of a sociological component such as tribes, races, and groups as well as a part (differentiation) of the structure of life, such as economy, politics, and culture. It cannot be separated from the foundation of Golkar Party that sees grouping in society through the perspective of role and function, not ideology all the more the stream leading to sectarianism and primordialism. Golkar Party emphasizes more on the aspect of product and program (program-oriented) not ideology oriented that at a certain point may cause ideological conflict leading to discord and disintegration of the nation.

The party's paradigm to society affects the steps and programs arranged and implemented, including in the context of religious education. The pressure point of Golkar Party in its preamble of the articles of association basically is on the improvement of people's knowledge implemented either in the form of the organization internally or externally. One of the platforms as the basic attitude of Golkar Party mentioned specifically that education is an agenda that must be fought or improved; "Consistently struggling to realize people's welfare, justice, and knowledge overall, decrease poverty and unemployment, increase income, increase education's quality and distribution, increase health."

Golkar Party's concern either on the quality or quantity (distribution) of education

indicated education urgency for the improvement of people's knowledge. On the other hand, Golkar Party's commitment showed that education in Indonesia still has problems especially in terms of quality or equality for all citizens.

The problem of education quality in Indonesia also becomes the concern of Golkar Party. In democracy era, education is relatively good in terms of infrastructure, but the quality aspect still needs improvement. This is mainly related to the understanding and point of view of the students in seeing Indonesia with open democracy system. A mature education will be able to see Indonesia as a country with all of its diversity and thus shall be tolerant. The same applied to the democratic system that offers freedom as the foundation of students to respect each other since public space is co-owned. But the reality contradicts. Even there is a tendency at public schools to the public university of exclusivity not ready to accept diversity as the character of Indonesia (AHS, Party 08).

Golkar Party's concern on education can be seen from the organization's side. In the organizational structure of Golkar Party there is a special section handling education matter from the central level to the sub-district level (ART 2016, Chapter V, Article 6-9). Education activities are performed internally or externally. Internal activities are usually performed in the form of political training and education conducted by Golkar Party for its cadres. Moreover, one of the requirements to be a cadre of Golkar Party is passing the cadre education stage provided by Golkar Party. While external political education is performed by Golkar Party for the public in the context of providing a deeper understanding of politics and Golkar Party hoped that people will participate and become closer to the party.

Whereas religion, by Golkar Party, is placed as a value as well as a functional power (religious) that is able to give good incentives for Golkar Party or for the public. It can be seen from the selection of the party's organizational structure. In the organizational structure of Golkar Party 2016, there is a section of religious raising and religious mass organization. Here, it can be clearly seen that religion is more of a power that can be functioned for the interest of Golkar Party.

Although structurally, education and religion are separated, at a certain point Golkar Party places both as a capital that may give a good constructive impact on the party or public (voters). Thus, in the main duties of Golkar Party, it is mentioned that the steps and programs arranged by Golkar Party are to "attempt to realize improvement in all aspects of life covering ideology, politics, economy, religion, social culture, law, as well as national defense and security in order to achieve the national idea." (AD of Golkar Party, Party 8). It can be clearly seen that religion is a part of the vital aspects in citizens' life. Religion is not the only one, but becomes an interlocking part in other aspects of life that depend on each other (interdependence) and thus is also vital. Hence, religious education from the perspective of Golkar Party is one of the parts of a national education

system that may contribute constructively, as the other aspects, for people's moderate and tolerant orientation development and thinking.

Differentiation between religion, education, nation's knowledge, and other fields is a logical consequence of the system built by Golkar Party as an organization. As referred to in its articles of association that religion becomes one of the potentials that must be developed. Therefore, the vision and mission of Golkar Party related to religious education are substantial than normative. It makes the party flexible, with a wider conceptual formula.

Nationality, Religiosity, and Double Interpretation of Pluralism

Religious education in the reformation era is facing two challenges, first the emergence of a rigid and exclusive religious understanding, and second, the growth of religious understanding in public without control. Both challenges are facing with plural social reality so that the constructive function of religion, also education, can turn destructive if it is not managed well, especially through inclusive religious education. It becomes the concern of Golkar Party with its pluralism development concept.

In the platform of Golkar Party it is mentioned that diversity or pluralism is a blessing given by God that has become a beautiful mosaic of Indonesia. The glorification of pluralism, inclusivism, or transparency of Golkar Party is faced with religious understanding (education) or exclusive religious political expression. It can be seen from two sides, from the social or policy side. From the social side, emerged a religious group even transforming into education institutions teaching exclusive religious understanding, an understanding that ignores the life aspect of a diverse nation. From the policy side, emerged an exclusive regulation only specified (exclusive) for a certain religious group, while the social reality (public) is very diverse. In this context, Golkar Party has a double point of view.

In the context of strengthening inclusive religious education, Golkar Party emphasizes two things. First, religious education second, religious matter. Golkar Party through its cadres in DPR RI requests the relevant ministry, such as the Ministry of Religion to emphasize inclusive values by placing Pancasila as the basis of school curriculum arrangement. This is important to be performed since in the discourse sector there exists an understanding polarizing religion and Pancasila. In religious education life, even Islamic education must emphasize the aspect of nationalism or nationality. "Therefore, every curriculum or teaching material must be directed to deradicalization. If there are schools leading to radicalism, then government must present to give coaching (AHS, Party 8)

Golkar Party support to the *Pesantren* and Religious Education Bill is based on the existence of *pesantren* as an education institution historically having a huge

contribution to the development of Indonesian human resources. However, in the Bill there is an article that Golkar Party considered as providing space for government intervention in the ritual practice of Christian religion. As expressed by the Deputy Secretary General of Golkar Party, Jerry Sambuaga in his written statement (detik.com, 28/10/2018), "Sunday school and catechism are not formal education, but more of a part of worship and church service. So, the government's permit is actually not needed and there should be no minimum requirements for the participants."

The response of Golkar Party to religious education indicated that the correlation in the context of harmony between conception and idealization specified in the vision and mission within a big framework of nation, especially related to the national education system. Harmony in the perspective of vision mission and basic framework of national education is the entrance to ensure its consistent implementation. The correlation between the vision and mission of Golkar Party with the basic framework of a national education system cannot be separated from the long experience of Golkar Party being in touch with various aspects of the nation 's life, including in terms of education. In this context, it can be concluded that the vision and mission of Golkar Party are running well with the basic framework of national education that basically may strengthen its implementation. It seemed like it does not happen because the implementation orientation of the vision and mission of Golkar Party at a certain point is stuck in a pragmatism consideration that oftentimes sacrifices the ideal side of the Golkar Party's struggle.

2. Gerindra Party: Confirming Nation's and Religious Knowledge to Block Radicalism

The view and policy of Gerindra Party related to education are less dominant compared to some other big parties, such as PDI Perjuangan and Golkar Party/ this party is prioritizing more the struggle theme on the aspect of economy and politics actively campaigning the importance of economic independence and nation's sovereignty. In the points of vision, mission, and goal of the Articles of Association (AD) of Gerindra Party (2014), the word education does not exist at all. In several official statements to other parties, education matter is alluded to but only in a glance. Not as the main problem. It is clearly seen for instance in the Six Actions Program of Gerindra Party approaching 2013 general election or in the political promises in 2019 general election, religious education did not seem to be the main concern of Gerindra Party, even though this party at the mid of 2019 rejected the "deletion" of religion subject at schools proposed by an education practitioner.

To know further how the attitude and policy direction of Gerindra Party concerning religious education in Indonesia, one of the most possible ways is seeing the view and response under the authority of commission X (for public education) and VIII

(for religious education). As a big party outside the government, politicians of Gerindra Party in parliament are quite vocal in criticizing government policy, related to religion and education policy. Gerindra Party occupies a quite strategic position in commission VIII of DPR RI supervising religion, social, women empowerment & children protection, disaster, and hajj matters.

Gerindra Party confirmed the importance of education stressing on students' character by Sodik Mujahid, one of the members of Gerindra Party under Commission VIII. A year later, in the midst of the pros and cons of the policy concerning five days' school or known as full-day school. The policy plan coming from the Ministry of Education and Culture, Muhajir Effendy, has triggered a controversy in society, one of which is related to the confirmation of religious teaching of students that is possible to be given to the external parties outside school, such as religious teaching at mosque, church, by a mass organization, and so on. A part of them grasped the idea as "deletion" of religious subject at schools. After becoming a big issue, as known Kemendikbud finally retracted the plan after President Jokowi "step in". for Sodik Mujahid, as the substitution for the canceled policy plan, he proposed – as well as confirming the previous viewpoint – that President Jokowi must determine the direction of education emphasizing on the character.

Agenda of Religious Education Priority in the Future

From the above explanation, it can be concluded that Gerindra Party is concerned about the importance of national education and religious education improvement in the future. They did not deny the indication of the increase of intolerance and radicalism in education and society that has been alarming for all of us.

One of the important problems that need to be highlighted according to Gerindra Party is the necessity to improve students' knowledge about the relation between the nation's knowledge and religious knowledge. If the matter of religion and nationality is still not understood correctly and continuously dichotomized, then it shall emerge many serious problems. The existence of schools that do not teach their students about nationalism or even alienate them from the activities that embed love for the country, then they need to be strictly responded.

3. Demokrat Party

Demokrat Party embracing nationalist-religious ideology in the context that horizontally, the main concern of the party is to defend the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and love for the country, vertically to develop human, society and Indonesian citizen having a religious spirit, faithful to the Creator and disseminating God's love on earth. As a manifestation of nationalism spirit, the membership of Demokrat Party is opened for all Indonesian citizens without differentiating the

tribe, religion, race, and group. Every citizen having a commitment to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and commitment to building the future of the state serves the right to receive attention from the party and may join in the struggling vessel of Demokrat Party.

In relation to the party's special policy for religious education, the interviewee from Demokrat Party stated that currently there is none and the representative of Demokrat Party in the commission of education sector is more focused on the law-making in general in the education sector and on how education can be accessed by all levels of society. Supposedly there is an education program they have, it is a personal initiative of the party's members and not the party's policy.

The view and policy of Demokrat Party related to education matter and religious education are less dominant. From the data collection, issues on religion and education in the last few years are not the concern of the party. It can be seen at least from the minimum news in media regarding the policy or viewpoint of the PD politicians in connection to the issues. The main focus of PD is more on strengthening its electability in the last two general elections that decline drastically. However, Demokrat Party on many occasions confirmed its position as a middle party, holding firmly the principle of diversity and tolerance. Since the beginning of its establishment, the founding fathers of PD claimed that their party is a nationalist religious party. By referring to the party's vision, the color of the nationalist religious is vividly visible. PD stated that they uphold the spirit of nationalism, humanism, and pluralism based on faith towards God Almighty in a sense of peace, democratic, and prosperous new world order.

4. Hanura Party: Symbolic Nationalist Religious

Hanura Party, as understood, Hanura Party is the idea of Wiranto previously active in Golkar Party. Moreover, Wiranto is the first presidential candidate nominated by Golkar Party based on the convention firstly held in the recruitment tradition in determining the leader candidate (president). As a nationalist-religious political party, Hanura Party has a closeness to religious policies. It can be seen from the support of Hanura Party to the *Pesantren* and Religious Education Bill. The same goes to the notion of religious education deletion from schools, Hanura Party disagrees with that notion since the religion aspect (religious) is the spirit of the nation's life.

The vision and mission of Hanura Party on religious education is based on the general view of the party's articles of association, especially in the preamble of the articles of association mentioning the struggle to educate the nation. Intelligence as an indicator of the education success becomes the basis of Hanura Party in moving the party's wheel. However, Hanura Party does not consistently elaborate on the nationalist-religious aspect as the party's characteristic including in the achievement of the educating process.

Religious Education Problem

Religious education stressed out by Hanura Party as a nationalist-religious party is more on the respect between believers as different citizens, but not to be differentiated. As a part of religious education, is providing a good example, so that other people may imitate and perform the same. However, the religious matter becomes very important for Hanura although in practice it only reaches the ritual stage and other symbolic activities, such as religious celebration involving all religions as a form of the citizens' togetherness.

In the context of vision and mission implementation of Hanura Party especially in relation to religious education, it is still deemed not running well, except in the form of ceremonial activity, such as religious holiday celebration, like Eid al-Adha, Eid al-Fitr, Mawlid, Al-Isra Wal-Mi'raj, and so on. (RY, Party 9).

Nationalist-religious identity as a party's characteristic is not necessarily placing Hanura Party as a more religious party. The religiosity built by Hanura Party is more on the importance of values contained in religion as the nation's foundation.

Respond to Pluralism, Nationality, and Indonesianity

The existence of Hanura Party as a political party is explicitly showing a strong nationality commitment. Because from the beginning, since the registration as a political party, the precondition fulfilled by the party is the precondition related to nationality commitment manifested in the leader selection process democratically and following the mechanism specified by the state. This is different from the organization not following the predetermined procedure but wants to change the state. This is the challenge for political parties, such as Hanura Party to contribute to the strengthening of a better nationality.

As a nationalist religious party, Hanura Party prioritizes the moral aspect of achieving position or in competing. Therefore, the thing that may threaten the unity as a nation is when the religion (religious) values are ignored, so people achieve their goal by any methods. Even some people make religion as a shield to achieve political interest. This condition may threaten unity as a nation having diverse religions, tribes, culture.

In democracy that prioritizes the number of votes, the Islam community becomes the basis of productive votes for the party's win. But, Hanura Party as an open party, has no values more than the votes of Islam community. With an inclusive party, it opens a wide space for the involvement of other parties, even though it may also end with group domination.

5. **Garuda Party: Supporting a more Islamic Religious Education**

In 2007, a party called PKN (Partai Kerakyatan Nasional/National People's Party) was established by Harmoko, a former politician of Golkar Party during the new order. However, this party is less popular in society so it needs a metamorphosis to be able to compete at the national level of politics. This change is written in the Articles of Association/Bylaws (AD/ART) of Garuda Party specifically in the preamble section, dated 3 April 2015 Partai Kerakyatan Nasional (PKN in Congress I transformed into Partai Gerakan Perubahan Indonesia (Garuda Party).

Garuda party has a vision, that is to realize Indonesian changes ideals. While having 4 missions, they are To realize Indonesian national ideals as referred to in the Preamble of Indonesian 1945 Constitution, To realize a just and prosperous democratic people as well as faithful to the Almighty God, loving the nation within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, To realize People's sovereignty in democracy, upholding truth values and the prevailing law, and to realize a just democratic economy.

Religious Education as a Character Confirmation

As a Nationalist, Religious, and Democratic party, Garuda Party considers that religiosity elements cannot be separated from the social life in Indonesia. This is included in the view of Garuda Party in interpreting education in Indonesia. According to the interviewee, education in Indonesia is already good, but there are some aspects that need to be improved. For instance, how education effort in shaping virtuous society character. For that, religious education becomes one of the ways to shape good character (ARS, Party 6). Further, it is said that the role of the teacher in an educational institution is crucial. The teacher is the role model in an educational institution. Hence, the teacher becomes an example for students in shaping that character.

Supporting *Pesantren* and Religious Education Bill

As a new party, the three interviewees said that there is no party's policy nor program specifically and explicitly discussing education matters. However, the interviewees said that Garuda Party is one of the parties concerned with education problems in Indonesia, especially religious education. Thus, in the important meetings of Garuda Party after the 2019 general election such as National Forum (Munas) and Congress, Garuda Party will discuss the attitude, program, as well as policy in relation to education in Indonesia and religious education.

Though it still has no program, the interviewees said that there are some things that need to be performed in order to realize the vision and mission of religious education in Indonesia. One of which is highlighting the curriculum at public

schools. Therefore, religious education material needs to be increased at public schools. Because by increasing religious education at public schools, it will strengthen the virtuous character learning (ARS, Party 6).

In addition, when discussing regulation concerning religious education currently, such as *Pesantren* and religious education Bill, the interviewee said that Garuda Party supports the regulation. This is on the basis that many great figures are created from *pesantren* but in reality, the *pesantren* is not accredited. Therefore, it is important for the government to regulate that matter (ARS, Party 6). Moreover, the interviewee also argued that Garuda Party will synergize with government policies after the 2019 general election. (MF, Party 6).

Berkarya Party: Entrepreneurship spirit to block Radicalism at school

Berkarya Party is a combination party between two political parties, namely Beringin Berkarya party and Republic Nationalist Party. Berkarya Party was established on 15 July 2016. As a new party entering the 3rd year of its founding, it is not only focused on service activity and political fights in several topics becoming the latest national issue. The vision and mission of Berkarya Party are "Realizing faithful, safe, prosperous, just and independent Indonesian life based on Pancasila and 1945 Constitution, within the vessel of NKRI. Shaping virtuous, healthy, smart, and skilled human resources. Building a national economic system oriented to people's economy strengthening."

In the context of religious education, Berkarya Party is reported as promising to build independent *pesantren* with an internet-based education program. They cooperate with the board of experts of Institute Pertanian Bogor (Bogor Agriculture Institute/IPB) to realize the plan. This program as explained by Berkarya Party will help *santri* in improving the *pesantren* economy. Independent *pesantren* mentioned by Tommy Soeharto will be made as to the sample.

C. Nationalist Party on Religious Education: The Importance of "Pancasilize" Religious Education

Nationalist party has a liberal view on religious education stressing the importance of basic evaluation of religious education in Indonesia. The preferable direction is a more inclusive and open religious model. Religious education being applied now, especially according to PDI Perjuangan, is considered as an important source producing intolerance and radicalism. Different from the conservative group emphasizing on religious education as a moral solution, part of the liberal view thinks otherwise. For them, the current education system policy is considered as inclining to a certain religion. For PDI Perjuangan, the nation's knowledge crisis in education has the main solution that is through Pancasila confirmation in religious education. Religious education is positioned as a subordinate to moral education. NasDem Party through its Chairman

has a strict view on the relation between religion and the state. There must be a dividing wall. Religion does not need to be too involved in the statehood matter, vice versa. But, in relation to religious education improvement, NasDem Party encourages government involvement in strengthening education institutions and moderate religious to prevent radicalism. For PSI, positioning exclusivism and intolerance as a more basic problem, the solution offered among others is through education (the one introducing) religions (religious studies). PSI also refuses religious regulations, such as Sharia Regional Regulations.

1. PDI Perjuangan Party: Pancasila as the Main Priority of Religious Education

Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan or abbreviated as PDI Perjuangan is a Pancasila based party as specified in the Preamble of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution with its soul and spirit of birth on 1 June 1945. The birth of Pancasila on 1 June 1945 was coming from the speech of Bung Karno in the meeting of (BPUPKI). The party identifying itself as the pioneer party of this ideology was trying to familiarize the teachings of Bung Karno as the founding father (AD/ART). Thus, it is no wonder that the cadres of PDI Perjuangan are the Soekarnoist.

At the beginning of its establishment, PDI Perjuangan was always striving for its position as an ideological party upholding nationalism and distancing themselves from anything related to religion. It is undeniable, in the case of Indonesia, religion has a vital position in national political dynamics. Moreover, religion oftentimes made as a tool to obtain votes in general elections. The negative stigma as an anti-Islam party makes PDI Perjuangan take strategic steps by transforming into an image of PDI Perjuangan who embraces Moslem community. One of its steps is by establishing the party's right-wing named Baitul Muslimin Indonesia [Bamusi] (Thaka, 2018).

Program and Policy Related to Religious Education

A number of efforts performed by PDI Perjuangan in relation to religious education are performed in several strategies. Casually, PDI Perjuangan often helps to handle discrimination problems raising in the religion sector especially related to religious education. In general, as explained at the beginning, PDI Perjuangan has no special vision related to religious education. Whereas some programs and policies frequently advocated by PDI Perjuangan currently are to insert again the education of Pancasila in the national education curriculum. Explicitly, PDI Perjuangan revealed that they want to revise the Sisdiknas Law to insert Pancasila education again.

Either at a regional or national level, PDI Perjuangan is so active in proposing the integration program of Pancasila education at schools. For PDI Perjuangan, the solution for the increase of intolerance and radicalism mainly among youngsters can be performed by refamiliarizing Pancasila education. For PDI Perjuangan,

the main thing in shaping the nation's character is Pancasila. As a nation with Moslem majority and with founding fathers mostly Moslem, religion is an important element in the state's development, but for PDI Perjuangan, religion is sufficient enough to be placed in private in order to deepen the religious teaching of each religion, enhance faith, piety, and its relation to the hereafter. While in social and nation relations, Pancasila must be the priority (AB, Party 5).

The notion of character education proposed by the government through the presidential decree number 87 of 2017 is considered not necessary. AB revealed that *"Character education is not necessary, inserting again the Pancasila education is enough"*. Pancasila must be made as to the basis in every subject. For PDI Perjuangan, the character building of the nation is sufficiently performed by integrating Pancasila into all subjects. The personal character can be solved through religious education by learning the religion sharia of each religion and character building as a citizen can be formed through Pancasila education.

Strengthening Nationalism

PDI Perjuangan as the pioneer of Pancasila based ideology placed Pancasila values as the basis of its every action. PDI Perjuangan is persistent in familiarizing Pancasila values expressed by Soekarno on 1 June 1945. The efforts to familiarize Pancasila values as the basic norm and philosophy in national life became a vital parameter for PDI Perjuangan. Therefore, an ideal religious education according to PDI Perjuangan is the religious education corresponding to the principles of Pancasila especially the first principle that says Believe in One Supreme God. Religious education given must be able to increase the value and faith of every student to their own God.

Religious education also must be able to grow nationalism. This view is of course in line with the theory that religious education must not only have a religious mission but also a nationality mission. However, the portion of citizens' character building loving the state according to PDI Perjuangan needs to be increased through Pancasila education. While religious education is sufficient on the matter of personal character building and deepening the teaching of the respective religion. Hence, according to PDI Perjuangan Pancasila Education must be the main focus in facing the rift of NKRI, then religion education as the personal character shaper.

Its relation to the recommendation to conduct religious studies in religious education, the elites of PDI Perjuangan still considered that religious education should be focused on learning in accordance with each belief. Moreover, PDI Perjuangan also tends to be ignorant about the importance to introduce the difference within the Islam itself that is diverse in Indonesia.

Indonesia has so many streams of Islam. NU and Muhammadiyah, these two

biggest organizations also have differences in performing Islamic sharia. However, the introduction to different cultures according to PDPI Perjuangan is better to be performed domestically or within a family. Formal education institutions must be more neutral and teach the universal values of Islam.

Religious education for PDI Perjuangan is not a priority. The threat of disintegration of the nation by the increase of intolerance and radicalism can be solved by embedding Pancasila values so that the priority program for PDI Perjuangan is to integrate Pancasila values to all subjects including religion subject. Pancasila education must be the priority in shaping the nation's character. The thing that must be done now is to review the religion curriculum, teacher recruitment system, and change the law to reinsert the subject of Pancasila morale education or PMP as soon as possible. In addition, Cipayung group such as Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National College Students Movement/GMNI) must be allowed in the college environment.

2. Nasdem Party: rejecting sharia in Nation life, supporting State's intervention in Religious Education

NasDem Party becomes a party its jargon that is ready to perform restoration in the nation and state life deemed deviated from the constitution. Restoration can be defined as turning back to the right path as agreed by the founding fathers, by referring to the national principle of Pancasila and 1945 Constitution (Aditya, 2013). Various policies and statements of NasDem Party on social-politic aspects often based on this restoration spirit, including in their several statements and political attitudes related to the development of religious and educational situations in the country. There are some important themes discussed by NasDem Party concerning religious and education issues recently.

Building Moral and Tolerant Society through Religious Education

In the view of NasDem Party, religious education is an important component in building Indonesian human character. The interviewee said that religious education is not only about religious ritual, but also about how the human relates to other humans, living in society. Therefore, the role of religious education becomes important in order to create a moral society and corresponding to the noble values of Indonesia.

Further, the interviewee said that religious education must be in line with the nation's knowledge (TQ, Party 13). Hence, it needs an effort to provide and add teachings about the state and civics. The purpose is to remind us that we live together in a country called Indonesia.

The interviewee revealed that there are 2 important notes in seeing religious education. First, religious education given at schools must ensure that all

believers have the same opportunity to get religious education. Second, religious education must teach tolerance between religious communities. (TB, Party 13)

Moreover, the interviewee mentioned that religious education shall not become exclusive but inclusive, meaning that it is opened for anyone and to the truth values around it. He also added that religious education has an important role in every individual. Because the messages delivered in religious education is most easily absorbed and digested by every individual. Thus, the message delivered in religious education must be in line with nationality messages to create a moral society. (TB, Party 13)

3. Solidaritas Indonesia Party (PSI): encouraging Religious Studies

Solidaritas Indonesia Party (PSI) was established in 2015 and started to take part in Indonesian political contestation since the 2019 general election. PSI exists as a nationalist party campaigning a number of platforms. In education, for instance, PSI highlights education distribution and the importance of providing space for a non-public institution such as *pesantren* to strengthen education in Indonesia. In religion and civil independence sectors, PSI is trying to ensure its alignment to minority groups, women, children, the disabled, and others. PSI's view on religious education issues is so much affected by the principles and values adopted by the party. Here is the explanation.

Solidaritas Indonesia Party is one of many parties having a special concern on tolerance issues. As mentioned by PSI interviewee that "We see one of the biggest problems in Indonesia right now which is intolerance" (RJA, Party 16). In relation to the intolerance problems, an ideal religious education according to PSI is the religious education that is able to prevent intolerance among students. PSI actually has no problem with the religion taught at schools as regulated by the National Education System Law Number 20 of 2003. PSI's concern is, that religious education taught at schools is indicated unable to block the emergence of intolerance among students. This makes the current religious education still not ideal, as it needs evaluation and reformulation (RJA, Party 16)

Religious Studies to Fight Intolerance

In the view of PSI, a more ideal religious education is inclusive faith-based education and Religious Studies by introducing the religions acknowledged by the state. This approach is indeed still not familiar to be used in the religious education curriculum at schools. Religious Studies is generally learned at the university level, even more to a certain study program. With Religious Studies, the students are not only taught one religion but also introduced to different religions. "We direct the religious education to Religious Studies, so now religious teaching will be taught by the respective teacher and that will be done. But again,

it must be a study of religions, there is a phase of teaching faith, worship, but there must be a chapter teaching other religions' tradition" (RJA, Party 16). The same also emphasized by another interviewee. Religious studies are believed to be able to reduce the threat of intolerance (TA, Party 16)

The changes in religious education into Religious Studies is indeed revolutionary. Some parties – including nationalist party – reject this notion because it is feared that society will lose a generation believe in one religion, the students educated by religious approach will interpret that all religions are the same, so believe in a certain religion is not necessary, they even may believe that to have a religion is a choice. There is also a group who rejects the notion of Religious Studies by reasoning that teaching one religion in a whole or completely is enough since in religious teachings respect among believers is already taught.

But for PSI, the conventional religious education material or curriculum is indicated as unable to block intolerance a school, according to the data found by various survey institutes. Teaching a "whole" religion is also problematic. "The claim has always been the same right, Islam rahmatan lil alamin, that is a normative statement sounds beautiful. But as I said earlier, that is the question and who will teach that whole Islam. That is the problem." (RJA, Party 16).

In addition to evaluating and directing material or curriculum to Religious Studies, PSI also argued that it needs a new innovation in the religious teaching method. All this time, religion is taught conventionally in class without interaction and visiting different worship place. According to PSI, by making a program to visit each worship place will increase one's knowledge of different religions, thus decreasing suspicion to different people. As elaborated by PSI interviewee (RJA, Party 16).

Future Agenda and Policy

In the education sector, especially religious education, PSI also makes an agenda to develop *madrasah* and *pesantren*. For PSI, Islamic tradition in Indonesia is inseparable from *madrasah* and *pesantren*. There is an awareness that *pesantren* is the source of religious teachings in Indonesia that has been running for decades. Therefore, *pesantren* and *madrasah* education must be developed. With a note that *pesantren* and *madrasah* development should be in parallel with nationality and tolerance understanding. As delivered by one of the interviewees, "...we just need to make sure that what is taught at *pesantren* and *madrasah* is compatible with nationality issues" (RJA, Party 16).

In relation to *pesantren*, up to this date, there is a *pesantren* and religious education Bill. This Bill becomes a polemic since it is not only regulating Islamic education institution (*pesantren*), but also other religious education institutions. It becomes a problem because there are regulations that must be followed by

religious education institution that is difficult to be followed by other religious institutions such as Sunday school or catechism. The existing Bill reflects too much alignment towards a certain religious community.

PSI proposed two things. First, so as to prevent discrimination the existing Bill should not intervene in regulating other religious educations, it is limited to *pesantren*. Second, if the Bill is made cross religion, then the formulation of this Bill must involve other religions (RFA, party 16).

4. Perindo Party: Religious Education for Harmony

Partai Persatuan Indonesia (United Indonesian Party/Perindo) is a nationalist party that was initially established by the mass organization. This party is relatively new in the state political constellation since its establishment in 2015, even becomes a new part that participated in the 2019 general elections. Like any other new party, Perindo Party did not pass the threshold of parliament. As a Pancasila based party, Perindo Party has a struggle basis to realize prosperous Indonesia. From the viewpoint of Perindo Party, if prosperity can be achieved, then Indonesian unity will stand tall, the nation's diversity will be maintained, and NKRI will be realized. Indonesian unity must be maintained within the framework of harmony among the nation's components since harmony is the core of unity.

Even though the party's policy is centered on the economic sector, but the party's concern on education quality improvement is just the same. During the campaign in the last general election, there were many ideas of Perindo Party related to the strategy to improve people's education quality. One of which is by improving people's higher education through online universities to student's interest-free loans. The party sees education as an important medium to improve people's productivity to be prosperous.

The same goes for religious education, the party showed the same spirit. Perindo Party has a special concern on the religious education quality in *pesantren* through the body it creates, which is Yayasan Peduli Pesantren (YPP). The existence of this YPP can help the construction of facilities and infrastructure at *pesantren* for the improvement of Islamic education learning process and public education. The quality of *santri* nowadays is not only capable in the context of the present report, but also the worldly context.

Religious education: Creating Harmony

In general, the vision and mission of Perindo Party do not explicitly mention the education issue. Perindo Party is more focused on the economic democracy issue. However, the party still believes that the position of religious education has an important role in creating harmony in the nation's life for maintaining Indonesian unity – such as the party's name, that is Persatuan Indonesia

(Perindo). Even more, if we look at the current life, there is almost no homogenous social structure or society. In a region, there must be other religious believers. Therefore, public awareness of the diversity of this nation is needed, one of which is through a correct religious education. Considering that religious education teaching is vital. Perindo Party sees that a transformation is needed in the religious process. Religious education teaching must be taught since early childhood to adult and the learning process should be performed continuously (AR, party 14).

Religious teaching should not be taught that easily, but also include teaching of social interaction. Otherwise, the knowledge in diversity context will be too naive. Ideally, a teacher must be able to give direction, limitation, and religious teaching material guidelines well to the students. Otherwise, religious material will be rigid and easily trapped in radicalism (AR, party 14). Moreover, if there is an initiative that religious material at schools needs to be added with religious studies to grow tolerant values, then it is a good suggestion. But, it needs to be noted by the interviewee is that the teaching is only limited to the introduction to the religious basic principles (AK, party 14). If it is not limited, students, later on, may think that all religions are the same. And this is incorrect. The essence of religious learning is about how the religion itself is understood absolutely – monotheism dimension. But for the social dimension, it needs to be noted that we live in a plural society.

Other than teaching material, the interviewee added that cross religion communication becomes important to be constantly maintained by the respective believers. Such a visiting other worship places or religious organizations or by providing a mutual dialogue between religions. Moreover, it is also suggested that when celebrating religious holidays, the religious figures from other religions to be provided with a platform for religious oration relate to religious harmony (AK, party 14).

Thus, the role of government in religious education matter either at public school or private school-*pesantren*- becomes vital. The presence of the state here is not to intervene in something related to religious private space, but more of emphasizing in giving regulation or standardization in religious education teaching. Hence, the role of government here needs to be facilitated, the stakeholders like universities and civil society must be the front line in building an ideal religious education for this nation.

5. Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI): Religious Education with nationality Perspective

Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI) is a continuation of Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan (PKP) declared on 15 January 1999. Before becoming a party, PKP was born in the form of Gerakan Keadilan dan Persatuan Bangsa (GKPB) which is a moral

movement during the multidimensional critical era striking Indonesia in 1998. PKPI is a party based on Pancasila and 1945 Constitution. Nationalist nationality and struggle for people's sovereignty are the characteristics of this party. PKPI confirms itself as an open party, not discriminative, independent, accommodating the nation's diverse potentials from all tribes, races, religions, groups, and gender (AD PKPI, 2018).

During DPN management period between 2010-2015 led by Sutiyoso, the education concept was included in the mission of Party section e, that is to realize strong, healthy, smart, professional, civilized society and clean society through the development of health and education as well as a job opportunity for poverty alleviation. However, during the party's management period between 2018-2024, PKPI does not particularly provide the concept of education or religious concept in their platform (AD ART and PKPI Vision Mission). PKPI is stressing on the justice in law supremacy, democratic government, civil society, unity in diversity, as specified in PKPI vision and mission for the period of 2018-2024. Although education or religious education issue is still not the focus of PKPI, the issue to maintain diversity is one of their concerns.

Religious Education within diversity Framework

PKPI believes that education is the agent of change for a better society. Even though in the last three general elections, PKPI still has no representative in parliament, education issue becomes a frequently discussed matter by their representatives in regional. If it is placed in the school context, religious education teaching is expected to be able to emerge awareness of the presence of other identities. School is expected to be a dialogue and tolerance medium between religions. PKPI sees that school has an urgency to provide religious teachers for all religions. As expressed by the interviewee (HT, Party 12).

PKPI considers that tolerance teaching is the core of religious value. Religious education is deemed ideal if the teachers manage to create peace for believers. Ironically, intolerant teaching – should not interact with non-Moslem – is often expressed by the religious teacher who should emphasize dialogue between believers. One of the interviewees of PKPI revealed his own experience in connection to this matter. PKPI also sees how vital the role of the religious teacher is in teaching religious education-friendly to plurality. PKPI also believes that radicalism attitude can be prevented through parent communication in evaluating what kind of teaching received at school (VSH, Party 12).

Understanding of religious teachings becomes one of PKPI's criticism related to religious education at school. According to PKPI, religious education is symbolic and students are forced to memorize the material. Hence, the learning result is difficult to be measured by behavior. As argued by the interviewee (VSH, Party 12).

Reorientation of Symbolic Religious Education

PKPI as a political party claiming Pancasila desires for a religious education that is able to foster the perspective leading to diversity values. In reality, PKPI still has no specific policy on religious education. Moreover, PKPI in the latest period (2018-2024), does not place the education concept in its party's vision and mission. However, PKPI's perspective on the education concept is quite interesting. PKPI believes that religious education should be able to accommodate the diverse religion in Indonesia. Public school as a suitable medium to begin the meeting of various identities is expected to create a dialogue and tolerant situation. PKPI's perspective on the awareness of the importance of dialogue, tolerance, inclusivity, and understanding the differences of other communities are the things that must be appreciated. PKPI encourages multicultural education to be implemented at school.

GENDER AND POLITICAL PARTIES

This research showed that gender issue is still a never-ending problem according to the regulation as stipulated in Law Number 2 of 2008 mandating political parties to include women representative of a minimum 30% either in the establishment or management at the central level. This 30% number is based on PB research results stating that the minimum total of 30 percent allows changes and impacts on the decision quality taken in a public institution. In this research, a total of 10 female informants were interviewed from PAN, PKS, PDI Perjuangan, Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, PPP, Garuda Party, and PKB, and 36 male informants.

In general, the view of the 16 political parties stated that in the party's management it has already accommodated the female votes in involving 30% representative in accordance with Law. Substantively, the view of political parties on the awareness of gender mainstreaming holistically differs. The view relates to female leadership issues at the national level, still becomes an unfinished issue. Some agree with it and the other refuse with various kinds of argument.

CONCLUSION

According to the finding and analysis on the research of political parties' view concerning religious education, it can be concluded as follows:

1. The Islamic parties' view on religious education can be divided into several models: First, Modern-Islamic: PKS, PPP, PBB, and PAN. PKS and PPP are focused on the supremacy of Islam. PBB is a Modern-Formalistic, modern in this case is Indonesianity nuanced, disagree with the adoption of *Salafi-Wahabi* Islam from the Middle East (like PKS) but referring to the founding fathers' modern Islamic ideals, especially M. Natsir (Masyumi Leader) after independence. PAN also has a modern view on religious education by emphasizing the importance of religious integration in all subjects, but also emphasizing the importance of religious education at school must encourage the development of pluralism that respects the nation's diversity; Second, Moderate-Traditionalist Islam, classified in this category is PKB. This party with Nahdliyyin mass basis agrees with the state's active role in strengthening religious education. The distinguishing factor with other Islamic political parties is that PKB emphasized the importance to strengthen traditional educational institutions such as *pesantren* and *madrasah* as the spearhead of religious education. In addition, PKB also confirms the need of accommodative religious teaching material towards the nation's culture.
2. Nationalist Religious party: generally lies in the middle spectrum, supporting PA and religious agenda in politics but it should not intervene (interventionist). Political parties classified into this group are Golkar Party, Demokrat Party, Gerindra Party. The stressing on the needs to balance out the country/nationality and religiosity. They have no problem with a more religious country, and they are relatively opened to the idea or notion concerning religious regulations. They share a critical view with the nationalist group in terms of rejecting excessive religious politicization, including about the risk of radicalism threatening NKRI. However, in general, their view on several religious education aspects are closer to the Islamic community than the nationalist and secular group.
3. Nationalistic. A number of major political parties classified into this group are PDI Perjuangan, NasDem Party, and PSI, as well as a number of other minor political parties. PDI Perjuangan and PSI are frequently voicing out the need to revise the national education system. Both of these political parties share the same view on religious education that nowadays seems problematic, among others: less successful in nurturing tolerance and in a certain limit if it is left alone it shall adversely impact the nation's concept. It is just that, the pressure point of both political parties are a little different: PDI Perjuangan emphasized more on the need to strengthen the nation's concept through Pancasila injected in religious education, while PSI concentrated more on

the need of religious teaching model to substitute religious teaching model during its strong orthodoxy. For PDI Perjuangan, the most important goal of religious education is creating Pancasila human being, while for PSI – through religious studies proposal – is the tolerant and plural human being. Specifically, the view of the three major nationalist political parties can be elaborated as follows:

- 1) For PDI Perjuangan, the role and function of religious education is positioned as a more “subordinate” for a greater goal, that is to strengthen the nations’ concept. For PDI Perjuangan, embedding Pancasila values as a priority is more important and strategic compared to religious education. Different from a part of the Islamic part who sees “religious education that is *kaffah* or complete” is the solution to shape students’ morals, while PDPI Perjuangan sees that the solution is: “Pancasila Education”. This party also tends to reject the state’s role in religious matter, or at least minimum, not to intervene too much since religion is defined as a private territory. In this context, PDI Perjuangan tends to disagree with the state’s excessive involvement in regulating religious education, especially in private schools. A number of politicians from PDI Perjuangan are explicitly saying that the current religious education material and direction are already threatening due to its Islamic nuance.
- 2) PSI, like the previous statement, is striving for a liberal religious education model by encouraging religious studies. Through RS that is expected to be able to boost the realization of understanding between religions, open attitude, and religious understanding (inclusive). PA that tends to strengthen orthodoxy is very likely to become a threat due to exclusivism and the feeling of the most pious.
- 3) For NasDem Party, national politics needs to be separated from the intervention of religion. The national macro view is relatively secular. But if it is related to religious education, the state’s intervention is deemed necessary, even requesting the state to be more active, however, this role is for the sake of blocking radical ideology and concept. Explicitly, the politicians of NasDem Party mentioned the factor for the entry and development of *salafi wahabi* concept, which is called Arabic Islam, as the main problem that contributes to the emergence of intolerance and violation. The state needs to be strict about this kind of religious concept. Their viewpoint on religious education aspects at schools is not as radical as PSI or PDI, but closer to the nationalist-religious group.

Islamic Political Parties

Parties	Orientation	View and Policy
Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	Islamic-Conservative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The needs for a holistic Islamic education 2. Religious material should be included in all general subject materials 3. Learning only one religion completely shall make the students tolerant 4. If religious studies have been injected correctly to all subjects, character education is no longer needed 5. Islamization through legislation: actively contributing to the arrangement of 2003 Sisdiknas Bill 6. Requiring religious material and education hour addition.
Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	Islamic-Conservative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Religious education as <i>fardhu ain</i>. 2. If religious education (Islam) has been taught comprehensively, up to the implementation, character education is no longer relevant 3. Intolerance is mainly caused by a minimalist religious (less material and time) 4. The provision of Moslem clothing for Muslimah at public school is normal, as a form of awareness enhancement for Islam. 5. Giving the color of Islam in the College Laws 2012 and National Bookkeeping Laws 6. Requiring addition in religious education material and hours 7. Currently striving for addition in budget and standardization of religious teachers.
Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)	Modern Islamic-Conservative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conservatism and exclusivism become the root of the religious education problem 2. Transformation needs to be done by inserting modern Islamic concept in religious education in order to avoid radicalism 3. Striving for sharia legislation in laws but also striving for substantial (informal) Islamic aspects 4. Emphasizing the need for integration between Islam and other sciences by including the Islamic substance in all subjects 5. Agree with religious studies, but with a purpose to prove Islamic supremacy.

		6. Encouraging the insertion of modern Islamic concepts in Islam education, by emphasizing on the views of Masjumi figures. This type of modern Islam is more suitable to substitute the Middle East Islam model (including Saudi Arabia) currently growing in Indonesia.
Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)	Traditionalist Islamic-Moderate	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The focus of religious education policy now should be on the improvement of <i>pesantren</i> quality and reputation, developing <i>madrasah</i> 2. Highlighting the need for religious education accommodating Indonesian people's culture 3. The government should make <i>pesantren</i> education as the basis to prevent intolerance and nurture moderate behavior. 4. Striving for enhancement in the religious education budget, equal to public education. 5. In legislation sector, the politicians of PKB become the main initiator for Pesantren Bill
Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	Islamic-Inclusive	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This party declared itself as a modern, pluralist and inclusive party. 2. Often stressing on the need for an opened education system for all religions 3. While considering that integration between Islam and other Sciences is important. A school such as SIC is considered as an ideal model. 4. Regarding the administrator Institution, PAN often express the religious education management to be transferred from Kemenag to Kemendikbud 5. Radicalism at school as the result of one mismanagement in Kemenag on religious education from problematic religious concepts or material. 6. Such a case, radicalism is also seen as an external effect of religious problems. It exists due to injustice condition in the economy, social, and politics 7. Requesting for addition in religious class hours

Nationalist-Religious Political Parties (Accommodationist)

Parties	Orientation	View and Policy
Golkar Party	Nasionalist-Religious	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Golkar Party was established not based on the social identity incisions, but on the functional identity. Different from PDI or PPP as the parties that were born from the New Order and filled with ideological identity

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Supporting Pesantren Bill, but with a critical attitude. Expressing the aspiration of the church so that the Sunday school and catechism would not be included in the Bill. 3. The state's intervention in the religious matter is okay, but it should not be too far. 4. Supporting religious lessons emphasizing universal noble values in all religions. This is different from the Islamic parties stressing on the element of missionary endeavor, faith, and Islamic superiority. 5. Initiating a number of religious regulations, including religious regional regulations, but the main motive is on electoral. Not the policy reflecting the ideology of Golkar Party. 6. The stressing point of Golkar Party as specified in the party's articles of association which is not placing religion as the core values, but a part of the values grown in society crystalized in Pancasila ideology. That is the reason why Golkar Party emphasize the aspect of Pancasila ideology as the reference in developing the program executed. 7. Encouraging the Ministry of Religion to be more inclusive by encouraging Pancasila as the basis of the state to be implemented, in religious education and religious affairs 8. Religious education in the perspective of the Golkar Party is one part of the national education system that can contribute constructively: moderate and tolerant
Gerindra Party	Nationalism-Religious	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The purpose of education is strengthening faith and character 2. Strictly rejecting the notion of religious education deletion 3. Intolerance in religious education among others is caused by the lack of knowledge of teachers in understanding the relation between religion and country holistically. The confirmation of the teacher's capacity thus important, especially to understand correctly the relation between country and religion in Indonesia. 4. Islam and nationality is a mutualistic symbiosis, complete each other, compatible, as formulated by several Islamic figures: Natsir, Roem and Cak Nur.

Demokrat Party	Nationalism-Religious	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. PD since the beginning of its establishment identifies itself as a religious-nationalist party 2. This ideology is reflected in its vision. Upholding nationalism, humanism, and pluralism based on piety to the Almighty God in a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous new world. 3. Issues and policies on religion and religious education are less important in the last few years. 4. The general view of his party's figures in responding to nationality and religious issues is stressing on the importance of moderate, pluralistic, and tolerant attitude.
Perindo Party	Moderate Pluralist	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Focus on education promoting harmony 2. Intolerance is caused by incorrect teaching and understanding; the influence of global understanding. 3. Worried about the emergence of religious schools promoting exclusive behavior and understanding 4. Disagree with the requirement of Moslem clothing at public schools funded by the government. 5. Agree with education providing dialogue space for religions. 6. Accommodating Islamic interest: establishing religious assemblies.
Garuda Party	Nationalism-Islamic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Declare themselves as nationalist, religious, democratic 2. Has a strong concern on religious issues including Islamic education 3. Demands for additional hours for religious education at schools to facilitate the students' character. 4. Standardization of religious schools and <i>pesantren</i>, competence improvement for teachers, and <i>ustadz</i> are necessary. 5. Supporting Islamic regulations as a form of the majority of accommodation
Berkarya Party	Nationalism Moderate	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Education in Nationality, Diversity and Indonesianity nuance 2. Intolerance is not only caused by wrong education, but also by unrealized economic prosperity.

		3. Arrangement of religious curriculum involving multiparty
Hati Nurani Rakyat (HANURA) Party	Nationalist-Religious	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Declare themselves as a nationalist-religious party. 2. Declare themselves as a moderate party, in the middle (not inclined to the left or right), and opened 3. A pluralist education is important 4. Has no specific view on religious education 5. Extremism in religion, including <i>takfiri</i> behavior, becomes a serious threat for the cohesiveness of a harmonious life 6. A weak party institution and internal conflict make the role of their representatives in parliament invisible. 7. With only a few representatives in parliament, less active in legislation.

Nationalist Political Parties

Parties	Orientation	View and Policy
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI Perjuangan)	Nationalist Inclined to Secular	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Emphasizing the importance of national morality education above religious education 2. Strengthening the nation's character through Pancasila Education, while strengthening personal character by learning the respective religion. 3. Religion is in the private territory to deepen the respective religion, increase faith, piety, and its relation to the hereafter. While in social and national life, Pancasila must be the priority. 4. Encouraging Pancasila integration with all subjects. 5. Pancasila values must be integrated into religious education to prevent intolerance 6. Religious education must be directed to shape Pancasilaic human having nationality concept 7. Criticizing some regulations, including religious education regulation that recently is dominated by Islamic values. 8. Opposing, among others is a walkout, in the arrangement of Sisdiknas Bill that is deemed inclined to a certain religion

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. To avoid exclusivism, religious education must accommodate nationality values or local traditions or wisdom.
NasDem Party	Nationalist-Moderate	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NasDem Party has a deep concern on the increase of sharia formalization, deemed threatening the nation's unity. 2. Disagree with Sharia Regional Regulation, since it is considered as a form of discrimination 3. The matter of country and religion should be separated. The state should not intervene, so the religion should not intervene in the state's matter. 4. Religious education policy may not provide the privilege to a certain religious community. But it must prioritize equality and the same opportunity for other religions. There must be no imbalance. 5. The government must intervene to make sure that religious education material does not contain intolerance and radicalism elements 6. Intolerance and radicalism are mainly caused by the influence of religious concept development from outside (in this case is the <i>Wahabi</i> concept). 7. Proposing improvement in teachers' and preachers' capacity to block radical understanding. 8. Supporting Pesantren Bill to strengthen moderate Islam 9. The macro view (relation between country and religion) tend to be secular, on the religious education aspect tends to be moderate and religious.
Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI)	Pluralist Secular	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Having a strong concept for tolerant-based education 2. Encouraging religious studies (RS) to strengthen understanding among students. RS also preventing from an exclusive religious understanding 3. Disagree with religious regional regulations: as a form of discrimination towards minority 4. Evaluation of religious teachers. Embedding Pancasila values is a priority. Proposing a commitment contract by teaching Pancasila to religious teachers.

PKPI	Nationalist Moderate	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. PKPI perspective on religious education refers to diversity values 2. A closed or exclusive religious education may cause intolerance 3. Religious education all this time considered as symbolic and result oriented by PKPI, is expected to be able to be changed into a friendly normative respond and acknowledge different religion as a part of Indonesian property 4. Ambiguity. Related to the requirement of Moslem clothing at schools for Muslimah, PKPI sees it as normal, as a form of majority accommodation. On the other hand, PKPI encourages multicultural education to be implemented at school
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POLICY RECOMMENDATION

As policy research, this research was aimed to offer the know-how political parties should act, one of the democracy pillars, in seeing religious education in Indonesia. At last, this research suggests some policy recommendations to government and policy maker:

1. Encouraging political parties' leaders to strengthen the compatibility of religiosity and nationality concept in the vision, mission, cadre system, and recruitment as well as AD/ART of the Political Party.
2. Providing a dialogue and democratized space for civil society element to voice out their aspirations in relation to religious education policy against a political party. This practice can be performed by improving the policy related to religious education.
3. Supporting the role of government, in this case, Kemendagri, confirming the party's regulation supporting the compatibility of religiosity and nationality concept.

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INSTITUTION'S PROFILE

Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta is an autonomous research institution under Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. PPIM UIN Jakarta was established in 1994 and continuously conducting research, advocacy, and publication in religious life and education issues in Indonesia. Together with UNDP Indonesia, PPIM UIN Jakarta since 2017 has performed Countering Violent Extremism for Youth (CONVEY) program Indonesia. A program aimed to create peace in Indonesia based on religious education by covering the issues tolerance, diversity and violence among youth. In addition, since the beginning of its establishment to this day, PPIM UIN Jakarta has also published the Journal of *Studia Islamika*, an international journal focusing on Islamic studies in Indonesia and Southeast Asia.



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