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# POLITICAL PARTIES & ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

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Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Jakarta



# **POLITICAL PARTIES & ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS EDUCATION**

CONVEY Indonesia and PPIM UIN Jakarta  
2020

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the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Jakarta. 2020.

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Title : Political Parties & Islamic Religious Education  
  
Translated from the book under the title of "*Partai  
Politik & Pendidikan Agama Islam*", published  
by Pusat Pengkajian Islam & Masyarakat (PPIM)  
UIN Jakarta, 2020

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Layouter : Oryza Rizqullah

ISBN : 978-623-95035-0-5

17,6 x 25 cm, xii+256  
Islam-Politics

This research project is supported by the CONVEY program funds.  
The opinions, findings, conclusions and recommendations presented  
in this book are on the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily  
reflect the views of CONVEY.

## FOREWORD

Political parties, as one of the main pillars of democracy, have a strategic role not only in determining the dynamics of political life in society but also in formulating public policy. Political parties play a big role in formulating legislation, including issues related to religion and religious education. Regarding religious life and religious education in Indonesia in the last few years, the role of political parties has become crucial. Furthermore, their role is expected to determine the direction of policy to encounter the religious attitudes and behaviors that tend to be exclusive, closed, anti-nationalism, and even support violence in society. Besides, these kinds of religious attitudes have also penetrated in the education sector (PPIM, 2016, 2017, 2018; Puspidep, 2017 & 2018; Wahid Institute, 2016; Maarif Institute, 2018; PSBPS, 2019). In this context, as one of the pillars of democracy, political parties have an important role in maintaining the unity and integrity of the nation.

It seems that there are only a few studies on political parties and religious education policies. Therefore, this study is important because educational institutions have a strategic role in building the face of Indonesia in the future. At the same time, some studies show that the polarization of political party views emerges on religious issues while it does not happen on issues related to the economy, security, etc. (Muhtadi, 2018).

This book is arranged to provide an overview of political parties' views on religious education. This book is a report from a study conducted by PPIM (Center for the Study of Islam and Society) of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta under the title of "Political Parties' Views on Religious Education." This study aims to explore the views of political parties on the vision and mission of Religious Education by examining the political policies of political parties and the extent of political party

responses to issues of nationalism, diversity, and Indonesian identity. In the multicultural context of Indonesia, religious education is Candradimuka Crater (a place for personal self-development to gain strong, trained and agile personal characters) in producing future generations who will take over the posts of life in this nation and government in various fields: social, political, economic, cultural and so on. Thus, inclusive, tolerant, and compassionate values that lead to humanity must be injected into our generation through religious education that emphasizes dialogical aspects and critical thinking without hegemony and indoctrination.

This research focuses on exploring the views of 16 Political Parties (Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle/PDI-P, Great Indonesia Movement Party/Gerinda, Party of the Functional Groups/Golkar, National Awakening Party/PKB, Prosperous Justice Party/PKS, Democratic Party/Demokrat, National Mandate Party /PAN, United Development Party/PPP, Perindo Party, Work Party/Berkarya, Indonesia Solidarity Party/PSI, National Democrat Party/Nasdem, Crescent Start Party/PBB, Garuda Party, and Indonesia Justice and Unity Party/PKPI) in relation to religious education issues by emphasizing on three main questions: a). To what extent are political party views related to the vision and mission of religious education? How do political parties view the ideal portrait of religious education? What are the crucial issues in religious education that are considered as priorities? To what extent do political parties respond to the latest religious and religious education issues? b). What are the programs and policies related to the religious aspect and religious education of each political party? What policies have political parties issued regarding religious education? What is the political party's agenda in the future regarding the religious aspect and religious education? c). To what extent are political parties' responses and views on religious and religious education related to nationality, diversity, and Indonesian identity?

This book fully describes some of the findings of this study. In general, political parties' views on religious education are ideal. Each political party has a relatively philosophical and teleological explanation. Ideally, political parties have relatively good thinking. However, this has not

been translated into the systematic agenda of those political parties to be fought for both in the context of policies and in the context of programs that have a direct impact on society.

Religious education is part of the general framework of parties' work that is not specifically patterned. The views of political parties on religious education are placed as strategic factors for strengthening the values, orientation, and personality of the nation, although it has no measurably-structured program. The basis of justification for the urgency of religious education that embraces tolerance and nationalism is based on the vision, mission, and articles of association of the party, which includes a national context based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Republic of Indonesia, and unity in diversity. Therefore, the conceptions offered by political parties on religious education are very relevant to the spirit of nationalism because the final foundation is to achieve intelligent, godly, pious, and moral people as a reflection of the ideology of Pancasila.

Because the conception of political parties is very broad in terms of religious education, political parties show different opinions regarding regulations that are religious nuance. For some political parties, the issue of religiously-nuanced regulation is a necessity as a logical consequence of actualizing religious values contained in the state ideology – Pancasila. Some of them better understand the religiously-nuanced rules, including in the general education, which is a form of pragmatism for local electoral interests, and some consider it as a form of deviation from the diversity. From these points of view, the diversity shows that political parties have not fully attained the position of one case related to religious and state relations, which results in the subjective meaning of each party.

In general, political parties recognize the existence of a deviation from the spirit of diversity and nationalism, which is supported by an exclusive religious view. The views of these political parties actually become an entry point to strengthen moderate and pluralistic-friendly religious education. This step is prospective because the position of political parties is very strategic in influencing government policies. Another important aspect is the need for a complete conception and understanding of moderate, tolerant, and diversity-friendly religious education because political parties

have no firm commitment or have a partial understanding regarding the urgency and models of religious education for diverse societies.

Other findings illustrate that the views of political parties related to religious education can be divided into three typologies. First, the Islamist Party, which includes: a). Islamist-Modernists such as PKS, PPP, PBB, and PAN. PKS and PPP focus on the supremacy of Islamic excellence in religious education. Meanwhile, the UN is Modernist-Formalistic. Modernist aspects which are based on Indonesian values and do not agree with Islam adopted from Salafi-Wahabi with the style of the Middle East. However, this Islamic spirit refers to M. Natsir's modernist Islamic thought. In this regard, PAN also develops the idea of modernist religious education by emphasizing the integration of religion in all subjects, as well as affirming the need for religious education that encourages pluralism or pluralism; b). Moderate-Traditionalist Islam, like PKB, promotes the importance of strengthening traditional educational institutions in the form of *pesantren* and madrasa as well as accommodating local culture as a way to strengthen moderate Islam, which is based on Rahman Lil 'Alamin as well as an effort to stem the understanding of radicalism.

The second is the Religious Nationalists. This type of political party is in the middle spectrum. This political party supports religious education and religious agendas in the political sphere. Nevertheless, they do not let it go too far. This type of political party emphasizes the need for a balance between state/nationality and religiosity/religion. The third is nationalists, such as the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P), which emphasizes that religious education is a subordinate of the national ideology. For PDI-P, Pancasila Education is the most important aspect above religious education. PDI-P tends to reject the role of the state in religion, or at least the state should not interfere too much because religion is a private area. PDI-P sees that religious education today tends to be Islamist. In addition to PDI-P, PSI views that an ideal religious education is an education that can encourage the application of religious studies in order to foster mutual understanding among followers of different religions. For PSI, Religious Education, which tends to strengthen orthodoxy, becomes a threat because it relies on exclusivism. Meanwhile, the Nasdem Party



## FOREWORD

regards that there is a need for state intervention in strengthening Religious Education, especially in the context of preventing radicalism. According to the Nasdem Party, the state must be firm on Salafi-Wahabis that tend to foster intolerance and violence. At a certain degree, the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P), the PSI, and the Nasdem Party strongly reject the regulation with religious nuances, such as the Sharia Regional Regulation. It is because it is considered discriminatory against minority groups, and it will endanger the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

Finally, we would like to thank the senior PPIM researcher, Prof. Jamhari Makruf, Ismatu Ropi, Ph.D., Didin Syafruddin Ph.D., Fuad Jabali, Ph.D., Saiful Umam, Ph.D., Ali Munhanif, Ph.D., Dr. Arief Subhan and Dr. Idris Thaha for all the assistance given in preparing this book. We want to express our appreciation to the research team, Dr. Yunita Faela Nisa (coordinator), M. Zaki Mubarak, A Bakir Ihsan, Ahmad Alfajri, Tasman, Suryani, Dita Kirana. We really thank also Abdallah, Dani, Fikri Faiz, Lina Yama, Meitha, Narshi, Syaifa, and Herda. Finally, we would like to thank and express our high appreciation to members of political parties who were willing to spare their time to participate in the research. Without the help of all the parties mentioned above, composing this book would not have been possible.

Ciputat, May 2020



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## THE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

parpol	<i>partai politik</i>	Political parties
pileg	<i>pemilihan legislatif</i>	Legislative elections
pilkada	<i>pemilihan kepala daerah</i>	Regional head election
pilpres	<i>pemilihan presiden</i>	Presidential election
PPP	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i>	United Development Party
GBHN	<i>Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara</i>	Outlines of State Policy
P4	<i>Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila</i>	Guidelines for Implementing and Practicing Pancasila
ICMI	<i>Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia</i>	Indonesian Muslim Scholars Association
Sisdiknas	<i>Sistem Pendidikan Nasional</i>	National Education System
PBB	<i>Partai Bulan Bintang</i>	Crescent Star Party
PDI Perjuangan	<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</i>	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
PKB	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i>	National Awakening Party
PKS	<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i>	Prosperous Justice Party
PAN	<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i>	National Mandate Party
Manipol USDEK	<i>Manifesto Politik / Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, Sosialisme Indonesia, Demokrasi Terpimpin, Ekonomi Terpimpin, dan Kepribadian Indonesia</i>	Political Manifesto / Basic Laws 1945, Indonesian Socialism, Democracy Guided, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Personality
Bamusi	<i>Baitul Muslimin Indonesia</i>	Baitul Muslimin Indonesia
PMP	<i>Pendidikan Moral Pancasila</i>	Moral Education of Pancasila
NKRI	<i>Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia</i>	The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia
PDI	<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia</i>	Indonesian Democratic Party
PP	<i>Peraturan Pemerintah</i>	Government regulations

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

**T**his research is one of a series of Counter Violent Extremism (CONVEY) 3 activities in Indonesia held by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM – Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta (UIN Jakarta). This activity is intended to increase opportunities and efforts to make the results of research and advocacy as a basis for policy decisions that can be implemented in Indonesia, particularly in the form of relevant laws and regulations.

This research was conducted to explore deeper information about the views of political parties relating to building resilience to prevent violent extremism through religious education that can strengthen tolerance, harmony, mutual understanding, mutual respect, without discrimination and non-violent actions, interactions, and collaborations among religious communities and adherents of different religions. The data in this qualitative research was collected in the period of May to August 2019. For the implementation of this qualitative research, the team has created a design and research instrument that has high credibility to produce useful findings.

After the PPIM UIN Jakarta research team gained an overview of programs and policies of the political parties on religious education in Indonesia, the research continued with a survey of members of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) 2019-2024 service period. The topic of the research is still exploring the views of members of the people's representatives, as an extension of political parties, about religious education in Indonesia. The time period for conducting this national survey was from October to December 2019. The results of these two

studies, both qualitative and quantitative, are important to strengthen the determination of policy, especially regarding religious education in Indonesia.

## **Background**

The formation of political parties in Indonesia began in preparation for the general election in 1946, which was marked by the formation of 137 parties. Plans for the 1946 election failed. However, at least 25 political parties survived in 1951, and increased by two political parties until 1954, as stated in the two-party profile books published by the Old Order government (RI Ministry of Information, 1951 and 1954). In 1955, several political parties took part in the first elections in Indonesia, which were generally recognized as democratic. The 1955 election results clearly illustrated the ideological division and socio-political flow of Indonesian society at that time. Four major parties are winning the most votes; Indonesian National Party (PNI – Partai Nasional Indonesia), Masyumi, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Indonesian Communist Party (PKI – Partai Komunis Indonesia). PNI is a representation of a group of nationalist societies, Masyumi and NU reflect on the Islamic group—one is the modernist, and the other is the traditionalist, and PKI is a representation of the communist group.

When the regime changed, the Old Order led by Sukarno fell and was replaced by the New Order under the leadership of President Soeharto, there was a simplifying number of parties participating in the election. The 1971 election was joined by ten political parties. Subsequent elections (1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997) - after the fusion or merging of political parties in 1973 - were only followed by three contestants; United Development Party (PPP - *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*), Golkar Party, Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI - *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*). A number of Islamic political parties (the NU Party, the Indonesian Muslimin Party [Parmusi - *Partai Muslimin Indonesia*], the Indonesian Islamic Syarikat Party [PSII - *Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia*], and the Unity *Tarbiyah Islamiyah* [Perti - *Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah*]) joined the PPP. Golkar, which claims itself to be a “Power of Work” oriented towards development and economic prosperity, is unwilling to declare



itself a political party. Because political parties have a negative image—they are only oriented towards pursuing their own interests, namely: power. Whereas PDI is the result of fusion from nationalist, socialist, and religious parties (PNI, Indonesian Independence Supporters Association [IPKI - Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia], People's Deliberations [Murba - Musyawarah Rakyat Banyak], Catholic Party and Christian Party [Parkindo]).

During the six elections in the New Order government, Golkar always received the most votes, followed by PPP and PDI. In practice, Golkar became a government party. Because of its continued dominance, Golkar is often referred to as the hegemonic party. For the semi-authoritarian New Order government, Golkar's absolute victory in every election and therefore controlling parliament is needed to secure government policies in parliament. Almost all government agendas, including those related to politics, religion, and education, got full support from Golkar's representatives in the legislature. The other two parties, PPP and PDI, do not carry out the roles and functions of their parties to the maximum and normal as in a democratic country. It happened because the New Order regime does not want the growth of critical opposition forces.

Indonesia's entry into democratic reforms, after the New Order regime collapsed, brought a number of significant changes in the party and election system. The government, during the transition to democracy, allowed the establishment of many political parties. There are no longer restrictions as happened in the past. The first election during the Reformation (1999) was followed by 48 political parties. Meanwhile, the next elections were attended by 24 political parties (2004), 38 political parties (2009), and 12 political parties (2014). In the 2019 elections, there were 16 political parties at the national level that officially participated; 12 of them were previous election participants, and four other new political parties were formed. It is important to note that since the 2009 elections, local political parties have been established in Aceh Province; namely six political parties (2009), three political parties (2014), and four political parties (2019).

These multi-party elections have brought significant changes in the composition of the parliament or legislature. There is no longer a political force that is too dominant and monopolizes the political processes in parliament, as it did in the New Order era. With the increasing number of party representatives in parliament and the more widespread distribution of seats, policymaking in parliament naturally involves more parties. The process of negotiation and compromise involving parties becomes unavoidable to be able to “release” policies, including in the formulation of legislation. The high number of actors involved in the legislative process in parliament will certainly produce better products that reflect diverse views and interests—in this case, especially political parties that have influences in parliament.

Studies on political parties and policies on religious education (Islam) are relatively rare in Indonesia. In fact, serious attention to religious education involving politicians is pivotal because it is from educational institutions that future generations are expected to be able to create peace. Therefore, it needs to be studied in-depth to find out what policies and activities conducted by political parties related to religious education, and how political parties play their role in the field of education which in the last few decades has been infiltrated by the view of intolerance and radicalism, as evidenced by PPIM research UIN Jakarta (2016, 2017, and 2018).

As well known, policies on education and religion are one important arena of tension and competition involving social and political forces, not only in Muslim countries but also in a number of secular Western countries (Kuru, 2009: 8, also Bader, 2007: 155). Kuru noted that there were at least six controversial issues related to state policies on education that emerged in three secular countries (France, Turkey, and the United States), namely: (1) the wearing of religious clothing and symbols by students in public schools; (2) religious promises and prayers in public schools; (3) private religious education; (4) religious instructions in public schools; (5) public funding for private religious schools; and (6) worship arrangements in public schools.

In many Muslim countries, as noted by Cesari (2014), issues related to religious education often ignite the pros and cons, both in government, political parties, and society. The sensitive issue, for example, concerns the

beliefs of religious minorities, both internal followers of Islam and among non-Muslims. This sensitive issue is not sufficiently accommodated in religious education.

In Indonesia, such a phenomenon is not much different. During the New Order until the Reformation period, the problems of national education policy and religious education have led to political battles, which took place in the community up to the parliament. The topics of debate and disputes are very diverse, ranging from the duration of teaching hours, the educational objectives to be achieved, the religious education materials being taught, attire or uniform for students, to those related to autonomy and state intervention in religious affairs. The regulation of school attire has been a controversy since the early 1980s, in which the Minister of Education and Culture's policy at the time prohibiting the wearing of headscarves or veil for Muslim female students was considered to be very detrimental to Muslims.

The debate then also widened, concerning how a suitable national education paradigm was applied in Indonesia. Some claim a secular education is the best, while others consider such education to be unsuitable for a religiously populated Indonesia. The polemic about national education policy continues. In the early period of the New Order until the early 1980s, many attitudes and government policies towards education and religious education were considered to be very secular. The loudest criticism came from a number of Islamic figures, who considered New Order policies were anti-Islam. The situation changed a lot after that. At least from the late 1980s to the present, the national education policy is seen as more "religious". The birth of Law No. 2 of 1989 concerning the National Education System and Law No. 20 of 2003 on National Education System went through the long process of heated debates involving the government, political parties, and community groups. One of the issues that received widespread attention was the provisions concerning religious education. Several parties who opposed the formation of provisions relating to religious education stated that there are some indications of excessive state interference in private matters, the strengthening of the conservatism that influences the contents of the policy. Some also worry about the potential for discrimination and intolerance. On

the other hand, those who supported the new policy of religious education in schools said that the regulation is more advanced than the previous rules because it guarantees the rights of students to get religious instruction based on their religion and include religious teachers who are of the same religion as the learners.

It cannot be denied that until now, or in the future, issues related to religious education policy in schools will continue to be topics that bring up the pros and cons of society. The ongoing polemic cannot be separated from the reality of Indonesian society which is so diverse and fragmented, so to find the formulation of religious education and national education policies that truly reflect common good is not easy to find. Multiculturalism which is reflected in differences in culture, religion, ethnicity, race, etc. – on one side is a treasure property that we should be grateful for but if it cannot be managed properly, including if it does not get a proper place in government policy (including in national education regulations and religious) will become “hidden grudges” which will potentially burn our Indonesian-ness.

The House of Representatives or the DPR with its legislative function is a strategic institution in determining the formulation and direction of Indonesia’s national education regulations. It is no exaggeration if at the moment the great burden is placed on the politicians of the people’s representatives in the parliament (legislators) to be able to reformulate the direction and policies of national education and religious education in line with the spirit of pluralism in the nation and state, strengthen the national outlook, respect for differences and foster tolerance. Based on the reasons above, the research that aims to explore the attitudes and views of political parties about religious education in Indonesia is very important to conduct.

### **Research Questions**

This research will answer three research questions as follows:

- a) To what extent are political party views related to the vision and mission of religious education? How do political parties view the ideal portrait of religious education? What are the crucial issues in religious education that are priorities? To what extent political parties respond to the latest issues of religious education and religiosity?

- b) What are the programs and policies related to the religious education and religiosity of each political party? What policies have your party issued regarding religious education? What are the political party's agendas in the future regarding religious education and religiosity?
- c) To what extent political parties' responses and views on religious aspects and religious education are related to nationality, diversity, and Indonesian identity?

### **Research Objectives**

At least, there are three objectives in this study, namely:

1. Getting an overview of the views of political parties participating in the 2019 elections in Indonesia regarding the vision and mission of religious education. It also includes exploring political parties' views on crucial issues in religious education which are a priority issue for political parties. In addition, this study also aims to explore the extent to which political parties respond to religious education and religiosity issues that have recently occurred in Indonesia.
2. Getting an overview of the programs and policies related to religious education and religiosity from each political party. This research also explores what policies of the political parties have issued related to religious education and explore future political party agendas related to religious education and religiosity.
3. Understanding the responses and views of political party management to religious education and religiosity related to the vision of nationality, diversity, and Indonesian-ness.

### **The Main Concepts**

#### **a. Universal Values**

Universal values in this study are defined as values that apply to humans as a whole which are sourced from religious teachings (Islam).

Thus, universal values regarding the substance of teaching

religious education and religiosity such as what needs to be realized in the legislation on religious education in Indonesia

**b. Internal Tolerance and External Tolerance**

Internal tolerance in this study is defined as a relationship of mutual understanding, both within religious communities (internal tolerance) and fellow humans of different religions (external tolerance), which are based on differences and similarities within religious communities and between them.

Thus, internal tolerance and external tolerance are related to religious behavior such as what should be taught by the teacher to students and manifested in legislation that is encouraged by political parties.

**c. Religion and State**

Religion and state (Islamism) in this study is defined as the views of political party figures on the relationship between religion and state (Islamic state, secular state, NKRI, and others). Thus, the relationship between religion and the state can be seen from the attitude of political parties which are then manifested in legislation whose legislative processes are driven by political parties. The pattern of relations between the state and religion gives rise to a number of types of countries that can be described in the spectrum: religious states, countries that recognize the existence of official religions, secular states, anti-religious states (Kuru: 2009). Some secular state has a tendency to accommodate religion, and some others tend to be hostile to religion, while in the midst of them there is a secular state which adheres to the principle of being neutral towards religions.

**d. Programs and Policies of Political Parties**

Programs and policies of Political parties in this research are defined as programs and policies owned by political parties that can be accessed through party websites and interviews with political party officials, those who related to education in Indonesia, especially religious education. Political parties'

views on nationality and religion can be formulated in a number of types of parties. In this research, political party programs and policies are explored in greater depth regarding the attitudes of political parties in viewing religious and religious education and how to develop religious education and religiosity in schools.

## **Research methods**

This research was conducted in DKI Jakarta, to the representatives of 16 political parties participating in the 2019 Election with 3 or 6 informants from each party. The sixteen political parties and the number of informants from the political parties are as follows:

- |                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. PDIP (6)     | 9. PPP (6)       |
| 2. Gerindra (6) | 10. Perindo (3)  |
| 3. Golkar (6)   | 11. Berkarya (3) |
| 4. PKB (6)      | 12. PSI (3)      |
| 5. Nasdem (6)   | 13. Hanura (3)   |
| 6. PKS (6)      | 14. PBB (3)      |
| 7. Demokrat (6) | 15. Garuda (3)   |
| 8. PAN (6)      | 16. PKPI (3)     |

### **a. Unit of Analysis:**

The representatives of the political parties participating in the 2019 elections are the unit of analysis that is used in this research. The data used in this study were obtained from interviews of 75 respondents representing 16 political parties participating in the 2019 general election with details attached.

### **b. Respondents:**

This research gets interview data from three or six representatives of each political party. As research respondents concerned, researchers will be interviewed to provide the information needed in answering research questions. Respondents in this study may consist of a general chairperson, secretary-general, chair of the education department, or the member who are relevant to

religious education, such as members of the DPR commission from the political party concerned related to education, members of the legislature, members of the Budget Agency or members of the DPR faction from the political party concerned.

**c. Instrument:**

An interview guide will be adjusted to the vision and mission, programs, and policies of political parties.

**d. Data analysis:**

Analysis of themes presented from interviews is to be able to explain the following matters:

1. Classification of themes and trends of political parties' views on the vision and mission of religious education. It also explores political parties' views on crucial issues in religious education that is a priority issue for political parties. The analysis was also conducted to explore the extent to which political parties responded to the issues in religious education and religiosity that have recently occurred in Indonesia.
2. Analysis of the programs and policies related to the religious education and religiosity of each political party. The analysis is also carried out to the data that concern on policies that political parties have issued related to religious education and future political party agenda regarding religious education and religiosity.
3. Analysis of the responses and views of the political party officials to religious education and religiosity related to the vision of nationalism, diversity, and Indonesian identity.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN INDONESIA: FROM LIBERAL TOWARDS CONSERVATIVE?**

**T**he views and policies of political parties (political parties) relating to religious education in Indonesia have not been seriously investigated by academicians. Only a limited number of studies carried out by several experts concern the religious orientation of the political party, which is seen as part of political culture. Likewise, with regard to aspects of national education, there is not much research on the role and work of parties in the field.

Various studies on parties in the post-New Order era generally discussed more electoral aspects and the role of parties. For example, studies related to party winning strategies in legislative, regional and presidential elections, party campaigns and communication, political recruitment and cadre, party financing, their role in the legislature, and so on.

Several other experts often reviewed other aspects related to the party in the Reformation era regarding the congruence of party ideology with the policies that the political parties ran. For example, to what extent the planned programs of political parties were consistent with policy realization, especially after these parties won the election and became the ruling parties in government? Of course, this also included how many values the party would bring or how well the party ideology would play a role in formulating policies—whether ideology still was decisive, less influential in decision-making, or not functioning at all?

In fact, many studies on party ideology and policies were related to historical facts describing the ideological and policy tensions among the political parties as well as the tension between political parties and the

government which has been happening in Indonesian politics for a long time. A number of these tensions can be traced from the multi-party era when sharp ideological fragmentation occurred, especially after the 1950s. Then, they turned into the simpler party system of the New Order.

Looking back at the history of politics in Indonesia, we can find several tensions and feuds involving political parties in parliament. Some of them were caused by ideological tensions. During the New Order era, for example, PPP (Development Unity Party)—which was considered to represent the power of Islam, often criticized the government policies that were deemed to deviate from Islamic teachings like the case of the Marriage Bill (1974), the inclusion of indigenous beliefs in the GBHN (Broad Outlines of the State's Policies), P4 (Guidelines Appreciation and Practice of the Pancasila), and the sole principle of Pancasila policy for all social organizations and political forces (Effendy, 2009). Because the government issued some policies that tend to be “secular”, PPP and other social elements of Islam frequently accused the government of running anti-Islamic politics.

This situation has begun to change especially since the early 1990s. The government, which had been once considered hostile to Islam, changed to support Islamic agendas. In fact, the government actually sponsored many projects which were considered by some parties—especially the nationalist groups—as projects of Islamization. The evidence that the government changed to be more Islamic could be seen from some implemented policies such as the establishment of Islamic banking (Bank Muamalat), ICMI (Indonesian Muslim Scholars Association), the Law of Religious Courts, and the Law of National Education System, as well as positions in the government bureaucracy increasingly filled by people of Islamic circles.

During the transition to democracy, “ideology” showed indications of rising again for a moment. This political reality was mainly based on the aspirations of several Islamic groups to revive the Jakarta Charter through the amendment of the 1945 Constitution. PBB (Crescent Star Party) and PPP became the important elements to pass this attempt, although later on, this initiative received insufficient responses from

other parties and ultimately failed to realize. Even so, several Islamic parties kept trying to ideologically involve in the battle for the drafting of regulations in parliament, such as the discussion of the bill of anti-pornography and porn-action. At the level of regulation-making, the government also generally continued to run the previous policy which had provided rooms to accommodate the interests of (Islamic) Muslims, although sometimes it had to go through a complicated negotiation process in parliament.

During the Reformation, the attitudes of “nationalist-secular” political parties began to change more and more. The obvious example was the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P) which tried hard to improve its image to be more accepted by Muslims at the beginning of the Reformation. The image that the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P) as a nationalist-secular party, even considered anti-Islamic, was surely very disadvantageous to its electability. PDI-P then moved to accommodate many Islamic aspirations by forming Bamusi (Baitul Muslimin Indonesia) and inviting several Muslim activists to take part in this party. The shifting of the PDI-P pendulum from the “nationalist-secular” ideological spectrum towards being “less secular” was followed by the tendency of other nationalist parties such as the Democratic Party, the Gerinda Party, and the Nasdem Party to assert themselves as nationalist-religious parties.

The shifting of nationalist parties that are more accommodating to Islam became a challenge for Islamic political parties, such as PKB (National Awakening Party), PKS (Prosperous Justice Party), PPP, PBB (Crescent Star Party), and PAN (National Mandate Party). These Islamic parties adopted various methods and strategies in facing increasingly fierce competition among the Islamic parties and the competition with the nationalist other parties which tended to change. On the one hand, they were demanded to be successful in terms of electoral votes—which forced them to pragmatically act while continuing to establish themselves as parties with Islamic identities. Some of them succeeded so that they could survive to be the competitive Islamic political parties, but the others failed.

It is also important to note that although they belong to the same group of religious identities, they often take different paths in their political practices. They disagree with each other in responding to contemporary political issues, or show their position on a particular policy and determine the choice of political coalitions—both inside and outside the government.

### **Increasingly Religious National Education**

The long history of the existence of political parties is certainly expected to have a positive impact on religious education (Islam). At least, political parties are required to initiate an agenda and program of activities to improve the quality of religious education. During the Reformation, the political parties have indeed established right-wing organizations to carry out religious activities. However, do political parties have a serious concern about the development of (Islamic) religious education? Nonetheless, political parties have an important role in the policymaking process in the religious education sector through their representatives both in the executive and in the legislature.

Based on history, the founding fathers placed education as an important element in nation-building. Because of the importance of education, the Ministry of Education was included—held by Ki Hajar Dewantara, in the presidential cabinet formed a few days after the proclamation of Indonesian independence had been declared. The new government clearly had great hope for the successful implementation of education in the country. The education sector is a strategic tool to catch up with other developed nations. Educational institutions are expected to be able to produce more educated people. The importance of education for the development of the nation is clearly seen in the objectives of national education as contained in Article 3 of Law No. 04 of 1950 concerning the Basics of Education and Teaching in School. The purpose of education and teaching in this law is, “to produce a skilled and moral person and a democratic citizen who is responsible for the welfare of the community and the motherland”.

The terms ‘democratic’ and ‘democracy’ that often appear in the articles of the Act along with their explanatory sections show that the content of the

regulation is strongly influenced by the spirit of the reformation era. The founders of the nation at that time aspired to realize a modern democratic state, not fascist or feudalist one.

The role and function of education held by the government are not only to educate citizens or prepare skilled workers to fill jobs but also to legitimize the government policies through government intervention. In some authoritarian governments, the method often used is policy indoctrination in schools. This method is to form attitudes and a way of thinking that reflects the ruling ideology. In such a situation, education is no longer a free, dialogic, and intelligent discursive space, but education merely gives legitimacy to the government.

During the Guided Democracy, for example, President Soekarno clearly attempted to control educational policies to support the conceptions of the Manipol Usdek ( Manifesto: the 1945 constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Identity). The direction and objectives of national education at that time were inseparable from the great goals of the revolution that Soekarno had campaigned to fight against imperialism, colonialism, feudalism, and capitalism. In Presidential Decree No. 19 of 1965 concerning the Basics of the Pancasila National Education System, the politicization of national education was clearly illustrated to support the ideology of the authorities at that time.

In PP (Government Regulation) No. 19 of 1965, it was stated that the function of education was as a means of revolution, while Pancasila and the Manipol Usdek (Manifesto: the 1945 constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Identity) as the basis for animating national education (Article 1). The purpose of education is intended "... to produce civilized socialist Indonesian citizens who are responsible for the implementation of the Indonesian Socialist Society who are just and prosperous both spiritually and materially and with the spirit of Pancasila ...", as stated in Article 2 National Education Objectives.

In Tap No II / MPRS / 1960 concerning the Outlines of the First Stage of the National Development Planning of 1961-1969, the national

development policy objectives were formulated. It is stated in Article 2 (5): “Organizing national education policies and systems aimed at preparing experts in development according to the requirements of Indonesian virtuous socialist people.”

Both regulations stressed that the objective of national education was the realization of “Socialist Citizens” and “Socialist People”. This goal was viewed to be very influential from the conception of President Soekarno who at that time was keen to call for a revolution for creating a socialist society in Indonesia. This conception was also directly instructed to be taught through the Pancasila and Manipol (Political Manifesto) subjects at the levels of elementary to tertiary educations. According to a number of critics, this kind of educational policy was considered as a form of politicization of the national education done by the regime which was directed to the “left” position.

At the beginning of Soeharto’s leadership—which also tended to be centralized and semi-authoritarian, education politics could not be separated from the government mindset. The orientation of the New Order authorities emphasized the creation of an “ideology of the order and development” as the antithesis of the previous situation which had been considered full of chaos. Education was positioned as a means to create skilled workers who were ready to fill job positions, and it was no longer as a means of political revolution.

The New Order government did “depoliticization” of education. Depoliticization was in the form of uniformity and centralization in education policy. Indoctrination by means of education—as in the Old Order, was run to produce “Pancasila People”, not “Socialist Humans” anymore.

At all levels of education, all students were required to attend the Moral Education of the Pancasila (PMP) subject. The PMP subject matter was doctrinal, and its interpretation of Pancasila was very state-centric, and its enthusiasm was clearly based on providing justification for the ideology and policy of the government. This education policy in the early to mid-New Order was considered to be secular for many parties, especially

among Muslims. These policies increasingly marginalized religions in education, especially after the New Order regime decided Pancasila as the sole principle of Indonesia. This decision triggered social unrest. There was a suspicion that Pancasila teaching could replace the position of religious teaching in schools. In addition, the dissatisfaction of Islamic groups also was related to the ban on Muslim students wearing Muslim clothing (headscarves) at schools. The relation between the government and the Muslim community seemed to crack and even made them oppose each other.

However, the government's relations with Islamic groups had a shift in the period from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. President Soeharto began to show a positive approach to Islamic groups. In terms of social, political, and economic policy, the spirit of government alignments to the "interests of the people" was increasingly visible. The change in relations was marked by the new regulation for the world of education, which was the enactment of Law No. 2 1989 concerning the National Education System. The birth of this regulation was interpreted by many Muslims as a form of accommodation and support for the aspirations of Islamic groups.

In the 1989 National Education System Law, the goal of national education is to form "Indonesian Society as a Whole". This concept was further explained in Article 4 Chapter II regarding the Basis, Function, and Purpose, as follows:

*"Educating the life of the nation and developing Indonesian people as a whole—the people who have faith and devotion to God Almighty and to be virtuous, have knowledge and skills, physical and spiritual health, a steady and independent personality and have a sense of social and national responsibility".*

When the process of discussing the draft education law took place, there were pros and cons because several aspects of the bill were considered controversial. They were rejected by some groups, especially by non-Muslims. One of their objections concerned a clause regarding the teaching of religion in schools. Several "secular nationalist" politicians rejected the provision. While the other groups, especially Muslims both in Golkar and PPP, strongly supported it. Some who criticized the National

Education System Law had the view that the education regulation tends to favor the interests of the religion with the major followers—Islam. The emergence of the words “faith” and “pious” in the purpose of national education is considered as evidence of the alignments.

After the New Order fell and Indonesia entered the new era of democratization, many important changes occurred in the national political constellation. The role of the state was no longer as strong as before. The multi-party system implemented encouraged new actors, especially in the arena of parliament—political parties. After the first election, the Reformation era in 1999 was the period when political parties played a very decisive role in formulating national policies, both in the political, economic, social, cultural, educational, and religious aspects. A number of education regulations were constructed during the Reformation, especially Law No. 22 the year 2003 on the National Education System, showed the influence of political parties in parliament. The discussions on the draft law were quite complicated for all factions in parliament.

In the 2003 National Education System Law, particularly in Article 3, it is stated that the goal of national education is “... to develop the potential of students to become faithful people and to fear God Almighty, to have good morality, to be healthy, to have the knowledge, to be capable, to be creative, to be independent, and be a democratic and responsible citizen.” However, the formulation of the objectives of national education still retained the words “faith” and “pious” in the 1989 National Education System Law, and included other additional formulations –see Table 1

The formulation of these objectives was the result of a compromise after a long discussion among the factions in parliament. However, some factions were not willing to accept the formula. For example, the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P) stated that its political stand rejected the draft of the proposed law. In their view, the content of the draft was very much in favor of the interests of certain religious groups—in this case, the aspirations of Muslims. Thus, it did not reflect the diversity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. Otherwise, the other political parties considered the formulation as the best result that could be achieved and represented the aspirations of all groups of people.



Table 1. The objectives of National Education

<b>Regulation</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Key Words</b>
UU No. 4/1950	To form moral and skillful human beings as well as capable and democratic citizens who are responsible for the welfare of the people and the motherland.	Moral people. Democratic citizen.
PP No. 19/1965	To produce moral Indonesian Socialist citizens, who are responsible for the implementation of the Indonesian Socialist Society, are just and prosperous both spiritually and materially and have the spirit of Pancasila.	Socialist citizen. Socialist society with a Pancasila spirit.
UU No. 2/1989	To educate the life of the nation and developing the Indonesian people as a whole—the people who have faith and are devoted to God Almighty and virtuous, have knowledge and skills, physical and spiritual health, a steady and independent personality, and possess the sense of community and national responsibility.	Indonesian people as a whole. Humans who believe and devote to God Almighty.
UU No. 20/2003	To develop the potential of students to become human beings who believe and fear of God Almighty, and become noble, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become democratic and responsible citizens.	Humans who believe and fear God Almighty. Noble humans. Democratic citizen.

### **Regulation of Religious Education: From Liberals to Islamists?**

Religious education for students in schools is one of the important concerns in national education policy. The government includes religious teaching clauses in national education regulations. From the perspective of the government, the existence of provisions regarding religious education in schools is important to confirm that at least the current national education is not “anti-religion” or not too secular.

However, reviewed in-depth the various regulations established from the post-proclamation period to the Reformation, the provisions of religious teaching in schools tended to shift from liberal to conservative. For example, in Law No. 04/1950, the spirit of organizing religious teaching in public schools was more liberal. It was confirmed in Article 20, which stated, “in the state schools, parents determine whether their child will attend the lesson of the religious education.”

Based on the history of the birth of Law No. 04/1950, not only was this law strongly influenced by the spirit of anti-colonialism but also it contained the results of a compromise involving the aspirations of the Islamic and nationalist groups. Sharp differences of opinion took place at meetings of the Teaching Investigation Committee (PPP) formed in 1946 and led by Ki Hadjar Dewantara.

A similar situation occurred again in discussions at KNIP (The Central Indonesian National Committee) in 1948-1949. Muslim politicians who were mainly represented by Masjumi demanded that Islam be more accommodated in the draft law, such as religious education should be taught in all public schools, and it should be mandatory for all students. The Islamic group recommended this initiative based on the constitution in which the state government should be active in promoting religious teaching. In their view, Indonesia was not a secular country either. The Islamic group also required the separation of male and female students in the class (Lee Kam Hing, 1995).

Nationalist groups and some Christian politicians in KNIP had different views. They refused the state to interfere too far in religious matters. Religion is a private matter. Therefore, religious teaching is sufficiently done in families and communities (for example in mosques or prayer rooms for Muslims, or churches for Christians) and it does not need to be compulsory subjects in schools.

This dispute would almost have ended in deadlock if President Soekarno had not intervened. The compromising articles were then agreed upon. Regarding religious education in schools, for example, it was stated that religious education was taught in public schools, however, once

parents had the right to determine whether their children would take the lessons or not (Article 20). Likewise, the matter of the separation of boys and girls, a compromise was reached as seen in Article 21: public schools accept male and female students ... under certain conditions, it is possible for separate education and teaching (between male and female students). Even though both parties were not satisfied enough with the middle ground formulation which was neither secular nor too religious, it should be finally be accepted because there were no other options that were more satisfying for both parties. In the explanation of Article 20, it is stated that adult students might decide whether they wanted to participate in religious studies. Based on the contents of the article and explanation, there is no obligation for students to attend religious lessons in school. This policy could be seen as a form of respect for the rights of students, and at the same time, it showed a more democratic attitude. This article was reaffirmed in subsequent regulations, including in Decree No. II / MPRS / 1960. Article 2 (3) of Tap MPRS: "Establishing religious education into subjects in schools from public schools to state universities and it is important to understand that students have the right not to participate if the guardians of the student/adult students confess an objection. "This article was clear that the government set religious education as a valid subject, starting from the lowest to the highest levels of education, especially in the state educational institutions. However, the students' guardians or adult students had the rights to whether they want to take the religion subject or not.

Significant changes to the provisions arose in the new regulations set shortly after the "end" of the Old Order's rule. Decree No. XXVII / MPRS / 1966 abolished the provisions which had given the right of choice to attend religious studies for guardians of students and adult pupils—as mentioned in the previous decree. The implication was that religious subjects became mandatory for all students from the lowest level (elementary school) to the university level. However, to accommodate the human rights, Decree of the MPRS (Temporary People's Consultative Assembly) gave little freedom for students in which they could choose religious subjects according to their beliefs or desires. In Chapter I, Article

I Provision No. XXVII / MPRS / 1966 concerning Religion, Education, and Culture, it is stated:

*Amendments of MPRS Decree No. II / MPRS / 1960 Chapter II Article 2 paragraph (3) was done by erasing the clause "... with the understanding that students have the right not to participate if the guardian of the student/adult student expresses his objection ..." so the clause became as follows "... sets religious education into subjects in schools ranging from elementary schools to state universities".*

In the elucidation section, the article stated that: (a) All religions recognized by the government were given the same opportunity; (b) Regarding tolerance and human rights, each student is free to choose religious studies according to his beliefs/desires. In terms of the historical context and political situation, the emerging rules that required students to take religious subjects could not be separated from the government's attempt to protect education from the influence of the teachings and understandings of communism (Suhadi et al., CRCS, 2015). In addition, Tap MPRS (Temporary People's Consultative Assembly Decree) also stated that one of the education contents was "strengthening religious beliefs". This point is interesting to understand because it can be considered as the starting point underlying further developments that place faith and piety as an inseparable part of the national education objectives as seen in subsequent regulations. In short, after the fall of the Old Order and the destruction of the communist power in Indonesia, the influence of religion increasingly gained more acceptance in the regulation of national education.

During the New Order era, some emerging hard friction was related to the relationship between national education and the religious practices in schools, and also about the regulation of religious education. At the beginning of its reign, the New Order government showed a strong tendency to secularize national education. As Tayeb noted (2018), during the 1973 parliamentary session discussing the GBHN, Golkar proposed to abolish the religious education classes in public schools. This proposal was later withdrawn due to strong opposition from the Islamic party,

PPP. The government also reduced religious learning hours by half. The obligation for all students to follow PMP subjects—which were generally indoctrinated, and it was also considered to have marginalized the important role of religious education. Moreover, there were many teaching materials in PMP that were considered “misleading” by several Muslim leaders at the time. The government was also considered to have deliberately chosen the Minister of education with a secular view to smooth the agenda, such as Daoed Joesoef, Nugroho Notosusanto, and Fuad Hasan.

In the early 1980s, the New Order government, through its Minister of education, issued a policy considered to play down the role of religion in education. The policies of the Minister of Education and Culture, Daoed Joesoef, caused outrage of some Islamic social elements because it was considered too secular. For example, the policy eliminated school holidays during the fasting month (Ramadan) and the rules of dress for school students in which female Muslims were prohibited to wear hijab or veils.

Daoed argued that religious studies should not need to be taught in schools. According to him, the religious matter was in the private area, so it was not appropriate if schools taught religions. On that basis, he also disapproved of religious celebrations held by public schools—and even in government institutions.

In his position as a state official, he also avoided attitudes and statements that reflect certain religious affiliations ([www.detik.com](http://www.detik.com)). Inevitably, Joesoef’s views and policies faced many serious challenges from Muslim figures. As the opposition to the policy, Muslim figures considered the separation of religion from education proclaimed by Joesoef as a dangerous and detrimental step to the interests of Muslims. One of the vocal opponents of Joesoef’s policy is H.M Rasjidi, a conservative Muslim figure who had served as the first Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia.

The issue of teaching religion in schools remains a heated debate in parliament when discussing the National Education System Bill in

1988/89. The main point triggered a debate regarding the proposal that students get religious education according to their religion. This clause aims to apply not only to public schools but also to private schools. After a long debate, finally, the clause was not incorporated into the 1989 National Education System Law, but it was accommodated in PP No. 28 of 1990 concerning Basic Education. In the PP, especially in Article 16 (1) concerning the rights of students, it is stated: “(students have the right) to obtain religious education following their religion.”

PDI-P showed its disapproval since the initial draft of the bill was submitted. The party consisting of nationalist and Christian-Catholic parties clearly rejected the proposal. PDI-P viewed the provisions of religious education along with the formulation of the articles contained in PP No 28/1990 as an attempt to have sided with certain religious groups (Islam). The attitude of the PDI received support from several non-Muslim minority elements. Some CSIS figures—think-tanks for early New Order government policy, also voiced their opposition. They voiced that the government did not have to regulate and administer religion because religion was not a state institution but was private, including the matter of teaching religion in schools (Tayeb, 2018).

A similar reason was raised by several PDI-P politicians during the discussion on the National Education System Bill in the Reformation era. The article on religious education which was later ratified became part of Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System was considered to be very inclined to the aspirations of Islamic groups even if it was compared to the previous rules.

In the Law No. 20/2003 Article 12 section (1) states, “Every student in every education unit has the right to get religious education in accordance with their religions and taught by educators of the same religions.” In the explanation section, it states: “the government or regional government facilitate and/or provide educators and/or religious teachers who have the same religion as students according to the needs of the education unit ...”

According to the perspective of the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P), the existence of the provisions violated the principle of pluralism

and endangered the sustainability of the Republic of Indonesia. In fact, PDI-P politicians straightforwardly mentioned that the National Education System Law was very Islamized. Therefore, the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle continued to insist that the National Education System Law be revised.

While in the perspective of the pros of this draft law, especially Islamic political parties, the article was considered as an appreciation of human rights, according to the principle of pluralism (FPAN's Final Opinion in the Discussion Process of the Draft Law on National Education System, 2003), and it should be implemented to respect followers of different religions. The article and verses on religious education are the elaborations of the first principle of Pancasila, and the affirmation that Indonesia is not a secular state.

A similar view was expressed by PPP representatives in parliament. FPP spokesperson, Abduh Paddare, explained that the National Education System Bill—especially related to religious education, already contained the principle of religious freedom, and in turn prohibited the imposition of teaching certain religions on adherents of different religions (FPP Final Opinion, in the Discussion Process). The bill has been accommodating by giving every student the right to learn, explore, and practice the religion in which they believe. “That is pluralism”, said Abduh while citing several verses of the Qur'an.

A harder statement was made by the FPBB (the faction of Crescent Star Party). Masyumi Party added that the refusal of the article is the same as denying the constitution ( the 1945 Constitution). According to the FPBB spokesman, it was inappropriate, ironic, and irrational if Muslim students are taught about their religion by non-Muslim educators, or vice versa (FPBB's Final Opinion in the Discussion Process).

This assertiveness of several Islamic political parties was influenced by their dissatisfaction and concern, especially with a large number of Muslim students in Christian schools who were required to attend the Christianity lesson (Yusuf & Sterkens, 2015). It triggered suspicion of the Christianization motives that had been going on for so long in Christian

educational institutions which became one of their reasons for the need for religious teachers who had the same faith as their students.

In the process of discussing the bill which was later passed into the 2003 National Education System Law, the role and influence of the three Islamic factions were very prominent. No wonder, from the perspective of the opponents at that time, the product of the National Education System Law tended to seem too religious, even Islamic. The thick religious nuance did not only refer to the provision of religious teachers who had the same faith with their students but also clearly displayed in the religious education objectives section. In Article 30 (2), it is stated, “Religious education functions to prepare students to become members of the community who understand and practice the values of their religious teachings and/or become religious scholars”.

This article confirms that religious education is intended to increase the religiosity of students towards the religion in which they believe. It is a principle that refers to the mono religious model, and it is not to study religions (multi-religious studies), let alone learning based on dialogue between adherents of other religions or inter-religious models (Yusuf & Sterkens, 2015).

The pros and cons that emerged in parliament related to the article “religious education”, were caused by several things. One of them was due to the endless disagreement about the concept of the relationship between the state and religions, especially in terms of the extent to which the state could intervene and could not intervene in religious affairs. Although all factions had agreed that Indonesia was not a country that embraced secular ideology—the role of the state and religious affairs needed to be strictly limited, the explanation of the unsecular relationship between state and religion was unclear either.

In the context of the discussion of the bill which is full of religious nuances, the PKB also provided support as long as the government (state) and the people (religion) needed and influenced each other. The relationship between the two was a symbiotic mutual relationship. PKB firmly rejected if the direction of the two relations is integralistic. Within this framework



of understanding, Ali Masykur Musa, a politician from PKB, suggested that the clause “religion as a source” be abolished because it led to the paradigm of the union of the state and religion, and instead “simply contains religious values” because it is considered to better reflect the model of acceptable symbiotic mutualism (Discussion Process ...). So, in the discussion of the National Education System Bill, the PKB Faction underlined the issue of whether Indonesia is a secular state or not.

FKKI also questioned some articles that gave too much state interference to religious matters that were actually private. Based on the debate in Article 13 (1)—the initial draft on religious education, Astrid Susanto who delivered the final opinion of his faction stated that the state provided confirmation and recognition of the rights of students. However, in the FKKI point of view, because religion involved the private sphere and society (students and their parents), the state was not appropriate and necessary to intervene especially when its implementation was regulated in government regulation (PP). FKKI objected to the article unless the proposed additional clause “... where the state/government did not intervene” was acceptable (FKKI’s Final Opinion in the Discussion Process).

Related to this article, FKKI believed:

*“The role of the state is limited to the recognition and affirmation of existing rights and facilitation if needed/requested by the private sector and the community. However, the state does not intervene in matters of the private and public sphere too far (in this case of students and their parents) in exercising that right.”*

According to Astrid, the issue of the state and religious education which continuously becomes a source of the dispute cannot be separated from the large problem of the unresolved format regarding what relationship between the state and religions is supposed to be in Indonesia. As a result of the unresolved state-religion relationship problem, Astrid said that it would make a serious latent problem in the life of the nation and state. She said:

*“Recognizing it or not, even though we have lived the life of a nation and state for nearly 58 years; apparently, we are still*

*unable to resolve our struggle over the format and substance of the nation-state, which is neither a secular state nor a religious state. We as a nation have indeed not succeeded in resolving these problems among us so that this remains a serious latent problem in the life of the nation and state” (FKKI Final Opinion).*

However, as mentioned in the opinion of FKKI finally approved the ratification of the National Education System Bill into Law by “giving some notes”. Not only FKKI agreed but also several other factions did, except the PDI-P faction which expressly expressed their disapproval. In fact, the PDI-P faction refused to attend the plenary meeting and did not give its final opinion. A number of Christian politicians from FKKI and FKB also submitted letters about their disapproval of the ratification of the bill.

Table 2. Views and Position of Factions in the Indonesian Parliament related to the Article of Religious Education in the 2003 National Education System Bill

<b>Faction</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>View and Position</b>
FPPP	Agree	The issue of national pluralism has been accommodated by giving rights to each student to learn, explore, and practice their religion. (2886) This bill contains freedom of religion, and prohibits the imposition of teaching certain religions to adherents of different religions. (2887)
FPG	Agree	It did not mention the article/ provisions of religious education.
Fraksi Daulatul Umah (FDU)	Agree	It did not mention the article/ provisions of religious education.
FPBB	Agree	Article 13 (1) is an intelligent, logical, and rational formula. A refusing attitude towards this formula is (meaning) contrary to the constitution of the Constitution 1945.
FKB	Agree	The role of government is still needed, although limited, in the management of religious education. (2981) Sterilizing

<b>Faction</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>View and Position</b>
		the public sphere (including the National Education System Law) from the influence of religion in the context of Indonesian culture carries a great danger: it leads to demoralization, pragmatism, etc. (2982)
F Reformasi (Reformation)	Agree	Article 13 (1) constitutes a direct elucidation of the constitution: the Only One God. Besides, it is according to the principles of the Indonesian state, which is not a state of secularism. (2901) It is a recognition of human rights and the application of the principle of pluralism. (2902)
FTNI/Polri (Army/Police)	Agree	It did not mention articles/provisions related to religious education.
FPDI-P(?)	Not attending the meeting	Not expressing an opinion
FKKI	Agree (with some conditions)	When criticizing Article 13 (1), state intervention is inappropriate and unnecessary. The role of the state is limited to the recognition and affirmation of existing rights and facilitation if needed/requested, the state may intervene, but it must not go too far to intervene in private/public affairs. (3005)

Table 3. Provisions for Teaching Religion in Schools

<b>Regulation</b>	<b>Important Point of Article And Explanation</b>	<b>Characteristics and Conditions</b>
UU No 4/1950	In the state schools where religious studies are held, parents determine whether their child will attend the	Religious studies are regulated only for state schools. Parents and adult

<b>Regulation</b>	<b>Important Point of Article And Explanation</b>	<b>Characteristics and Conditions</b>
	lesson or not. Adult students may determine whether they participate in religious studies or not.	students have rights regarding religious studies.
Tap No XXVII/MPRS/1966	It affirms religious education as a subject in schools ranging from elementary schools to state universities. In terms of tolerance and on the basis of human rights, each student is free to choose religious studies according to his beliefs/desires.	Religious teaching is provided in all schools. Students are free to choose religious subjects.
PP No. 28/1990	Students have the right to obtain religious education based on their religion.	Religious education in schools is according to students' religion.
UU No. 20/2003	Every student in every education unit has the right to get religious education in line with the religion they believe in, and religious education is taught by educators of the same religion as students.	Religious education in schools is according to students' religion. Religious teachers must have the same religion as students.

### **Education as a Battle Arena in Muslim Countries**

Like in some Muslim countries, the issue of education and religion in Indonesia, becomes an area of intense fighting. For example, the issue of school uniforms was a problem that causes polemic in the community. This issue was triggered by the birth of a Ministry of Education Decree (PDM Director General Decree 052/C/Kep/D/ 1982) which prohibited the wearing of headscarves—for reasons of uniformity and neatness, for female students in schools. The decree banning the hijab sparked strong reactions from a number of Islamic figures.

As a result of the rules on dress, many students who insisted on wearing the hijab in public schools should accept the risk of being expelled or forced

to move to a private religious school. Although protests had been done, including through a lawsuit in court to cancel the regulation, all attempts failed. Some Muslim groups considered the policy to marginalize their religious rights, and it tended to be secular. Even some others accused the Ministry of Education and Culture led by Daoed Joesoef to practice anti-Islamic rules.

During the development, the policy on school uniforms changed by the Director-General of PDM 100/C/Kep/D/ 1991 Decree. In this decree, the government provided leeway in school uniforms. Through this policy, Muslim female students got an alternative dress, including wearing typical Muslim clothing or veiling.

In the early days of the Reformation, the issue of uniforms of Muslim females was emerging some polemics. The root of the problem was no longer about the ban on headscarves, but on the contrary, some regulations of local governments and in schools tended to force Muslim female students to wear headscarves. The main reason for the veil obligatory for Muslim women was based on the spirit of growing faith and piety which was one of the central goals of national education, as stated in Law No. 20 of 2003.

Viewed from a broader perspective, the existence of many regulations about the mandatory hijab/veil for Muslim female students ran in parallel with the tendency for conservatism to develop in society and emerging national-level legislation that seemed increasingly Islamic. Thus, some considered such "Islamic" regulations whose numbers were increasing to be discriminatory and to have violated the rights of students. Fierce battles over education and religion were evident not only in Indonesia but also in some Muslim counties such as Tunisia and Egypt. Before the Arab Spring occurred, political struggles involving the state (which was likely to be secular) and Islamic groups had taken place in both countries. In Egypt, during the reign of Husni Mubarak, educational policies prioritized strengthening the national Identity of Egypt. Conversely, from the perspective of Islamists who were opponents of the regime, the goal of Islamic education should be directed towards shaping the solidarity of the global Muslim community or the ummah

(Cesari, 2014). The government would also never relinquish its control to ensure that the education curriculum, including religious education, contributed to the justification for its policies. Moreover, the power struggle in the education system also involved religious sects within Islam itself. In a number of countries that were dominated by Sunni and governed by Sunni groups, often Shiites were being pictured negatively. The opposite also happened in Shiite-dominated countries. In general, however, Muslims, who belonged to Sufism, were marginalized the most frequently.

In addition to the two countries (Tunisia and Egypt), debates on education and religion also took place in Iraq, Pakistan, and Turkey. In the five countries known as undemocratic or less democratic—according to Freedom House’s standards, there were several major themes related to the pros and cons of education and religion, as explained by Cesari (2014). The major themes were : (1) the *ummah vis a vis* of the nation—in the Islamic book text, the theme of the ummah is directed to legitimize the state whose main purpose is to strengthen national identity; (2) Islam is singular and monolithic; (3) Islam as a religion is always persecuted and threatened; (4) Islam as a superior religion; and (5) depictions that are inadequate or even tend to eliminate Christianity and Judaism. It mainly concerns the contribution and role of these two minority religions in the nation’s history and culture.

### **The debate in Several Western countries**

The educational policy is also a venue for sharp debate in some countries in Europe and America. The views of various groups in society are divided. The issues being debated are about whether religious education needs to be taught in state schools. Even if religious education is taught in schools, the problem will be how to emphasize the learning material being taught or what the objectives of the religious education are intended to be, and how the impact on secularism that runs in these countries, as well as on various other aspects.

The debate about school religious education can be divided into three views or attitudes: support, reject and choose neutral views. The political

parties and social groups that support religious education, including Islam, taught in schools are based on at least two interests: religious and non-religious. Those who are motivated by religious reasons or interests argue that religious education needs to be held for the purpose of increasing student piety (religiosity). It is necessary because they consider that the influence of anti-religious secularism is a serious threat. This view is strongly sounded by some politicians, for example in the Liberal Party in Australia—which has a conservative tendency compared to the Labor Party, the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom, and the Republicans in the United States.

Outside the political parties, a similar view is voiced by the church and a number of religious organizations (especially evangelicals in the US). Their attitude was conservative because it places the need for religious education as a kind of propaganda to foster one's faith. For them, students should get lessons according to their religion or only one religion.

Some groups with a more liberal view also see that religious education needs to be taught, but not for the narrow purpose of merely increasing students' faith and religiosity. Providing religious education is intended primarily to strengthen tolerance and social integration and strengthen citizenship.

Those who support secular or non-religious reasons (strengthening religiosity) state that the government needed to hold religious education in schools due to several considerations. First, the fulfillment of the principle of human rights: all students are entitled to access to religious studies in schools. Second, the importance of religious insight to help understand global phenomena: immigrants, international conflicts, economic relations, culture, and so on. Third, religious education—the curriculum is determined by the government and certified teaching staff, etc., and it is also needed to strengthen the students' critical attitude towards religious interpretations that encourage extremism. Religious studies in schools are necessary to know about the religions and beliefs that are adopted and developed in society, and they are not used to enhance faith or encourage people to be religious.

Whereas groups who oppose religious education to be taught in schools also have several arguments. Among others:

First, teaching religion in public schools is considered contrary to the principle of secularism. For them, religion is a private matter. Religious studies belong to the circle of family, not in the state policy. This attitude is the view of a number of political forces in France—those who want to maintain assertive secularism or strict secularism (Kuru: 2009).

Second, some political party politicians, especially from the liberal group, oppose religious studies in schools because they are indoctrinated—a way which actually strengthens exclusivism and extremism

Third, they also firmly reject the imposition of religious symbols (for example, hijab for Muslim women) in public spaces, including schools because they are considered contrary to the principles of secularism and liberalism. In France, wearing the veil or niqab for women is considered a form of oppression of women's freedom. It is different when compared to the attitude of the British government, which allows religious groups to express their religious identity, on the pretext of freedom of expression, respect for multiculturalism, and so on. British liberalism differs from the liberal understanding of France. British liberalism is more humanistic and supports the expression of multiculturalism and pluralism (Laborde: 2008).

Fourth, they also did not agree with the state providing funding for private-run religious schools.

While those who choose neutral positions also base themselves on some important reasons. Among others:

First, the need for religious education to be taught should be based on the agreement of the school, students' parents, and the community. In some cases, they disagree if the central government requires religious education to be implemented nationally, but agree or allow if the regional governments are the ones that decide it.

Second, the central government does not need to interfere, or the scope should be limited. However, if the government needs to interfere, the



government cannot interfere with clothing or uniform. For example, letting schools require Muslim women to wear the veil, and so on.

Third, they support religious education in schools with some prerequisites; for example, the religious material presented is intended to strengthen citizenship.

The position of religion in public schools in the United States continues to be a topic of prolonged debate until, finally, a consensus has been formulated that has gained wider acceptance. The principle underlying the relationship between religion and public schools in the United States is the principle of neutrality: the curriculum and policy of public schools must have a non-religious educational purpose whose main direction is not to advance nor inhibit religion (Grelle, in Biondo, 2014). Some important points were agreed on about religious education in public or state schools, among others;

1. The school's approach to religion is academic, not worship.
2. Schools may promote (growth) awareness of their students towards religions, but cannot suppress student to accept certain religions.
3. Schools can sponsor studies on religion but are not allowed to sponsor a religious practice.
4. Schools are allowed to explain different religious views on students but are not allowed to impose certain religious views.
5. Schools can teach about religions, but do not promote or demean any religion
6. Schools may inform students about various beliefs, but should not try to align them with any particular beliefs (Grelle, in Biondo, 2014: 130-131).

In Australia, support for religious education arises from many proposals and views from Liberal Party politicians. According to them, there are several reasons why religious education should be taught in public schools. First, education in Australia is too left-leaning. The Judeo-Christian heritage must be better reflected in the curriculum (religious education); Second, the portion of religious education is still very small in the curriculum.

In their opinion, if the government were allowed to intervene in the preparation of the religious curriculum, a general consequence of the policy would be the provision of financial support for religious schools. Some objectives of government intervention in the curriculum are to ensure that religious teaching materials are in line with the constitution, strengthening tolerance and respecting for diversity. The government can also involve religious organizations in the curriculum preparation process, as well as in their efforts to improve the competencies of teachers. However, some of them discourage the government from intervening too profoundly. In the opinion of this group, the government may not interfere in the preparation of the religious education curriculum. The process should entirely be based on the policies of the school, religious organizations, and the local community.

The opposite attitude was expressed by the Community Associations and Student Guardians in Australia. They oppose religious education held in public schools. They put forward some reasons. First, public schools in Australia must become secular institutions. Less than 30 percent of the population has a defined religion. Second, religious education must be a family decision and not a school decision. Third, the decision affirmed that religious education should not be under the authority of the central government. Local schools and local communities have authorities of determining whether religious studies should be provided or not. Fourth, the material given is only one-way from teacher to student without accommodating possible debates.

In the UK, based on applicable regulations, all public schools must teach religious education by referring to the agreed syllabus. However, in fact, more than a quarter of secondary schools no longer teach religious education (2015).

The British government provides financial assistance to religious schools, but only for Anglican, Catholic and Jewish schools, and does not apply to Muslim religious schools (Parekh, 2008: 336). There are several reasons why certain religious schools are funded. These religious schools (Anglican, Catholic, and Jewish) are clearly guaranteed to instill basic religious principles for students, develop critical analytical skills, provide

secular knowledge, and prepare their students in the life of a democratic society.

In addition, this financial support for religious schools does not apply to Muslim religious schools because of historical reasons. Muslim religious schools are excluded from this special treatment because their curriculum is considered and judged as a source of preserving reactionary ideas of religious fundamentalism. However, this policy which was considered by Parekh as discriminatory has received strong criticism from the Muslim community for violating the principle of equality.

The British government also prohibits schools that only teach about religion in the curriculum (2018). Such an educational model is deemed not to meet Ofsted's educational standards. The ban is also intended to prevent students from brainwashing by teaching extremism. The regulation applies to schools of all religions.

As for the policy on the use of clothing, the British government does not regulate certain clothes or uniforms for students even though the clothes are considered to express religious symbols and identity. However, the government denounced schools that required Islamic schoolgirls to wear a veil or burqa.

The debate over religious education in several European countries also involved some religious minority groups, including those from Muslim immigrants. Bader (2007) informs that Muslim minority communities in the West have a great concern for religious education and religious teaching in schools. In the view of this Muslim minority, the national education system in Western countries is strongly influenced by the majority bias, both from the values of secularism and Christianity.

### **Religious or secular?**

What and how is the role of the state or government in relation to religious education, including its other religious affairs? The relations between the state/government and education will be deeply influenced by the values or principles of each country. To clarify the relationship between the two, Kuru's study (2009) is very helpful by formulating several categorizations.

Kuru divides state-religion regimes into four types, as follows:

1. Religious state;
2. State with one official religion (the state with established religion);
3. secular state;
4. Countries that are antipathy to religion (anti-religious state).

In Kuru's explanation, the religious state has a very clear attitude—the government officially sides with a particular religion. For example, Iran and Saudi Arabia take sides toward Islam, while the Vatican tends to side Christianity.

Whereas the “country with one official religion”—even though it recognizes other religions, gives privileges to one religion declared as the official religion. Generally, this country gives privilege to the religion of the majority of citizens. Greece, Denmark, and the United Kingdom also belong to this type of country with one official religion.

The secular countries neither support nor favor any religion—for example, the United States, Turkey, and France. In a number of secular countries, there are various approaches used by the governments to treat religions, including religious education. According to Kuru, ideological battles that took place in secular countries have shaped state policies generally into two different types of ideas about secularism which are assertive secularism and passive secularism. This type of assertive secularism is embraced by France, which is characterized by a decisive attitude removing religion from the public role and confining it only to the private domain. Whereas the United States applies the idea of passive secularism in which the government still provides accommodation space for religious visibility in public spaces. Kuru calls the assertive secularism as a comprehensive doctrine while the passive secularism prioritizes state neutrality.

More detailed variables related to government involvement in religion (GIR) can be found in Fox's work (2008), including:

- Hostile,
- Inadvertent insensitivity,

- Separation,
- Accommodating (accommodation),
- Support (supportive),
- Cooperation,
- Civil religion,
- Countries that recognize more than one official religion (the state has more than one official religion), and
- A country with one official religion.

The types of countries that are anti-religion are officially hostile towards all or many religions. Communist countries such as China, North Korea, and Cuba are included in this typology. In Kuru's view, the first type of state is categorized as a religious state, while the other three types are secular countries. Unlike Kuru and Fox who focus their studies on the state and religion, Yavuz (2009) tries to make ideological types of political parties concerning attitudes and views on religion and nationality. Through his study of political parties in Turkey, Yavuz divided the background of party ideology into three categories:

1. Nationalists who carry the ideology of nationalism,
2. Conservative with the formulation of the ideology of synthesis between nationalities (Turkish) and Islam, and
3. Islamists with their ideology of Islam.

From the perspective of the nationalist political parties, religion is a private matter and an important component in the national culture. Whereas in the view of political parties synthesizing religion and nationality, religion is positioned as a communal and private matter at the same time. The state should be free from the influence of religions but allowed to intervene for the purpose of preserving religious values. Meanwhile, the Islamic parties view that the system does not distinguish between the public and the private. They always stressed the need for the presence of Islamic values in the public sphere. It also requires that the aspirations of diversity contribute to and shape the political landscape. Considered as equally important, the Islamists have an obsession with Islamizing everything they encounter in modern life.

The typology of the three-party ideologies in Turkey delivered by Yavuz, in some respects is similar to the distribution of ideology types of political

parties in Indonesia which are widely accepted by the public. The division of party ideologies in Indonesia after the New Order, in general, resulted in at least three-party models:

1. The party with the nationalism ideology tends to be secular;
2. The nationalist-religious party or political party which first defines itself as a nationalist position and accommodates many religious interests; and
3. Islamic ideology party.

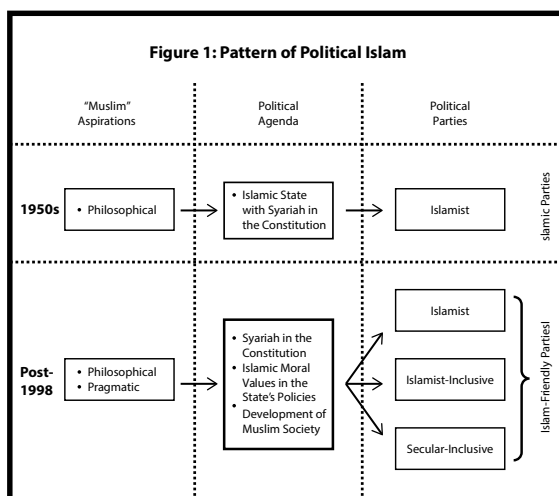
Although the context in Indonesia is very different from Turkey, especially in terms of the application of the principle of secularism in Turkey, in some ways, it has similarities in the characteristics of the ideology of political parties.

The three-party models in the Yavuz version of Turkey are similar when compared to the results of studies on parties and religion (Islam) in Indonesia, especially after the New Order. Take the studies conducted by Baswedan (2003) and Aspinal, et al. (2018), as examples. In his study, Baswedan found variations of the views and policies of political parties in Indonesia towards some Islamic agendas. The position of these political parties can be divided into two broad categories—Islamic parties and secular parties. The two categories can be broken down into four party models, namely:

1. Islamist Party (PPP, PKS, and PBB);
2. Islamic Inclusive Party (PAN and PKB);
3. Inclusive Secular Party (Golkar Party); and
4. Exclusive Secular Party (PDI-P).

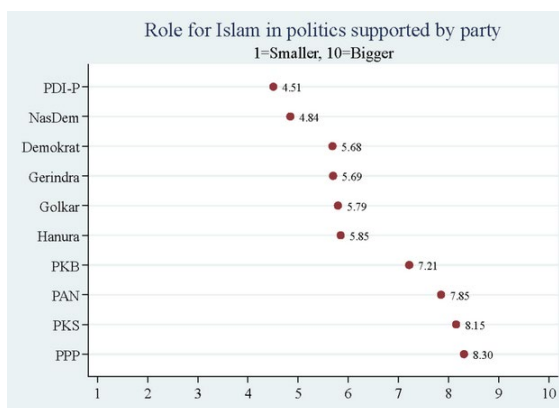
This categorization is based on the extent to which the political parties' policies are related to the aspirations of fighting for aspects of Shari'a in the constitution and incorporating Islamic moral values in government policy, as well as the development of Muslim societies. Political parties that are in categories 1 to 3, namely Islamists, Inclusive Islam, and Inclusive Secular, are referred to as the parties that are friendly with Islam (Islam-Friendly Parties) because they are in the different gradations when supporting the aspirations of Islam. He also confirms some changes in

the post-New Order Islamic political articulation model compared to the 1950s. At that time, the Islamic political struggle through political parties was more varied than the previous monolithic characteristics.



Baswedan (2003)

In their study, Aspinal et al. (2018), examined the views of Indonesian political party elites on the role of Islam in politics. They found three major groupings of political parties: 1. Political parties that disagree with Islam playing a role in politics (PDI-P and Nasdem Party); 2. Parties in the middle (Democratic Party, Gerindra, Golkar, and Hanura); and 3. Parties with greater agreement on the political role of Islam. Islamic political parties are in this third position.



Aspinal et al. (2018)

This study adopted the party categorizations proposed by Yavuz (2009), Baswedan (2003), and party grouping by Espinall (2018). The three categories used are; 1. Islamic parties, consisting of PPP, PKS, PBB, PAN, and PKB; 2. Nationalist-Religious parties, consisting of Democrats, Golkar, Gerindra, Hanura, and Garuda and Karya—two new parties in the 2019 elections; and 3. Nationalist parties, consisting of PDI-P, Nasdem, PSI, Perindo (Indonesian Unity Party), and PKPI (Indonesian Justice and Unity Party).

How do we place Indonesia in relation to the spectrum of religious and state relations? It is vivid that Indonesia is not a religious state (Islam) like Iran or Saudi Arabia. The founders of the nation and the government consciously did not want Indonesia to become a religious or theocratic state. Even so, Indonesia is also not entirely secular as proven by the number of religious elements accommodated in the constitution and legislation. The state or government also clearly shows intervention in several religious affairs. Indonesia's position seems to be close to the type of secular country which provides accommodation to the values and interests of the dominant religion (in this case, Islam). In other words, Indonesia may belong to the topology of "state with an established religion" based on Kuru's categorization. Some other experts have different opinions. For example, Cesari (2014) considers Indonesia as an unsecular democratic state. According to him, Indonesia is a democratic country, especially after the New Order, and at the same time, it is accommodating religious values in some regulations and policies that provide space for religion to play a role in the public sphere.

### **Political Parties: Ideology and Policy**

Feith and Castle (1988) divide the political parties participating in the 1955 elections in Indonesia into five types of political thoughts: radical nationalism, Javanese traditionalism, Islam, democratic socialism, and communism. This division illustrates political streams in relation to traditional and modern (Western) heritage. They see that there is a dual nature of Indonesia's traditional heritage. The fact that Javanese tradition—which had been closely intertwined with Hindu and Buddhist traditions, was vividly separated from Islam. In their view, the PNI was



a radical nationalist party that intersected with Javanese traditionalism; NU was an Islamic party containing Javanese traditionalism; Masjumi was an Islamic party in line with democratic socialism; whereas the PKI represented communism in line with Javanese traditionalism.

During the New Order era, especially after the fusion of multiple parties in 1973, the division of political parties was simpler. Only three political forces were allowed to participate in the election: PPP, Golkar, and PDI. Parties based on Islam joined the PPP, some nationalist and Christian parties formed the PDI, and several mass organizations joined to establish the Work Group or Golkar—who did not want to be called political parties. Golkar was used by the New Order regime as its electoral political engine. It is not surprising that a hegemonic party model was formed which was marked by the absolute victory of Golkar in all elections held during the New Order.

Significant changes in the political party system occurred in the Reformation era, after the fall of the New Order in 1998. Forty-eight registered political parties were participating in the 1999 elections. Evans (2003) divides the ideological lines of political parties in Indonesia simply by dividing two ideological categories which are Islam and secular groups placed in the horizontal axis, while in the vertical axis they are divided into two categories, elitist and populist. On the ideological line, Evans states that Indonesia's social spectrum is divided into "left" or secular and "right" or religious circles, with the most basic differentiator on how to place religion before the state. Secular circles are all entities that reject specialization towards religious entities, especially Islam, in relation to the state. Meanwhile, religious circles are those who support the transformation of religion in the country. Examining the 1999 elections, PDI-P represents a secular or left entity, while PPP, PK, PBB, and other Islamic parties represent religious or right entities.

This fact proves that ideology cannot be separated from the party. There is a general assumption that ideological parties will influence politicians when discussing and formulating policies. Ideology can be used as a basis in the process of deciding policies that occur in parliament. The policy a politician decided seemed predominantly influenced by the ideological

nuances of his/her political party. However, this is found in any pragmatic parties, which are typical of most political parties in modern electoral democracy; the influence of party ideology on its members and policies seems to be looser.

Studies conducted by experts confirm that the role of ideology as a consideration in policymaking by political parties in many European countries seemed to fade in the last few decades. This political phenomenon goes hand in hand with the tendency of political parties in these countries to increasingly have a catch-all political orientation model. According to them, the most important goal in electoral democracy is to win as many votes as possible, so that they can win the election and hold the government. Therefore, political parties are required to act flexibly and continue to open themselves to voters of any background.

In general, studies on policy and political parties emphasize the extent to which the parties' planned programs are aligned with the policy realization (if the parties win elections and become the ruling parties in the government); to what extent ideology plays a role in providing direction for policy formulation: whether it is still a filter and control in policy planning or it is in the political interests of any individuals involved in the political process that dominantly influence the policy made by the political parties. As a consequence of all this, ideology must be elastic or more pragmatic.

Such conditions are certainly different from a traditional party phenomenon which places ideology as the main guide in which the struggle of political parties should win elections and gain power. Winning the election and gaining power are intended as their ways to realize the main or ideal values (ideology) through the policies they make. Whereas, the catch-all party is more nuanced to "follow" the trend of people in a particular period of time. Therefore, ideological parties have a passion for making changes and transforming society into a more ideal and better form.

As the extensions of the party that touch closer to the voting community, the politicians are also automatically required to be responsive to the aspirations that are growing and changing rapidly. Instead of encouraging an approach based on the ideology of their parties, on the contrary, the

success of politicians will be seen by their ability to adapt to follow what trends of voters are. Carefully understanding the public aspirations and accordingly adjusting them become very important for parties and politicians in determining their policies, including in the process of drafting legislation in parliament.

In this aspect, politicians in parliament sometimes differ from their party ideologies during the legislative process and respond to content that develops in society. This phenomenon may indicate the low commitment of politicians to the party ideology, and at the same time proves the weak control of the party upon its members. It also does not take aside the possibility that such a phenomenon actually shows the flexibility of the party to maintain the sustainability of the party itself.

That flexibility shows that some parties are heading towards a “middle ideology”. However, this phenomenon of “parties toward the middle” cannot be interpreted as the defeat of ideological parties. Although the ideological parties are not as popular as catch-all political parties, they still can continue to live and are able to survive in the increasingly fierce electoral competition. This condition is certainly different from the traditional party phenomenon, which places ideology as the main guide. The struggle of political parties to win elections and gain power is intended as their ways to realize the values and main principles (ideology) through the policies they make.

Even so, there are also a number of research findings that confirm the viability of party ideology, especially as proven by the congruence between party ideology and the types of policies produced (Kleingemann, Hofferber and Budge, 1999). An initial study of the relationship between campaign promises and policies towards political parties in Indonesia during the Reformation found similar results—congruence (Putra, 2004). More specific researches, taking PPP case studies, can be seen in A Bakir Ihsan (2016). He also found a positive correlation between the Islamic ideology carried by PPP and the policies adopted by this party.

However, the symptoms of political deviation do not happen. The emergence of Islamic sharia regulations in various regions that occurred early in

the Reformation actually put Golkar politicians taking a dominant role compared to those from Islamic parties (Buehler, 2016). The phenomenon of the emerging sharia regulations shows that movements at first glance were seen as ideological expressions, but in fact, they were not like many people might have assumed. Pragmatic motives are clearly more prominent—to win sympathy in the electoral process of the regional head election.

The question is whether the commitment and views of the people's representatives are still maintained when addressing various educational problems, especially religious education in Indonesia. As legislators who together draft laws with the government, willy-nilly, they hold a key position in determining the direction, form, and shape of religious education policies in this country.

Politicians in the legislature are required to be more serious in finding solutions to various problems in the world of education, which have become more frequent and increasingly widespread. For example, the development of students' religious attitudes is increasingly exclusive, growing intolerance, and practices leading to discrimination. All of these problems do not arise from a single cause. A number of factors contributed. Some of them are the learning material insufficient to foster awareness of tolerance and multiculturalism among students, the influence of religious understanding originating outside of school, the impact of the use of social media, the existence of regulations related to education in the regions—in the form of local regulations, letters circular, and appeal, which still are considered discriminatory, and so on.

The various issues in the religious education that continue to cling and remain unresolved have led to pressure from various parties in the community for politicians in the legislative body to review various policies related to religious education. Politicians are required to look back critically and even revise regulations on religious education. These demands are not taboo, and they are common or normal.

The revision of regulations on religious education is needed because the religious education also needs to be adapted to the social dynamics of society that continue to move forward and also respond to various issues

and new emerging challenges. One of them is how religious education is intended to strengthen the faith, devotion, and morals of students, at the same time it is also able to foster a better understanding of the importance of tolerance, respect for diversity, and to strengthen a sense of nationality.

Many theories help to explain the dimensions of political party behavior and politicians' attitudes. According to Miller and Strom (1999), the goals formulated by the party will influence his behavior. The goals of political parties can be simply divided into three categories; 1) get positions in the government (the office-seeking party); 2) the policy-seeking party; and 3) get the most votes in the election (the vote-seeking party). The attitudes of politicians in parliament in drafting legislation as well as their attitude in responding to a number of actual issues can be understood more precisely by placing them in a three-purpose scheme which of priorities the political parties choose.

### **Religious Education and Multiculturalism**

In several countries, government policies on religious teaching and the imposition of religious symbols in public schools often lead to pros and cons. The debate, among others, is related to the legitimacy of the policy from the perspective of multiculturalism and pluralism. The imposition of religious symbols in public schools, such as headscarves for Muslim female students, turban for adherents of the Sikh, Kipa for Jews, or Cross for Christians that are worn openly, has raised big questions regarding the extent to which educational policies accommodate the principles of multiculturalism.

For certain countries that uphold the secular principle, it is clear that the policy of prohibiting religious symbols is strictly enforced. While some other countries accommodate it, even allow students to wear their religious symbols in public schools. Such policies are reflected as the recognition of multiculturalism and human rights.

In Indonesia, this kind of policy is seen in the National Education System Law 2003. Normatively, the principle of pluralism has become an important element in the administration of national education. Article

4 (1) states, “Education is conducted democratically and fairly, and it is not discriminatory by upholding human rights, religious values, cultural values, and national pluralism”. There are seven principles of education administration explicitly contained in this provision, namely:

1. democratic,
2. justice,
3. non-discriminatory,
4. uphold human rights,
5. religious values,
6. cultural values, and
7. national pluralism.

The question is whether these principles are the basis for the functions, objectives, and organization of religious education and religious education in the country. The values of multiculturalism do not seem to be well understood and strong and have not even become a major concern. So far, the religious education model which has been mono-religious is more focused on increasing the religiosity of students, especially related to the faith and piety of the religion they hold.

This can be seen in the Republic of Indonesia Government Regulation No. 55 of 2007 concerning Religious Education and Religious Education underlining that the most important goal of religious education is strengthening the religiosity of students. In Article 1 (I), it is stated that “Religious education is an education that provides knowledge and shapes the attitudes, personalities, and skills of students in practicing their religious teachings which are carried out at least through subjects/lectures on all lines, levels, and types education.”

Likewise, the function of religious education whose main concern is still struggling with faith and piety. Article 2 (1) mentions “Religious education functions to form Indonesian people who have faith and are devoted to God Almighty and have good character and are able to maintain peace and harmony in religious relations.”

The explanation of these articles can be concluded that indeed government regulations on religious education do not give serious attention to pluralism

issues, including other important issues such as tolerance, understanding of pluralism, and so on. It is not surprising that some cases of intolerance and discrimination today often occur in the world of education, including in the religious practice of students in schools.

A number of studies have also found numerous practices of discrimination and intolerance related to religious education and religious policy in schools. Several religious education textbooks are found to be problematic because they are suspected of promoting intolerance and violence (PPIM, 2018). Most religious education books, both in public and private schools, teach very little about respect for diversity and contain more about religious doctrines (CRCS, 2015). These shortcomings should make us aware of the rules and practices of religious education, which currently raise serious problems, and therefore the existing educational regulations should be reviewed again.

A multicultural education contains at least five important dimensions, as follows:

1. Content integration regarding the extent to which teachers use examples and content from various cultures in their teaching;
2. Knowledge construction process relating to the teacher's role of helping students to understand, investigate, and determine how implicit cultural assumptions, terms of reference, perspectives, and biases in scientific disciplines affect how knowledge is built.
3. The reduction of prejudice focuses on the characteristics of the racial behavior of students and how those characteristics can be modified with teaching and learning materials.
4. Equity pedagogy is realized when teachers modify their teaching in a way that would facilitate academic or non-academic achievement of students from different races, cultures, genders, and social classes.
5. School culture and social structures are empowering various activities and interactions involving cross-ethnic and racial students that are fostered to form a school culture that empowers students of diverse ethnicities, genders, and races.

In the pluralistic Indonesian society, the adoption of multicultural dimensions of education as described above is very important including religious education whether it covers learning material, learning practices and methods, the formation of school culture, and so on. To realize this, there should be good intentions, the understanding of the root causes of problems in the world of education, and commitments from all elements of the nation including the most important one—the government and the parliament are in charge of making laws.



### **CHAPTER III**

## **THE VIEW OF ISLAMIC PARTIES ABOUT RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: FAITH AND OBEDIENCE AS MAIN PRIORITIES**

**T**his chapter discusses the views of Islamic political parties on religious education in Indonesia. Their views are quite varied. In certain respects, their views have several common threads. They agreed that religious education is very important not only for the purpose of improving the morality of students but also for the purpose of strengthening faiths. However, they differently consider whether religious education should be designed as learning towards multiple religions (religious studies) in addition to the religion students believe in.

Several Islamic political parties are also aware of the need for more attention from the government to improve religious education, both in terms of curriculum content and funding assistance. From the perspective of Islamic parties, some improvements are needed. Compared to general education, religious education is still not taken into account seriously by the government all this time. However, they differently view on which the priorities need to be corrected.

The Islamic political parties in the discussion of this chapter are PKS, PPP, PBB, PKB, and PAN. The five Islamic parties have similar characteristics as what Yavuz (2009) states in his study. One feature is that all of them were formed from Islamic ideas and supported by grassroots on the basis of Islamic identity.

PKS, PPP, and PBB can be categorized as parties based on Islamic ideas and tend to be conservative. This tendency is very visible from the thoughts and ideas of their politicians. First, they want the policy of religious education to be directed to more specific objectives—to increase morality, faith,

and piety. Second, they discuss the learning materials of religious lessons, which were considered to be still weak in terms of encouraging faith and piety. Third, in their opinion, if religious education is taught as a whole, then character education will no longer be needed because the character education values are already included in religious education. Fourth, they consider it common that educational regulations tend to be heavy on one religion. Fifth, they agree with the concept of religious studies. However, if students must be taught about other religions, the objective of teaching any other religions must lead to the superiority of Islamic teachings. Sixth, they see the problem of intolerance and radicalism as external problems which are more triggered by unjust state policies, and they are not directly related to religious education.

The PKB and PAN are categorized as Islamic mass-based parties and tend to be more inclusive. PKB politicians specifically emphasized the importance of religious education based on traditional values through the empowerment of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). They expect that using accommodative educations to the traditions that develop in society can stem from negative excesses such as radicalism. PAN underlines the importance of religious education, which encourages diversity and pluralism.

### **PKS: Education for the Perfection of Faith**

PKS is an Islamic party that encourages the inclusion of religious values in government policy, especially in the field of education. Since it was founded in 1998—originally called the Justice Party (PK), this party has believed that democratic methods are needed to achieve the objectives of Islamic da'wah (missionary) as these methods can be accepted by the public (Al-Hamdi, 2013: 117).

After changing its name to PKS, this party continues to reorganize the party's image that seems exclusive. This is inseparable from the various issues about the relationship between this party and the Islamic fundamentalism movement, the Muslim Brotherhood/Ikhwān al-Muslimīn (IM), in Indonesia. PKS is even considered as an extension of IM (Qaradhawi, 2001).

PKS, which was founded by a number of Muslim activists and intellectuals, such as M. Hidayat Nurwahid, Lutfi Hassan Ishaq, and Nur Mahmudi Ismail, continues to make Islam as the basis of party life and at the same time recognizes the diversity and pluralism of ethnic, religious and class groups. Remaining based on Islam, PKS participates in upholding the ideals of reform, upholding the values of justice, becoming an adhesive element for the unity of the people and the unity of the nation as well as the progress of the nation and realizing civilized society (Kompas, 1999: 400).

After the 1999 elections, after winning an insignificant number of seats in parliament, this party appeared “forced” to put forward practical political interests instead of its ideological interests. It is a logical consequence of electoral battles that are getting tougher in each election. Ideologically, PKS is increasingly open up. This openness was established through the National Work Conference on 1-3 February 2008 in Bali and the Second National Conference on 16-20 June 2010 in Jakarta (Nurussa’adah and Sumartias, 2017: 44). PKS is becoming an increasingly inclusive party.

Then, how does PKS actualize its ideological openness in terms of religious education? PKS places education as an important priority in the platform. This party does not have a vision specifically related to religious education but is very concerned about education. PKS believes that the root of the crisis faced by this nation actually comes from within human beings and the values developing in their social networking. Therefore, religious character education is needed for future generations. It can be seen in the party platform that is indeed Islamic, as written in the following general agenda: “... conducting the character-building as the main basic capital of national development through strengthening the personality of the nation’s generation by exploring and reviving the true religious value which has long resided in the depths of their hearts “. (Basic Philosophy of Struggle and Development Policy Platform of PKS). This religious spirit also can be seen in the PKS education agenda. It mentions;

*... strengthens the role of national education as a means of shaping the personality of the Indonesians that set great importance on religious values in all aspects of life. This effort reflects the seriousness in placing education as the backbone of the future*

*achievement of civilized Indonesian. (Basic Philosophy of Struggle and Development Policy Platform of PKS)*

In the platform, it is stated that proper and effective education will prepare children of the nation who are smart, moral, have a high work ethic and innovation. In the aspect of morality, for PKS, national education regulated in Law no. 2 of 1989 concerning the National Education System is considered to have not been successful in cultivating noble moral values to students. The foundation of religious values already outlined in the 1945 Constitution and the National Education System Law has not been implemented optimally by the policymakers, especially in the teaching and learning in schools.

***Strengthening Morals and Faith***

In terms of struggling for religious education, PKS is framing it with Islamic values. The main purpose of education is to create people who believe and fear God as He says in Surah Ali Imran: 102; "O you who have believed, fear Allah as He should be feared and do not die except as Muslims [in submission to Him]." Islamic education is intended to enhance the moral values of students to reach the level of noble characters and attitudes. This is in accordance with the substance of the prophetic task of the Prophet Muhammad, which is contained in a hadith, "Verily, I was sent to guide man to achieve noble morals."

As explained by PKS senior politician, Jazuli Juwaini (JJ), the key to the success of religious education lies in the realization of the noble morals of students. Education itself serves to prepare people who are able to organize a prosperous life in the world and the hereafter (Juwaini, 2011). The focus of religious education lies in the value system.

According to PKS, religious education in schools is important as a means of fostering and perfecting the growth of students' personalities because religious education has 2 (two) important aspects; 1) shaping personality and 2) teaching the religion itself. Religious education in schools should be a medium for transferring knowledge and values to students.

In JJ's view, in the past, education proceeded without a strict moral framework. Our education has lost its direction, whereas the most basic

nature of education is to produce Indonesian people who have a noble character, faith, and devotion to God Almighty (Juwaini, 2011). Another PKS politician (LH, Party 10) said, “education is now more just rote learning without the implementation of the values.” In fact, according to PKS politicians, EN, Party 10, “our education has not succeeded in shaping the character or morals of children. Not only general science, mathematics, science, social studies, but also religious education should be tested. “Therefore, PKS is one of the parties that gives full attention to religious education, especially in the formulation of Law no. 20 2003 about National Education System,” JJ explained,

*“The Only One God in Pancasila” guarantees that every follower of every religion performs their religious rules. At the same time, this means that all people in Indonesia must have religions, and none can be an atheist. All Indonesians must believe in God. To strengthen your belief in God, you may do it independently, or you must go through the education process. If you have to go through the education process, there will be the urgency of the religious education process. (JJ, Party 10)*

In view of this party, education is one of the important efforts to develop morale. JJ explained that UNESCO established four pillars to be used as guidelines in educating morals, such as 1) learning to know; 2) learn to do; 3) learning to be; 4) learn to live together. With this in mind, PKS takes an active role in the formulation of Law no. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System.

Religious education is a subject to shape the moral character of citizens. Therefore, teaching religion in schools, ideally, is a lesson that can shape the character of citizens. It is not only in the form of theory but also in the form of a real implementation in everyday life.

PKS considers that the implementation of the national education system has still not been successful in achieving the objectives of national education. According to JJ, in his book *Revitalization of Islamic Education* (2011), one of the reasons is the application of the educational concept ignoring character and moral education. This ignorance leads to the failure of national education. National education should not only prioritize

aspects of knowledge or cognitive but also build national character and moral feeling. National education focuses more on cognitive abilities, not on the implementation of values.

JJ said that national education has not succeeded in creating citizens with good characters. As a result, many juvenile delinquents occur. For example, brawl, even the long-term negative consequences, are rampant corruption, collusion, and nepotism. This moral crisis would not happen in Indonesia if education succeeded in shaping the awareness of the nation's morals and values. As a matter of fact, National education goals emphasize this value system. Still, the curriculum implementation in schools cannot yet accommodate these national education goals.

JJ further said, "make PKS simple. Those people have a commitment to their belief and nation and then have competitiveness for going forward. Thus, the next generation of Indonesia has high competitiveness in terms of both intellectuals and skills. Therefore, education should not merely be related to cognitive. So, it must be complete covering all aspects ".

One weakness of religious education in schools that has been happening in the teaching process is the emphasis on the cognitive aspects or mere knowledge. LH, Party 10 stated, "when I look at Indonesia at this time, the problem (education) can be that we have not yet reached the stage of cognition. Indeed, the learning method is focused more on memorization—cognition. We have not yet reached the stage of affection or psychomotor."

JJ also admitted that,

*Education must be measured based on some indicators, such as the students' attendance, discipline, and social tolerance with peers in class. For example, it can be how they respect their teacher and friends, how they express ideas and creativity, and how they managed to build togetherness. There must be room for assessing those indicators above. The teacher has a significant role in evaluating them all. Schools know best what tests are the best for their students. It is not about who is teaching the religious lesson or who is making the test, but it is about what is taught and what is tested. (JJ, Party10)*

According to PKS politicians, to find out and measure the success of religious education, the subject of religious education—in addition to general knowledge material, can be one of the materials tested on national examinations. National exams can trigger students to be more motivated to learn so that the values contained in religious subjects can be remembered, and also become one of the top priorities of students to complete their education.

On the other hand, PKS clearly and firmly prioritizes religious education, rather than character education. According to Jazuli Juwaini, character education does not need to be discussed anymore, because, in reality, it is manifested in religious education. Religious education can develop a learner's morale. Individuals who are fostered with religious values can control all their attitudes, actions, and expressions. By quoting Sayyid Sabiq, JJ said that people who hold fast to religion always keep their hearts from indulging in lust, inclined towards something that God likes, clean from blemishes, and motivating themselves to be more devout. If a religious belief has become an integral part of one's personality, then that belief will oversee all actions, feelings, and even words (Juwaini, 2014).

Furthermore, JJ questioned, "what character can be formed without faith? What kind of character? I agree that we should put the Pancasila and constitution education back to schools because that is part of our consequence of having religions (in Indonesia)." (JJ, Party 10)

The perspective mentioned above is different from the views of the government, as written in Presidential Regulation Number 87 of 2017 concerning Strengthening Character Education. This regulation is one of the government's steps in realizing President Jokowi's Nawa Cita (the nine dreams) programs. According to the government, strengthening character is a necessity that can be pursued through education to shape the expected characters of citizens. The weak characters of citizens can lead to many social issues like a high level of corruption, collusion, nepotism, bad work ethic, the dilapidation of bureaucracy, or the lack of discipline. The government sees the need to strengthen character education. This character education is intended to realize a civilized nation by strengthening religious values, honesty, tolerance, discipline,

hard work, creativity, independence, democracy, curiosity, national spirit, love of the homeland, respect for achievement, good communication, peace, love reading, caring the environment, caring socially, and being responsible (Setkab, 2017).

### ***Bridge to Heaven***

Based on the statements of some politicians in the PKS circle, it was mentioned that character education was sufficient through religious education and Pancasila education. The principles in Pancasila clearly refer to and are base on religious values. Pancasila education shaping the character of the nation is inseparable from Islamic values. PKS is considered to have a commitment to Pancasila, which was “made” by the founding fathers of the Muslim community. One of PKS politicians emphasized

*If you live in Indonesia, you must accept Pancasila as the basis of the state. Moreover, the Pancasila was formulated by Islamic scholars too. Not only Muhammad Yamin, but also other Islamic scholars formulated it. Pancasila was not constructed by the orangutans. After performing Istikharah (a prayer to ask for insight from God) for many times and considering the plurality Indonesia, the Islamic scholars and founders of the nation considered Pancasila as the most appropriate basis of this country. (LH, Party 10)*

Since the Reformation era, PKS has continued to be actively involved in various efforts to cultivate Pancasila values. For example, when a senior politician of PKS, Hidayat Nur Wahid, was in charge as the chairman of the RI MPR (Indonesia People’s Deliberative Assembly) in 2004, the MPR RI held socializations of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, NKRI, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. This program appeared to be known as the four pillars of national and state life (LH, Party 10).

As everyone knows, Pancasila education began to be abandoned because it was considered as a political tool of the New Order era power. The inculcation of the value of the Pancasila, which can foster a sense of nationalism, has led to various polemics in recent decades, which could threaten national unity.



In the view of PKS, Pancasila prioritizes Islamic values by placing only one God as the first principle, which is the basis for the other four principles. Pancasila needs to be included again in the national education curriculum to foster diversity—a nation-unifying means and as a complementary education for the patriotic character. As the basis of the Indonesian state, Pancasila does belong to other nations.

Religious education is indeed an important element of practicing the first principle of the Pancasila—the belief in the one and only God. Therefore, religious education is a compulsory subject taught in schools. It can be seen in the historical proof of the Ki Hajar Dewantara's circular as the Minister of Education and Culture in 1945 that character education during Japanese administration was replaced by religious education. On December 12, 1946, a Minister of Religious Affairs and PP&K issued a decree stating that religious education was carried out in public schools starting in class IV for 2 hours a week (Susanto, 2009).

Religious education was increasingly developing and getting more attention in the New Order era. The government issued a policy that religious education is included in the curriculum and becomes a compulsory subject from elementary to tertiary level. Various government policies were made to further strengthen religious education in Indonesia, especially after the New Order. Religious education was more strengthened by Law Number 20 the Year 2003, particularly seen in Articles 12 and 30 regarding religious and religious education (Sinaga, 2017). A long journey proves that religious education has an important role in nation-building.

In addition to Pancasila education, the PKS spokesman confirms that religious education in schools requires special attention in its implementation to create people with noble characters. So, what exactly is the ideal portrait of religious education that should be taught in public schools? Answering this question, PKS politicians have various answers. However, at least all of them agreed that the ideal religious education is capable of producing people who have noble values. One of PKS politicians revealed, “the ideal religious education in schools is religious education able to cultivate values; familiarize values; provide an example; implement

a reward and punishment system; finally exercise self-control over the selection of values. “ (JJ, Party 10)

Furthermore, one of the PKS politicians stated that religious education would ideally be able to take Indonesian people to heaven. He mentioned several things related to religious education. He said,

*Faith, piety, noble character, and intelligence are required. The Prophet was asked what could best put a person in heaven? The Prophet replied, taqwallaah wa khusnul khuluq (devotion to Allah and noble character). PKS views that running article 31, paragraph 3 of the Constitution 1945, is about fulfilling the commands of the Prophet in his hadith above. Besides, it helps take Indonesian people, especially Muslims, to heaven. Indonesian Muslims are the largest majority in the world. Heaven may be filled by people who are mostly Indonesian Muslims. Once again, piety and noble character are the requirements. Moreover, faith and knowledge are also important, for Allah elevates those who believe and have a high degree of knowledge, as mentioned in the Qur'an 58 verse 11. Yarfa'illahu al-ladzina minkum wa al-ladzina utu al-ilma darajaat (Allah will raise those who have believed among you and those who were given knowledge, by degrees). (MY, party 10)*

Another PKS politician expresses his opinion that an ideal religious education is developed based on Islamic law or the purpose of Islamic law. He says,

*In general, we expect religious education to be integrated into the daily life of students. It is more than just cognition. It must include the whole aspects (affection and psychomotor) first, then it is followed by way of right thinking. It is not taught even though there is Maqashid Shari'ah (a set of the purpose and objective of Islamic law/a way of thinking). For example, we want to push a friend to be a candidate, and then we ask whether it will be good or not. So, he will think of that responsibility since the Maqashid Shari'ah directs him to take responsibility. Our education needs more Maqashid Shari'ah—the way to think. Thus, people will not do wicked things. That was what I guess. (LH, Party 05)*

### ***Learning Islam Is Sufficient to Be Tolerant***

Religious education should also be able to foster a tolerant attitude, both among the followers of the same religion and among the followers of different religions. Therefore, the development of religious literacy and interfaith education must be one of the particular concerns when teaching Islamic Religious Education in schools. It can foster tolerance among religious adherents, especially the religious attitude of the millennial generation (PPIM, 2017).

The recognition of religious differences means that we learn to grow mutual trust, maintain mutual understanding, uphold mutual respect, be open-minded, appreciate and interdepend, seek for conflict resolution and non-violent reconciliation (Bhaidawy 2005; On the other hand, understanding other religions from the perspective of students' own religion will instead lead to a loophole to discredit the other religions. After all, every religion must teach its believers that their religion is the best on the earth. Differences in religious doctrine often become the cause of conflict (Digdoyo, 2018; 47).

However, the idea of introducing all religions to students is considered inappropriate for PKS. A PKS politician believes that a strong understanding of religion will automatically foster an attitude of tolerance in each individual (LH, party 10). That is why it is not necessary to introduce different religions to students. Indeed, Islam teaches these differences in the Qur'an so that it is sufficient to strengthen their respective religious teachings. JJ said,

*In my opinion, that's not the point whether religious education provides a teaching space for other religions. Religious education actually confirms the beliefs of followers of their religions, and they understand what is meant by tolerance. The most important is that tolerance is part of religious teachings.*

Next one PKS politician also asserts,

*Oh, no need to (learn) other religions. Why should students study all religions? Whereas those religions may not be their religions anyway. Students who are Christians are taught by Christian*

*teachers. The Muslim students are taught by Muslim teachers as well. We just respect other religions but do not study them. There is no obligation to study (other religions). None must study other religions. Yes, we respect other religions. Don't be confused; once again, no need to study them. Indeed, students have not studied a lot about their own religions. Why should they study other people's religions? (MY, Party 10)*

The PKS politician illustrates learning other religions like “gado-gado” or “vegetable salad” (learning other religions is like mixing all religions), even equating it with the process of secularism. He said,

*Basically, it is the same as secularization. As a result, people do not hold their respective religions. There will be no characteristics of each individual. In the book of Islamic Education, it has been taught that the temple is the house of worship for Hindu; the church is a place of worship for Christians. The Prophet Jesus was recognized by Christians. Christian history is in every subject of religious education. If we want to teach more deeply the teachings of all kinds (other religions), they can go to their respective schools. (ENH, Party10)*

PKS politicians seem to agree that building tolerance can be done by understanding and deepening students' own religious teachings. This growing tolerance only relies on “knowledge” according to students' respective religions. When teaching tolerance based on one religion, it will build an attitude of tolerance only inward and open a room for indoctrination. Especially, the following view of the other informant confirms that:

*“So, the most important thing is that they recognize each other's religion properly. Later, they will automatically (understand other religions), because the celestial religions are already clear ... (LH, Party 10)*

In addition to different religions, PKS politicians tend to be ignorant in introducing differences in the Shari'a within Islam itself. According to the informants, Islam is only one, Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah. For him, it is enough to provide Islamic religious education in accordance with

Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jamaah, and it is not necessary to introduce these differences. He said,

*Islam is mah ahlu sunnah wal jamaah. The number of Muslims in Indonesia adheres to the Shafi'i school of thought. So, Muslims in Indonesia can belong to NU, Muhammadiyah, or Persis. They are social organizations based on their characteristics. PKS is not part of any of those organizations. PKS is a political party. So the idea of combining (mass organizations) is impossible. In the era of prophet Muhammad, also a difference was okay. After the Prophet passed away, there were many schools of thought, but it was okay as long as they were based on the Qur'an and hadith. (ENH, Party 10)*

So clearly, PKS explicitly recognizes that Islam is normatively one whose source of its religious teaching is taken from the Qur'an. All Muslims testify that Allah SWT is the only one God, and they also testify that the Prophet Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. In interpreting the Qur'an, however, each person has a different perspective so that it may lead to different practices of worship. Not to mention, the deeply-rooted cultural elements that had been habituated in daily life before Islam came also contributed to giving different ways of practice or worship. Islam has universal values or creeds, but it cannot be denied that differences in how to practice worship often lead to conflict (Alfandi, 2013: 114).

### ***Requiring Additional Learning Hours***

Based on the discussions and dialogues between religious teachers and the members of the DPR RI, which were held in several regions, it was found that many religious teachers complained that their teaching hours for religious subjects were inadequate. In fact, the subject of religious education has a very heavy task in shaping the morals of students. According to JJ (2014), citing the views of Zakiyah Daradjat, religious education, in general, includes the provision of knowledge, fosters students' personality and attitude, behavior (morals) following religious teachings.

Based on the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 59 In 2014, about the 2013 High School/Madrasa Aliyah Curriculum, religious subjects in public schools have been added from 2 hours to 3 hours

per week. Even so, some politicians in parliament admit that this time allocation is apparently not enough.

PKS continues to strive to increase the hours of religious studies, although it has not been successful. PKS is an Islamic party that continues to strive to add additional hours for religious lessons in public schools. According to ENH, Party 10, it is because many teachers complained that there were so many learning materials of Islamic religious education, but its learning hours were only 2 hours a week. JJ stressed, "it must be reviewed. Religious education in schools under the management of the Minister of Education and Culture must be added. If its learning hours cannot be added, at least religious education will be strengthened. For, religious education is actually not only the obligation of schools but also the obligations of parents."

In addressing this decree, PKS politicians have different opinions. Some suggest that the schools should facilitate when parents want their children to get religious education by providing additional classes. Meanwhile, the other politicians encourage parents to enroll their children in a special religious school, not a public school.

Realizing the lack of religious learning hours, LH suggested that schools add the learning hours for religious learning besides the given time allocation. For example, schools provide additional lessons in reading the Qur'an through extra-curricular activities at school.

The credit for religious education at school is only 2 hours per week. Therefore, students need more time by having extracurricular activities at schools. We have seen it in Surabaya. For example, every morning, the schools in Surabaya conduct religious activities before starting learning. Some students recite the Qur'an, and Christian students read their own holy books. The target is that students can recite the Quran. (LH, Party 10). Other informants revealed that religious subjects should be given extra time by implementing a full-day school system. Thus, after class hours, the remaining time can be allocated to study religion. The application of a full-day system can be an alternative to increasing the hours of religious studies.

The idea to implement a full-day school program was proposed by Anies Baswedan when he was the Minister of Education and Culture. This initiative was welcomed by PKS because it was considered to improve the quantity learning of the religious subject in schools. With this full-day system, students can have additional time to study religion, which is expected to shape their attitudes and personality. However, the application of this full-day school has not been supported by adequate facilities supporting the activities of students at school.

In 2016, the Minister of Education and Culture, Muhadjir Effendy, had a chance to initiate a full-day school system. One reason is that students remain in school until their parents come home from work. It was intended to prevent students from doing roam outside of schools so that the school staff could still monitor them. After school hours, as usual, students can do other activities such as deepening the material or completing school assignments and even understanding religion more deeply (Kompas.com 8/8/16).

Full-day school is an all-day school or teaching and learning process that starts from 06.45-15.00 with a break every two hours (Baharuddin 2009: 229-230). The implementation of full-day school is one alternative to overcome various educational problems, both in achievement and in terms of morals or good characters. By attending a full-day school, parents can prevent and neutralize any possibility of children's negative activities.

### ***Struggle in Legislation***

According to PKS, the most crucial agenda related to the development of education ahead is the balance between developing science and teaching students' own religion. Therefore, religious education needs to be revitalized. JJ, a PKS politician, said several strategies need to be taken to improve the quality of religious education that can be fought for through the legislative body. The followings are the proposed strategies: 1) completing the legal standing and its implementation; 2) improving the quality of teachers in teaching and learning; 3) improving the quality of the teaching and learning process by reviewing curriculum materials of

religious subjects; 4) increasing the quantity of religious instruction in schools; 5) increasing the role of schools as religious education institutions.

In the case of education policy in Indonesia, PKS was involved in constructing and formulating Law no. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System in parliament. PKS views that religious character education is needed in order to resolve the moral degeneration that occurred in a regime transition (Juwaini, 2011). Therefore, according to PKS, one of the steps taken by the government is to revise Law No. 2 of 1989 concerning the National Education System. In the process of revising this law, a political tug-of-war among politicians was unavoidable. The involvement of PKS and several other Islamic parties also influenced the sense of the National Education System Law (Sirozi, 2004). So, it is not surprising that some people think that the draft Law Number 20 the Year 2003 is too religious.

One of the debates in the Act is Article 13 Paragraph 1 “every student in every education unit has the right to get religious education in accordance with the religion that is adopted and taught by educators of the same religion at all levels and types of education.” Supporters of the bill state that religious education is very important so that the state is not trapped in a secular state framework. Therefore, the government must intervene directly in religious education (Assegaf, 2003). The supporting devices of religious education are increasingly strengthened by Government Regulation Number 55 the year 2007 concerning Religious Education.

In addition to the Act, through its representatives in the Indonesian Parliament, PKS has tried to increase the number of hours for religious subjects, but it has not been successful, as explained earlier in this paper. PKS is concerned with the lack of hours of study in religious education in schools.

In addition, PKS also tries to help the community of the madrasa *diniyah* takmiliyah teachers (religious teachers teaching in non-formal religious education institutions which are generally situated in mosques) to be able to fight for their welfare because so far they have



only been paid from parents' contributions. However, this proposal has not been granted by the Ministry of Finance. PKS politicians explained,

*There is a religious school funded by the community. It is not funded by the Ministry of Religion. However, diniyah(non-formal Islamic school) teachers truly contribute to our community, especially in the future of religious education. They are not paid by the government. We were supposed to submit the proposal of the honorarium for madrasa diniyah takmiliah teachers every six months. Unfortunately, It did not pass.*

Another thing that PKS is concerned about in parliament is the development of vocational-based education. The competition in the labor market is increasingly open, and even many foreign professionals have begun to come to Indonesia. Therefore, the development of human resources through vocational education is important, especially for *pesantren*.

According to informants at PKD, as one of the educational institutions that interact with all levels of society, *pesantren* is important to be directed to produce not only the expert of religious knowledge or the religious leaders but also expert workforces. The program being promoted by PKS is the development of vocational boarding schools that prepare graduates who are able to compete in the labor market. As an educational institution that plays an important role in nation-building, the *pesantren* is expected to be able to create special character and expertise for the development of the Indonesian nation in the future. ENH explained,

*Commission VIII received many suggestions and proposals from various parties and members. We have tried to convey it to the forum with our commission partners. They support the existence of social-based boarding schools, health-based boarding schools, and agriculture-based boarding schools. The graduates of Islamic boarding schools can reduce unemployment. We want those who graduate from Islamic boarding schools to have skills and good character, and they can benefit themselves and their environment. Thus, this will reduce the burden on the state.*

According to the informant, PKS struggled through the formulation of the *Pesantren* Bill and Religious Education related to the development of *pesantren* vocations. PKS is ready to oversee the process of drafting the bill. The informant informs that the focus of the PKS is on the development of *pesantren* and the welfare of small *pesantren* that have potential but do not have funding sources. The informant also reveals that PKS actually prefers that this bill is only for *pesantren*, not for others.

### **PPP: Giving Islamic Touch to Education**

PPP differs from Islamic or Muslim-based parties, such as PKS, PBB, PKB, and PAN. PPP has a longer historical root and was a participant in the elections in the New Order era. PPP is the oldest Islamic party in the Parliament. This party was a fusion of five Islamic parties in 1973. The four Islamic parties were the Nahdlatul Ulama Party (PNU), the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII), the *Tarbiyah Islamiyah* Party (Pertti), and the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi). With that fusion, the different identities of the four Islamic parties merged and became a single identity.

As a party based on Islam, PPP has the vision to create a civilized society that is just and prosperous physically and spiritually and democratically within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila under the blessing of Allah *Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala*. To achieve this vision, the PPP seeks to fight for religious values included in the product of laws made by parliament. PPP declared itself to be based on Islam, which was characterized by *Ahlussunah Wal Jamaah* (Articles of Association/By-laws, 2016 Congress Results). One of the principles of his struggle is to practice the *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* (encouraging good deeds and preventing wrongdoings).

In line with this enthusiasm and struggle, PPP strongly rejects the idea that religious education must be removed from the national education curriculum. PPP, for example, firmly responded to the discourse put forward by Setyono Darmono in mid-2019. Setyono Darmono, the Chairman of Jababeka Group and also the founder of President University, rolled out the discourse that religious education does not need to be taught

in schools because teaching religion in schools actually triggers religious politicization. PPP said that the accusation had no basis. PPP politicians argue that "... the accusation towards religious education as a trigger for the politicization of religion is wrong, ahistorical statement and it shows a limited understanding of the national education system" (RM, party 15). Furthermore, the informant said that "politicization of religion has nothing to do with learning religious education in educational institutions, such statements only make the public feel uneasy" (RM, party 15)

The next section describes the PPP's views on religious education, this party's policy on religious education, and PPP's response to the latest issues about religious education in more detail.

### ***Religious Education as Fardhu Ain (Personally Obligatory)***

In PPP's view, studying religion is an obligation for all adherents of the religion. One PPP speaker said that "... religious education is fardhu ain or personal obligation while the other subjects (maths, natural science, social studies, languages, etc.) are fardhu kifayah or communal obligation. Religious education is fardhu ain because it is attached directly to each individual. You choose Islam; then, you must learn Islam"(SM, party 15). Religion is indeed something that is inherent and becomes an identity within a person. Religion is a set of teachings that contain doctrine, the order of values, and behavior. Therefore, when a person chooses a particular religion, he or she is obliged to study the teachings and the order of values that exist in the chosen religion. Thus, they can practice their religion well.

Because studying religion is an obligation, religious education is a component that cannot be separated from the national education system from the elementary school level to the tertiary level. National Education System Law No. 20 2003 has accommodated this desire. Even this law explained that the function of national education is to develop the potential of students to become individuals who have faith, piety, noble character, intelligence, creativity, innovation, physical health, and Pancasila identity. By considering its function of national education, religious education is the first and foremost curriculum that must be taught to students, then

followed by the Indonesian language, civic education, and so on. a PPP speaker emphasized that “the first and foremost lesson is religion. If students can completely understand their religious teaching, then they can develop other intelligence. Someday, if they become intelligent people, they will still be pious; if they become rich people, they will be righteous. I think so. Because of that, this religious education must become the dominant material in education “(RM, Party 15).

### ***Teaching Own Religion As a Whole, Not Learning all Religions***

PPP believes that proper religious teaching in schools can shape the positive characters of students. One way is to teach religion as a whole. The entire understanding of religious material taught is not only about fiqh (Islamic law), halal (lawful things), and haram (forbidden things), but also about Tawheed and morals (AB, party 15). By teaching religion as a whole, a good character by itself can be shaped. Religion and character are two interrelated things. Character is not separate from religion in which teaching religion also means teaching character. In religious terminology, it is also often called morals. The PPP highlighted the idea of revitalizing character education presented by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono when he was president as an unnecessary idea. In the view of PPP, character education is integral in religious education. PPP politicians say, “When talking about characters, we always refer to behaviors or in religious terms called morals. If religious education is completed, morals will come along with it. There is no need to revitalize character education and character of the nation “(RM, Party 15).

In addition to forming a positive character, completely religious teaching should also be able to prevent intolerant attitudes among students. According to one PPP politician, teaching religion as a whole is believed to reduce intolerance among students. Respecting differences is part of religious teachings. Thus, if it is delivered comprehensively, intolerance will certainly not arise (AB, party 15). The problem of intolerance that arises lately is because religion is taught in minimal effort so that the moral message is ignored. Another speaker added “if Islam has been thoroughly taught to students and t students have good morals, the tolerance will naturally be upheld” (RM, party 15)

A complete religious education is not in the sense of teaching/introducing many kinds of religions (religious studies). While some politicians outside PPP consider that introducing other religions, including inviting students to visit places of worship of different religions, can foster mutual respect. PPP considers that such content and methods are not needed. As a spokesman emphasized,

*Interfaith material is only appropriate for teaching at the higher education level, not at the school level. At the school level, it is sufficient to teach religious education (including character/moral education) in line with students' own religion. At the school level, religious education materials are sufficient for basic things, such as the practice of prayer, halal-haram fiqh (lawful-forbidden in Islamic law), daily muamalah (social relation), character development, and others. (AB, party 15).*

In recent years, some phenomena have emerged in the field of education and attracted PPP's attention. One of them is the emergence of "exclusive" schools, which tend to differ from most schools in terms of the curriculum and practices that are taught. In 2011, for example, two schools refused to conduct the flag ceremony and salute the red-white flag like the Al-Irsyad High School in Tawangmangu District and the Al-Albani Islamic Science and Technology (SD-IST) Elementary School in Matesih District. The two schools in Karanganyar Regency, Central Java, refused because they believed that saluting the flag was shirk (Detik, 2011). The same thing happened in 2017, 2018, and 2019 in different schools. Some prefer to promote the names of religious heroes rather than national heroes.

With regard to such schools, the PPP firmly shows rejection. PPP confirms, "as a servant of God, students must have faith and piety, but as citizens who live in Indonesia, they must submit to the rules" (RM, party 15). PPP does fight for religious values, but the struggle must be under the framework of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (AB, Party 15). The refusal of PPP is not only towards those exclusive "religious" schools above but also towards schools with international labels where national heroes are not promoted or the flag ceremony is not conducted. This PPP representative said, "... I used to complain that the schools there must have photos of Indonesian heroes and conducts a flag ceremony every Monday. I first witnessed that

there was no flag ceremony at an international school. Now many people complain about sunnah schools which have no flag ceremony, while they do not complain about the same issue in international schools” (RM, Party 15).

Many schools also impose obligations for Muslim dress on students, as happened in Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta province. Although the school principal revoked the circulars, Muslim dress at school was quite common in other public places. Responding to this, the PPP did not really matter.

Muslim clothing in some areas needs to be understood as an increasingly religious understanding in recent years. The community will wear Muslim clothing even if it is not regulated (in school regulations). PPP politicians say, “in fact, they will wear this kind of clothing even if it is not regulated by schools. If a school ban this way of dressing up, it will violate people’s rights” (RM, Party 15). However, PPP does not agree if Muslim dress obligations are also applied for non-Muslim students. Muslim dress does not exist in the beliefs of non-Muslims. If forced, it would violate their human rights.

To avoid the development of exclusivism in religious education, PPP offers the concept of the social contract and social control in the education system. The social contract means that schools must have a strong commitment to the Indonesian social contract—Pancasila. On the other hand, the establishment of schools must be under the supervision of the community. Those who want to establish a school must be able to show their intentions of this commitment to the community and involve the surrounding community as supervision (SM, party 15). Thus, schools are not isolated from the surrounding environment.

### ***Providing Islamic Touch in Parliament***

Several studies have described the PPP struggle as a provision of Islamic touch in the legislation area. A study conducted by Ahmad Bakir Ihsan (2016) shows that PPP tries to incorporate Islamic values in three draft laws, namely the Pornography Bill, the Health Bill, and the Elimination of Race and Ethnic Discrimination Bill. PPP also consistently fights for Islamic values in many other bills such as the Bill on the prohibition of

alcoholic drinks and the criminal bill for LGBT. PPP has fought for the bill since the 2009-2014 DPR period, and it keeps doing it in the 2014-2019 period.

In the education field, PPP shows the same spirit and struggle, especially for religious education. This party bearing the Kaaba seeks to include religious values in several regulations relating to education laws, such as Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, Law No. 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education, and Law No. 3 2017 about Bookkeeping Systems. The PPP also fought for the passing of the *Pesantren* Bill Draft, which was rolled up in 2019. In the Higher Education Law, PPP has even succeeded in making religious education a branch of knowledge. Thus, religious knowledge becomes a subject that must be taught in all tertiary institutions in Indonesia.

PPP is a vocal party in fighting for religious education in parliament. The Parliament has the functions of regulation, budgeting, and supervision. PPP seeks to fight for religious education in the three functions of the Parliament. In the aspect of regulation, PPP fights for and ensures how religious values are contained in the legislation. Actually, PPP was established with a mission to fight for and ensure that religious values were incorporated in the legislation as the ideals or dreams set by the founders of the nation and the founders of the party. In the matter of improving religious education, the PPP is fighting for some aspirations in parliament. The first is to strengthen the Islamic influence in the Law on Higher Education and Law on the Book System. It is evident that PPP has successfully fought for the passing of a law in the field of religious education, which is the Higher Education Law. PPP succeeded in fighting for the entry of religious education into a group of sciences. The consequence is that religious education must be taught in tertiary institutions. PPP views that it is an important achievement to maintain the existence of religious education in general. One of the speakers said, "if religion is not fortified in higher education, what will it be? If this religious education was removed in higher education, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, we will not have a reason for the existence of higher school" (RM, Party 15).

The PPP struggle was also seen during the legislation process of the Book System Law. The informant who was intensively involved in this process explained that the PPP Faction asked to postpone three days before the enactment of the Law on the Book System, which had been discussed in the DPR RI. Initially, the request for postponement of the PPP faction received different responses from members of other factions. According to PPP politicians, the request for postponement was based on the absence of the role of the Ministry of Religion and religious content in the Act. The politician said,

*It is the issue of sensitivity, accuracy, sense of belonging related to jihad, or the fight for religion. It is far more important, so the role of the Ministry of Religion is included, and the content of religious education in the book should be the responsibility of the Ministry of Religion. Such a policy is our responsibility as a PPP faction. (RM, party 15)*

In the aspect of supervision, the PPP seeks to ensure that religious education runs well in schools. Associated with the supervisory function, PPP has given the rejection of the implementation of the 2013 Curriculum because it can decline the quality of religious education. According to PPP, religious education in public schools is conducted for only two or three hours a week as it is set in the 2013 Curriculum. Quantitatively religious education has increased because it is integrated into other subjects. However, some aspects cannot be integrated, such as *ubudiyah* (the way of worshipping), the practice of prayer, wudu, and others (RM, Party 15). Supervision is also sometimes done by giving proposals to related parties who have the authority—for example, by asking the Ministry of Education and Culture to allocate funds for activities related to religious education like mosques repairs.

The second is to increase the budget for Islamic education. In the budgeting function, PPP always tries to push up the budget for the Ministry of Religious Affairs. There are many religious education institutions under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. According to PPP, the politics of budgeting have not yet prioritized religious education. Although the budget of the Ministry of Religious Affairs is large, it is the total budget to fund all the ministry



activities—from upstream to downstream, and religious education is only a small part of these activities. PPP sees that efforts to advance madrassas on which religious education is based are relatively not moving forward, and the struggle to provide budget alignments for religious education is not easy.

PPP politicians describe the condition of the government's budget for Islamic religious education institutions is currently still very limited:

*In terms of the budget, we discussed with the Ministry of Religion's Secretary-General of Islamic Education in 2017. At that time, the budget for religious education was only 800 billion rupiahs for all religions, including Islamic religious education. In this case of Islamic education, the facilities and infrastructure of pesantren are still poor. There are already some pesantren institutions that are classy, but this is not the result of the government's contribution—the majority are indeed self-supporting. We want the state to come to the pesantren. What for? In order that the government could provide infrastructure and pay attention to the welfare of the teachers and Kiayi, who focus on educating their students to improve the quality of their students. The goal is that pesantren graduates can be beneficial for their surrounding environment, nation, and country. (AM, Party 15).*

Several important points are considered as the priorities for PPP in its future agendas of struggling in legislation and other policies. First, learning materials and hours of religious education need to be added. According to PPP, religious education materials are increasingly diminishing in schools, both public schools and madrasa. In public schools, religious studies are taught in two up to three hours each week. The small portion of the religious subject certainly makes it difficult to transfer moral values as desired. Likewise, in the madrasa, religious subjects are increasingly diminishing, undermined by general subjects because a national examination system testing several general subjects encourages all madrasa students to learn the general national subjects more than the religious one. This is a concern of PPP. Fighting for religious education to continue to be taught in appropriate proportions will be a continuous mission which is always carried by PPP as one of the informants said, "the struggle for education ...

cannot be separated from the Islamic involvement, especially the struggle of PPP” (AM, party 15).

Second, it is necessary to standardize religious teachers. PPP also highlighted the need for standardization for religious teachers in schools. We cannot let religious teachers who are supposed to expose tolerant messages convey intolerance. Some research conducted by the Center for Islamic and Community Studies (PPIM) confirms this fact. At least 59 percent of teachers have an intolerant view of adherents of other religions (PPIM, 2018). Based on this fact, one of the spokesmen revealed that an institution setting teaching standards, as well as a religious teaching curriculum, is needed (SM, Party 2019). This was also confirmed by other informants that religious teachers have a vital role in transferring values to students. Therefore, these teachers must be people who are competent and adhere to values in line with social values in general (AB, Party 15)

### ***Supporting the majority, Voicing Islam***

In the study of political science, PPP politicians admitted that the party bearing the Kaaba could not be categorized as a pragmatic (electoral) party--how to get as many votes and support as possible. PPP declared itself an ideological party. The assumption that the ideology of the party is dead is not entirely relevant to understand the attitude of this party. PPP prefers and prioritizes ideological considerations rather than electoral issues with which Muslims may confront.

PPP is one of the political parties that are still committed to the ideology or values behind the establishment of this party institution. Theoretically, the attitudes and policies carried out by a party cannot be separated from the background and ideology on which the party was founded. The basic ideology can be taken from religion, ethnicity, profession, and other social groupings (Mas'ood, 1990). In a country that is dominated predominantly by Muslims, religion can become an ideology. Once it has become an ideology, then it will play four functions, which are explanatory functions, evaluation materials, foothold orientation, and pragmatic functions (Ball, 1991).

The policies issued by the PPP, especially relating to religious education, highly reflect the interests of the political ideology. PPP is a party that has applied Islam as a principle and committed to fighting for the principle as a form of loyalty to the mission of the nation's founders since the beginning of its establishment. One spokesman stated, "... what I stand for is more than just the interests of PPP or political matters but I fight for the interests of the nation. The founding fathers of the nation will cry if we do not fight for divine values"(RM, Party 15).

PPP attachments and involvement on the issue of religious education are more numerous and real because this party was born with a passion for ensuring religious values are included in many laws. In the Articles of Association/By-laws of the party, PPP intends to realize civilized, faithful, and pious society. Following that spirit, PPP supports the inclusion of religion in the national education system. Even the PPP has a major role in making religious knowledge a cluster of knowledge in the Higher Education Law. Thus, religious knowledge must be taught in all tertiary institutions. PPP was also intensely involved in discussions about the Law on the Book System. PPP includes the role of the Ministry of Religious Affairs as the authority and responsibility for determining content in religious education books, as explained earlier.

As an ideological party based on Islam, PPP seems to position itself as a party supporting the majority vote even though it does not oppress the minority. PPP's support for regulations in education is based on the principle of the will of the majority, for example, Muslim clothing in schools. Some nationalist parties rejected this idea because there was a regulation from the Ministry of Education and Culture related to the regulation of clothing in schools. After all, this policy did not reflect alignment toward minority groups. However, PPP sees that the policy basically does not need to be a problem because the majority wants it, and those of different religions don't need to follow it when it is not in line with their own principles and beliefs.

PPP's struggle to ensure religious education runs well based on the belief and the hope that right religious education is able to shape positive characters and prevent students from being intolerant. Providing religious

learning materials that are oriented towards morale-building can prevent someone from doing radicals and intolerance. Religious education cannot be separated from character education. In fact, character education is part of religious education. If religious education is comprehensively given, a good character will be formed by itself.

PPP struggle is not easy. According to PPP, the spirit of keeping fighting for the inclusion of Islamic values in legislation—including religious education—must continue to be encouraged, because this is jihad (struggle). One informant said, “to me, this spirit is the spirit that I must continue to encourage. That is one of PPP’s efforts to ensure that religious education continues to be a content continuously embedded in various policies.” What PPP does, once again, is closely related to the role of ideology as a factor that gives direction and policy orientation taken and done by political parties.

### **PBB: Integration of Islam and Modernist Islam in Education**

Crescent Star Party (PBB) declared itself as the heir of Masjumi Party that generally wanted to realize the national ideals of the Indonesian people as mentioned in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution and the development of democratic life by respecting the sovereignty of the people in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on the principles of Islamic teachings. This Islamic Party, founded in July 1998 in particular, wants to uphold Islamic law in the lives of every individual, family, community, nation, and state. The PBB places Islam as the foundation of the nation and state. The party is a union based on faith and Islamic universalism, and both of them become the source of truth, values, and norms in every activity of the association.

PBB is independent and actively carries out *al-amru bil-ma’ruf wa al-nahyu ‘Anil-munkar* (encouraging good deeds and preventing wrongdoings) wisely and politely, and it also puts the example first. The PBB becomes a means of da’wah, education, and political struggle for members and society (Articles of Association/By-laws, Results of Conference IV, 2015). Some verses of the Qur’an that are used as a theological basis in formulating

party programs are Surah Al-Baqorah: 147, “The truth (absolute) is sourced from your Lord (God the Creator, Arranger, and Completion), so do not you belong to people who doubt. “ Al-Qur’an is used as a source of Islamic truth that serves as a guide and measure (mizan) between the Haq (righteous) and the ignorant (Al-Baqarah: 185). On top of all the steps of the Qur’an and the Sunnah, PBB is active in building the nation’s future. With sincere and sincere intentions and solely worshiping Allah SWT, PBB as a movement of Muslim associations and other members of society to realize the ideals that can be donated to all the people of Indonesia.

### ***Islamic Universalism in Education***

Conceptually, religious education in the view of Crescent Star Party (PBB) has the understanding that every student must understand that Islam and science are in a unified whole, and there is no separation (dichotomy) between the two. There is also no separation between religion and state. Islam is a comprehensive way of life oriented to Islamic law that is totalistic. Islam cannot be separated from political life, law, and society. Therefore, a Muslim student should have a perception of the inevitable unity of religion and society, religion and state, or society, and the state must be built based on Islamic values. Humans are in a relationship of interaction between God, nature, and humans who are bound by the principles of faith. That was explained by a PBB politician by stating,

*All Indonesian students understand that the relation between religion and the government or religion and natural phenomena does not need to be separated. So students can learn how God, nature, and humans interact. This concept covers human interaction with God, human interaction with nature, human interaction with other humans so that all aspects of life are influenced by the principles of faith. There is no dichotomy between religion and education. We want to build a religious mindset. If our minds are religious, then our steps automatically will become religious. If everyone is educated so, they also have an ideal religious nuance. (MSKB, 03)*

I see such things in modern *pesantren*. There is a combination of Islam and also real-life, which are taught. The *pesantren* model and curriculum

are good. They have tahfidz, various activities, and compulsory national subjects. Those curricula are combined to avoid monotonous learning. The santri/students must study religion and other general subjects. Those all must be taught, and the learning process cannot be monotonous. Reading the Qur'an and translating it is not enough. This learning process must be combined with other contents. They do know not only Islam but also Indonesia. (AFN, 03)

For PBB, religious education institutions have the responsibility of teaching Islamic doctrine following the Qur'an and Al-Hadith at every level of education proportionally—from elementary to tertiary level. Religious education institutions must also have a way of formulating the epistemology of science to achieve a balance of religious and general education by providing religious teachers in line with the religion of students in public and private schools.

In more detail, PBB internalizes the values of Islamic universalism into the education program as follows: (1) developing the epistemology of science in accordance with Islamic values; (2) balancing religious education material with general education proportionally according to the level of education needs; (3) freeing the education costs for students and the education costs become the responsibility of the government starting from primary to secondary education; (4) seeking cross subsidization from financially-advantaged people with to those who are financially diadvantaged through the right mechanism—doing every effort to reduce the price of textbooks with government subsidies; (5) realizing the quality of education through reforming the education system; seek to increase teacher salaries; (6) always making improvements in school facilities that are convenient and representative, so that students can learn well; (7) conducting comparative studies with countries deemed successful in the field of education, both in the learning materials and methodologies; (7) giving equal treatment to public and private educational institutions including *pesantren*; providing subsidies to *pesantren*; (8) providing religious teachers in accordance with the religion of students in public and private schools by reviewing government regulations that conflict with these principles; (9) preventing apostate by making strict regulations so

that certain public educational institutions, especially private institutions are prohibited from apostating students in open or hidden ways (PBB Education Program, Kompas, 1999).

The implementation of the good and right education is to formulate the epistemology of science according to Islamic values. This concept means that science goes hand in hand with Islamic principles and does not conflict with each other. In fact, Islam and science mutually support and strengthen the faith of Muslim communities. Therefore, in the relation of Islam, science, and school education must be done to make a kind of curriculum integration combining Islam and science suitable to apply in schools. According to PBB, the problem happening right now in the world of education is that education experts and, more specifically, Islamic education have not been able to bridge between Islam and science. The absence of an appropriate methodology that can be used to explain Islam and science as a whole leads to the teaching methods of religion in schools to run individually and partially.

MSKB, 03 explained,

*Today, anyone in the school dares to explain how Islam and science are related? I am sure there is no conflict between Islam and science. But can it be explained comprehensively? For example, about the origin of humans, why only Darwin's theory was introduced, and other theories were not. Students can learn these materials according to the Bible and according to the Qur'an like this. Do people dare to do it?*

PBB expects a balance between religious education material and general education in a proportional and balanced way according to the level of education needs. Students must get knowledge from various perspectives, at least from the perspective of religion and science. The higher the level of one's education, the deeper the religious knowledge and science knowledge of a student.

However, the hope to make religious education in accordance with science is still out of expectation. The problem is because religious education materials are still problematic, uncoherent, and unsystematic ranging

from elementary to tertiary levels. MSKB expressed this concern, “in my opinion; our religious education curriculum has not developed since it is not systematic. For example, elementary school students in grades one, two, three, four, five, and six, do religious lessons develop? The more mature a student is, the higher level he should learn through college. “

The limited development of the religious education system is because education providers are not serious in handling the religious education system. What is intended by the PBB education organizer is the Ministry of Religious as an extension of the central government. In the view of PBB, Godhead, in the first principle of Pancasila, is the people’s mandate given to the state to organize religious education so that people practice their religion in accordance with their respective faiths and beliefs. Therefore, the actual implementation of religious rights and the fulfillment of religious knowledge rights are the responsibility of the state to citizens.

However, according to PBB, the weakness is that the state has not fundamentally understood the problems of religious education and has not comprehended the meaning of Godhead in depth. For example, how is it possible to separate religion from the state while the constitution says that the state is based on the Almighty God, and its implementation is based on law. It was explained by MSKB,

*“On one hand, religious education is important, but on the other hand, the state administrators themselves do not understand religions. They are not connected. A simple example, how a President Jokowi made a speech, ‘Do not associate religion with the state,’ even though the Constitution says that the state is based on divinity. It means he doesn’t understand the law. “*

The government so far has issued enough regulations on national education and religious education. In the Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning National Education System explained about the national education system that must be able to guarantee equal opportunity for education, quality improvement as well as the relevance and efficiency of education management to face challenges in accordance with the changing demands of local, national, and global life so that it is necessary to reform education in planned, directed, and sustainable ways. The impact of this



regulation on Islamic education is that madrasa and public schools the same position in the national education system.

Specifically, in the National Education System Law 20/2003 three articles are directly related to the Islamic education system, namely 1) Article 3 states “the national education aims to develop the potential of students to become human beings who believe in and fear God Almighty, and become noble, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become democratic citizens as well as be responsible”; 2) Article 17 confirms “Equal recognition between MI and SD, MTs with SMP, MA with SMA, and MAK with SMK”; and 3) Article 30 paragraph (1-4).

PP No. 55 of 2007 concerning Religious Education and Religious Education further clarifies the position of religious education within the framework of national education. In addition, in the management of tertiary religious institutions, specifically regarding the establishment of PTAIN, the government regulated it based on a Presidential Decree. Its status is the same as the status of other public tertiary institutions. It is increasingly asserted that the position of Islamic tertiary education and public tertiary institutions has the same status.

However, according to PBB, there is still a fundamental problem in religious education in this country, which was the inconsistency of policies. The impact is that teachers are confused about choosing which sources of regulation are suitable to be used as a guideline in realizing people of faith and piety, competence, creativity, and independence in accordance with the objectives of national education. Teachers’ readiness to teach science with religious vision does not find an exact and clear formula. Realizing a critical and innovative believer and pious man is not only as a slogan but truly conceptualized and programmed thoroughly and intact.

The PBB politician, MSKB, 03, said,

*... state decision-making policies in religious education are out of sync. For example, with the constitution and the education law. What are their policies to realize religious believers? Whether the teachers are ready not to explain it. What is prepared for*

*the implementation of the policy? The implementation of our religious education for elementary school children in grade one is what material is suitable for them, including for second, third, fourth-grade students. Once the higher the school, he understood religion more intact.*

*The mandate of the Constitution is clear. The National Education System Law is also clear about how all religions must be implemented properly by their adherents. I think that's what I've been missing. So the constitutional order is clear, that the state is based on the Godhead, then the practice of religion based on its beliefs and beliefs is free. In the National Education System Law, it is also clear, namely, realizing believers and piety. All are religious orders. The problem is that religious orders are not currently implanted by religious teachers. The one with the other is out of sync.*

Likewise, what AFN, 03, said, "Well, this is what needs to be compared by the authorities and policymakers so that Islam does not seem radical. If I see now, there is a group that deliberately invites Islam to be radical. That is dangerous. "

On the other hand, PBB highlighted the non-development of the religious education curriculum. MSKB said, "Our religious education curriculum is undeveloped and unsystematic. See, for example, the religious education curriculum for elementary school students in grades one, two, three, four, five, six; Have you developed religious lessons? The age the child should be is to introduce the child to more mature material through college. We don't. In fact, there are proposals for religious education to be abolished. It's inconsequential.

It is clear that, as an Islamic party, PBB strongly emphasizes religious education for school-age ranging from PAUD, Kindergarten, Elementary School, Middle School, High School, especially Islamic religious education. For PBB, religious education is very important because it is the basic foundation of the values of Islam that is the reference for our students to come forward in their old age. That's what is recommended, so it's very necessary. (AFN, 03)

### ***Adopting Modernist Islamic Ideas in Education***

PBB feels quite concerned about the increasing religious exclusivism in Indonesian educational institutions. According to the PBB figures, at the beginning of independence, the figures of Islamic modernism had a background of logical and rational thought, then their orientation specifically was towards the Middle East and India of Pakistan, which was more conservative and fundamentalist. Such imported ideology was respected and appreciated even though it was taken from the cultural roots of its people, and it made the indoctrinated generations not recognize their Indonesian national figures.

A PBB figure stresses, "... the current Muslim generation is more preoccupied with Middle Eastern Islamic thought such as Sayyid Qutub with his book *Mallim fi al-Tarikh* or Al-Maududi with his book *Al-Nizam al-Islami al-Nizam al-Jahili*. This ideology only offers them two choices of life, which are *thaghut* (be a disbeliever) and not *thaghut* (be a believer). (YIM, 03). This thought is more radical. Therefore, PBB politicians responded, "indeed there are some things we must protect. At present, Islamic religious education is considered to have started to thicken, begin to strengthen, and seem radical. Now, this radical impression is something we must control and watch out." (AFN, 03)

The phenomenon of Islamic conservatism began to develop in this homeland between The 1970s and 1980s, when America initially recruited young Muslims from various Muslim countries into the Taliban army, fought against Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The CIA, an American intelligence agency, used a strategy to revive the long-lost Khawarij doctrine in the Muslim world and is taught in *halaqa* (a small group discussion) in Afghanistan. After the Soviets were defeated, the former Taliban army returned home with their ideology. They began to lose their enemy and to return to their respective countries with clothes and hats typical of Afghanistan. They then began to spread their ideas or ideology. Some became terrorists, while others brought strange understandings and began to spread widely through the study of *halaqah* (small groups) in their homeland. (YIM, 03)

On the other hand, the development of conservatism was rooted in the dynamics of national politics at the beginning of the New Order. When the Masjumi Party which had been dissolved by the Old Order regime in the 1960s, was prohibited from standing again in the New Order government, its cadres were sent to study in the Middle East through the Indonesian Da'wah Islamiyah Council (DDII) —the da'wah (religious) organization that was founded by the Masjumi figures. Initially, they studied religion to the Middle East, intending to become the successor of Masjumi's ideas and thoughts that were more inclined to Islamic modernism. However, after they returned to their homeland, the Middle Eastern alumni developed a Wahabi-style Islamic conservatism that was affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. Some of them also established PK/PKS and developed *tarbiyah* or educational institutions ranging from elementary to high school.

Through DDII, Masjumi figures published books written by Middle Eastern writers such as Sayyid Qutb and Al-Maududi. These translated books became sources of alternative Islamic da'wah. However, at that time, the New Order under Soeharto was worried about the influence of Masjumi's view by prohibiting the books of Masjumi figures being propagated in schools. The books were distributed to young cadres of Masjumi in the center and the regions. As a result, Islamic literature, which has a conservative and fundamentalist style, is widely read by the public, but not Masjumi's modernist literature. Based on this fact, PBB stated that unconsciously DDII contributed to the formation of conservative Islam in Indonesia. This is explained by YIM,

*... because the Da'wah Council sent so many people to the Middle East, and they went home when the reforms took place, they didn't turn on Masjumi, but they made PKS. The ideology is not Masjumi, but the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood. During the 1970s, it was difficult to disseminate Pak Natsir's books. So a member of the Da'wah Council at that time, Pak Usman Ratibi translated the books of Iqbal, and Al-Maududi, The Way of Life. (YIM, 03)*

According to PBB, efforts that should be made for Islamic education in the future are to formulate a basic curriculum, a handbook used in schools

by transforming modern Islamic thought into school curricula so that religious conservatism is not increasingly spread. The current government seems to have compiled the curriculum, but anyone can write it without involving Islamic organizations, such as the Indonesian Ulema Council, religious mass organizations, and other NGOs, to exercise control over the content written in it. Because of the lack of control, it eventually led to entering “strange religious views” in the curriculum or books.

PBB has indicated that there have been two trends in the development of religious education in schools lately, which have become increasingly radical or increasingly fading. Schools become where the radical view is taught because they are exposed to the notions of exclusivism, which mostly occur in private schools that are given the freedom to make and teach their own curriculum without being detected by the government and society. Teachers are recruited from “freelance teachers” who have only limited knowledge. Schools are also easily exposed to the idea of exclusivism and radicalism because they do not get monitored by the community. In addition, teachers often involve students in political agenda, while the students do not understand what they are actually doing.

AFN exemplified the involvement of several children under twelve years old in the 2019 election. The students and young children were invited to demonstrate and brainwashed that the candidate number one Jokowi was un-Islamic and so on, while candidate number two Prabowo is Islamic. According to AFN,

*In my opinion, that's not good either. The victims were ten under-sixteen-year teens who died needlessly. What does it mean? Indeed, our educators are also terrorists, while children do not yet know the politics. They were told to walk from Tasikmalaya. In my opinion, this kind of education isn't right. This means that their understanding is not yet mature nor extensive. They were forced, “hi, Prabowo is Islamic while Jokowi is not Islamic. We defend Islam “. It is in their mind. They were also encouraged to say that Prabowo was more Islamic, and Jokowi was not that Islamic. We must fight this, whereas both candidates are both Muslim and come from Muslim families. Well, children who did not understand politics were taken into politics (AFN, 03).*

On the other hand, religious education is increasingly marginalized, especially in private schools. The existence of religious education often depends on the willingness of the owner of the educational institution (owner). If the owner is not religious, religious education will tend to be kept away from school. Even recently, there has been an intention to remove religious education from schools because it was accused of being the source of radicalism. The PBB politician explained, “now just look at our tertiary institution, depending on who the owner is. If the owner does not have a religion, he will eliminate religion lessons in college. Not to mention, there is a suggestion that religious education must be abolished, right? (MSKB, 03)

Indonesia is a democratic country based on a Godhead. The first principle of Pancasila elaborated in article 29 of the 1945 Constitution explains that the state guarantees freedom of exercising to form a union as well as to perform beliefs by citizens. Likewise, regarding the hijab, PBB is consistent in that the hijab is a Muslim fashion based on Islamic teachings. All forms of Islamic teachings are guaranteed and protected by the government. Therefore, there should not be a ban on the hijab because it is a form of implementing religious teachings by its adherents. Following is the statement of the PBB leader, “... when there is a ban on headscarves, we say,” You know ... this is a country based on divinity. What is the purpose of the ban on the headscarf? Hijab is a form of religious freedom. (MSKB, 03)

PBB has conducted a trial at one of the leading campuses in this country about how to implement Islamic values in line with the context of Indonesia’s diverse and modern education in order to achieve the balance of science. This method was pioneered and practiced at one of the leading campuses in Indonesia. Unfortunately, the implementation was a deadlock in integrating religious knowledge into the major curriculum in secular sciences at that time. By involving the lecturers of the scientific consortium, it was finally decided to conduct a specialized course to train the professors on how to integrate Islam into the secular sciences. This experience resulted in a perspective that is very much different and far more moderate in interpreting and integrating Islamic teachings on students with diverse background knowledge.

### ***Islamic Education and Nationality***

As explained by MSKB, PBB wants to realize Islamic teachings in the pluralistic community life. PBB has declared the readiness to get involved in coping with the problems faced by Ummah regarding religious orders and prohibitions, which have not been regulated by the state. However, the country also has not accommodated them. PBB is called to make it happen by participating in the discussion of regulations through the constitutional legislative body.

PBB has an interest in realizing the values of Islamic universalism in the context of national and state life. Of course, PBB is intended to harmonize Islam with the nation and the government. One crucial thing to realize the values of Islamic universalism in Indonesia is the first principle of Pancasila—belief in the one and only God. This principle implies that the state guarantees religious freedom. Every citizen is free to practice their religion according to their respective religions and beliefs, and the implementation of religious teachings is protected by law.

As explained by PBB politicians above, the diversity of the community has actually been regulated by law. This arrangement is intended to prevent the imposition of beliefs on religious followers. That is certainly relevant to the context of Indonesia's diverse society. According to PBB politicians, Indonesian people obviously cannot be treated the same, including the matters of religion. MSKB explained,

*We cannot treat humans in the same way. Humans are different since they were born. The differences are something natural. So, there is no need for the term pluralism. The most important thing is that we don't force our beliefs over others. Having a belief is regulated through lawful rules. The state regulates the lives of its citizens and protects the rights of all the people. In my opinion, that is the so-called religious order. (MSKB, 03)*

A PBB politician, MSKB, explained that the exercise of religious freedom could result in a moderate society. This moderate attitude in life is reflected in the lives of Indonesian people who are tolerant and respectful of religious differences. However, in several survey institutions, MSKB

admitted that the level of tolerance of the Indonesian people is considered problematic. The indicators of tolerance and intolerance are determined by whether you are willing to contradict non-Muslims, whether you are willing to accept the knowledge from the West, and whether you are willing to be neighboring with agnostics or adherents of animism. (03)

PBB politicians do recognize the decline of tolerance in the country. However, he hoped that the events of intolerance should not be a big problem. Conflict events in the country do not need to be considered as critical issues; it is only small ripples in the life of the nation, state, and religion. According to the MSKB, crime rates in Indonesia are lower than in other countries. He questioned, "How can you call it intolerance? Let's open the statistics. Precisely, it is the implementation of our religious education for elementary school children in first grade. We really consider what material is suitable for them. The higher the school level is, the more comprehensive the religious understanding will be. "

Furthermore, MSKB explained, "in contexts of Indonesia, what is the issue? In my village, children are not conflicting about religion. Every Sunday they go to church once finished, they played with their Muslim friends. Look at the Muslim kids who go to school in Santa Ursula can wear hijab, and that's normal." MSKB explained that the people who were born in certain areas had not minded the construction-building of the houses of worship other than mosques. Before the 1960s, for example, there was only one temple in his native land, and now there are six temples. Moreover, the temple was built opposite the mosque, and a giant statue was standing next to the mosque. In fact, he said "in our family too, My sister is Jehova sect, and she doesn't salute the national flag. Actually, this is like playing out with Muslims who don't want to salute the flag either. (MSKB, 03)

PBB views that the *pesantren*'s unwillingness to salute the flag is something usual, as happened in one of the *pesantren* in Bogor, West Java. According to PBB, the case of disrespect for the flag did not only occur among Muslims, but it also happened in Christians. He stressed, "salutation for the flag is everyone's belief in religion and the implementation of their



religious beliefs in Indonesia which is guaranteed and protected by law. So don't make it a problem in religious education.

### **PKB: Islamic Education Based on Islamic Boarding Schools and Traditions**

PKB is a political party founded on July 23, 1998, in Jakarta. The establishment of PKB cannot be separated from the role of Indonesia's largest Islamic mass organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). A number of these traditionalist Muslim organization figures initiated the birth of this political party. NU itself has a moderate religious outlook. The most important figure behind the establishment of the PKB was Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur, who was later elected as the first president in the era of democratic reform. It is reasonable that a number of people call this party a political vehicle for NU followers. As a party with a Muslim mass base—the majority of which are sarung or santri community (Islamic boarding school communities), PKB declared itself an open party. The *pesantren* are the basis for PKB's most significant support. It is understandable that compared to several other Islamic parties, PKB has more attention to *pesantren* in its programs and policies.

PKB is considered as a political party with a strong Islamic nuance in the principles of its struggle. It is stated that the principle of the PKB struggle is “dedicating to Allah *Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala*, upholding truth and honesty, upholding justice, maintaining unity, fostering brotherhood and togetherness based on Islamic values of *Ahlussunah Wal Jamaah*” (Article of Association/By-laws article 4, Result of Congress 2014). As a political party, PKB declared itself to be national, democratic, and open (Article 5 of Article of Association/By-Laws). One of the PKB's visions is to realize a just and prosperous society physically and spiritually, as well as materially and spiritually. And one of the PKB missions is in the field of education. The mission of the education sector is “improving the quality of human resources who have noble, independent, skilled and professional character and who are critical of the surrounding social environment; realizing a populist, cheap and sustainable national

education system". The vision and mission of the PKB contains special attention to the religious understanding—not only in terms of worship but also in terms of the implementation of religious values.

### ***Pesantren as a Moderate Educational Prototype***

PKB's attention to aspects of religious life in the country, including one of them in educational institutions, can be seen from some programs and policies that it has done. This party is the most active in the fight for the Santri Day. Aside from being the initiator proposing the *Pesantren* Bill, which was heavily discussed in 2019, PKB previously also had a special agenda that had been prepared in advance. The deputy chair of the PKB faction at commission VIII stated, "PKB already has programs for conferences--education, da'wah, and community empowerments. These three are the main priorities of PKB without ignoring one another." (MD, Party 11).

In the view of PKB, some of the more advanced educational institutions should not have to get any more attention from the government, especially attention in terms of funding. The government is considered better-paying attention to educational institutions in remote areas. According to PKB, noble morals can be shaped through educational institutions. So, education programs are important, and they are dedicated as much as possible to shape humans who have insight into the archipelago of Indonesia and good character. If education is understood more than just formal education, then Da'wah can be categorized as a non-formal education too. One of the programs carried out by PKB surely is Islamic-related education.

In the context of Islamic education, PKB continues to encourage the government to immediately prepare academic texts to continue the idea of the expansion of the Directorate General of Education and Islam (Ditjen Pendis) Ministry of Religion Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. According to PKB, this division is very important for the development of Islam in Indonesia. Currently, the Directorate General of Islamic Education has exceeded the capacity both in duties and the number of employees. PKB sees that Islamic religious education is part of the

nation's pillars (dpr.go.id, the idea of the directorate general to develop Islamic religious education).

PKB has a view that religious education is a breath in Indonesian society to have nationalism, to love the motherland, and to become good citizens. In the context of general education, religious education content must take part in not only teaching the worshipping practices, but also empowering the actualization of noble morals, character education, and so on. Its implementation in fields can be formalized or strengthened in da'wah. One of the PKB's concentrations on the world of education was demonstrated by the initiation of passing the *Pesantren* Bill and its involvement in factions and governments for education.

PKB demonstrates the importance of the budget mechanism in the world of education in several statements in the mass media. One of which is Daniel Johan's statement as the PKB's DPP deputy secretary-general. He stated that PKB would be very grateful if trusted to be in charge of the position of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) in the Jokowi administration period II. Daniel also explained that PKB would try to improve the quality of education with the existing budget. There needs to be a breakthrough in the field of education so that the output of education is not only oriented to rote learning but also oriented to the heart, courage, skills, and creativity. (pkb.id/pkb would be grateful if trusted to lead the ministry of education). In terms of religious education, PKB wants to improve the quality and reputation of *pesantren* (Islamic boardings schools) so that they can develop progressively. PKB believes that Islamic boarding schools, in both formal and informal educational institutions, can produce a beautiful generation that will make an excellent contribution to the Indonesian homeland.

### ***Cultural Accommodations and Moderatism***

Since it was formed, PKB has paid particular attention to the world of education. One PKB Something Wild stated, "education is the main program of PKB. Even since PKB's first conference, education has become one of the core issues in the PKB GBPP (Party Struggle Outline), which was decided at the highest forum. At the conference, there is always a

special discussion about education that is one of our concerns. Why? The reason is that education is the main key to have a developed nation, have excellent human resources, win building Indonesian civilization, and win the global competition. According to PKB's GBPP, we will not win the global competition or create a good civilization, if we don't have a great education system then. The fact is that we still find gaps in terms of religious education quality between the bona fide educational institutions and those which are not; those that are in villages and cities; those are public and private"(HW, Party 11).

The main concern of PKB in the world of education is a portrait that PKB carries out one of the functions of political parties, namely political socialization, as well as providing political education. The main concern in the world of education must be accompanied by the efforts of political parties in the intellectual life of the nation, even though through informal education. These efforts are the responsibility of political parties as well as to educate the nation's life.

The PKB, which is based on Pancasila and was founded by Kiayis following the Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah, involves all groups who have an interest in resolving issues related to religious education in Indonesia. One of the efforts made was to encourage the *Pesantren* Bill and Religious and Religious Education. One of the speakers stated that there must be cooperation with the state to solve the inequality of (education). PKB is involved in processing the Act, including the substance, besides, of course, not forgetting the formal one. PKB helps the government study it all. MD said, "Even though *pesantren* are regulated by law, the state must not intervene in the *pesantren* curriculum unless the lessons about the Unitary Republic of Indonesia or the love of the Indonesian archipelago." (MD, Party 11).

Similarly, a board member of DPP (Central Board) of PKB. NE, Partai 11, said;

*The PKB proposal is in the form of the Madrasa and Pesantren Education Bill (the first name of the PKB academic paper). Why is the name, not religious education? The government needs to strengthen madrassas, which are not only running the*

*regular hours but also providing any religious assembly, and the government facilitates these all through the Madrasa Bill. The government must do adequate controls for education in every region. In this case, the Ministry of Religious Affairs becomes the institution responsible for conducting this initiative not only for Islam but also for all religions. “*

PKB sees that from the State Budget (APBN) in the National Education System Law, only 20 percent is for education. Furthermore, PKB questioned what percentage out of the 20-percent budget is allocated for religious education. It is very little, even though this education is for all students at every educational level. According to PKB, education is also understood as equality. This equality means that all educational institutions are equal before the government. However, in terms of budget allocation, equality of education is not yet visible. Not only public education institutions but also religious education institutions also do not get the portion expected by PKB.

According to the PKB, the challenge of educational institutions also lies in the efforts or potential infiltration of non-moderate Islamic movements. Non-moderate Islamic movements that are widely spread in the school or campus are considered more effective and also become a strong doctrine. “I think the indoctrination is strong because of the intensity of the meeting, and sometimes there are those who understand and practice it so that it becomes a daily perspective or guide. Some are only pursuing values, for example, the important thing is that the value is good, and that’s all ”(NE, Party 11). The indoctrination of religious knowledge infiltrated through intra-school or extra-campus. The formal educational institutions must be informed about how they should not only take formal issues or focus on formal classes but also concern about other aspects.

Speaking about the views of political parties on the ideal portrait of religious education, one of the speakers explained, “Education must be able to integrate the concepts of long-life education into religious education. We do not yet have the precise blueprint needed by this nation, based on all--the plurality of our diversity. There must be a blueprint that breaks through the linearity of the Islamic education system in

Indonesia. We are a bit of uniformity, and there is the concept of link and match. Now the world of education must match the labor markets “. HW, Party 11

### ***Pesantren and Budget Strengthening***

The programs that have been carried out by PKB refer to the importance of the political presence of the budgeting for education, especially religious education. Since the last five years, PKB has made a program called its name 'Go to School.' So PKB members go to schools, and some DPR members from FPKB teach in high school and vocational school. It is an informal duty at this party, and the general chairperson always emphasizes it. The PKB politician said, "Why was the budget politics given is rather large? Because they are lagging not only in terms of the budget (these schools) but also infrastructure. Therefore, PKB must provide sufficient budget allocations for religious education institutions "(HW, Party 11). The PKB policy on religious education can also be seen when these political parties reject a full-day school. The reason for the refusal is that a full-day school will suppress schools that are already running. One of the PKB central administrators stressed, "PKB is also active in conducting socialization and absorbing the aspirations of religious education institutions such as pesantren, related to the pesantren bill. In addition, the PKB became a party asking for the abolition of laws and regulations that made the dichotomy and put the position of religious education institutions under general education "(HW, Party 11).

PKB has exceptional attention to the politics of the education budget, not only the position but also in terms of the budget. PKB conducted instructions to all faction members starting from the district/city DPRD to increase the budget. Many public schools are managed by the private sector and not the state; there are also many religious institutions under the private sector, compared to the state. The portion of the budget for public schools is small. Still, in the Ministry of Religious Affairs, there can be more for the private sector. Therefore budget politics in the direction of the PKB struggle.

During the period 2019-2024, PKB claimed to concentrate on three things; 1) education, 2) social economy or small economy, 3) social da'wah.

All three are claimed to be the subjects of the PKB struggle, including the current Pesantren Bill, which is being discussed and fought for. PKB explained that the bill as the key to building a nation starting from education. Regarding education, PKB Chairperson Muhaimin Iskandar and all DPW administrators throughout Indonesia held an audience with the president. In the hearing, PKB requested that 20% of the funds not be allocated to educational institutions, both private and state, that were already of high quality. PKB requested that these funds be specifically allocated to educational institutions that are still underdeveloped and lack infrastructure.

The next PKB policy in responding to religious education can be seen from the actions taken by this faction and the legislative policy. "Cak Imin also often related to the budget that must be given to pesantren. Meanwhile, the online rubric is disseminated through the Ministry of Communication and Information because online dissemination is not visible. Kiyai in the village became the front guard to keep the nationality safe and peaceful, and they also keep guarding the Republic of Indonesia" (NE, Partai 11). Regarding the upcoming political agenda in the field of education, the Pesantren Bill becomes the focus of PKB. "I think the most tolerant education that does not eliminate local wisdom, instead accommodates the local wisdom. This way becomes the power to Da'wah". (NE, Party 11)

PKB's attention to religious education can also be seen from the actions carried out by PKB, "PKB is fighting for the Pesantren Bill and so on because as I said, quantitatively more numbers of private education institutions are initiated by pesantren based on NU and Muhammadiyah. Besides, HTI also has pesantren units. However, will the government help HTI pesantren units? In the Pesantren Bill, it is clear that Indonesian Islam must co-exist with Pancasila, and the Republic of Indonesia is absolute. If a pesantren belongs to terrorists, it must be shut down". HW, Party 11

### ***Nationalism and Radicalism in Religious Education***

Having the formation of the *Pesantren* Bill and its process, One PKB resource person stated that maintaining the Republic of Indonesia

should not be with a narrow view. It must have a national insight. He said, "The definition of *pesantren* in the *Pesantren* Bill must be clear in its articles. There must also be an article regulating the independence of *pesantren*, the state must not intervene in the *pesantren* curriculum, except the lesson about the Republic of Indonesia ". (MD, Party 11)

PKB's views and responses to religious education are also elaborated with an understanding of character, attitudes, and others. Then this began to be questioned again by PKB whether public education institutions had a focus of attention on this or not. Does public education teach discipline, love for the motherland, and so on? The answer is to teach. PKB looks at the phenomenon of integrative Islamic schools that try to be a bridge between religious education that focuses on shaping individuals, and in general education, the language is excellent human beings.

Regarding violence packaged in the name of religion, PKB considers building places of worship as part of tolerance. The principle that must be upheld is justice. PKB views that problems of that can be resolved formally whether or not state intervention needs to be done. Many houses of worship have not been completed, even though there is already a decree of three ministries. The phenomenon that young people are exposed to a wrong understanding of religion can be seen as the impact of a long process. It has happened a long time ago, and there is a system omission.

Basically, PKB views that religious practices such as wearing hijabs and other practices are welcome, as long as there is no compulsion. The PKB initiation related to the Madrasa and *Pesantren* Bill was one of the responses to minimize radicalism. Long before there was formal education, the *pesantren* had already been established. According to NE, "Today we see *pesantren* that have not modernized themselves with formal education, many have gone bankrupt. However, it is different from East Java; the modernization of *pesantren* units have been integrated with formal education. Another phenomenon of our education is that people prefer to open the internet and get inappropriate content is that because



of the difficulty of finding a good teacher. It is what fosters radicalism. “ (NE, Party 11)

PKB states that they have a role in minimizing radicalism and so on. PKB certainly rejects radicalism, violence, and so on. However, it must be confirmed that radicalism, terrorism, HTI, and other the right movements are not produced by religion-based educational institutions. “Please check whether the average terrorist is a *pesantren* alumnus or religious education institution? I am convinced that precisely those exposed to radicalism and right-wing Islam actually come from public education institutions. Now, it needs to be improved for the curriculum of religious education, both those for religious education institutions or general education institutions “. (HW, Party 11)

### ***Contemporary Issues in the Frame of Religious Education***

One of the things that became the focus and attention of PKB regarding contemporary issues that occurred in Indonesia was the issue of gender equity. Regarding women’s involvement in politics, PKB is one of the parties that strongly support women’s involvement in the public sphere. In the 30-percent-quota scheme for legislative candidates, PKB has implemented it according to the mandate of the Law on political parties. However, one of the interviewees stated that he did not quite agree on the 30 percent quota mechanism. “Providing quota for female legislative candidates elaborates as if women have no intelligence, so they are given a privilege in the form of minimum quotas. The woman’s intelligence is even greater than that of men, so leave the competition as it is. I think females have some advantages of political ability. They tend to be more soothing and strengthens other state elements.” (MD, Party 11)

Another speaker added that PKB had finished with the issue of women’s involvement in the political sphere. PKB’s support is shown through a large number of female PKB politicians/political actors who occupy positions in the political world of government, both as chair of factions, governors, deputies, deputy mayors, and so on. Regarding the role of women in the world of work, the interviewees argued that

the work was based on “the basic principle of work is not based on the genders. This is indistinguishable work for men and women “. (HW, Party 11)

As the portrait of wearing the veil for women in the world of work, there should not be an exclusion of women in the realm of work. Wearing the veil is a woman’s right, and there should be no compulsion to wear it or take it off. What is important for PKB is that whoever is a female Indonesian citizen who wears a veil; she is still the Republic of Indonesia.

Another speaker from PKB argued that although we live in a democratic realm, sometimes we face systems that prioritize more interests of the market and others so that the interests of women and men are ignored. All of the aspects are market-oriented. However, recently there has been a shift in the direction of the large number of women occupying the public sphere. There are also a number of *pesantren* that are more moderate, respect, and support the position of women in the public world. Regarding women’s political participation in the public world, one of the speakers said, “I have come to study women about their political views regarding the election. “I was surprised that they answered ‘politics is important.’ Then I asked why? They answered because everything was produced from politics like road construction was the result of the government from the political process. So these women actually actively vote instead of being abstentions “. (NE, Party 11)

In addition to gender issues in contemporary phenomena, PKB also observes violent acts that occur in the name of religion and conflicts that occur due to the construction of houses of worship. According to the PKB, building places of worship is all about tolerance. As long as society upholds the principle of justice, it will not be a problem with establishing places of worship, including places of worship in public schools.

Applying the values of tolerance, PKB has a firm stance on issues related to the establishment of places of worship. “For me, there are indeed problems that can be resolved formally by state interference, and some are not. Regarding the construction of a worship building,

there is still a conflict in Depok, although a Joint Decree of 3 Ministers has been issued. In my opinion, it is because the establishment of places of worship is considered an expansion. Now is there a religion that is not expanding? That needs to be answered “. (HW, Party 11). The establishment of places of worship, according to PKB, is a normal thing, as long as it is based on the right procedures of the regulation. In fact, the most important principle is that the regulation covers the freedom of people to practice religion and the ease of practicing their shari’ah. According to PKB, if people had an awareness of this issue, then they would not object to its establishment, whether in a public place such as a mall or other sites.

PKB believes that not everything must be brought into the formal realm of the law. Some social problems in the community can be resolved by existing social agreements. One of the speakers stated that;

*PKB avoids a formalistic religious approach. Why? Because our Islamic approach is socio-cultural, not political structural. PKB confirms that religious education must be implemented in line with character education, although there is also religious education, which affects some people who want to be seen pious. To overcome the phenomenon of violence in the name of religion, of course, we must improve the quality of religious education institutions. One of the speakers explained the importance of religious education in contributing to solve issues in the community. All educational institutions must be strengthened based on religious education for all religions. (MD, Party 11)*

As a political party that has exceptional attention in the field of religious education, PKB views that the budget for education needs to be increased. The main budget for schools that are still underdeveloped, and have inadequate facilities and infrastructure. The budget for Islamic boarding schools is still low even though *pesantren* units have a lot of contribution to the community. However, it does not lead the government to provides a sufficient budget for them. PKB believes that its cadres need to fight for and focus on budget politics for the education sector, especially *pesantren* and other religious education institutions.

PKB participation in overseeing budget politics can be understood that the planning stages of policymaking require political participation, both from the political superstructure of the government (executive, legislative) and from the government's political infrastructure (parties, communities, interest groups, and others). PKB political participation in public policymaking is part of the political dynamics of the government. (Samuel Huntington and Joe Nelson: 1994).

PKB actualized this kind of political participation through representatives of its cadres in parliament, in government and political parties and Islamic mass organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). PKB believes that the additional budget to the education sector, especially *pesantren* institutions, will help protect the Republic of Indonesia from the potential of radicalism, and it can become the solution of unity. Moderate religious education needs to be taught and understood through curriculums in existing religious and public education institutions.

Regarding one of the PKB programs in da'wah (missionary), PKB takes part in attempting to minimize radical notions. According to PKB, da'wah must also be adjusted to a particular era. PKB is sure that the integration between technological advancement and da'wah is important. Therefore they also provide suggestions to the ministry of communication and informatics so as this ministry can participate in minimizing radical view through the dissemination of good information content on the internet. Religious content is packaged in moderate values so that it can be understood by all groups. Islamic moderation needs to be promoted so that the ideas of the ultra-rightist or ultra-leftist are increasingly widespread. This has been pursued by PKB with three major agendas, namely education, missionary, and community empowerment.

### **PAN: Inclusive Religious Education and Religious Characteristic Building**

PAN is one of the political parties that was born from the reform euphoria, which became the spirit of democratization in Indonesia in the middle of 1998—declared by 50 reform figures on August 23, 1998,

at Istora Senayan Jakarta. The political party, which was founded by Muhammadiyah officials and some activists, had the principle of “Moral Politics Based on Religion that Brings Grace to the universe.” (<https://www.pan.or.id>) This political party makes religion the moral and ethical foundation of the nation and state that respects human dignity and diversity in fighting for people’s sovereignty, social justice, and a better national life to realize Indonesia as a prosperous, advanced, independent, and dignified nation (<https://www.pan.or.id>).

Article 4 of the Article of Association/ By-laws emphasizes that “PAN is a political party in Indonesia that is open, pluralistic, and independent.” One implementation of this principle is the structure of the party management at the central board or the regional levels consisting of a combination of figures from various ethnicities, religions, races, and groups. The plurality of PAN shows that the party bearing the sun in blue is a modern party that is plural and inclusive. It can be considered as a reflection of Indonesia’s diversity that upholds the principle of unity in diversity, meaning that we are one people despite differences. (Sutipyo and Asmawi, 1999: 160)

Written in Article 5 of the Article of Association/By-Laws, the religiosity established by PAN is firm that “the identity of this party is to uphold the religious morality and humanity.” This explains that PAN uses religious values as the foundation of the movement integrated with the values of Pancasila. It aims to “uphold people’s sovereignty, justice, material, and spiritual progress” (Article of Association/By-Laws of PAN Chapter III article 6).

As a party that was born due to the process of reform, PAN’s history and platform cannot be separated from the spirits of renewal to realize a civilized society in Indonesia. One of its strategies can be realized through efforts to strengthen the education sector, which is one of the focuses and objectives of PAN’s struggle. This struggle is reflected in the platform of the party about education.

As one of the founders of the party, Amien Rais stated that the establishment of PAN was intended as political *ijtihad* (political struggle)

to keep fighting for, protecting democracy, and completing reform agendas through a political party platform. One of the intended agendas is to incorporate civic education not only in general academic education but also in religious education and character education. Civic education is an investment to prepare human resources with desired capabilities so that the next generation can understand and provide solutions to the emerging issues of this nation (Rais: 1998: 253-255).

PAN was one of the political parties that initiated the National Education System Law in 2003. This party even became one of the teams that compiled the draft of the National Education System Bill before it was passed into law in July 2003. The dispute of pros and cons was emerging along with the implementation of the Act which was elaborated thoroughly on several Laws and Government Regulations such as Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 14 of 2005 concerning Teachers and Lecturers, Government Regulation Number 19 of 2005 concerning National Education Standards, Indonesian Ministry of Education Regulation No. 12 of 2006 concerning Content Standards for Primary and Secondary Education Units, Government Regulation of Republic of Indonesia Number 55 2007 concerning Religious Education and Religious Education, PMA of the Republic of Indonesia Number 16 of 2010 concerning Management of Religious Education in Schools, and PMA of the Republic of Indonesia Number 13 of 2014

Regarding Islamic Religious Education. Succeeding in passing the multiple regulations on religious education, PAN did not dampen the attempts to continue to pay more attention to improve the quality of education in Indonesia related to the curriculum, facilities, and infrastructure, teacher qualities, and other relevant issues.

### ***Reviewing the Management of Religious Education***

PAN is a political party that fights for values of reform, and it is developed by some national figures to consistently run its functions as a political party both for electoral interests and for values in vision and mission. Miriam Budiardjo explained that one of the political party functions is a means of political communication with a combination of interest aggregation

and interest articulation, which will formally be processed into a policy formulation and a policy proposal. This policy formulation and proposal are automatically part of a political party program to be fought for and delivered to the government either through the legislative process in the legislative body or directly through party cadres in the government (Budiardjo, 2005; 163).

To carry out these functions, PAN has a fairly neat communication mechanism both to the constitution and to the government. It is proven by the constant success of PAN to put its cadres in the legislature as well as the executive and other state institutions. In the past five elections, PAN could always fulfill the parliamentary threshold because the acquisition of its votes is always stable, and it only experiences some fluctuating results of the obtained votes. Those are not too significant.

As a political party that carries religious-nationalist ideology, all PAN ideals are rooted in religious, humanitarian, and pluralistic morals. These ideals are clearly stated in the Article of Association/By-laws of PAN Chapter V Article VII point 1 that the efforts will be made to achieve the party's goal by "building Indonesian society based on religious morals, democratic principles, and human rights," then at point 4 by "building Indonesian people who can master and apply science and technology for the welfare of the nation and mankind"(he Article of Association/By-laws of PAN). The objectives above illustrate that: "... PAN gives special attention to education. The national education system must be able to stimulate the growth of good character, independence, and creativity."(AHN, Party 01)

Indications that PAN is a party that has great attention on the issue of education, including the context of religious education is the encouragement given by PAN to the *Pesantren* Bill, which is being discussed at the DPR RI and is waiting to be ratified immediately. The bill was part of a study conducted by commission VIII, where the chairman came from the PAN faction. In 2003 PAN was a political party, which was the most important part of the drafting of the National Education System Law.

Having a closely-related-Muhammadiyah background, PAN always plays an active role in innovating policy innovations related to education, not

only for a certain religion (Islam) but also for all religions. Religious education for this blue party is a basic need. After all, it is directly related to shaping the character of the nation's generation because it requires the involvement of all parties to be able to evaluate and innovate so that educational goals are not only related to academic issues but also related to moral issues in the community and national life. This was illustrated by a chairman of the PAN DPP who is also a member of the Indonesian Parliament that:

*PAN encourages the change of the education system to be more open to all religions. Thus, it is important to encourage religious education to correlate with character education not only in terms of theory but also in practice. For example, the teacher practices tolerance and teaches the meaning of tolerance. In addition to the school environment at home as well. The quality of schools must support this. For example, schools can help teachers be able to monitor their students by managing a proper number of students in one class. (DR, Party 01)*

From the perspective of PAN, the ideal education system must be open and not divided into the rigid categorization of education types. The world needs well-integrated scientific integration to be able to produce students who have character and are ready to face the changing times. So far, the current crucial issue is how the type of education in Indonesia is divided into religious education and general education. Religious education is again further divided into religious education managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and that in public schools managed by the Ministry of National Education. It even still distinguishes religious education managed by public schools and private schools. This classification shows how the religious education system in Indonesia has not yet found a comprehensive format (AHN, Party 01).

In fact, an effective and comprehensive education formula was once implemented in the form of the establishment of the Insan Scholar School (SIC) by BJ. Habibie. In these institutions, the integration of religious education and science is robust and can produce alumni who are well established in the field of technology but have a strong character and religious expertise. For PAN, the integration model is ideal and should be



developed more widely in many other educational institutions, both public and private. The speakers explained:

*... we haven't found a comprehensive formula. Yet, I think Mr. Habibie's breakthrough was very interesting regarding the establishment of MAN Insan Cendikia (Islamic High School of Scholars). Unfortunately, this school seemed to stop. Regardless of its current condition, I think it was ideal because the school was based entirely on religious and scientific atmosphere. Base on history, we learn that many innovative scientists were Hafidz Qur'an (person memorizing the Qur'an) too. Therefore, the education system should be like the ideal above. We can say that religion is now a specialization to master profoundly but I don't think people have stayed away from it since the foundation of religion is essential. (AHN, Party 01)*

In the context of the (global) future, revitalization and innovation of governance and models of Islamic education institutions can be understood from efforts to pull Islamic education institutions from the old fashion it used to be. Religious education should ideally be developed more broadly so that it can play a greater role in community development. Therefore, Islamic educational institutions face the challenge of integrating the values of religious teachings in science and technology. In this context, religious education must provide students with adequate mastery of science and technology and graduates with distinctive competence (Rahim, 2005: 30).

In addition to system innovation, the issue regarding the authority of the management of educational institutions also receives considerable attention because it is directly related to the problems of budget and government supervision. According to PAN, religious education stuff should be managed by the ministry in charge of education, not the ministry dealing with religion. The management of religious education in the Ministry of Religious Affairs automatically makes the budget for the needs of the management of religious education very small. The conditions will be different if the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education manages this religious education (YS, Party 01).

According to PAN politicians, the issue of religious education managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs affects the ministry of religion's concentration on religious matters. Not to mention, a small budget leads this ministry to focus more on the problems of religious education institutions, not on its main tasks such as religious education and religious community functions that are not optimal (ATP, Party 01). It is allegedly making the potential for radicalism to emerge. Because the ministry of religion is not optimally dealing with the crucial religious issues in society, but instead is busy dealing with religious education in the context of the institution, and it is not the substance (ATP, Party 01).

The idea of transferring the authority of the management of religious education from the Ministry of Religious Affairs is a fairly complicated issue, given that historically, the establishment of this ministry (formerly known as the Department of Religion) was a tough political decision at the beginning of independence as an extension of the pros and cons of using the Jakarta charter as a reference for groups Islam which uses Islam as the foundation of the State. The Department of Religion was formed as a political decision from the rejection of the Jakarta Charter by BPUPKI. The establishment of a department that specifically handled the issues related to religion was intended to protect religious freedom in Indonesia, maintain harmonious relations among different religious communities, especially those dealing with Muslim religious issues, such as Islamic education, marriage, pilgrimage, da'wah, and managing religious justice (Lapidus, 1999; 340). Historically, this Department of Religion intensively fought for the politics of Islamic education in Indonesia. The orientation of the Department of Religion in the field of Islamic education relied on efforts to implement the aspirations of Muslims so that Islamic education was taught in educational institutions at all levels of education, from primary education to the level of Islamic higher education.

As this is a very important aspect, the government should pay special attention and support to the transferring authority between the two ministries above. The number of religious education institutions in Indonesia, especially those private institutions, should make religious life in society better. However, the opposite happened precisely because

too many private religious education institutions made it difficult for the state to control it. It happens because these institutions are independent. A similar thing was stated by a PAN DPP executive who said:

*So far, in terms of religious education, we are still expecting the full role of Islamic boarding schools and madrassas in Indonesia. However, actually, the main problem is whether the government can support the budget provision for Islamic boarding schools. In terms of government policy, we can see a comparison of allocated budgets between general education and religious education. As far as I know, religious education receives still far lower funds than those of general education does. Regarding the budget allocation, it is educational policy. So far, the government has done more for general education than for religious education (SPD, Party 01).*

The issue of insufficient budgeting becomes a serious problem for PAN politicians. If the government pays more attention to the maximum needs of religious education institutions such as *madrassas* and *pesantren*, then there will be a symbiosis of mutualism between the interests of the government in controlling the substance of religious education and the interests of educational institutions as overseen providers. Further stated:

*Now the budget issue has implications for improving the quality of education because if the teacher is paid properly, the facilities are good like a laboratory, a place for extracurricular activities, all these things will become very positive additions. If the budget is properly allocated, the government can also intervene in government programs into the boarding schools, for example, inclusive education, tolerance education, understanding diversity in the context of national and state life. Besides, *pesantren* can educate students who understand about creating jobs, entrepreneurship, etc. Another problem is that as soon as the students leave the Islamic boarding schools, their religious ability may be very good, but their work skills are still not necessarily the same as one *pesantren* with other *pesantren*. Education is liberation, so after finishing their education, they are supposed to be free from backwardness and free themselves from poverty by creating their own jobs. In the UNESCO concept, education is supposed to prepare students not just with the skills of how to live but also how to live together with others. (SPD, Party 01)*

The explanation above was stated by the source person because they saw how *pesantren* alumni who were experts in religious knowledge became unable to interact with different communities after graduating from *pesantren*. It was because they did not have special skills, and this phenomenon resulted in new problems of unemployment. According to PAN, this may trigger social isolation, and it has the potential to disrupt social stability.

Talking about the issue of the religious education content in public schools that seem symbolic and formalistic was allegedly a problem because there was no specific allocation of religious education. It happened because of the inherent religious studies in the school curriculum, and they are treated the same as other subjects. The related matters are described explicitly: “in my opinion, the religious education in public schools is still formalistic, ... the religious lessons also take the small number of hours of subjects per week and ... not to mention, what is taught at school is not intact practiced in school. And of course, there is no budget for religious education in public schools, and that is just integration” (SPD, Party 01).

The statement above assumes that automatically, when religious studies in public schools are equivalent to other lessons, then the treatment will be the same, even though lessons on religion need more attention because it relates to the diversity of beliefs which is the source of conflict, especially when finding a moment of collision. This phenomenon makes religious subjects less prioritized and easily ignored. As a result, certain groups take advantage of the lack of religious implementation of students (Muslims) by forming study groups as extra-curricular activities which are not inherent in the curriculum. It is where the potential for radicalism appears socialized both directly and indirectly to students (AHN, Party 01). On the other hand, the management of religious education in special religious education institutions stands under the authority of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which has a small budget, but with a massive problem object.

Students' need for religious knowledge is more positively correlated with the efforts of certain groups to spread religious understanding from different sides. It is done with an interesting methodology and is packaged

in religious symbols in general, so it does not look suspicious for the school and parents.

### ***Idealism Model of Religious Education in Indonesia***

Although there is no formal party policy related to the issue of religious education, as a political party that has special attention in the field of education, PAN considers religious education to be ideally integrated with education as a whole. The integration meant here is how the values contained in religious education, such as character, good character, humanity, and others, also become the values of the system, model, and the smallest parts of education.

Education is essentially liberation, “education means liberation from ignorance, confinement, backwardness, and poverty. Of course, education is supposed to teach us how we can determine ourselves independently” (SPD / Party 01). With this philosophy, it becomes vital for the government and all parties concerned to take full advantage of how the world of education can achieve its goals well. PAN highlights how religious education can contribute greatly to shaping characters in which there must be a close relationship between religious education and character education for students (DR / Party 01).

PAN takes an active position as a party that actively supports to pass the *Pesantren* Bill and Religious and Religious Education immediately. It should be done by PAN considering a loophole used by certain groups that infiltrate student activities to spread new ideas that are not in line with national values. In this case, PAN believes that any activities with possible radical views will automatically be marginalized when educational institutions can be controlled by the government. One of the ways offered by PAN is through the bill because it is related to the status, budget, and providing adequate educational facilities for students and the committee of educational institutions. Furthermore, it is explained that:

*Now the budget issue has implications for improving the quality of education because if the teacher is paid properly, the facilities are good like a laboratory, a place for extracurricular activities, all these things will become very positive additions. If the budget*

*is properly allocated, the government can also” intervene in government programs” into the boarding schools, for example, inclusive education, tolerance education, understanding diversity in the context of national and state life. Besides, pesantren can educate students who understand about creating jobs, entrepreneurship, etc. (SPD, Party 01)*

As cited from [tirto.id](http://tirto.id), Saleh Daulay, as the deputy secretary-general PAN considered that the budget of the madrasa *diniyah* (non-formal Islamic education institution) needs special attention from the government. According to Saleh, the government has paid more attention to the general education budget rather than religious education. In fact, according to him, madrasa *diniyah* has become a successful religious character-education institution in Indonesia. Saleh further explained that:

The MoRA (Ministry of Religious Affairs) budget cannot cover the needs of all Islamic education institutions in Indonesia. It is because the Ministry of Religion is not autonomous in budget management. Though there are many Islamic schools, from *ibtidaiyah* (Islamic elementary school) to campus and from the state to the private institutions, ... research funding for Islamic universities is a maximum of only 2 billion rupiahs. “Public campuses can be at Rp. 10 billion, even hundreds of billions,” therefore, Saleh suggested that there be a special discussion on the religious education budget at Commission VIII. (<https://tirto.id/cwcr>).

Still related to budget issues, the head of commission VIII DPR RI stated that:

*In regulating the interfaith relations and relations between the religious community and the government, it is important to measure religious budget interventions that are important for religious teachers, printing the Qur’an, printing the Gospel, etc. The state intervenes in the context of public policies, budgets, and regulations. The government must take part without being reluctant to explain the difference between religion and faith—religion tends to be religious organizations or religious formation meanwhile faith talks about religious substance and the authority of the ulama, which is not the authority of the bureaucracy. Therefore, the Ministry of Religious Affairs has reformed Islamic education into three processes. Firstly, Islamic*

*higher education focuses on leading students to be independent for the nation and state. Secondly, madrasa education so that it is fostered. Thirdly, both private and state Islamic boarding schools should be promoted through Pesantren Bill “(ATP, Party 01)*

In addition to regulating the community, especially the internal and external relations of religious communities, the government must also pay more serious attention to the use of religious symbols properly because this symbol is depicted as the foremost display of value. It is clearly stated that,

*... what is needed now is value, that is, intrinsic value and extrinsic value that are one, ... symbols without substance will lose their meaning. Identity politics is necessary, but identity is championed without substance will lose the prophetic message. It can lead to symbolization that a Muslim is expected to be a good Muslim because being a good Muslim is a symbol of religion and substance. That’s the most important part of religious substance. “ (ATP / 01)*

The substance in this context is how religious learning and education can build one’s quality instead of causing problems. This quote illustrates it: “here when someone memorizes 30 juz (30 sections of the Qur’an), he goes home and may become unemployed. If he is not given an opportunity, then radicalism will occur. Of course, this does not always happen like that” (ATP / 01)

According to PAN, the ideal collaboration between religious substance and symbols becomes very important because that is where values will appear and become a reference for the community. There were a lot of riots and exposure to radicalism because of the unification of the diffusion and acculturation values of religion in the community. Then, the interpretations about religion became too open, and they were often misunderstood until differences emerged and triggered the potential for public unrest.

### ***Good-Charactered Generation: Indicated Success of Religious Education***

As an open party promotes pluralism and responds to the many problems emerging in the world of education related to religious life in society, PAN

emphasizes to prioritize tolerance and the provision of sufficient media for students to implement the religious values that they believe freely but under government control. Furthermore, it is explained:

*The religious study hours are only 2 hours and cannot be added anymore. What the school must do is to facilitate students so that the two hours given can be optimal, and this lesson can be a media for shaping student character. It applies to all religions with the daily religious knowledge method, and tolerance will be formed by itself as the character education for students is successful automatically. (DR, Party 01)*

Tolerance, in this case, is based on the principle of diversity and mutual respect “ the tolerance that we must apply is based on what the prophet teaches, of course—*lakum dinikum waliyadin* (to you your religion, to me my religion). This notion is set into the life of this nation” (DR, Party 01). The implementation of religious tolerance that is consistently done must be appropriately monitored so that there is no exclusivity of certain religions just because it is the majority. Therefore, PAN believes that teachers must be smart at teaching about universality.

On another occasion, a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives from PAN faction stated, “to respond to the efforts of emerging radicalism, we must first look at the roots. It can be injustice or lack of attention or social, economic, and political discrimination. They feel marginalized so that they look for opportunities or accommodations. Some of the accommodations are doctrine, and finally, they committed acts of radicalism. They just want to go into heaven by committing suicide bombings “(YS, Party 01). The feeling of being treated fairly is a basic need of every human being without exception, and the government must solve it. He more firmly said, “as long as there are people who are marginalized or treated unfairly in the economy and law, they will find their own path. Indonesia has so many diverse people. If it is not organized and resolved, then radicalism cannot be eradicated ”(YS, Partai 01).

For PAN, facing radical movements must be done simultaneously. It is not enough just to catch the culprit because the root of the problem is not solved. Persuasive efforts must be made for people or groups suspected of



being perpetrators or exposed to radical views. “We do not stay away from radical people; we invite them to chat instead. I have many friends with such characteristics. Some even forbade the DPR (the Indonesian House of Representatives), and I did not feel offended anyway. I still make friends with them, and some say that the government is a *thaghut* (disbeliever). We must investigate this matter without fighting it”(YS, Party 01).

Another emerging issue in the community is directly related to the religious attitudes of certain groups. This issue is resolved seriously by PAN without excessive attitudes. According to PAN, religious expression is the right of every person, and no one can prohibit it unless it has raised serious problems such as becoming terror or threatening national integration.

One of the issues which were quite lively to be discussed is the policy of having to wear Muslim clothing in schools on certain days like what happened in Karangtengah III Elementary School Wonosari, State High School 8 Yogyakarta, State Junior High School 3 Genteng, Banyuwangi. Responding to this issue, a PAN politician expressed,

*In my opinion, as long as it does not cause polemics or it does not burden too, uniformity in Muslim clothing is fine and may not be too substantial. In the past, before the hijab is booming, the 70s Muslim flames did not wear headscarves, but they wore only scarves. Flames wearing scarves were not necessarily Muslims. The trend of the hijab began in the 90s, and it was made as if it would be an obligation even indeed had been identified as a part of the Islamic morals earlier. In my opinion, the matter of fashion does not lead to conflict. I think it's sensitive if there are people who try to ban it in some places. I remember well when there was a suggestion that the police be allowed to wear military headscarves so that the discourse was so happening too and a bit boisterous. Yet, later it was granted with some conditions, for example, wearing headscarves in certain colors and keeping it neat once approved. Either way, no problem. (SPD, Party 01)*

In contrast to the issue of rules on the use of Muslim clothing which, is not a big issue to debate, PAN is firm against schools or educational institutions that reject the ceremony and salute to the red-white flag as happened at

Al Irsyad High School in Tawangmangu District and Islamic Science and Technology Elementary School (IST) of Al Albani in Matesih District. For PAN, this is a serious matter because it is related to the obligations of citizens, further explained:

*Responding to schools that do not want to salute flags, to conduct ceremonies, and so on, PAN suggested that they need to be approached well because, in the context of national life, we must fulfill the obedience to existing rules either. This country has rules, and obligations while the government is obliged to protect Indonesia's blood spills, to provide proper education. The detailed elaborations are regulated in the Constitution. Even in the derivative of the Act, there are all state obligations for the society, of course, the obligations of this country must be balanced with the obligations of its citizens. So do you know how the citizens fulfill these obligations? Of course, it is their obedience to the country. We must obey Pancasila as the basis of the state.*

A persuasive approach is still optional because such a radical view can be changed if they were good understandings well and logically because, according to PAN, radicalism exposure in schools does not always correlate directly with educational institutions.

*... maybe one or two cases in a particular school, and it is not a school in general. It may be one or two teachers, instead, more specifically there. So the school does not directly organize radicalism like that. In my opinion, if we find teachers who have been exposed to radical views, we should have a discussion to decrease the sense of being righteous themselves, ... do not face extremes in another way of extremity. (SPD, Party 01)*

As a political party that puts forward the values of justice, PAN responds positively to the involvement of the entire community in the effort to implement the values of diversity and nationality. Based on PAN, it is the duty of all people to respect each other regardless of their social status, race, religion, or gender.

Fulfillment of a sense of justice and mutual respect becomes very important to create a comfortable life in society. PAN believes that both men and women have equal rights and obligations in this regard.

Therefore, it takes understanding and awareness of all parties to be able to respect the diversity that they believe well. One issue that often raises misunderstandings about the conflict in the community is wearing veils. PAN substantively does not prohibit Muslim women who wear the veil. Sometimes, when security verification is needed, Muslim women who wear the hijab must be willing to cooperate with security forces to avoid suspicions. Such security verification at the airport is conducted to ensure the safety of the consumers in the airport. (SPD, Party 01)

According to PAN, the most important indicator of the success or failure of incorporating values in religious education in Indonesia is to measure the extent to which religious education can shape young people with good character as described by one member of the party's assembly: "now this is a question what is the role of religious education when it has no leverage to encourage people to change their needs, to have good habits, characters, behaviors"(AHN, Party 01)

It is more clearly illustrated that we can not separate religious education with character education, not only related to students but also with teachers who must have high quality. One member of the Indonesian House of Representatives FPAN stated:

*... religion is not only knowledge but also morals like good attitudes or behaviors. For example, the person who teaches religion must know how good attitude and behavior are practiced as the implementation of beliefs. Based on the Constitution, we have no idea of how to teach interfaith. However, we can discuss it if religious studies are only focused on knowledge. Religion is supposed not only to cover knowledge of the chosen religion but also to guide children's attitudes, children's behavior. (AYP, Party 01)*

Character education, according to the PAN perspective, covers all aspects related to shaping characters. It is common to come across religions, ideologies, or gender. If this has been fulfilled, then the fear of the emerging radical attitudes, intolerance, and feeling the most right can be decreased.

Now it seems that hard work is still needed by all parties concerned to be able to realize the goals and ideals of the ideal education, especially when

good synergy between all parties related to these problems. Both the government as implementing and overseeing regulations, the community as an object, educational institution, and another one (organization, human resources, curriculum, and management) are also legislative as policymakers, which include political parties as organizations become the political umbrella for policymakers.

### ***Protecting the Nation through Religious Education***

In addition to carrying out the mandate of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, the government must educate the nation and participate in maintaining world peace. In the education sector, those related to religious education is not only about a methodology for the transfer of knowledge but also about shaping the character of students to be ready to face intense competition after they graduate from formal.

In Indonesia, religious education (Islam) is a sub-system of national education. To achieve that purpose, actually an achievement of one or several aspects of national education goals. Based on Law Number 20 the Year 2003 concerning National Education System, Chapter I, General Provisions Article 1 Paragraph (3), Islamic education is recognized as in the national education system, which is divided into three things, namely: As a political party that puts forward the values of justice, PAN responds positively to the involvement of the entire community in the effort to implement the values of diversity and nationality. Based on PAN, it is the duty of all people to respect each other regardless of their social status, race, religion, or gender.

Fulfillment of a sense of justice and mutual respect becomes very important to create a comfortable life in society. PAN believes that both men and women have equal rights and obligations in this regard. Therefore, it needs understanding and awareness of all parties to be able to respect the diversity that they believe well. One issue that often raises misunderstandings about the conflict in the community is wearing veils. PAN substantively does not prohibit Muslim women who wear the veil, but at certain moments when security verification is needed, Muslim women who wear veil must be willing to cooperate with security forces to avoid

suspicions. Such as the need for security verification at the airport is intended to maintain security rather than only the security of the location but also the security and safety of the consumers in the airport. (SPD, Party 01)

According to PAN, the most important indicator of the success or failure of incorporating values in religious education in Indonesia is to measure the extent to which religious education can shape young people with good character as described by one member of the party's assembly: "now this is a question what is the role of religious education when it has no leverage to encourage people to change their needs, to have good habits, characters, behaviors "(AHN, Party 01)

It is more clearly illustrated that we can not separate religious education with character: education not only related to students but also with teachers who must have high quality. One member of the Indonesian House of Representatives FPAN stated:

*... religion is not only knowledge but also morals like good attitudes or behaviors in it. For example, the person who teaches does not know how the right attitude and behavior are practiced as the implementation of beliefs. Based on the Constitution, we have no idea of how to teach interfaith. At the same time, religious lessons focused only on knowledge can be discussed. religion is not supposed to cover not only knowledge, religion but also guides children's attitudes, children's behavior. (AYP, Party 01)*

Character education, according to the PAN's perspective, covers all aspects related to shaping characters. It is common to come across religions, ideologies, or gender. If this has been fulfilled, then the fear of the emerging radical attitudes, intolerance, and feeling the most righteous can be decreased.

Now it seems that hard work is still needed by all parties concerned to be able to realize the goals and ideals of the ideal education, especially when good synergy between all parties related to these problems. Both the government as implementing and overseeing regulations, the community as an object, educational institution, and another one (organization, human resources, curriculum, and management) are also legislative as

policymakers, which include political parties as organizations become the political umbrella for policymakers.

### ***Protecting the Nation through Religious Education***

In addition to carrying out the mandate of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, which is to educate the nation and participate in maintaining world peace; in the education sector, those related to religious education is not only about a methodology for transferring of knowledge but also about shaping the character of students to be ready to face intense competition after they graduate from formal.

In Indonesia, religious education (Islam) is a sub-system of national education, for that purpose to be achieved is actually an achievement of one or several aspects of national education goals. Based on Law Number 20 the Year 2003 concerning National Education System, Chapter I, General Provisions Article 1 Paragraph (3), Islamic education is recognized as in the national education system, which is divided into three things, namely:

1. Islamic education as an institution,
2. Islamic education as a subject,
3. Islamic Education as a value

Because it is directly linked to the national education system, the vision of Islamic education is certainly in line with the vision of national education, which is to realize Indonesian people who are pious and productive as diverse members of Indonesian society. Meanwhile, the mission of Islamic education as an embodiment of that vision is to integrated Islamic values into shaping Indonesian people who religious and productive humans because, with this mission, Islamic education becomes an alternative education. It is in line with what PAN wants as a mediator between community interests and state policies.

Until now, as a majority, Muslims have always received more attention from the state, including in education affairs. One of the indications is the proposal of the draft Bill on Islamic Boarding Schools and Religious Education, which is waiting to be approved by the Indonesian Parliament.

M. Amin Haedari said that the current existence of Islamic education has one side to get a chance with a form of strong recognition from the government, and its implications stand in line with other public education. On the other hand, there is a kind of threat in the form of loss of identity as building the nation's ethics and morals, because it has been merged into education that relies only on knowledge (Haedari, 2010: xi). Threats in this context are the phenomena of the development of the era, which indeed shows the moral decadence of people who often use religion as a symbol and shield to carry out destructive and disturbing activities. Therefore, Islamic education must find the appropriate approach, strategy, and method to overcome this.

So far, many assumptions have emerged that religion, including styles and models of religious education. Regarding the causes of the emergence of intolerance and even radicalism in the community, especially students, PAN argues otherwise that intolerance and radicalism arise because religion and religious education are not understood and managed maximally. This can be overcome if there is good integration between religious education and general education, as explained by one of the PAN politicians, that:

*... religious education is more than just knowledge, so in the future, actually, all educations related to religion, learning science, science can be linked to the Qur'an or associated with other religions such as the Bible. Then the history can be linked to religion, so religion is not just a doctrine but also a basis for young people to change their behavior. So studying science, biology, chemistry, or physics can be linked to religion. So it means that certain subject teachers must understand the religions and the Qur'an so that they can link to the relevant content. So that children learn religious education is just something natural. I disagree with dogma. Indeed religion must be dogmatic and must be doctrine. Besides, this integration must be made more attractive to the younger generation. (ATP, Party 01)*

The government is not optimally managing religious education in schools in terms of national curriculum policy, budgeting, sharing responsibilities between the Ministry of Religion (Kemenag), the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud), and the Ministry of Research, Technology

and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti). The limited number of hours for religious education in the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag), the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) and the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti) public schools, provision of religious facilities for students, management of religious education institutions and supervision of religious activities in schools, indirectly provide opportunities for radical groups to infiltrate fanatical and intolerant mission into those institutions above.

PAN expresses that exclusivity is the hallmark of radical movements that can easily emerge when students need more learning materials than what is already provided by the schools. In this condition, synergy is required between the government and the management of educational institutions to offer extra intake that is more directed at the effort to integrate religious values and nationalism.



## **CHAPTER IV**

### **RELIGIOUS-NATIONALISTS PARTY AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: SYNTHESIS OF NATION AND RELIGIOSITY**

**T**his chapter outlines the views of the religious-nationalist parties about religious and national education. Based on the separation of political party ideologies into three spectrums—Islamist, Islamic-Nationalist and Nationalist, some of the views and policies of Golkar Party, Gerindra Party, Demokrat Party, Hanura Party and several new parties, such as Berkarya Party and Garuda Party, show that their ideological spectrum is in the middle or is a synthesis of Islamists and Nationalists. In terms of views and policies, these middle parties have a moderate style because it is able to accommodate two ideological poles—Islamist and Nationalist. Meanwhile, from a political point of view, these middle parties explicitly state that they are political parties with a Nationalist-Religious orientation. In practice, the middle parties are often carrying out quite extreme political maneuvers, such as building alliances with Islamist groups by initiating religious regulations in a number of areas. However, these movements are packaged as pragmatic strategies that are short-term purposes and do not reflect the ideology and general policy of political parties. In the context of state and religion relations, a number of experts have different views. Some see that the position of middle parties is conservative (Yavuz, 2009), and others see it as an accommodationist (Kuru, 2009).

The middle parties have a different view of religious education: First, religious education is supposed to focus on pluralism and national vision. Second, intolerance and radicalism should be acknowledged as serious problems for religious education. Third, the role of government, in terms of budgeting and supervision, is very significant in the process of advancing religious education. Fourth, the government does not need

to interfere too much in the religious education curriculum, but rather provides direction for the formulation of religious-nuanced regulation. Fifth, religious education and character-building should strengthen the national vision. Sixth, in general, the middle party does not agree with the concept of multi-religious studies, but religious education should not only reflect the supremacy of merely a religion. All of these views show that the middle parties have a moderate perspective, based on arguments from politicians from Golkar Party, Demokrat Party, Gerindra Party, Hanura Party, and several new political parties, such as Berkarya Party and Garuda Party.

### **Golkar Party: Religious Education and Strengthening Nationalism**

In the history of political constellations in Indonesia, Golkar Party is a political party that has quite a long experience. The party is very much in touch with various issues developing in society, including the issue of religious education. It can be seen from the response and support of the Golkar Party to the Bill on *Pesantren* and Religious Education. The attention of the Golkar Party on the issue of education is also seen in efforts to prevent radical movements in the realm of higher education. In 2018, the arrest of three suspected terrorists in the Riau University campus received special attention from various groups. That gave rise to the stigma in society that educational institutions were a hotbed for radical groups. In response to this, Bambang Soesatyo from Golkar Party responded by encouraging Kemenristekdikti and Kemendikbud to work closely with BNPT to hold activities on nationalism in schools and colleges/universities.

The Golkar Party has a critical attitude towards educational and religious issues, indicating that there are still problems to be solved. The Golkar Party gives attention to issues of religious and national education. So, it is important to see the Golkar Party in capturing religious education amid the rise of religious understanding, which is often confronted with the values of diversity and nationality. Furthermore, what steps will the Golkar Party take in responding to and placing itself as a major party amid electoral demands and party idealism?

### ***Religious and Nationalism***

Legally, the Golkar Party does not have a specific vision and mission regarding religious education. In the Articles of Association (hereinafter referred to as AD) of the Golkar Party, education is placed as a process of educating the citizens, which is crucial for the development and progress of the country. While religion is positioned as part of the sociological component such as ethnicity, race, and class as well as differentiation in the structure of life fields, such as economics, politics, and culture. This is directly proportional to the foundation of the Golkar Party, which sees groupings in a society based on their roles and functions, not ideologies or streams that are often trapped in sectarianism and primordialism. The Golkar Party emphasizes aspects of works and programs rather than ideologies which, to a certain degree, can trigger ideological conflicts that lead to national disintegration. The Golkar Party's paradigm of society can be seen in the opening of the Golkar Party's AD in the third paragraph, which states:

*... a society of works which in essence are people who carry out natural human activities, grow and develop as political forces, and are determined to fill independence by seeking to accelerate the improvement of the welfare of the people physically and mentally, maintaining the noble character and moral, increasing people's intelligence, upholding democracy, and realizing social justice, by ensuring the individuality life of the Indonesian people, especially in preserving and maintaining the integrity, national unity of all time, maintaining harmony among tribes, religions, races, and relationships between groups living in Indonesia in the context of the realization and implementation of the Archipelago vision. (AD Golkar Party, 2016).*

Formally, the party's paradigm of society has implications for the steps and programs that are prepared and run, including in the context of religious education. The Golkar Party in the opening of the AD emphasized the aspects of human development which were implemented in the form of institutions and activities, both internal and external. One platform of the basic attitude of the Golkar Party specifically mentions education as an agenda that must be fought for or enhanced; "Striving to consistently

promote welfare, justice and human development as a whole, reduce poverty and unemployment, increase income, improve the quality and equity of education, improve health.” The attention of the Golkar Party to the quality and quantity of education shows that human development is one of their priorities in education.

The Golkar Party has a commitment to fighting for the improvement and equitable distribution of education. It indicates that education in Indonesia is still a problematic issue. It can be seen from the education index issued by the Human Development Report (2017), where Indonesia ranks seventh in ASEAN with a score of 0.622 below Singapore (0.832), Malaysia (0.719), Brunei Darussalam (0.704), Thailand and the Philippines (0.661), and Vietnam (0.626) (undp.org).

The quality of education in Indonesia is a matter of concern to the Golkar Party. In the era of democracy, education in Indonesia is relatively good in infrastructure. However, the quality aspect still needs to be addressed. It is mainly related to the understanding and perspective of students in seeing Indonesia as an open democratic system. It means that stability in education allows people to see Indonesia as a naturally pluralistic country, which in turn will lead to tolerance. It is directly proportional to a democratic system that offers freedom. This principle of liberty should be the foundation for students to be respectful in public space. However, in practice, at general schools and public tertiary institutions, this does not occur, even there is a tendency to be exclusive, closed, and do not accept diversity as the Indonesian nature. (AHS).

The Golkar Party is paying attention to the issue of education. It was seen in the institutional realm. In the management structure, the Golkar Party has a special field that deals with educational problems from the central to the regional level (ART 2016, Chapter V, Articles 6-9). Political education activities are carried out internally and externally. Internal activities are carried out in the form of debriefing and political education of Golkar Party cadres. In fact, one of the requirements to become a party cadre is completing the cadre education/training given by the Golkar Party. On the other hand, political education is externally realized by providing understanding to the public about politics and the Golkar Party. This is

intended to capture the participation and closeness of the community towards the Golkar Party.

The Golkar Party places the aspect of religion as a value as well as functional (religious) power that can provide incentives for parties and the public. It can be seen from the separation of party management structures. In the 2016 management structure, the Golkar Party formed an internal body in charge of religious raising (more of preaching/dakwah) and religious community organizations. At this point, it is clear that religion is more of a force that can function for the interests of the Golkar Party.

Although education and religion are structurally separate, at a certain point, the Golkar Party places both of them as the capital with constructive impacts, both for the party and for the community. Therefore, in the main tasks of the Golkar Party, it is stated that the steps and programs built by the party are in the context of striving for the realization of the improvement of all aspects of life that include ideology, politics, economy, religion, social culture, law, and national defense and security, in order to realize national goals/aspirations (Golkar Party AD, Article 8). Thus, it seems clear that religion is an important aspect of citizens' lives. At this level, religion is an important aspect because it becomes a series that is interconnected with other fields of life with mutual needs. Thus, from the perspective of the Golkar Party, religious education is one part of the national education system that can provide constructive contributions to the development of moderate and tolerant orientation and thinking.

From the Golkar Party's point of view, differences in religion, education, nationalism, and other fields are logical consequences of the system built by the party as an organization. As mentioned in the Golkar Party's AD, religion has the potential to develop. Therefore, the vision and mission of the Golkar Party related to religious education are more substantive than normative. This makes the party's move more flexible with broader formulas.

From a legal point of view, the Golkar Party's vision and mission are commonly used to explain various problems that occur. At this point, the Golkar Party becomes the middle Party or catch-all Party that wants to

embrace all forces from multiple directions for the sake of existence in contestation. Moreover, historically, the Golkar Party has always been part of the power with a variety of incentives.

Historically, since its formative years, the Golkar Party is an organization that has a strong position in the national political altar. During the New Order, the Golkar Party was the winner in six elections and became the single majority (Asfar, 2006: 75). With long experience, the Golkar Party has become an important part of the process of formulating various policies, including religious education. In some cases, the Golkar Party also initiated policies with religious nuances, such as sharia-style regulations, as well as symbolic legislation (RUU) with religious colors (Ihsan, 2016: 216). It was acknowledged by the Golkar Party management that, in certain cases, electoral considerations became a part that influenced decisions taken by the party. "Religious regulations are based more on electoral interests because of the demands of the people in the area. At a certain point, the Golkar Party always reminds its cadres in the regions about party platforms that prioritize an inclusive attitude and nationality, including in terms of policymaking at the regional level." (AHS).

### ***Half-hearted Implementation***

Although the Golkar Party is not a religious party and rather calls itself as a nationalist-religious party, it is difficult to deny that the demands of the people who are thick with religious nuances ultimately force the Golkar Party to become part of these demands. At least it can be seen from the explicit description that the Golkar Party is a nationalist-religious party. It shows the influence of religion in policymaking. "I would say that the Golkar Party is a religious-nationalist party. For the Golkar Party, religion is the source of the moral teachings of life in the nation and state. So, religion becomes the spirit because Pancasila is imbued with religious and cultural values that grow in the Indonesian people" (DI).

Institutionally, the Golkar Party has organizations that are directly related to the development of religious understanding, such as the Islamic Da'wah Council (MDI), the Ulama Work Unit (Satkar), and the Taklim

al-Hidayah Council, that are spread from the capital city to the regions by developing study material that leads to strengthening moderate religious attitude. This is one of the concrete steps taken by the Golkar Party in the context of strengthening national values from a religious perspective. The Golkar Party, as enshrined in the Party's AD, does not place religion as the center of values, but is part of the values that have grown in a society that is crystallized in the Pancasila ideology. For this reason, the Golkar Party emphasizes aspects of the Pancasila ideology as a reference in the development of their programs.

The Golkar Party is an inclusive party. It can be seen from the configuration of the party's administrators that does not distinguish ethnicity, religion, race, and class (SARA). Although the spirit of religious values within the Golkar Party is very strong, as reflected in the existence of organizations originating from Islamic organizations, such as the MDI, the Al-Hidayah Taklim, and the Ulama Work Unit, for the Golkar Party, religion is not its sole struggle instrument. The Golkar Party emphasizes the character of nationalism and the importance of Pancasila in every cadre training.

Radicalism in all areas, including educational institutions, is quite alarming. An exclusively religious attitude is contrary to the mission of the Golkar Party. Therefore, the Golkar Party anticipates this by strengthening the ideology of Pancasila through Pancasila and diversity education (AHS), including through the implementation of programs or measures to strengthen religious education that is inclusive, other than through religious institutions or organizations under the Golkar Party, and cadre training that is run by building an understanding of Pancasila. Cadre training on the ideology of Pancasila is carried out in different levels/stages from the capital city to the regions.

Besides the efforts to implement the party's vision, the Golkar Party emphasized the importance of not being trapped in Islamophobia, which is clearly anti-diversity. The Golkar Party demands actions to be taken on any political movement that clearly opposes Pancasila and the Republic of Indonesia. To strengthen religious tolerance and values, one of the concrete steps of the Golkar Party is building tolerant views for cadres. This effort is carried out consistently from

the district to national levels; to encourage the government to take decisive action against people or organizations that oppose Pancasila and the Republic of Indonesia.

The Golkar Party emphasizes two things, which are religious education and religious affairs. The Golkar Party asked the Ministry of Religious Affairs to be inclusive by encouraging the spirit of Pancasila as the foundation of the state, which must be implemented in these two domains. Pancasila and religion are not necessarily in conflict with each other. Religious education must emphasize aspects of nationalism or nationality. Therefore, every curriculum or teaching material must be directed to the spirit of deradicalization. If there are schools that indicate positive attitudes towards radicalism, the state must be present to provide guidance. We encourage the Forum on Religious Harmony (FKUB) to ensure that national issues are the main basis. The Golkar Party encourages proportional funding for religious groups. The Golkar Party criticized the list of lecturers, which were not the domain of the government because that was the realm of the people. At this level, the state must be present to protect the public from being exposed to radicalism. Nevertheless, the state must not regulate matters in detail. The state must also have other strategies to make people think as citizens by encouraging them to move with the government to work together in the national context. The struggle for discourse related to radicalism is basically the domain of civil society. Other than Islam, other religious organizations do not exist in the Golkar Party. So, the Golkar Party encouraged followers other religions to hold religious activities. (AHS)

### ***Nationality, Religion, and Double Interpretation of Pluralism***

In the reformation era, religious education was faced with two challenges—first, the emergence of exclusive religious understanding, and second, the development of religious understanding in the public sphere without control. Both of these challenges deal with plural social realities so that the constructive function of religion, as well as education, can turn to be destructive if not managed properly through inclusive religious education. It has come to the attention of the Golkar Party with the concept of developing pluralism.



In the Golkar Party platform, pluralism is a given gift from God that has formed a beautiful Indonesian mosaic. Pluralism is a potential that will become an extraordinary force when strung together in the synergy of nationalities (Effendy et al., 2012: 334). In the platform of the Golkar Party, as an open party that embraces diverse works that exist in society supported by ethical and moral values that grow in the community, aspects of pluralism are emphasized. Therefore, for the Golkar Party, the synergy between the value of nationalism (pluralism) and religion (morality) becomes a strong basis for the existence of a nation-state. However, the Golkar Party does not agree with the formalization and politicization of religion. The domain of religion remains a force of values that drives the lives of citizens. (Effendy et al., 2012: 335).

The attention of the Golkar Party on the aspects of pluralism and openness is confronted with the rise of religious understanding and expression of exclusive religious politics. It can be seen in two domains: social and policy. In the social sphere, religious groups emerge in the form of educational institutions that teach exclusively religious understanding, an understanding that ignores multiple aspects of life. While in the realm of policy, exclusive regulations emerge that are only intended for certain religious groups without looking at diverse social realities. On this, the Golkar Party has a dual perspective. It means that the Golkar Party recognizes that some of its cadres in the regions are trapped in electoral interests, establishing policies which, in a religious perspective, are referred to as Regional Regulations (Perda). At the same time, in an effort to attract public sympathy, the Golkar Party cannot be separated from the sociological will of the people. The regional administration of the Golkar Party has autonomy in terms of policies and steps taken because it is part of the accommodation attitude towards the aspirations of the region.

*“Regional administrators are trapped in sharia simplification as part of certain religious accommodations. And, that is not official policy from the capital. The capital controls and continues to reinforce the importance of inclusiveness and nationality. What the regional administrators do by issuing certain policies can also be understood as electoral interests and the accommodation attitude of the Golkar Party.” (AHS).*

On the other hand, the Golkar Party sees the Sharia Perda as a social reality that does not need to be over-responded. Because, in principle, what is referred to as Sharia Perda is in the context of strengthening social order. "I think there is no such thing as a Sharia Perda. It is simply Perda to ensure law and order. For example, liquor should not be circulated. That is not a sharia Perda." (NA). Understanding of religious involvement in the public sphere with pluralism, which is a party platform is still being interpreted differently.

Basically, rules that are based on the teachings of certain religions and are enforced in a pluralistic public sphere can create difficulties, not only for different religions but also for internal religious circles, due to differences in understanding these regulations. Therefore, in some cases, religious or sharia Perda (regional laws/regulations) are responded in a variety of ways, pro, and contra. For those who are contra, the implementation of religious teachings does not need to go through the state, but through a growing awareness or even advanced by religious leaders culturally. Meanwhile, for those who agree, support for the Perda is an effort to strengthen religious actualization. "If, for example, there are regulations in schools or a certain area/region to wear the hijab, do not consider that as an exclusive sharia Perda. It is purely done to understand and practice the religion better." (NA). In addition, the state must facilitate the developing aspirations in the society, including the growing desire among Muslims as the majority to include religious teachings in state regulations (DI).

Perda is basically more directed to the availability of equitable public space for all citizens. Meanwhile, regulations based on certain religions have taken up collective public space by certain religious groups. Religious education becomes a problem when the education process leads to an exclusive understanding that makes public spaces divided, and pluralism becomes a space dominated by the majority.

Historically, the Golkar Party places religion as one of the sources of value and not the only one. The Golkar Party emphasizes the aspect of religion as a value rather than a quantity that can be converted for electoral interests. Furthermore, the Golkar Party recognizes that

religious majorities and minorities, in reality, are given, which by some parties are used as instruments of electoral interests.

*Therefore, the Golkar Party sees the minority-versus-majority issue as a given reality, which, at a certain point, can have an impact on the electoral issues. A society that emphasizes religious symbolization causes the Golkar Party, at a certain point, to accommodate these interests. However, in fact, religious preferences do not always make a foothold in political choices, so the Golkar Party has a responsibility to focus on public rationality, and not religious proximity. It is what the Golkar Party has tried to do on various occasions through its cadres. (AHS)*

The Golkar Party considers two things in strengthening inclusive religious education. First, the religious education itself; and second, the religious affairs. The Golkar Party, through its cadres in the parliament, asked relevant ministries, such as the Ministry of Religion, to emphasize inclusive values, among others, by placing Pancasila as the basis for the school curriculum. It is important because, in the realm of discourse, there is an understanding that often opposes religion and Pancasila. In education, Islamic education must emphasize aspects of nationalism or nationality. "Therefore, every curriculum or teaching material must be directed to deradicalization. If there are schools that lead to radicalism, the state must be present to provide guidance. " (AHS)

In addition, the Golkar Party encourages religious institutions to work on mainstreaming inclusive understanding in a pluralistic society. For example, the Golkar Party is pushing for the Forum of Religious Harmony (FKUB) to ensure that national issues are the main basis. The Golkar Party also encourages proportional funding as a form of state involvement in developing a conducive atmosphere of religious life. However, on the other hand, the state must not interfere too much in religious development, such as making a list of preachers that is actually the area of civil society. In principle, the state is needed to protect the public from being exposed to radicalism and exclusive religious understanding. However, the state does not need to regulate things in great detail. The state must have another strategy to make people think as open and inclusive citizens by

encouraging civil society to move with the government in the spirit of nationalism.

In general, the state is good enough to facilitate the process of organizing education in Indonesia through citizenship education. However, in the context of religious education, the state must have the power to monitor and a clear vision in the midst of this boundless space for freedom to penetrate the open spirit of religion in the community. In the New Order era, the state was not only capable but pressured the educational institutions to teach Pancasila as to prevent conflicts arising from primordial identity issues. Now, the state does not have that ability because it experiences a variety of interests, including politics that have led to the absence of effective policies. Basically, the state will not be able to change minds, letting alone one's beliefs with the ideology that the state wants.

*As a politician, I am worried about the emergence of anti-state attitudes. Secular educational institutions are now home to exclusive movements. The state cannot immediately prohibit the development of ideas that tend to be exclusive unless they have been actualized in the form of actions and movements. That is why the state must be present. (AHS)*

In a more concrete form, the urgency of inclusive religious education is the need for state action to resolve consistently through concrete steps by providing a deterrent effect for education practitioners. Thus, they are not involved in exclusive thoughts and movements.

*If there is an ASN (civil servant/public official) lecturer who disagrees with the ideology of Pancasila, the state must take action by firing him/her. The state must be present to determine the direction of education, including educational institutions that are exclusive and do not want to adhere to the state framework. At the state universities whose lecturers have a religious attitude that is not in line with nationality, the government must take action. It is because if left unchecked, it will continue to develop, and the country could be threatened. (AHS)*

Exclusive religious understanding must be a serious concern for all people because it will have far-reaching effects that can infect future generations.

Therefore, it requires firmness from the government to crack down on any religious movements and activities that are not in accordance with the rules. The Golkar Party encourages and ensures that the ongoing education process prioritizes the values of openness, tolerance, and mutual respect. In religious subjects, for example, it is not just ritual teaching but must emphasize the universal values of all religions. “So, religious subjects should be there, and it is also given not only to Islam. Then we also allow every citizen to apply his religious teachings.” (HS)

The Golkar Party provides support for the *Pesantren* and Religious Education Bill. It is based on an understanding of the existence of *pesantren* as an educational institution, which, historically, has made a significant contribution to the development of Indonesia’s human resources. However, in the bill, there is an article which, according to the Golkar Party, provides a state intervention room for the practice of Christian religious rituals. It was voiced by the Golkar Party Deputy Secretary-General, Jerry Sambuaga, saying that “Sunday school and catechism are not formal education, but are part of church worship and service.” So, it should not require permission from the government and does not require minimum participant requirements. “ (Detik.com, 2018). Furthermore, the critical attitude of the Golkar Party was based on the insistence of the Indonesian Church Alliance (PGI), which objected to Sunday school arrangements as stipulated in Articles 69 and 70 of the *Pesantren* and Religious Education Bill because they were deemed incompatible with Christian worship rites.

Although the Golkar Party asserts itself as a party that holds firm pluralism and moderate attitudes, in a number of cases more often put forward pragmatism in responding to a number of things, such as “allowing” a number of cadres to initiate sharia-based Perda (regional government regulation) (Buehler, 2016). This accommodative attitude towards such regulations is a clear example of how the Golkar Party often takes the “zig-zag” way between staying in the middle of the right position. The changing position between holding pluralism firmly and the national spirit, which is the party’s vision and electoral demands, has opened space for the emergence of many policies that are thick with

religious nuances, both in terms of party institutions and cadres. It became a dynamic that almost always emerged in the political actions of the Golkar Party throughout the reforms.

### ***Accommodative Party***

Historically, since its establishment, the Golkar Party was not based on social identity, but more than functional identity. Unlike the PDI-P and the PPP as a party born during the New Order era and thick with ideological identities, the Golkar Party precisely serves as a bridge of diverse interests so that it has a level of flexibility in negotiating a variety of discourses that develop, both in the social sphere and in legislation.

The Golkar Party is a work-based party based on roles and functions. Therefore, the Golkar Party is an open party or a kind of catch-all Party (Amal, 1996), which allows it to embrace and accommodate many interests. One consequence of being an open party is the melting of programs and aspirations that are fought for and are not focused on one particular issue.

The Golkar Party's response to religious education shows the correlation between conception and idealization outlined in the party's vision and mission and the broad framework of the state, especially concerning the national education system. The alignment between vision and mission with the basic framework of national education is the entrance to ensure consistent implementation. The correlation between the vision and mission of the Golkar Party and the basic framework of the national education system is also seen as the foundation for the birth of generations who are tolerant of diversity. In this context, in general, it can be concluded that the vision and mission of the Golkar Party are intertwined with the basic framework of the national education system that can lead to strengthening the implementation. However, in practice, this does not appear to have happened because the orientation of the implementation of the Golkar Party's vision and mission is, at a certain point, trapped in pragmatic considerations that often sacrifice the ideal side of the Golkar Party's struggle itself.

## **Gerindra Party: Strengthening Nationalism and Religion to Counter Radicalism**

In general, the views and policies of the Gerindra Party on education are less of a priority compared to the other major parties, such as PDI Perjuangan and Golkar Party. The party gives more priority to the issue of struggle, economics, and politics. It can be proved that the party's campaign focused on the issues of economic independence and national sovereignty. The term of education could not be found either in the party's vision, missions, or goals. Again, for Gerindra the issue of education seems not to be the main focus of the party. Similar views on education, the party sees the issue of religious education as not a political priority. Even though the Gerindra Party had no specific agenda on education policy, the party strongly opposed any attempt to abolish religious education in school.

Then, what is the attitude and policy direction of the Gerindra Party regarding religious education? The following is all that can be observed from the response of Gerindra Party cadres. In terms of authority, national education is under the responsibility of Commission X, and religious education specifically is under the coordination of Commission VIII. Although Gerindra is now a party outside the government, its cadres in parliament are very critical of government policies, especially relating to the issue of religion and education. In the political constellation, the party has a strategic position in parliament Commission VIII, which oversees religious, social, and women's empowerment affairs. For example, in 2014, Sodik Mujahid, a cadre from Gerindra Party, had a position of deputy chairman of Commission VIII. He actively voiced religious issues and education. While he was a student, he was also an activist of Indonesian Islamic Students (PII) and the Islamic Student Association (HMI). Other than Sodik, there were no Gerindra representatives who actively appeared in the media responding to the issues of religious policy.

In some cases, in 2016, Sodik rejected the idea that *kitab kuning* (classical Islamic books), a traditional set of Islamic texts, was taught in public schools. For him, the *kitab kuning's* material of jurisprudence has already existed in various school textbooks in religious education. He also added that if *kitab kuning* is applied in every public school, it becomes an extra

burden for students. The most important for now is straightening the students' moral values for better Islamic education.

In the midst of the pros and cons of the school policy, the so-called full-day school, Sodik reemphasized that the most important part of education is on the building of student character. The idea of Muhadjir Effendy, a minister of education—about strengthening religious teaching for students to be handed over to other parties outside the school, such as religious learning in mosques and churches—got a strong social reaction. Muhajir's idea was considered as an effort to eradicate religious learning in schools. In the end, the idea was revoked. Under this circumstance, Sodik proposed to President Jokowi to clearly determine the direction of education based on the value of character. Sodik added that education policies must be adjusted to the age of child growth. And he also suggested the morning school schedule would not clash with the schedule of afternoon religious school—*Madrasa Diniyah*. Some say that the concept of full-day school may threaten the existence of *Madrasa Diniyah*, because students are supposed to stay in schools longer than usual, till late afternoon.

Last, Sodik said that the human educational process is actually a process of educating faith, heart, and mind as well as controlling lust. For him, merely teaching science and technology is not enough, because that will be easily misused. He added that science and technology, indeed, are not contradictory to morals and faith. In line with Sodik, MB, a Gerindra Party politician from Commission X, stated that the purpose of religious education is just simple: "If something is considered good, then do it, yet if something is considered bad, then you must leave it." Last, MB recommended that materials of religious education in school are sufficiently taught the basic materials only, no need to learn more deeply like in *pesantren*.

### ***Strengthening Religious Education***

Gerindra Party actively campaigned against the issue of the abolition of religious education in schools. The political attitude of the party was conveyed through its official Twitter account and held a poll regarding that issue. Netizens saw that Gerindra Party exaggerated this issue as a political maneuver to attract support from Islamic groups.





The figure above is the sample of Gerindra's official statement on Twitter about the issue of the abolition of religious education. This view sparked a widespread controversy for Twitter users, including politicians. Some agreed with the party's perspective, while others do not. The pros stated that the party's view was in line with their idea, creating for better religious education for students. However, some others disagreed because it was just a political statement to attract public sympathy and support.

MB, a Gerindra Party cadre from Commission X, responded to the issue of the abolition of religious education. He said this issue was such an irresponsible measure. For him, Commission X has never proposed the abolition of it. He also responded to the modification issue of religious education by teaching multi-religion studies in order to be more tolerant. According to him, it is an unnecessary action. He said: "Studying all religions? Just for the sake of curiosity (of other religions — red.)? It is still okay. If students are asked to study multi religions, it is so silly. Theologians will not do that. Studying religion is supposed to be in the feeling of happiness. Studying one religion, even studying for its own religion is still in a terrible mess, how come if someone is asked to learn multi-religions." (MB).

MB observed the issue of religious teaching outside the school hour, which was raised by Kemendikbud, became a hotly contested topic. This

issue sparked off a national polemic, because of a lack of preparation and socialization. Likewise, this issue is quite surprising for commission X as a Kemendikbud working partner in parliament. MB considered that handing over religious education to other parties outside the school requires maximum effort, including funding and teacher qualification.

Last, MB also proposed that the most needed in religious education is a curriculum. He evaluated that there are two ministries in charge of religious education in the country, but both are lack of coordination. One, the formulation of religious education materials for private and public schools is under the responsibility of Kemendikbud. Then the other is Kemenag, which is responsible for religious schools only. In practice, it found that some religious education materials in school were not appropriate for academic inquiry. Therefore, Kemedikbud and Kemenag are encouraged to find a solution to these matters together. Under this circumstance, by personal experience, MB felt overwhelmed when he got some questions from his child regarding religious material at school. He said:

*When my child asked me about the basic learning materials, such as the provisions of prayer, ablution, reading Qur'an, and so on, that is okay, no problem. Yet, if my child, who is in the second grade of the elementary school, asks a question like: what is "junub" and what is the definition of it? At this stage, I'm confused, how to explain it. Then, I reply, the first you need is to understand the one part, the other parts (junub-red.), will be explained in the next grade level. Imagine if those children find themselves for the answer on the internet. What would it be? (MB)*

### ***Religious Education, Intolerance, and Radicalism***

Intolerance and radicalism among students have been the most highlighted issues in the past decade. PPIM (2017) and Wahid Institute (2018) reported that several students were exposed to incessant radicalism in schools; ironically, it also included religious teachers. It shows that the condition of religious teaching in schools is in an alarming situation. Some say that there is something wrong with our religious teaching materials in schools. Consequently, students become

less tolerant of others. Another opinion also says that the infiltration of extremism is because of the low qualification and mismanagement of teacher recruitment.

To overcome this emerging problem, the government has paid serious attention. Kemendikbud considered reviving the Pancasila and Moral Education (PMP) subject, as an effort to strengthen the values of Pancasila and nationalism. However, according to MB, reviving the PMP subject to counter radicalism and intolerance is not such a good solution. As he said:

*PMP subject wants to be revived again, is it a solution? It seems the problem is not related to that. Comparing the PMP subject with religion, what is the lack of religion? The existence of religious teaching itself cannot control (the growing of intolerance), then how about PMP. Religion said, lakum dinu-kum waliya din — let's live together, for you is your religion, and for me, is my religion." It is the so-called tolerance. In my opinion, radicalism is not caused by education, but it is the accumulation of public dissatisfaction over somethings. (MB)*

Then, MB considered that the latest 2013 curriculum (known as K13) is more comprehensive than the previous one as K13 puts more emphasis on the students' character-building. For example, students learn religion not only to memorize it but also to practice it in daily life. If the problem arises in particular cases, such as radicalism, it is not fair when religious education has to take the blame. MB believed that the teaching of religion at schools should be connected to religious teaching outside schools. Every lesson must be able to put into practice, so does learning tolerance in the religious lesson. Learning tolerance should not keep thinking in such a blinkered attitude. It must be seen with a broad outlook.

In contrast to MB, Nizar Zahro, a member of Commission X from Gerindra Party, supported Kemendikbud's plan to revive the PMP subject as an effort to manifest Pancasila values. She believed that if the values of Pancasila are taught in the right way, it could build a generation that has a high commitment to nationalism. Especially when it is taught from a very early age.

In addition, MK, a Gerindra Party politician, highlighted the issue of religious education more broadly. MK observed that the crisis of leadership in this country causes the growth of religious radicalism either in school or society. MK also acknowledged that some politicians are actually still incapable of understanding the relationship between religion and nationality. The issue of radicalism should not arise if religion and nationality are not seen as a dichotomy by elites. Religion, indeed, is touted as being in line with the spirit of nationalism. Ironically, many politicians are still not aware of this understanding because of their pragmatic political choice. It can be concluded that this condition is in danger to the integrity of unity.

In universities, the rise of radicalism is a challenge that must be responded with creativity so that the reputation of the university as a center of Islamic studies will always be trusted. Preachers who are popular nowadays often have a limited understanding of religion and are not necessarily able to put it into context. Unfortunately, a number of preachers who are currently a role model of society have a lack of understanding about the history of Indonesia and issues of nationalism. They often teach Islam out of context. Therefore, universities are challenged to make young people interested in studying Islam, both textual and contextual.

Regarding the commitment of political parties to find a way out of the problem of religious radicalism, MK, personally, was doubtful and had not seen the sincerity of the parties. Political parties are too busy with short-term agendas such as Pilkada, Pileg, and Pilpres, which are held simultaneously. At this point, the energy of politicians and political party leaders is absorbed in such routines that they ignore national and religious issues. MK deplored the view that a number of politicians deliberately did not act on radicalism issues for fear of losing their constituents. According to MK, the right politician must be firm because this will eventually affect the future of the nation.

### ***A Priority Agenda in Religious Education***

Based on the above explanation, the Gerindra Party has an interest in shaping the future of national education and religious education. The

party acknowledges that radicalism and intolerance have remained in existence around educational institutions and societies. Gerindra offers varied views in solving those problems. So, from the very beginning, it is necessary to scrutinize Gerindra's policy over the coming few years and how the party sets hopes on the government in making religious education policies that can produce a moderate attitude in countering radicalism.

The important aspect of problem-solving in this issue is by upgrading the teacher's insight into the relationship between religion and nationality. So, if the problems of both religion and nationality's understanding have not been adequately settled and have continued to be confronted, there will come many serious problems in the near future. It is hoped that the government can intervene and not let the problem accumulate. As MK argued that:

*The government should stand firm, immediately intervene to overcome any incoming problems. If it is ignored continually, it will be dangerous for the nation. Yet, in my opinion, because of the strategic position of the teachers as role models, make sure that there are no more problems with the dichotomic issue of religion and nationality in the teachers' understanding. If the problem continues to emerge, the condition becomes very critical (MK).*

According to MK, the problems of the rising intolerance and the fading nationalism's spirit are not caused by a single factor, yet multiple factors. There are some concrete steps as suggestions for political parties, government, and civil societies. First, the government must immediately take preventive actions for any circumstance. It is known that education is the most effective way to exert influence on certain ideologies or doctrines. The second suggestion is strengthening supervisory mechanisms. The government should take action in controlling or monitoring the practice and the development of religious education.

Last, it is necessary to be more aware of the influx of foreign religious influences. There are two conditions. Foreign religious influence has no effect on the local religious teaching if our religious understanding and nationalism are strong enough. On the contrary, it has an effect if our

religious understanding and nationalism are weak. Ironically, at this time, many Indonesian are still less critical and easily beguiled by someone who has eloquent religious speeches.

Furthermore, MS also suggested that Kemendikbud and Kemenag need to intensify their collaboration in formulating religious teaching materials that would be fit for all levels of students.

### **Demokrat Party: Education and Unity**

Ideologically, Demokrat Party is classified as a nationalist-religious party. The party has committed horizontally to focus on defending NKRI as well as loving the motherland. Vertically, the Demokrat Party has dedicated itself to building a religious society based on faith in God as well as to spread love and compassion on earth. So, as a manifestation of the spirit of nationalism, the membership of the Demokrat Party is open to all citizens regardless of religion, race, class, and ethnicity. Every citizen who has a commitment to the unity of NKRI and the future of the nation has the right to join the Demokrat Party as a means of struggle.

Demokrat Party has a vision that focuses on the togetherness of a broader community to play a role in realizing the noble desires of the Indonesian people in achieving the life of an independent, united, sovereign, just and prosperous nation, upholding the spirit of nationalism, humanism, and pluralism based on piety to God Almighty in a new world order that is peaceful, democratic and prosperous.

Symbolically, the triangular star in red and white means unity that cannot be separated from three insights, namely:

1. Religious-nationalism means nationalist insight and religious morality. This signifies that the Demokrat Party puts the national interest as the main commitment. All interests that are based on individuals and groups adhered to Demokrat Party are not nationalism a la chauvinism which allows the oppression of a nation by another nation. Demokrat Party relies on nationalism

based on religious appreciation, loving fellow human beings, and all of God's creations.

2. Humanism means recognizing and upholding the values and dignity of universal and essential humanity, as proof that the Indonesian nation is an integral part of the world community.
3. Pluralism means recognizing, appreciating, and embracing various races, ethnicities, professions, gender, religion, and belief in God Almighty, and the existence of each region that has a united character is part of the Indonesian nation.

It seems that the Demokrat Party's vision and mission have not been translated and implemented in real policies or programs. This is inferred from interviews conducted with several sources related to the views of political parties about the vision and mission of religious education as well as towards an ideal portrait of religious education.

On that basis, Demokrat Party, in particular, does not feel that there is anything important and urgent that requires special policies related to religious education because the current education system run by the government—for Demokrat Party—is in accordance with the party's vision and mission.

*Education was one of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) 's priorities, which was very visible because he had always alluded to it from the beginning. Another reason is to fulfill the mandate of the constitution. The Demokrat Party always supports the vision and mission of education. It means that the Demokrat Party's vision is very much concerned with education. We fix a lot of things to make it happen; we work on the curriculum, teachers as well as certification and allowances for them. These are the things that were introduced during the administration of SBY. It illustrates how the Demokrat Party sees education and that we have a leader It pays great attention to it. (HM)*

In addition, the Demokrat Party installed a religion department in its organizational structure with a focus on maintaining harmony among religious communities, especially for party members. The department's activities are to organize and facilitate party religious activities such as

commemorating religious holidays and other religious events such as discussion, group prayer, and recitation.

*All of these activities are in line with the AD (Articles of the Party). I also see it in the education department (of the party), though the practice of creating or initiating a specific activity that is [related to religious activities was never done by this department (of education, but rather by the religion department)]. (KU)*

In regard to policies related to religious education, an official from Demokrat Party stated that in the meantime, the Demokrat Party has no representatives in the education commission of the parliament. The party is more focused on making education bills/laws that are more general and available for the public at all levels. If there is an educational program that they do, it is an initiation from party members personally and not a policy of the party.

*There is no special foundation for education (by the Demokrat Party). The cars we see on the road, with the word "cerdas" on it (referring to "Mobil Pintar"), are actually mobile libraries. It was initiated by Mrs. Ani (Yudhoyono), and not the Demokrat Party. There were some concrete initiatives where Mrs. Ani assisted school children, including the mobile library. The Demokrat Party itself has not created an institution (or program) that focuses on education. Not yet. (KU)*

Regarding the issue of abolishing religious education in schools, the Demokrat Party has not made any comment so far. It is because, for the past one year, the party has been focusing itself on winning the election and decides not to touch any sensitive issues. It is influenced by the party culture, which tends to avoid open discussion of religious matters, either inside or outside the party. Demokrat Party principally maintains harmony among party members, which is in line with the vision and mission of the party, which is respecting diversity and pluralism. Therefore, the party cadres assumed that the discussion relating to religious issues would trigger conflicts among them. As KU said:

*Yes, (the party) refuses (to comment). The party avoids the discussion as it might trigger a conflict. It is different from PKB*



*or PAN (where I was one of the party members), or maybe the other parties with more members with religious backgrounds. They usually talk about religion, even though they do not have a religious department. In my opinion, their concern about religious issues is much higher compared to the Demokrat Party. (KU)*

The Demokrat Party is very supportive of the issue of gender and women's representation in parliament. The party has no issue over a female party leader. Indonesia has several laws that are responsive to gender issues, such as the law on Political Parties (Law No. 2/2008) and the law on General Elections for Members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD (Law No. 10/2008). The laws clearly regulate that at least 30 percent of candidates from political parties are female. This is reflected in the resource person's statement as follows:

*Even though the Demokrat Party did not reach the quota, it fulfilled the requirement of 30 percent of women's representation in managing the party. For instance, Mrs. Ani (Yudhoyono) served as vice chairman of the DPP (Central Board). Then several artists took positions at the party. Overall its management structure has already reflected 30 percent of women's representations. (KU)*

The debate in the Demokrat Party over the discourse on religious education was strongly influenced by party cadres who had different educational backgrounds. Several cadres stated that they liked to take part in an open discussion of religious issues. However, the Demokrat Party emphasizes the importance of maintaining harmony among party members. Thus, the party never discusses issues related to the content and curriculum of religious education.

Regarding agendas of the party, resource persons confirmed that its main focus is about winning the election. It goes all out to win the election, even by forming a special body for it. Meanwhile, issues of education, and religious education, in particular, has never been the priority of the party.

### ***Demokrat Party and Religious Phenomenon***

Religious education as an effort to prevent radicalism and terrorism is actually not a new thing. Religious education should have a strategic-

anticipatory position so that students are not exposed to radicalism, and political parties must take part in playing a more active role and providing input to government policies. The prevention of radicalism in society can be done by preventing the development of radicalism in the country through education. The spirit that needs to be emphasized is the inculcation of thought patterns, attitudes, and behaviors through school because the school is a medium of culture and character building for students.

The Demokrat Party has a nationalism-religious jargon. After the reformation, several political parties openly claimed that their party's ideology was nationalist-religious. What the parties emphasized was that the nature of nationalism they held firm was not a kind of secular and anti-religious nationalism. In this context, the parties' position is in the middle, which is often interpreted as moderate and accommodating. With the claim of nationalism, parties want to assert that their ideology and policy are different from those of certain religious ideologies. However, in democratic regimes, middle parties, with electoral considerations, often do maneuvers that come out of party ideology. The Gerindra Party, for example, strengthens its electoral position by making alliances with socio-religious forces that tend to be Islamic. The same thing was also done by the Golkar Party. For electoral interests, the Golkar Party has initiated many religious nuances in regional regulations. In this context, the above parties are included in the nationalist party category because they adequately accommodate religious interests.

### **Hanura Party: Symbolic Religious Nationalist**

Hanura is a new political party established by Wiranto, who was previously active in the Golkar Party. Wiranto even had been nominated as a presidential candidate by the Golkar based on a convention. This practice was first carried out in the tradition of recruiting political parties in determining presidential candidates. This party was able to help its cadres to gain the seats of the legislature in the first election, in which they participated. Its success is inseparable from the collective

work of the board and the network that is built based on the platforms and programs offered.

Hanura is a nationalist-religious party which has a close relationship with religiously-nuanced policies. It can be seen from the support of Hanura for the statute plan on *Pesantren* and Religious Education. Regarding the discourse on the elimination of religious education in schools. Hanura did not agree with the discourse because the religious aspect is the spirit of national life. It was revealed by DR, a member of commission X and secretary of Hanura faction, that the application of religious subjects was in accordance with educational objectives. He disagreed that the discourse of religious subjects in schools is to be deleted.

Hanura has a commitment to religious education by making it easy for students to learn it in all education levels. In this case, Hanura proposed to abolish the national exam, which also had an impact on budget savings of more than half a trillion rupiah. According to Oesman Sapta Odang (general chairman of Hanura), this proposed program is based on the motivation to enable the people of Indonesia to be more prosperous. (Jpnn, 2019).

On the other hand, Hanura warned all its cadres not to play identity politics in achieving political goals because it could threaten social cohesion as the basis of nationhood. For Hanura, Pancasila is the main foothold because it contains nationalist-religious aspects. This concept is an embodiment of Pancasila, which accommodates divine values as a religious basis that is shared by all citizens. However, Hanura implements nationalist-religious characteristics in the context of religious education. It is an integral part of community life and naturally pluralistic amid the rise of exclusive religious attitudes.

Institutionally, the vision and mission of Hanura on religious education are based on the general view of the party's Articles of Association (AoA), especially in the opening of the AoA, which states that the struggle for the intellectual life of the nation. In this context, intelligence as an indicator of educational success becomes the foundation of Hanura in moving the party's wheels. However, Hanura did not consistently describe the

nationalist-religious aspects as the nature of the party included in the achievements of the educational process.

In the party's AoA, article 12, Hanura characterizes itself as a nationalist-religious party that emphasizes openness for all people regardless of ethnicity, religion, race, class, social status, and gender. The religious-nationalist side of Hanura is emphasized on moral and ethical strength along with good values based on the almighty God as a foundation in building and developing political parties. It is correlated to the party's vision, which emphasizes the realization of national independence and people's welfare with the mission of realizing a clean, authoritative, democratic, transparent, and financially responsible government.

Hanura has a mission to produce pious, honest, brave, resolute, and capable leaders. As a form of nationalist-religious, Hanura carries a mission to develop human resources who are healthy, intelligent, skilled, and have good characters and national insight. In the context of gender, Hanura places women and youth in strategic positions in nation-building.

The fundamental value of Hanura's struggle is piety, covering ethics and morality based on divinity, independence, togetherness, democracy, and modesty. The underlying value of this struggle requires Hanura to be a moderate party. RY, the informant, emphasized, "*Hanura always opens and always declares itself to be a moderate party, a party that is in the middle, we are neither right nor left.*" Therefore, Hanura must open up to involve all elements of the nation's children to be part of Hanura. It is where Hanura can declare itself as an inclusive party capable of embracing a variety of social identities: ethnicity, religion, race, and class. It is important to note, Hanura was able to organize the conflict so that people put their trust and ultimately risked their aspirations in Hanura.

As a moderate party, Hanura must take a stand when dealing with extreme right or left organizations. In this case, Hanura openly supported the dissolution of Hizbul al-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and restricted radical movements that would threaten the unity and social cohesion. For Hanura, the existence of the opponents of the Pancasila will be parasitic, and it will undermine the unity of the nation. It can be seen from young people

who have a binary (black and white) perspective and tend to state the others as infidel people. Hanura as a nationalist-religious party is very interested in returning the exclusive attitude of some young people to an inclusive manner because they are the future generation

### ***Educational Issues***

Education is a part of the national life systems. Therefore, education needs a continuous step between conception and reality. Hanura views that the issue of education rests on public awareness about education in general. On the other hand, some people need answers to life problems faced by those who are often answered by the knowledge that is contrary to national values. According to Hanura, differences in understanding among people relate to religion. It is a human relationship with God and shall not come into worldly interests or religion as a force capable of changing social life. HLS, the informant confirmed that:

*Religious matters are between God and us. All of us have those matters, but in our country, other religions also have to deal with God. So, we must respect them that we should do. Thus, reinforcement is always highlighted everywhere. (HLS).*

As a nationalist-religious party, Hanura emphasizes respect for fellow religious people as citizens, not to discriminate them. For Hanura, a part of religious education is to provide good role models, so that others can imitate and implement at the same time. However, for Hanura, religious matters are important even though the implementation is only at the level of rituals and other symbolic activities, such as religious celebrations involving all religions as a form of togetherness of the citizens.

The portrait of education problems in Indonesia seems to be in a vicious circle. People have a low level of awareness because their parents also have no education. Therefore, low levels of public education can result in lower economic incomes. In this case, Hanura has taken a variety of approaches to ensure that the process took place consistently. Whether it is carried out through legislative institutions, for example, following appropriate rules of the game; or through party wing organizations. Thus, the programs run by Hanura become more effective.

RY, the informant, acknowledged that regarding the vision and mission of religious education at the implementation stage, Hanura had not implemented it well, except in the form of ceremonial activities. Take the commemoration of religious holidays; Ied al-Adha, Ied al-Fitri, Maulid, Isra 'Mikraj, and others as the examples. The nationalist-religious party's identity does not place Hanura as a more religious party. The religious side built by Hanura is more on the values contained in religion as the foundation of nationality.

Hanura is committed to the national issue. It can be seen from the composition of party administrators who do not discriminate between ethnicities, religions, races, and groups. As HLS stated, the informant, "The composition of party management, means that we do not follow on it [primordial-aspect], we follow the nationalists, but everything is inside. We do not count; everyone can enter. However, because we are predominantly Muslim, so we follow Muslims. However, it does not mean that we deny others because, in management, there are Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, Confucians, and others."

From the institutional side, the multi-religious and multi-ethnic management composition encourages cooperation and togetherness in celebrating religious days, regardless of differences. It is one of the concrete steps taken by Hanura in fostering a sense of togetherness and a sense of unity in differences. RY explained:

*Every time there is a party activity, we always put the spirit of nationalism and religion first. So, never do we start a party activity without praying, surely praying in Islam, then later, those of other religions will also follow our way of praying in Islam. So, we are the most tolerant. And, we also never see the leaders from a religious background. So, as long as he/she is capable, can lead, has the experience, he/she will be given the same opportunity by Hanura. (RY)*

Hanura sees there is a tendency towards exclusively religious attitudes and black and white religious understanding. However, it is not easy to make changes if only handed over to political parties. Therefore, political parties seek changes through policies taken in the legislature

or the government directly. However, the presence of those who have an exclusive religious understanding cannot change just like that. They have teachers who do the doctrine so that their attitudes change to be exclusive. Here, political parties need partners to work together in order to strengthen inclusive religious education. Hanura has cooperated with civil society through dialogue to find solutions to various social problems and religious education. However, it has not yet fully felt the benefits for the wider community as the problem of awareness is not only a matter of time but also the process that is entirely determined by the consistency and seriousness of each party.

### ***Pluralism, Nationality, and Indonesian Identity***

Hanura, as a political party, explicitly shows a strong national commitment. Procedurally, the prerequisite fulfilled by the party is the national commitment manifested in the process of democratically electing leaders and following the mechanism established by the state. It is different from organizations that do not follow the procedures set by the state, but at the same time, have the desire to change the country. It could be a challenge for political parties. So, in this context, Hanura, as a political party contributed to the strengthening of a better national outlook.

On the one hand, diversity in society is the undoubtedly reality. Therefore, all components of political parties have tasks to take care of and to guard this diversity. Diversity can be a threat when all of the elements puts forward their ego. Therefore, Hanura provides open opportunities for anyone who has the ability to compete. This is often not realized by political parties so that each of them feels they have the authority to regulate. In the context of pluralism, conflicts and threatening national integrity often occur in the community. Thus, Hanura places the difference as a necessity that has one goal.

The informant, HLS, stated that "Indonesia is undoubtedly Muslim majority. It can't be helped, and this can lead to conflict if it is not managed properly. Therefore, in my opinion, let them walk individually, [but] the goal is one, we just respect that. Do not make religion become a problem."

As a religious-nationalist party, Hanura puts forward the moral aspects to compete in gaining office. Therefore, the thing that can threaten the unity of the nation, such as ignoring religious values, should be avoided. Thus, people who want to achieve their goals by justifying any means, even using religion as a shield to achieve political interests, should be fought. Those conditions can threaten unity in diversity in terms of religion, ethnicity, and culture, which is the foundation of the nation.

In the context of procedural democracy that prioritizes the number of votes, Muslims are a productive basis for voting for the party to win elections. However, Hanura, as an open party, does not have more value than the number of votes of Muslims. With an inclusive party attitude, Hanura opens space for the involvement of other parties. However, it can end in group domination. Therefore, it is vital to ensure leadership recruitment patterns and national strengthening based on equality and competence. Thus, they are not trapped in primordial interests based on ethnicity and religion. RY stated his view, *"Actually there is no consideration of the majority and minority, all follow natural selection, including in political parties. So, anyone has the same right to enter the management and depends on their communication to the DPP."*

The existence of Muslims as the majority group in Indonesia is not a problem as long as it provides an equal opportunity space for minorities. Indeed, it is very likely that the majority group is more dominant in party management. The selection process for the management of Hanura is based on a mechanism that has become a collective agreement so that the opportunity space can be occupied by anyone. However, because the majority of participants are Muslim, the majority of the management are likely Muslims. RY admitted that he explained:

*So, everything is based on the competencies of each individual who seriously wants to be active in the party. If it is all exclusive to Islam, it will be difficult for us to develop. Looking for people who want to be nominated themselves as members of the legislative is not an easy thing. Therefore, we welcome anyone who wants it. The most important thing is how to be responsible and not exclusive. And, thank God all this time, I saw that there was nothing exclusive in Hanura. They all accepted diversity. (RY)*



At this level, a suitable recruitment mechanism will ultimately lead to the strengthening of unity in diversity due to the growing trust in society. As a relatively new party, Hanura has not yet entirely placed the issue of religious education as an essential component in building the insights of citizens' nationality. At the very least, Hanura has never seriously made the discourse of religious education as an important aspect when the Indonesian spirit is starting to fade in Indonesian society.

### **Garuda Party: Supports Islamic Religious Education**

Historically, in 2007, a political party called the National People's Party or much known as Partai Kerakyatan Nasional (PKN), was founded by Harmoko, a former Golkar politician during the New Order. However, this party is less popular among the people, so it needs to be metamorphosed to compete in the national political arena. This change was stated in the Articles of Association (henceforth: Article of Association/By-law of the Garuda Party, precisely in the opening section: On April 3, 2015, Partai Kerakyatan Nasional (PKN) in the First Congress transformed itself into the Indonesian Change Movement Party or known as Partai *Gerakan Perubahan Indonesia* (Garuda Party).

Garuda Party has a vision of realizing the ideals of change in Indonesia. It has four missions: The realization of the national ideals of the Indonesian people as referred to in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; The realization of a just and prosperous democratic society which beliefs in the Almighty God; Loving the motherland and the nation within the framework of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia; Realizing a sovereign society in a democracy that upholds the values of truth and the applicable law as well as realizing a just democratic economy.

In the articles of Association, the Garuda Party has not explicitly explained the word "ideals of changes in Indonesia." What kind of change desired by the Garuda Party? In addition, despite recognizing the Garuda Party as a nationalist, religious, and popular party, it does not clearly explain the meaning of the word religious. Regarding education, it also does not

explicitly describe the Garuda Party's view of education. However, the AoA mentioned the word "the intellectual life of the nation."

Nevertheless, the chairman of the North Sumatra Garuda Party highlighted the problem of education in the context of North Sumatra, in which the education is a party program that will be brought by legislators of the Garuda Party with the mission of fighting for education for the small people at low cost and quality by providing scholarships for outstanding students.

Garuda Party is a new political party with a spirit of change for Indonesia, which is based on nationalism, religion, and society. It is important to see how the Garuda Party views the issue of religious education in Indonesia. Furthermore, how the Garuda Party views the role of religion in a country, and how the concept of religious education in Indonesia, and how the Garuda Party's commitment to building resilience in preventing violence in the realm of religious education.

### ***Religious Education: Strengthening Character and Virtuous Character***

As a nationalist, religious, and democratic party, Garuda Party views those religious elements that cannot be avoided in the lives of Indonesian. It is included in the perspective of the Garuda Party in interpreting education in Indonesia. My informant, ARS, stated that education in Indonesia is now quite good, but several aspects need to be addressed. For example, how education efforts in shaping the character of people in order to achieve the virtuous character. For this purpose, religious education is one way to develop the noble character of the people.

Furthermore, ARS stated that the role of teachers in educational institutions is pivotal. The teachers are role models in educational institutions. Therefore, teachers should be an example for students in character building. He explained that:

*Religious education is pivotal because religious education can shape a person's character. For this reason, the teachers become the most crucial figure in religious education because the teachers are role models for students. For example, the teacher is Muslim and wears a veil; then, students*

*will emulate the teacher to wear a veil.* (ARS) Regarding religious symbols such as wearing a veil, two of our informants, ARS and MF, agreed that the veil is not a form of coercion of an Islamic identity in which Islam is the majority. Cases in Indonesia related to students who were forced to dress in Muslims in public schools had good intentions and based on the principle of politeness.

Furthermore, there is a dichotomy in society regarding education in Indonesia today. For example, if in a state school, the religious education provided is still lacking. Conversely, if in religious schools and *pesantren* (boarding schools), general knowledge is considered lacking. Therefore, such assumptions must be changed.

More importantly, MF stated that religious education institutions play a significant role in this country. An inevitable fact, many national figures were born from religious-based educational institutions such as *pesantren*, for example, Garuda Party secretary-general Abdullah Mansuri.

### ***Bill on Pesantren and Religious Education***

As a new political party, the Garuda Party has not yet had a party policy and program that addresses the issue of education explicitly. However, Garuda Party is one of the parties which focuses on religious education. Therefore, in important meetings of the Garuda Party after the 2019 Election, such as the National Conference and the congress, Garuda Party will discuss attitudes, programs, and policies related to education broadly.

Despite not having a program, ARS stated that Garuda Party needs to realize the vision and mission of religious education by examining the curriculum in public schools. Religious education materials in public schools are limited. So, it is necessary to add religious education material in state schools to strengthen character learning and create a virtuous character.

Even more, ARS pointed out that education costs are currently still expensive. Education with high costs has a good quality, while the quality of education at a low price or even free of charge is still not right. As a

result, the Garuda Party, as a nationalist, religious, and democratic party will strive to improve the quality of education at an affordable cost. MF stated that:

*The most highlighted issue is education costs. Sometimes we want to get our children into better quality schools. Still, it turns out that the price of education is high enough for us to expect our children to have a good education. While schools that have lower cost still lacks in quality, sometimes it is also rather difficult for us to leave our children in such educational institutions (MF).*

Furthermore, ARS observed that current regulations regarding religious education, such as the statute of *pesantren* and religious education, Garuda Party chose to support the regulation. It is based on the assumption that many great people were born from *pesantren*, but many *pesantren* are not accredited institutionally. Therefore, the government needs to regulate them.

Looking at the religious phenomena today, Garuda Party considers that radicalism that enters the realm of religious education must be taken seriously. Thus, Garuda Party proposes the supervision of teaching staff, because radicalism and intolerance are suspected of coming from the learning process. Garuda Party's offers are related to the welfare of teaching staff in the religious field. MF stated that:

*Radical views do not penetrate from children, but from contaminated educators associated with radical understanding, then transmitted to their students. Then it needs supervision, for example, related to teacher certification. There needs to be a standard that these elementary school teachers, both madrasa and pesantren, now also have many integrated Islamic schools. It requires a clear certification for these educators. (MF)*

Regarding education, ARS pointed out that in enhancing national and diversity insights, a student needs to understand the history of the nation. ARS proposes to add domestic material such as history in the curriculum, both in religious schools and public schools. It is in line with the ideals of education as an effort to form a character of Indonesian

society. Moreover, adding national history subjects in the curriculum is also considered an effort to prevent radical understanding.

### ***Strengthening Religious Identity***

In the broader context of education, MF pointed out that the role of religion in the country is pivotal because, in the context of Indonesia, religion is part of people's lives. So, the state needs to be present and manage the things that happen in people's lives so that they become orderly. Therefore, Garuda Party supports nuanced religious laws such as the statutes of Zakat, Hajj, and *Pesantren*.

*The presence of the state needs to regulate a part of the life of the nation, especially concerning the majority of Indonesia's population. If religion disappears and/or does not control it, I worry that there will be chaos. So, religion needs to be presented.*  
(MF)

Regarding religious symbols, Garuda Party does not dispute or has any problem with them. MF said that religious solidarity arises in the midst of society, so this is permissible. However, negative things that occur due to religious identity need to be anticipated by the state. Furthermore, women who wear the veil that cover their face are natural because they are part of one's beliefs and must be protected. This attitude is a part of religious tolerance.

Based on the informant's view, Garuda Party believes that the values of Islam are pervasive in the way they view the party. Therefore, the Garuda Party is grounded in nationalist, religious, and popular principles. Garuda Party interprets Islam as the majority religion. It is reflected in the party's attitude and views related to religious symbols such as dress and veil that cover women's faces.

In this context, if religious symbols are encouraged by the state, it is necessary to maintain a neutral position towards education under the umbrella of the state; so that participants from other religions are able to participate without discrimination (Bielefeldt, 2019). That is, if the state requires a Muslim student to use a religious identity such as a veil, then this should not be forced on non-Muslims. Non-Muslims have the right to choose

whether to participate in using the symbol or not. If differences occur, the state should be neutral while maintaining the rights of non-Muslims.

Garuda Party's view of religious education is in line with the argument that Islam plays a crucial role in the attitude of political parties in Indonesia. Islam has penetrated party boundaries based on nationalist, secular, and Pancasila (Tanuwidjaja, 2019). It is reflected in the Garuda Party's support for Islamic values such as the *Pesantren* Statute and Religious Education Statute and the Hajj Statute. Also, it provides support for the application of Muslim clothing in public schools based on politeness.

In the Indonesian context, politicians understand that Islam is the majority religion. Therefore, it is a sensitive issue and must be careful in responding to it. For this reason, religious issues are of concern to all political parties, not just political parties, based on Islam. At this level, Islamic politics still plays a significant role in Indonesia.

In the realm of democracy, political parties have an interest in the majority vote. Although Garuda Party does not yet have policies and programs related to religious education, it is aware that the majority of constituents are from Islamic groups. Thus, Islamic issues are very sensitive if not appropriately managed. Therefore, institutionally, the Garuda Party tries to combine two words: nationalist and religious as the basis of partying.

Institutionally, Garuda Party declared itself as nationalist, religious, and popular. Garuda Party has a religious view that tends to be Islamist. From a number of informants' views, Garuda Party appears to be on the spectrum of nationalism-religious. Garuda Party has several observations: First, Garuda Party has a focus on religious issues especially Islamic education; Second, Garuda Party proposes to the government to strengthen religious schools and *pesantren* by increasing teacher competence; Third, exclusive attitudes and intolerance in schools are caused by the lack of hours for religious teaching. So, teaching hours for religious material need to be added. Regarding religious issues, Garuda Party is very accommodating to aspirations that are considered to reflect the aspirations of the majority. Therefore, Garuda Party supports nuanced Islamic regulations as a form of accommodation for the majority of Muslims.

## **Berkarya Party: Entrepreneurship and Radicalism in Schools**

Historically, Berkarya Party was a joint party between two political parties: the Beringin Berkarya and the Nasionalis Republik Party. Berkarya was established on July 15, 2016. As a new political party, Berkarya has a focus on activities and political struggles on various national issues. Berkarya has a vision and mission: "To realize the lives of Indonesian people who are pious, safe, prosperous, just and sovereign based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in the Republic of Indonesia; Building human resources with noble, healthy, intelligent, and skilled skills; and Building a national economic system that is oriented towards strengthening a democratic economy".

Regarding the issue of education, the chair of the Berkarya explained that two programs became the focus of the party. First, the use of student cards and learning by utilizing online technology. Students at junior and senior high school levels can use student cards to get free tutoring. Second, the Berkarya introduces a learning policy without having to go to school but enough through the internet. It can be practiced accompanied by parents. While for certain exams, students come to school. Therefore, students do not need school uniforms and can save books. So, in terms of budget politics, the costs allocated for education can partly be channeled to democratic economic development programs.

In the context of religious education, Berkarya promised to build an independent *pesantren* through an internet-based education program. To realize the program, Berkarya will work closely with the expert board of the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB). At the implementation stage, Berkarya will help the santri develop the *pesantren* economy. Tommy Soeharto, explain it will be Berkarya's superior program.

### ***Independence, Young Generation, and Religious Education***

As a new political party, Berkarya has not done much or formulated policies related to religious education. It was stated by one informant from the DPP Berkarya, "The views of political parties in accordance with the vision and mission they have, are more directed at fostering entrepreneurship of

students. The development of the national economic system will contribute positively to the reduction in numbers of intolerance and radicalism." (BA).

By the entrepreneurship program, Berkarya believes that this approach to the religious groups and the community will improve the economy. Berkarya considers that the economic development program will reduce public attention to content or acts of violence.

At the implementation stage, Berkarya approached many *pesantren* and promised a program in the form of independent and internet-based *pesantren* development. This approach illustrates the party's response to religious education. Among the *pesantrens* that Berkarya has managed to visit are: al-Kamal Pesantren in Blitar, East Java; Pesantren an-Nawawi in Purworejo, Central Java; Markaz Syariah Pesantren in Bogor, West Java; and the Al-Qurthubiyah Pesantren, in Sukabumi Regency, West Java. Berkarya, on religious issues, condemned terrorist acts that committed suicide in various cities.

Berkarya views that people are being agitated and scared by these acts of terrorism. Thus, Berkarya asked the government to act immediately and fix the situation because it would affect security, economic, and political stability. The deputy chairman of Berkarya said that to crack down on terrorists is not necessary to wait for the completion of the Terrorism Law. The government must also reorganize an early prevention system involving Babinsa and Bhabinkamtibmas as the spearhead in the undercurrent. Berkarya proposes a special research program to identify whether or not someone suspected of entering terrorist networks.

### ***Independent Economic Program and Radicalism***

Berkarya has a program related to the development of the people's economy. It is intended that people can focus on economic development so that there is no room for radical values. Badaruddin said that among the programs was establishing Saung Berkarya in Sentul, Bogor, with an area of two hectares for agriculture and animal husbandry programs. This program makes it possible to interact with the community directly. In addition, Berkarya conducts activities such as counseling and facilitation for the community. In this case, Berkarya positioned itself as a facilitator for the community



in agriculture and animal husbandry programs. The purpose of this program is to improve the welfare of the community. In addition, Berkarya runs a creative industry development program. All these programs aim to maintain security stability, increase economic growth, and equitable development, as was the spirit of development during the Soeharto era.

Regarding religious education, Berkarya does not have a specific clause that explains the party's views on religious education and radicalism. Berkarya is indirectly anticipating the potential of the radical movement by taking a direct approach to the public, BA stated:

*For religious education, we also go to pesantren (Islamic boarding schools). In the first year, I accompanied Mr. Tommy to several pesantrens. We cooperate and learn from pesantren that have a commercial operation called Basmala, a venture like Alfamart. There is a Basmala network in East Java. We learn and adopt the system. We also have cooperated with business groups by marketing the existing brown sugar production of cooperatives. We begin to approach religious groups through programs. The community must feel the impact. (BA)*

More related to religious programs, BA acknowledged that the strengthening of Berkarya in the religious field was to carry out religious activities simultaneously involving cadres and the community. "Our internal program is cooperating with the existing mass organizations. There is a remembrance council, in our name Berkarya Remembrance Council. Finally, we brought Ustaz Abdul Somad to the At-Tin Mosque, East Jakarta. It is part of the party wing for missionary endeavor. We haven't been to other religions because no one has asked for it yet." (BA). Related to religious activities, Berkarya considers effective enough to maintain the religious culture and limit the influence of understanding that is contrary to the values of the Republic of Indonesia.

Although it has only emerged as a party that tries political fortune in the election contestation, Berkarya has a long-term program that is quite ideal in developing the party by considering the diversity of Indonesian society:

*Among the future agenda are the recruitment of members, volunteers to pesantrens, and so on. Because we are identical*

*to Mr. Harto, so many areas outside of Java can be the basis of Berkarya, many kinds of people with different religions. How can they adapt to local communities and how they are in a peaceful environment? Well, this is what we should know. These patterns of peace are included in the patterns of recruitment. (BA)*

### ***Nationality, Diversity, Indonesian Identity and Education Values***

Berkarya has a high enough idealism in dealing with issues that are developing in society related to the problem of intolerance and radicalism. The chairman of Berkarya DPP clearly described it:

*Religious education must be taught or delivered to children, and it must start from the household itself, then enter formal schooling. Political parties are only part of one group that can sustain religious programs. It is done in macro through government policies, for example, through representatives in parliament both in the regions and districts. Although our focus has not been much on the phenomenon of radicalism and so on, we still have a party wing that specifically discusses religious issues. It is called the council of work dhikr, chaired by H. Bahana. It has become part of political parties to participate in religious propagation. (BA)*

Regarding acts of violence or radicalism, Berkarya sees that the phenomenon must be evaluated in terms of the education curriculum. It needs to be done because the government manages not all educational institutions, but many private religious institutions are under NU and Muhammadiyah.

*Our cadres diligently go to the field and go to the pesantren, so hopefully, with this mechanism, pluralism can be achieved. We are identical to Mr. Harto, and in almost every region outside Java, it is similar to the voice of Berkarya. There must be many people with different religions, we instill pluralism in them, and so they can adapt to local communities. (BA)*

For Berkarya, the Ministry of Religion, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and local governments must be involved in evaluating the education curriculum. Berkarya proposes that the prevention of radicalism must be on the political party's agenda.

### ***Economic Independence and the Unity of the Indonesian Republic***

Berkarya has an interest in developing a democratic economy and believes that an independent society can avoid being exposed to radicalism. Berkarya, through the party wing, the Assembly of Dhikr Berarya, also participates in socializing good religious understanding for the community.

Berkarya has a vision and mission implemented in independent economic programs and the development of internet-based independent *pesantren* (boarding schools). These programs are an effort to assist Indonesia's growth in social, political, and economic contexts. Regarding religious education, Berkarya paid attention by proposing to the government to evaluate the curriculum, both public and private. Berkarya has the agenda for peaceful recruitment. Berkarya will recruit cadres who have a good understanding of religion. At this level, Berkarya sees that if the people are preoccupied with economic activity and earn enough income, then there is no opportunity for them to participate in acts of violence. On that basis, Berkarya places the improvement of people's economic life as the main objective of the party.

Institutionally, Berkarya has been less active in voicing social and religious issues. Historically, Berkarya was initiated by Suharto's sons and daughters, who intended to preserve the legacy of the New Order. By this result, Berkarya focused on economic empowerment and independence programs. Regarding religious aspects and religious education, Berkarya has several views. First, Berkarya has a vision of realizing education based on nationality, diversity, and Indonesian identity. Second, intolerance and radicalism are not necessarily triggered by erroneous education, but also an economic factor. For Berkarya, economic welfare has not yet been realized. Third, Berkarya proposes an improvement in the curriculum. Berkarya pointed out that the preparation of the religious education curriculum must involve various parties: the government, in this case, the ministry of religion and the ministry of education, Islamic organizations, and all elements of society.



## **CHAPTER V**

### **NATIONALIST PARTIES' VIEW ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN CRISIS**

**A** number of national politicians urge to evaluate current Indonesia's religious education fundamentally. They prefer a more inclusive model of religious education. According to PDI-P elites, the current model is considered to be a major source of intolerance and radicalism. In contrast, conservative politicians heavily tend to argue that religious education becomes a moral solution. Liberals, however, view the current education system is still problematic and less encourage the growth of pluralism. They claim the regulation tends to favor certain religions. PDI-P reckons that strengthening the material on Pancasila can be the most basic solution to tackle the crisis of nationalism in national education, particularly on religious education. PDI-P also asserted that religious education is more focused on aspects of spirituality; faith and piety than on national outlooks of the students. It becomes a priority issue that must be addressed immediately. For this nationalist group, religious education should be positioned as a subordinate of national moral education.

Although some nationalist politicians have a conservative tendency, most of them criticize the role of religion that goes too far in government systems. Surya Paloh, the Chairperson of the Nasdem Party, has a firm view of the need to separate religion and state affairs. Regarding the religious education policies, Nasdem politicians expect the government to take more significant roles, mainly, to prevent the development of radicalism. On the other hand, PSI offers an idea of changing today's conventional religious education into religious studies to encourage students to be more respectful of diversity. Moreover, PSI takes a firm

stand on the relationship between religion and the state. They reject to a nuanced regulation religion, like Shari'a regulations.

### **PDI-P: Saving Religious Education through Pancasila**

Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle (henceforth: PDI-P) is a Pancasila-based party as stipulated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia with the soul and spirit of its birth on June 1, 1945. The birth of the Pancasila on June 1, 1945, was taken from Bung Karno's speech at the session of "Indonesia's Independence Efforts Investigation Board (BPUPKI)." Identified as an ideological vanguard party, this party sought to ground the teachings of Bung Karno as the founder of the nation (AD/ART). So, it is not surprising that the PDI-P cadre is known as Soekarno's.

At the Bali congress in 2010, Megawati Soekarnoputri, the Chairperson of PDI-P, called for, "fighting, fighting and once again fighting on the path of Pancasila ideology on June 1, 1945. Pancasila must become a way of life for every Pancasila fighter. Only in that way can we achieve the goals of a just and prosperous society in accordance with the ideals of the establishment of the Proclamation State on August 17, 1945." The ideology of Pancasila is so strong in the spirit of PDI-P. PDI-P's statutes and bylaws on article 6 state that: (a) the tool of struggle to shape and build the nation's character based on the Pancasila of June 1, 1945; (b) the tool for the struggle to deliver the life of a nation and state that have God, have the spirit of socio nationalism, and socio democracy (Tri Sila).

Since its establishment, PDI-P always positions itself as an ideological party promoting nationalism and distance itself from religious issues. The religion, an undeniable Indonesia's issue, has an important position in the dynamics of national politics. It is often used as a tool to gain votes in elections. Stigmatized as an anti-Islamic party, PDI P takes a strategic step by transforming its party's image to embrace Muslim circles. One of which is establishing the right-wing of the party, named Baitul Muslimin Indonesia (Bamusi) (Thaha, 2018). However, what exactly is the PDI-P's view on religion, especially in the field of education?

### ***Religious Education Based on Pancasila***

Established from non-Islamic parties, the Indonesian Independence Support Association (IPKI), the Catholic Party, the Indonesian Christian Party, the Murba Party, and the Indonesian National Party (Kompas, 1999), PDI-P is often associated with an anti-Islam party. Unsurprisingly, a variety of hoaxes related to religion, often hits this party. According to the hoax database of the Ministry of Communication and Information, it was virtually informed on an online article of 2015 that PDI-P would erase the subject of Religion. This news reappeared in the new presidential election held a few months ago. PDI-P then firmly confirmed that the news was not true.

In dealing with religious people, PDI-P took a strategic alliance by establishing partnerships with the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, namely Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. This was revealed directly by the research source who conveyed that:

*Well, the policy is that we don't have to deal directly with Islamic groups because they will later be able to spin that the nationalists, as if, are facing Islam. Don't divide up the meaning of the word nationalist-religious. It must be one. Nationalists are nationalists, and religious are nationalists. It was not the same as the colonial group where there was an Abangan group (a group of people combining Islamic teaching with Javanese tradition) and a santri group (Islamic boarding school students). That brings us into conflict. So, we call this the strategic alliance policy. That is with NU. (EKS, Party 05)*

To eliminate the negative stigma, PDI-P intensively promotes that the party is not only nationalist but also religious. It shows that some of its cadres are from Nahdatul Ulama (NU) circle, and even some of whom become board members of the NU and Muhammadiyah. In addition, Soekarno's speech on June 1, 1945, explains the meaning of the Almighty God that each nation must carry out his Lord's command in their own ways (Basarah, 2017). It shows that the party upholds religious values.

PDI-P is often assumed to have a different perspective on Pancasila. It is due to that the "Godhead of the Almighty" points in the Sukarno's speech

were delivered in the final sequence of the country's basic foundation. PDI-P considers the primary speech content is the unity of the Indonesian people. If looking further at the context during the struggle for independence, national unity is indispensable to unite Indonesia in the frame of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

There was a fierce discussion among the nation's founders in determining the basis of the country—the Pancasila. The sequences of Pancasila are not fundamental for PDI-P, but the entire precepts represent the views of the Indonesian people (Basarah, 2017). Islamic groups, however, have a different perspective. They argued that the "Belief in the one and only God" become the basis for the other precepts. It means that the Indonesian people must have God, have religion.

Aside from being often stigmatized as an anti-religious political party, PDI-P is also often correlated with communism. In dismissing this issue, the party explained that how the party could be communist while the party upholds the values of the Pancasila, which clearly shows that Indonesia must believe in God in accordance with the first principle of "The Almighty God." To understand the PDI-P's religious view, one should conceive the Sukarno's speech on June 1, 1945, stating that:

*What did Sukarno say in the first precepts? "Every Indonesian has God." It means that Sukarno rejected the atheist concept. But in fact, PDI-Perjuangan is always accused of being a communist. If we want to see the PDI-P's faith, we can see it from Soekarno's political faith when he explained the precepts of the Almighty God, and each Indonesian had God. It is not only confirming that each Indonesian, but the Indonesian nation and state must also become a God-nation and state (AB, Party 05).*

The mandate of the Soekarno's speech was then translated in the goals of the PDI-P Struggle, specifically in the fields of religion and social culture. Points 2, 3, and 4 of AD/ART read as follows:

*(2) creating a mental and moral atmosphere that enables the nation to create an orderly and safe atmosphere, both physically and mentally, as a psychological, mental foundation to nurture stability in all fields, which allows the people to enjoy the freedom*



*to embrace their respective religions and beliefs with harmony and tolerance.*

*(3) structuring of national education to realize human beings who believe in and fear God Almighty, possess noble character, have knowledge and skills, physical and spiritual health, a steady and independent personality, and have a sense of community and national responsibility, by prioritizing equal distribution and enhancement quality of basic education and expansion of vocation and vocational education; increasing appreciation of the nation's noble culture that animates human behavior and society in all aspects of life.*

*(4) religious studies and characters are included in the education curriculum.*

Point 4 shows that religious studies are aimed at forming a God-nation. This is in line with the notion of national education in Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning National Education System (known as Sindiknas) which clearly states that national education is education based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which is rooted in religious values, Indonesian national culture, and responsive to demands of changing times. Religious values that are deeply rooted in national education goals are intended to develop the potential of students to become human beings who believe in and fear God Almighty, have noble, as well as become healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and democratic and responsible citizens.

PDI-P's representatives in Parliament actively involved in the discussion of the 2003 National Education System, particularly in regard to religious education at schools (Collection of the treatise, 2003). Their voices collided a lot, especially with the aspirations of Islamic political parties (FBB, FKB, FDU, FPP, and the Reform Faction). Together with the Indonesian National Unity Faction (FKKI), PDI-P's faction expressed their objection to the final results of the discussion and chose to boycott the meeting. They objected to the article readings the school must provide religious teachers in accordance with the

religions of students. According to the source person (who participated in the meeting) that:

*... Why the PDI-P at that time ... walked out of the discussion while discussing the National Education System Law? Because given the obligation that ...aaa. ... the education is organized by people of the same religion, etc.. That is a problem for us, PDI-P. We have already seen the calculations too, from the number of teachers and all those kinds of things—for example, someone who does go to a Catholic school and wants to move to a Madrasa. Then, when they entered the madrasa, they asked Catholic teachings. It's not possible. (HA, Party 05)*

PDI-P argued Article 13, which reads, "Every student in every education unit has the right to get religious education in accordance with the religion that he embraces and is taught by educators of the same religion at all levels and types of education." This article can cause problems. Moreover, a growing issue in the pros and cons of the Law is the goal of national education, which is considered Islamist. One of the source people also mentioned this as a weakness in the Sindiknas Law as described below:

*Yes, Islamization. So, why do we believe so, while we are affected by NKK / BKK in which we were not born at that time? Then, campuses are very free to be radicalized because they say that preaching is not political, even though the delivered contents are political. While the Cipayung group cannot enter the campus. Well ... "(EKS, Party 05)*

For some people, the debate about Islamization in the national education objectives is reflected in the phrase; "human beings who believe and fear God Almighty, have good character." Islam, however, views the three aspects are already in line with the objectives of Indonesia's education, but PDI-P considers it is only in favor of one religion. Meanwhile, others argue that the three words are found in any religious literature.

Another issue in Sindiknas is the validity of the "Normalization of Campus Life/Student Coordination Body" policy (henceforth: NKK/BKK). This issue emerged after the regime changed. The NKK/BKK is a policy based on the Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture, Daed Joesoef,

No.0156 / U / 1978 concerning Normalization of Campus Life (NKK). Next, followed by Decree No.0230/U/J/1980 concerning general guidelines for organization and membership of the Student Coordinating Board (BKK). This policy was made to break up the student political movement, which at the time was actively criticizing the government.

Movement of "Da'wah Kampus" (Campus Da'awah) is often suspected of being penetration of radicalism in higher education. Prof. Azyumardi Azra noted that the origin of the growth of radicalism on campus was due to the development of right-wing student organizations (Tirto.id, 6/20/2018). Also, EKS/05 argued that radicalism has begun since NKK / BKK, the organizations, like; the Cipayung group, the Islamic Student Association (HMI), the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI) and so on were not allowed to enter campuses. As a result, all student discourse and movements tend to be dominated by LDK and KAMMI, especially in public universities. It is undeniable if the President of the Student Executive Board (BEM) at either the university or faculty levels are always mostly from these organizations. Take the Bogor Institute of Agriculture, and at the University of Indonesia as the examples.

In addition, the current absence of Pancasila education is considered to be a deficiency in the Sindiknas. Other speakers stated that "the weakness of the law is that Pancasila is not included as a compulsory subject" (AB, Party 05). AB considered the absence of Pancasila could provide a space for national disintegration, high intolerance, and the development of radicalism in education. The noble values in the Pancasila continue eroding in facing for the ideology of market and religion fundamentalism that is aggressively experimenting in the society today.

Post the reformation era, the subjects of Pancasila Moral Education (PMP), accompanied by the upgrading of Pancasila values or formerly known as the Practical Guidelines and Practices of Pancasila (P4), were suspected as an "indoctrinations" of political tools of power of the New Order regime. Consequently, these subjects were later abolished. However, these were not abolished at all, but it was only changed to Pancasila Education and Citizenship (PPKn) in the 1994 curriculum. Then it was changed again to Citizenship Education (PKn) (Abong, 2015).

The dualism of the education system in the Sindiknas Law also still generates many issues. HA (party 05), a former deputy chairman of the House of Representatives' commission X in education, revealed that the formulation of the Sindiknas Law number 20 of 2003 was to eliminate the dichotomy of general and religious education. According to HA, the dualistic system should no longer differentiate from one another, but it should equalize the system. It is not only for *pesantren* and the general education but also for equalization for vocational education.

*That was the ideals of all parties at that time. The parties did not want dualism in our education system. So, there is only one national education system in which there is indeed general education and religious education. But also ... general education and vocational education were also completed there. So what, the rules related to vocational and general education were then also completed in the National Education System Law. (HA, Party 05).*

The three speakers from PDI-P stated that religious education played a significant part in the struggle for Indonesian independence. It is in line with Soekarno's speech on June 1, 1945, the "Godhead." The source person explains as follows:

*Thus, the politics of national education in accordance with the national education law must be sourced from Pancasila. What is the most fundamental thing when it comes to Pancasila? The answer is "Belief in the one and only God." So, the politics of Pancasila education must provide a place for teaching the divine values of all students. Hence, religious subjects are important to be included ... (AB, Party05)*

What sort of ideal religious education, according to PDI-P? According to the three speakers, the ideal one is following the mandate of the Pancasila and the educational goals, which can create pious citizens, moral noble, and virtuous. As an ideological party, it seems obvious PDI-P positions Pancasila as the main basis of its struggle, and the religious education should be based on Pancasila.

*..... the intended religious subjects are the subjects that can add value and the attitude of faith of each student to their respective*

*God. It is not religious studies that foster anti-nationalism to the nation ... (AB, party 05).*

In relation to tolerance among religions, the results of a survey of millennial generation religious attitudes, Api in Husk PPIM UIN Jakarta (PPIM, 2017), recommended that the teaching of Islamic Religious Education (PAI) need to develop religious literacy and interfaith education. However, the idea of introducing all religions to students was deemed inappropriate by the two speakers.

*Teaching other religions will later confuse students. Today, in college, the students are taught comparative religion. It is unnecessary for elementary, middle, and high schools. It is enough to study their religion ". (HA, Party 05)*

*The phrase "Lakum dinukum waliyadin" means "For you is your religion, for me is my religion. How come the Muslims are forced to study Christianity, or the Christians are forced to study Islam. (AB, Party 05)*

One way to foster student tolerance is to provide knowledge and recognition through experience, direct exposure to diversity. According to Bhaidawy (2005), learning in diversity can foster mutual trust, maintain mutual understanding, uphold mutual respect, be open-minded, appreciation and interdependence, conflict resolution, and nonviolent reconciliation.

Responding to the question, "*Is it important for Indonesia to accommodate religious education that provides an introduction to other religions?*". A PDI-P politician stated that this matter was less relevant. In the context of religious studies, students should be equipped in accordance with the teachings of their religion. Teaching other religions, especially for primary and secondary education, can confuse the students so they cannot determine their true identity. The formation of citizens who have faith, piety, and noble character is sufficient based on the teaching of their respective religions. The introduction to different beliefs internally was not supported by PDI-P practitioners.

*In my opinion, teachers in state schools must teach universal Islam. It means that Islamic teaching must not be based on*

*certain sects. It cannot be taken only, for example, from ahlu sunnah wal jamaah, Nahdatul Ulama (NU), or Muhammadiyah. In other words, it must be universal. However, each cultural value embedded in Islam depends on the family. Traditions, which are the local wisdom of each Islamic culture in Indonesia, cannot be abolished since our nationalism is sourced from a local culture of the Indonesian people. Therefore, the religious subjects taught at state schools must be acceptable to all students. It can be accepted by either Muhammadiyah sect or NU sect.” (AB, party 05)*

PDI-P is well aware that pluralism in religion, ethnicity, ethnicity, and language has become an important issue since the country's formation. Unfortunately, PDI-P seems reluctant to support the idea of recognizing differences both internally and externally. They believe that Pancasila is the only solution for all the main problems of increasing intolerance in Indonesia. For PDI-P, the essence of pluralism and multiculturalism is equality, harmony, and tolerance, which in turn, the community will respect each other for differences. The harmony and tolerant life can be reached if the values of Pancasila and religion are well implemented.

### ***Programs and Policies related to Religious Education***

PDI-P has carried out several strategies related to religious education. Casuistically, this party has helped to solve the discrimination problems that have arisen in the religious field, especially those related to religious education. For example, direct handling of cases that were also quite viral in media in 2016, where there was a vocational student in Semarang who could not graduate because his religious subjects were unavailable (7/26/2016). However, systematically, PDI-P as a political party cannot directly engage in solving problems unless using an executive power line affiliated with his Party. For example, the governor or mayor or regent is a PDI-P cadre. This was expressed directly by EKS.

*There was a real example in Semarang. Some unbelievers were forced to convert to Islam. Then, the Mayor came to intervene. I texted, “there is a case of forcing the unbelievers to cover to Islam,” then the Mayor said, “I will solve it.” It was then resolved. Also, there is an Ahmadiyya seminar planned to be opened by*

*the mayor; then, I will call and state, "I got reports from several cadres, please don't attend the event." Then the mayor was absent. (EKS / 05)*

*It is not our authority. We are asking that the regional leaders from PDI-P carry out. Well, right now, what I'm doing is my own initiative. There wasn't before .. "(EKS / 05)*

*I can't interfere if the regent is from Golkar. What we can intervene in is our regents, the chairman of our DPD-DPRD. If the regent is Golkar, but the chair of the DPRD is PDI-P, then it will be an initiative of the DPRD. We do not want a Governor Regulation (Pergub) or Mayor Regulation (Perwali) because if the heads of the regions are no longer in office, the Governor and its Trustees will disappear. (EKS / 05)*

EKS and AB, the source persons in this study, are the two important actors who helped mediate the case in Semarang. Through the party cadre, which at the time the kader as mayor of Semarang, the high school student with the initials ZN was assisted in getting his right to get a grade and get recognition as a stream of trust believers. Although there are still pros and cons to the equality of believers with religious beliefs, PDI-P believes that each citizen must be able to fulfill his rights and get protection.

For PDI-P, even though the followers of the faith have not yet been recognized as a religion, at least they are the Indonesian people who also need to be protected by their rights. Legally formally, based on Presidential Decree Number 1 of 1965 and Law Number 5 of 1969, the religions of the Indonesian population are Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. This law also later provides an additional explanation that other religions, for example, Judaism, Zaratustrian, Shintoism, or Taoism, are not prohibited and have the full guarantee to remain in Indonesia. Furthermore, the Constitutional Court in its decision No. 140 / PUU-VII / 2009 argues that Law Number 1/pnps/1965 regarding the Prevention of Abuse and Blasphemy of Religion does not limit recognition or protection to only six religions but recognizes all religions adhered to by the Indonesian people (Febionesta, 2019).

PDI-P is also actively involved in resolving other cases in religious life and education, especially minority religions. For example, there was the case of the closure of six Catholic schools in Blitar by the Blitar religious ministry office (01/13/13) and the GKI Yasmin case in Bogor (12/26/14). According to the source person, PDI-P is often accused of being an anti-Islamic party. The clashes between Nationalist and Islamic groups are still strongly visible. Therefore, in developing or voicing policies or programs that are directly aimed at Muslims, PDI-P prefers to establish strategic alliances with large Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah. As mentioned by the following EKS,

*So, we call it as the strategic alliance policy. That is with NU. For example, the Presidential Decree on June 1, 1945. Academic text is what makes GMNI alumni. We will fail if we ourselves propose it. That's why one in the front was Gus Ipul from Anshor. For example, when we proposed to revise the history of Pancasila to MPR. If PDI-P takes this alone, PPP, PKS, and other conservative parties will stand together to oppose it. However, if Islamic groups take the proposal which we have conceptualized, it will go smoothly. We learn from the experience. It is, therefore, we ally with NU friends. That's why Basarah is both serving as a board member of PBNU and Muhammadiyah. We do such things in order that we are not accused of communism. (EKS / 05)*

In general, as explained earlier, PDI-P has no specific vision regarding religious education. Some of the programs and policies that are widely advocated PDI-P today are re-entering Pancasila education in the national education curriculum. Explicitly, PDI-P wants to amend the National Education System Law by including the Pancasila education in the curriculum As stated by HA, "*We are going to revise the National Education System Law, we will include Pancasila lessons*". Another thing that is currently being done at the national level, according to AB, is the establishment of the Presidential Work Unit for the Development of the Pancasila Ideology (UKP-PIP). The unit is expected to be able to make an official guideline in understanding and guiding the values contained in the Pancasila precepts.



At the regional level, PDI-P, through its executive cadre, encourages an issuance of regulations on the integration of Pancasila in each subject.

*An integration of Pancasila values into the curriculum is pivotal. Paweatan Middle School and other eleven Middle Schools have tried to do so. The integration or inclusion does not interfere with the subjects since Pancasila's values and spirit are represented through examples. Take, for instance, in an Indonesian language subject, students are asked about the actors' personalities based on Pancasila after analyzing a novel. It is a good example. Thus, the Pancasila's values can be integrated with all subjects, including religious subjects. (EKS, Party 05)*

At both the regional and national levels, PDI-P so aggressively launched the Pancasila education integration program in schools. For this party, decreasing intolerance and radicalism, especially among youth, can be done by re-enacting Pancasila education. Pancasila is the most vital way to shape the nations' character. As a Muslim-majority country and also the founder of a country of many Muslim circles, religion is an important element in the development of the country. However, for PDI-P, religion is in the private area to deepen their respective religious teachings, increase faith, piety, and its relation to the afterlife. While in social and state relations, Pancasila must be the main (AB).

*Islam and Pancasila are one breath. Thus, all educational institutions, including religious education institutions, for example, pesantren, are obliged to teach Pancasila subjects and other noble national values. The teaching of these values is aimed not to differentiate between Islamic schools, which are claimed, as if, to teach only about hereafter and state schools which are claimed, as if, to teach only about worldly aspects, without religion. No secularism is in our state terms. Consequently, both of the school types must teach Pancasila and religious subjects. Therefore, educational institutions such as Pesantren and others must include Pancasila and other national values as compulsory subjects at school. (AB, Party 05)*

The character education discourse promoted by the government through presidential regulation number 87 of 2017 is considered unnecessary.

AB revealed, "character education is not necessary, it is enough to re-enter Pancasila education." Pancasila must be the foundation in every subject. For PDI-P, the formation of the nation's character is enough to do with integrating Pancasila into all subjects. The personal character can be resolved through religious education by studying the sharia of each religion, and the character of citizens can be shaped through Pancasila education.

From the description of interview questions and answers, seemingly PDI-P believes religious education is an important thing that is aimed to create citizens who are godly or faithful, pious and noble or only emphasize on a religious mission. Religious education in question is religious education based on Pancasila as the basis of the state. As for the civic mission, more emphasis is placed on Pancasila education, which is currently being pursued to return to the national curriculum. PDI-P believes that national integrity and character-building can only be achieved through consistent inculcation of the Pancasila's values.

### ***Contemporary Issues of Religious Education and Religious Life***

In recent years, Indonesia has experienced an increase in intolerance in the community, even in the school environment. Research on PPIM UIN Jakarta (2016) on "Dissemination of Exclusive Understanding in Islamic Education: Policy and Political Study of the Production of Islamic Religious Education Teaching Materials (PAI)" found that many books were nuanced exclusively, intolerant, and radical. Books with problematic content are found in most levels of education, ranging from elementary schools (SD) to high schools (high schools) and even kindergartens (kindergarten). Then, PPIM UIN Jakarta also examined how religious teachers, as actors of change, shape student religious attitudes. Unfortunately, the results of the study also show that in the context of inter-religious tolerance, religious teachers themselves also show that their tolerance has not yet developed in active cooperation as fellow citizens. Other studies that also confirm intolerance in schools include MAARIF Institute (2011), Ministry of Education and Culture (2015), Wahid Foundation (2016), Alvara (2017), PPIM UIN Jakarta (2017) & (2018).

Intolerance and radicalism in the world of education occur in several cases, for example, the case of the Ibn Mas'ud Islamic Boarding School in Bogor, where students burned red and white banners in 2017. The *pesantren* was asked by the local community to be closed (Kompas, 18/9/17). This local community pressure caused the local government to, finally, close the Ibnu Mas'ud *pesantren*. But the *pesantren* teachers and students reportedly moved to an area in Central Java. In responding to various cases that threatened the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, PDI-P gave a firm answer.

*"..... state must be engaged with and must not lose to political or ideological attitudes which are contrary to the basic consensus of our state, namely Pancasila. The aforementioned Islamic boarding school must instruct the school to include Pancasila subjects. Otherwise, the government must take a firm stand to close the school's operating license. Violating and denying Pancasila as the basis of our country, which is the final consensus of the Indonesian people are already the most fundamental mistake. " (AB, Party 05)*

As a party with nationalist ideology, PDI-P firmly stated that everything against the constitution, including those that did not recognize Pancasila nor wanted to salute the flag, and so on had to be closed. The case of Ibnu Masoed Islamic boarding school in Bogor clearly violated Law Number 24 the Year 2009 Article 66 jo Article 24 letter a concerning the flag, language, and national symbol, as well as the national anthem. Regarding the assumption that religious education is a source of intolerance, PDI-P believes that the emergence of intolerance and radicalism is not a mistake in religious subjects but rather in the system and curriculum of religious education itself.

*"The teachers who are not capable of delivering religious studies in accordance with their objectives can be blamed. They do not integrate the Pancasila values into religious subjects." (HA, Party 05)*

*So, religious subjects do not cause intolerance and radicalism, but operators do. The operators are the regulators at the local level, starting from the province, regency, city, and school regulations,*

*as well as the teachers. The aforementioned religious subjects are the subjects that can add religious value and the attitude of each student to their respective God. In other words, it is not religious studies fostering anti-nationalism, to the nation. Each nation has each own government regulating religious education, including governments in Islamic states.*

*If Islamic subjects in a country do not provide nationalism education to its students, countries like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, and Afghanistan can easily be ruined. Indeed, nationalism exists in every nation in every country. Therefore, the aforementioned religious subjects not only improve a sense of the spirit of love to their Lord by properly carrying out his Lord's commands but also bring the nation closer to their country, their nation. " (AB, Party 05)*

The world of education after the entry into force of the NKK / BKK has become an arena of struggle between moderates and extreme rightists. According to PDI-P, one way to minimize the growth of extreme understanding on campus is to allow the Cipayung 1 group to return to the educational institution. In addition, it is also necessary to clean or dissolve the activity units that are not in line with Pancasila as has been done at UGM. If the President selects the chancellor of the university, the government can easily minimize the movements that spread Islamism.

*"..... the Islamic Student Unit, having extreme Islamic understanding in UGM, has been dissolved through lobbying the chancellor. Fortunately, the chancellor at the moment is serving as a state secretary, so it is much easier. The dissolvent can easily be executed when the authority of determining a chancellor in the hands of the president. Take, for example, ITP and IPB. These campuses are doing the cleansing of such a view. These must be done; otherwise, they will widen their Islamization view." (EKS, Party 05).*

In relation to intolerance and radicalism, PDI-P issued a statement of political stance regarding these phenomena. In the book *Islam and PDI-P*, Idris Thaha states that there are at least two statements of PDI-P attitudes published on February 11, 2011, and December 30, 2011. The followings are some political attitudes of PDI-P:

1. Condemning the most inhumane behavior for attacks carried out by religious groups / hardline organizations that easily commit acts that violate the Law and Human Rights, causing other religious / belief groups to repeatedly become victims.
2. Requesting the government to truly provide concrete protection for the lives of all religious people, without exception. However, all religious/belief groups are Indonesian citizens who must be protected by their safety.
3. The Department of Religion should increase intensive coaching for religious communities so that they can coexist without conflict and violence between one another.
4. Requesting the Indonesian National Police to increase sensitivity and speed of action to anticipate the recurrence of acts of tyranny against any religious group, and immediately drag the perpetrators of violence to be immediately brought to justice.
5. Asking that all anarchist mass organizations, with any religious background, be immediately dissolved and declared as banned organizations in the Republic of Indonesia.
6. Asking the Minister of Religion to revoke the Joint Decree (PERBES) of the Minister of Religion and the Minister of Home Affairs Number 9 of 2006 and Number 8 of 2006, bearing in mind that the SKB's philosophy (spirit) does not reflect a sense of justice that adversely affects certain religious / belief groups that always have difficulty building houses worship.
7. Suggesting that it be time for the House of Representatives to build a Special Committee for Religious Harmony, in order to find a comprehensive solution regarding harmony among religions in Indonesia.

### ***Strengthening Nationalism***

PDI-P, the ideological pioneer party based on Pancasila, placed the values of Pancasila as the foundation of each of its struggles. PDI-P firmly embraced the values of Pancasila delivered by Sukarno on June 1, 1945. Efforts to ground the values of Pancasila as a basic norm and philosophy of state life become an important benchmark for this party. Therefore, the ideal

religious education, according to PDI-P, is religious education following the principles of the Pancasila, especially the first principle—Godhead. Religious education must add value and the attitude of faith of each student to their respective God.

Religious education must also be able to foster an attitude of nationalism. This view is certainly in line with the theory that religious education must have not only a religious mission but also the mission of citizenship. However, the portion of character building for citizens who love the motherland, according to PDI-P, needs to be grown through Pancasila education. Meanwhile, religious education is sufficient at the level of formation of personal character and the deepening of their own religious teachings. In other words, Pancasila Education as the PDI-P dream must be the main focus of the nation when facing the threat of cracking of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. Then, religious education is forming personal character.

Regarding the teaching of other religions at school, PDI-P argues that the students should focus on learning their respective beliefs. PDI-P also tends to ignore the importance of recognizing differences in internal Islam itself, which is known to be diverse in Indonesia. Indonesia has many Islamic schools. NU and Muhammadiyah, the two largest community organizations, also have differences in carrying out their Shari'a. However, the recognition of these cultural differences, according to PDI-P, is better done at the domestic or family level. Formal education institutions must be more neutral and teach universal Islamic values.

For PDI-P, Religious education is not a matter of priority. The threat of national disintegration by increasing intolerance and radicalism can be resolved by instilling and integrating Pancasila values in all subjects, including religious subjects. Pancasila education must be the most important to shaping the nation's character. What needs to be done now is to review the religious curriculum, teacher recruitment system immediately, and amend the law to be able to re-enter the subjects of Pancasila moral education or PMP. In addition, Cipayung groups such as the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI) must again be allowed on campuses.

## **Nasdem Party: Refusing Sharia in the Country, Support State Interventions in Religious Education**

Nasdem becomes a party with jargon “ready to restore the life of the nation and state which it considered had deviated a lot from the constitution.” The restoration can be interpreted as returning to the right track as agreed by the founding fathers, with reference to the state of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Aditya, 2013). Nasdem's various policies and statements on socio-political aspects often base this spirit of restoration, including in a number of statements and political attitudes related to the development of the religious and educational situation in the country. There are several important themes raised by Nasdem, especially through the statement of its Chairman Surya Paloh, concerning religious and national issues in recent times.

First, it concerns the position of Islam in the state. More specifically, the issue of implementing regulations or regional regulations nuanced Islamic law. This issue initially emerged a few months ago before the 2019 elections by the General Chairperson of the PSI who suddenly criticized the attitude of several nationalist parties who were silent with the phenomenon of the emergence of sharia regulations, and even in some regions also approved the formation of religious regulations which he considered to conflict with the pluralism.

General Chairman of Nasdem firmly refused the enactment of the Sharia Law (other than in Aceh) because it was considered discriminatory and against the spirit of nationalism. Surya Paloh considers that regional regulations (Perda) based on religious law does not need to be applied in Indonesia. However, Surya realizes that there are some specificities such as in Aceh, which has a Sharia regulation. In a statement, the Chairman of the Nasdem said, "We accept and respect (the Aceh Syariah Law). However, if asked whether other regions need to implement a new Sharia law, Nasdem's view is clear, if there is no urgency, for what," Surya said in Pontianak, West Kalimantan (JPNN.com, 2018). He also stressed Nasdem was a party that adhered to a religious-nationalist understanding. Every cadre of the NasDem Party without exception must maintain pluralism that is within the ideology of Pancasila.

In addition to the above issues, a number of Nasdem politicians also actively expressed their views in the mass media regarding other religious matters. For example, the Secretary-General of the Nasdem Party, Johnny G. Plate, asked the Indonesian Parliament to review the *Pesantren* and Religious Education (detik.com, 2018). Further, Setyono Djuandi Darmono - an education practitioner - once stated that religious education should be eliminated from schools since it is not needed and only makes students feel different. However, Syarif Abdullah Alkadrie - the secretary of the Nasdem Faction - firmly argued that those are shallow analyses. According to Syarif, the statement also showed a limited understanding of the contents of the first precepts of the Pancasila, which uphold religious beliefs. (Fajar.co.id, 2019)

A number of responses from the Nasdem Party to the issue of religious education in Indonesia indicate that the Nasdem Party has become one of the parties that are paying enough attention to the issue. For this reason, this study wants to dig deeper into how the Nasdem views religious education in Indonesia. Having explored how the Nasdem's programs, policies, and perspectives on religious education in Indonesia, we can see how the Nasdem's commitment to building resilience to prevent violent extremism through religious education in Indonesia.

### ***Building Moral and Tolerant Societies through Religious Education***

In Nasdem's view, religious education is an important component in shaping the character of Indonesian people in accordance with the noble values of the Indonesian nation. The resource person said that religious education is not only about religious rituals but also about the way humans connect to other humans or we live in society. Therefore, the role of religious education becomes important in creating a moral society based on the noble values of the Indonesian nation. (TB, Party 13)

Furthermore, the resource person said that religious education must be in line with nationalist insight (TQ, Party 13). For this reason, efforts are needed to provide and add teachings on the state and citizenship. The aim is to remind again that we live together in the Indonesian state. According to the interviewees, two important notes about religious education. The



first is that religious education provided in schools must ensure that all religious adherents have equal opportunities to obtain religious education, meaning that it should prevent an imbalance between the provision of religious education of certain religions and that of other religions. The second is that religious education must teach tolerance among religious people. (TB, Party 13).

*Religious education provided in schools must also be under the condition that all religious adherents must have the same opportunity to obtain religious education. There must not then be an imbalance between the provision of religious education of certain religions and that of other religions. First, the regulation must be based on the principle of our constitution, no matter how many people still have to have the same portion to get access to religious education. Second, that religious education must still be in line with what is desired in state life, especially about tolerance. (TB, Party 13)*

The resource person said that religious education must not be exclusive but inclusive—open to anyone and open to the values of truth that surround him. He also added that religious education has an important role in individuals since the moral messages conveyed in religious education are very easily absorbed and digested. For this reason, the message conveyed in religious education must be in line with the national messages to form a moral society. (TB, Party 13).

### ***Problems of Teacher Welfare and Reading Materials***

According to the speaker, Nasdem has not explicitly discussed programs, views, or policies regarding religious education (WA, Party 13). However, it was said that Nasdem instructed its cadres who held both executive and legislative positions both at the central and regional levels to avoid making discriminatory rules or regulations. (TB, Party 13)

*First of all, we really hope that every rule of law, both laws or regulations under the government, local regulations, is not discriminatory but is inclusive. That is, he must apply equally to everything. Therefore, we always convey this message that this is the attitude of Nasdem. Therefore, we hope that our cadres will*

*continue the instruction in each carrying out their respective duties. (TB, Party 13)*

The resource person also admitted that Nasdem supported religious laws, such as the *Pesantren* and Religious Education, the Zakat Law, and the Hajj Law. However, Taufik Basari stressed that the state should regulate as needed to prevent chaos. However, the state must refrain if it is ritualistic. (TB, Party 13).

Regarding Nasdem's programs and policies, the resource person said that as a Legislative member of the VIII commission, he placed training for religious teachers. According to him, the state must pay attention to the needs of these religious teachers, such as welfare. However, he also hopes that with the increase in teacher welfare, the competence and quality of teaching staff, especially religious teachers, will be better. (HA, Party 13)

Other resource persons also highlighted the problem of the education curriculum in Indonesia. According to him, it cannot be denied that notions such as radicalism have begun to infiltrate, grow, and develop in Indonesia through educational institutions. For this reason, the curriculum and books on religious education must be closely monitored and controlled by the government. In addition, he also argued that the government should make rules related to follow-up or punishment for schools that are not willing to teach and practice the concept of nationalism. (TQ, Party 13)

### ***Growing Radicalism in Educational Institutions***

Nasdem recognizes that radicalism disseminations through educational institutions in Indonesia are currently starting to grow and develop. According to the interviewees, this had begun since the 1980s when certain individuals or groups were trying to spread their teachings through formal and informal educational institutions. Now, this understanding has already started to flourish (TB, Party 13). Another resource person said that the emergence of radicalism in Indonesia was a natural in the current era of open democracy. Take, for example, the *Pesantren* owned by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir in Ngruki, who rejected Pancasila long ago (WA, party 13).

The other speaker noted that the increasingly influential radicalism in the country is much influenced by Arabism education. Both are through its alumni returning and teaching in Indonesia, as well as through the established propaganda and education institutions. Arabism's notion is considered contradictory to the state ideology. It does not respect the culture and traditions that lived and developed in society. Further, many suspected radicalism schools were not willing to carry out activities to strengthen the national spirit, such as the flag ceremony, and the like. (TQ, Party 13)

One other source highlighted that young graduates from Islamic studies in Arab countries had the potential to spread radicalism in Indonesia. Their religious view is different from Muslims in general. According to the speaker, a boarding school manager in Probolinggo East Java, those who just returned from learning, often claim to understand religion best. They are too eager to transfer what they receive, without regard to the social culture of the Indonesian people. The approach to religion is very rigid, essentially all the "*halal-haram*" (lawful-forbidden), "black-and-white" like most Islamic practices in Arab countries. This Da'wah model is certainly not in line with the diversity of Muslims in Indonesia who highly respect tradition. (HA, Party 13)

*... young people who have just returned from school in the Middle East claim to know the most religion. They impose their knowledge, what they want to transfer to Indonesia. They forget the original culture that developed in this country. Da'wah is also black and white, anyway halal-haram (lawful-forbidden), cigarettes are also haram. They can't do that. They can't force the culture of the countries where they study, like in Yemen, for example, to be applied here. (HA. Party of 13)*

The resource person, a member of the House of Representatives charging off the religious field, claimed to interact with the Ministry of Religious Affairs frequently. On several occasions, he has given proposals for the prevention of radicalism in propaganda and educational activities. Still, those proposals seem to have received less attention from Minister of Religious Affairs, Lukman Saifuddin (served in 2014-2019). The proposed solutions to prevent the development of radicalism are as follows:

The first is training promotion. The government needs to promote preaching training for young people, especially those who have just finished college. Through training, they are trained to become skilled preachers, so they can compete and even defeat preachers who “just talk about” Islam. The participants of this training are expected to have both the ability to memorize and read the Qur'an 10 to 30 juz (sections) correctly.

The second is strengthening resources, especially teachers. The number of religious teachers is very low, even in primary schools. Unavailable funding is the main reason for not appointing teachers. In fact, according to the speaker, these costs are available when worked. He suggested that infrastructure development be stopped first, and directed at the development of human resources (teaching staff) because that is the current priority. At the very least, the allocation of infrastructure and resource development can be balanced, 50:50. Unlike now, it's not balanced and only concentrated on infrastructure.

The third is the content based on the national curriculum. The speaker who also discussed the *Pesantren* Law said that he was fighting for the entry of a number of important points that were considered to be able to prevent radical religious understanding. According to him, many understandings and religious currents are all unclear, and allegedly contrary to the culture of the nation and the understanding of the majority of the people. He thought of proposing clauses of Islamic learning in all Islamic boarding schools in the Republic of Indonesia following the Syafii school of thought. He understood that his proposal would lead to controversy, but by submitting the clause, Nasdem politicians were trying to get the leaders to think hard so that not everyone could freely set up a *pesantren*.

The fourth is learning from the experiences. We should learn from various schools that have succeeded in protecting their students from the influence of unexpected ideas. The resource person also suggested that the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education establish dormitories for students at least one sub-district set. Through this boarding system, students get religious learning by teachers who have been selected and can coexist with students with different characteristics. They will get new experiences as well as understanding true religion. During this time,

many cases of students are exposed to radical understanding because it is too liberated from external influences. He witnessed that in a number of schools in SMA and MAN in Malang, East Java, the parental system for these students was quite effective in avoiding them from radical understanding. (HA, Party 13)

In addition, the government needs to take anticipatory action, for example, such as forbidding students to study religion in Arab countries where the religious teachings tend to be hardliners or directing them to study in more moderate universities like Al Azhar. In his view, it is better to direct them to take Islamic studies at UIN Jakarta, which is scientifically responsible for its quality (TQ, Party 13). In addition, another speaker from the same party said that the re-teaching of the Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) needed to be reapplied in order to prevent radicalism. He said that PMP had to be revived but with different teaching methods so that it could be more effective. (TB, Party 13)

### ***The root of Problems and Solutions***

Highlighting the tendency to strengthen the radical understanding that began to infiltrate through educational institutions in Indonesia, Nasdem conveyed several ideas conveyed regarding the roots of the problem and how to overcome it. Viewed from the first aspect—the root of the problem, a developing religious understanding in education cannot be separated from:

First, the political excesses become more open, especially post-democratic reform. A number of new religious groups emerged with an understanding and ideology strongly influenced by a major Wahabi's influence. The presence of these various Islamic organizations, engaged in propaganda and education, is a logical consequence of political openness. Such a situation is what allows transnational radical ideology to develop, especially at the same time that more graduates from a number of universities in the Middle East who are affected by Wahabi have begun to come into this country.

Secondly, government policies on the aspects of education and da'wah in responding to the increasingly strong influence of radical religious ideas are ineffective. The government is not swift in selecting religious

learning curricula and ensures that it does not contain extreme religious understanding and anti-nationalism. Only after it became a national issue, as usual, was the government reactive.

Third, some politicians, including those who are members of the DPR, tend to play it safe by avoiding or reluctant to go too deeply into educational issues related to Islamic issues. Finally, they tend to make statements that are general and normative about how religious education should be nationally oriented but against violations. However, they tend to be passive. Why did this happen? One important point of the interview results is that some politicians and even the government itself are often reluctant to act firmly against educational institutions that are allegedly teaching anti-nationality attitudes to their students. They are afraid of having a negative impact on their parties, might be accused of being anti-Islamic. Thus, some of them tend to be passive.

To overcome the radicalism view on Islamic education, Nasdem proposes some ideas, including:

The first is curriculum content. The government must be present to tightly control religious education material that is contrary to the understanding of the majority of Muslims in Indonesia. It must be ensured that religious material teaches moderate Islam, citizenship, and strengthens national outlook. Education that emphasizes the strengthening of character and values is also very important; just what form is still unclear.

The second is the limitation of Salafi-Wahabi ideology influence. The government must oversee religious education material that is contaminated with Wahhab religious understanding, and also needs to stop sending students who want to explore religion in a number of Arab countries that teach that understanding.

The third is strengthening human resources. The shortage of religious teachers must be overcome immediately, besides the government must also strengthen their competencies (teachers and preachers) by conducting training. Consequently, the allocation of funds needs to be provided by the government to strengthen the capacity of the teaching staff.

Fourth, in terms of religious participation in state affairs. Nasdem Party does not agree with too much that religion interferes with the affairs of state. Therefore, internally they ensure that party cadres are committed to the value of restoration, while at the same time being critical of nuanced religious regulations that harm pluralism and tolerance among citizens.

### **PSI: Preventing Intolerance Through Religious Studies**

*Party Solidaritas Indonesia* (PSI) was founded in 2015 and began to engage in Indonesian political contestation since the 2019 election. PSI emerged as a nationalist party by campaigning on several platforms. In education, PSI highlights the equal distribution of education and the importance of providing space for non-state institutions such as *pesantren* to strengthen education in Indonesia. In the field of religion and civil liberties, PSI seeks to ensure its alignment with minority groups, women, children, disabled people, and so on. PSI's views on religious education issues are strongly influenced by the principles and values adopted by the party. It can be seen in the following explanations.

*Party Solidaritas Indonesia* is one of the few parties that pay special attention to the issue of intolerance. As the resource person, PSI said that "We see one of the biggest problems in Indonesia today is intolerance" (RJA, Party 16). PSI's concern is in line with the research findings of various research institutions (LSI, Setara Institute, The Wahid Institute, and PPIM), which show an increase in the level of intolerance in Indonesian society. Furthermore, the symptoms of intolerance are also found increasingly spread in the world of education that should be an incubator for tolerance. PPIM research in 2017 found that the level of intolerance and radicalism of Muslim students was quite high. There was 34 percent of students and college students who had an intolerant opinion towards adherents of other religions. The level of intolerance towards minority groups in Islam (such as Ahmadiyah, Shi'a, etc.) was much higher at 51%. Those are the reason why anti-intolerance is a value that has always been championed by PSI.

Associated with the problem of intolerance, the ideal religious education, according to PSI, is religious education that is able to prevent the emergence

of intolerance among students. PSI does not actually have a problem with religion being taught in schools, as stipulated by the National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003. PSI highlights that religious education in schools is indicated to be unable to stem the birth of intolerance among students. It is what makes religious teaching currently not ideal, so it needs evaluation and reformulation. PSI said

*... there must be an in-depth study of the curriculum, whether the formal religious education curriculum has led children to understand about religion and increase faith, but inclusive faith. It must be seen. I suspect that something needs to be improved in the curriculum; to understand faith, but at the same time to understand, to acknowledge, and to respect the differences. That is part of the important pillar of religion taught. From the curriculum aspect itself, it needs to be studied again (RJA, Party 16)*

### ***Religious Studies to Fight Intolerance***

In PSI's view, an ideal curriculum for religious education is education based on inclusive faith and Religious Studies by introducing religions recognized by the state. This approach is indeed not commonly used in religious education curricula in schools. Religious studies are generally studied at the college level, and even then only in specific study programs. With religious studies, students are not only taught one religion but also introduced to different religions. "We push religious education in the direction of religious studies, so now religious teaching must be taught by the relevant teachers, oke that is done. But like I said before, it must study all the religions that recognized by the state, there is a phase of teaching faith, worship, but there must be a chapter that teaches other religious traditions" (RJA, Party 16). The same thing was emphasized by other sources. Religious studies are believed to be able to reduce the threat of intolerance (TA, Party 16)

The idea to change the format of religious education at this moment into religious studies in the eyes of a number of parties is somewhat too radical. Some parties – including nationalist parties – reject this idea because it is feared that society will lose a generation that has faith in one



religion. They are fear if students who are educated with the approach of religions will interpret that all religions are the same, so there is no need to determine belief in one particular religion. More than that, they are also fear if students then fall into the understanding that religion is only an option. Some reject the idea of religious studies because teaching one religion in its entirety or plenary is actually enough because in religions, there are teachings about mutual respect for adherents of different religions.

However, for PSI, the material or curriculum in conventional religious education is indicated to be unable to stem the birth of intolerance in schools, according to data found by various survey institutions. Teaching a "whole" religion also contains several problems. "The claim is always like that, Islam is *rahmatan lil alamin*, that's a normative statement that sounds beautiful. But as I said earlier, the question is, "what is it like the whole teaching of Islam?" Another question is, who teaches the whole of Islam? Those are the problems" (RJA, party 16).

In addition to evaluating the existing religious education curriculum and directing it towards religious studies, PSI argues that innovations in teaching methods are also needed. During this time, religion is taught conventionally in the classroom without interaction and visiting different religious places. According to PSI, holding a program of visiting each other's places of worship will increase one's knowledge of different religions, thereby reducing suspicion towards different people. As the PSI source told,

*I was born into a santri family, and I confess I was close to other religions. Seeing a church was something strange; it looked like a scary place for me. If there is a visit from Christian students to the mosque, Muslims visit the church, the temple, see the ritual take place, those just a typical religious building. How are we going to respect others, if we don't know it well? It's important to have a visit like that (RJA, Party 16)*

Another thing that concerns PSI is the matter of the qualifications and quality of teachers who teach religion. PSI realizes – citing the 2018 PPIM research – more than 50 percent of madrasa and school teachers have an

intolerant view of people from different religions. If the teachers already have an intolerance view of people from different religions, the religious nuance of the teachers certainly influences how they teach their students. PSI believes that the Ministry of Religion, together with the Ministry of Education and Culture, needs to evaluate the religious understanding of religion teachers. If needed, the government can prepare an agreement so that teachers do not teach things that are contrary to Pancasila (RJA, Party 16).

### ***Future Policies and Agenda***

PSI is a young political party, which declared in 2015 and managed to become one of the contestants in the 2019 General Elections. However, PSI has not succeeded in passing the parliamentary threshold of four percent. As a result, PSI could not place its representatives in the Indonesian Parliament, although in a number of provinces and districts/cities, PSI succeeded in placing its representatives in the DPRD. Thus, the opportunity and contribution of PSI in fighting for new ideas in the field of religious education that refers to the values of tolerance cannot be actualized at the level of the national parliament.

A number of PSI politicians continue to actively voice and criticize policies that are intolerant and discriminatory, including in the world of education. One of the policies that PSI consistently rejects is the emergence of regional regulations based on certain religions. According to PSI, the birth of religious-based regulations is a manifestation of intolerant attitudes. Many studies show that religious-based regulations in their application discriminate against minorities. PSI promised, "if we had the power we would never be interested in sharia regulations, we would try to refuse, not to annul them." (RJA, party 16)

In the field of education, especially religious education, PSI also plans to strengthen madrasa and *pesantren*. For PSI, Islamic traditions in Indonesia cannot be separated from madrasa and *pesantren*. There is an awareness that *pesantren* is a source of religious teaching in Indonesia that has been going on for decades. Therefore, *pesantren* and madrasa education must be strengthened. With a note that strengthening *pesantren* and madrasa

is in line with strengthening national understanding and tolerance. As one of the resource persons said, "... just make sure what is taught in the *pesantren* and madrasa is compatible with national issues" (RJA, Party 16).

Still related to *pesantren*, until now, there is a bill on *Pesantren* and Religious Education. This bill becomes a polemic because the bill regulates not only Islamic educational institutions (*pesantren*) but also other religious education institutions. It becomes a problem because there are regulations that must be followed by religious education institutions that are difficult to fulfill by other religious institutions such as Sunday school or catechism. Many of the bills are considered to reflect excessive alignments towards certain religious institutions.

PSI proposes two things. First, in order not to be discriminatory, the existing bill does not need to be part of regulating other religious education institutions, it is sufficient to regulate *pesantren*. Second, if the bill is to be made interfaith, then the formulation of the bill must involve other religions. As the resource person emphasized, "Either it becomes just a *pesantren* bill that does not involve other religions, or if it involves other religions, then it must talk to other religions that have different religious education traditions." (RFA, party 16).

### ***PSI and National Phenomena***

In addition to raising rejection of religious-based regulations, PSI also responded to specific cases around education. In 2011, for example, Al Irsyad Junior High School in Tawangmangu District and Al Albani Islamic Science and Technology Elementary School (SD-IST) in Matesih District refused ceremonies and respect for the flag. The school policy certainly cannot be tolerated. Policies taken by schools should be in line with the national philosophy of Pancasila. Pancasila is the consensus of the Indonesian people as a binder of diversity. Pancasila is a solution to the potential disintegration of Indonesian as a nation, and Pancasila is not a concept that is contrary to religion. Thus, religious education developed in Indonesia must still refer to and be in the Pancasila corridor.

According to PSI, the government firmly needs to respond to schools that are against the values of Pancasila. As the resource person said, "there must be firmness, but it doesn't also make arbitrary, there must be a process, there must be the first warning, the second, invited to the discussion until later when it is indeed still disobedient, it can be given a penalty of not extending permits and so on as long as this country is consistent in maintaining Pancasila values" (RJA, Party 16).

Another case that was also watched out by PSI was the obligation to use Muslim uniforms in public schools. In mid-2019, Karangtengah 3 Elementary School, Karangtengah Village, Wonosari District, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta, required the use of Muslim uniforms for students. According to PSI, "The obligation was not in place. The school is a public elementary school, financed with taxes from the people. So it should not be managed with certain religious preferences" (RJA, Party 16). The Ministry of Education and Culture has given a circular about uniform in schools in Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No. 45/2014 schools do not need to make new rules that are different from what has been set. PSI resource person continued, "The point is that there should be no state-funded public schools that require certain clothing for their students, and we reject something that seems to be forced" (RJA, Party 16).

In recent years, schools have also emerged with different curriculum and manhaj (paradigm) from the majority of schools. Manhaj differences make schools tend to be exclusive. Regarding these schools, the government must take appropriate steps. Theoretically, as long as they do not commit criminal acts, there is no reason for the state to suppress them. Still, in the context of ideological contestation, there is no debate. The government cannot just disperse, but it provides supervision, data collection, and control so that education developed remains in line with collective values. As stated by PSI

*...“ Now for the institution or school, it does not necessarily close, but there must be a clear measure, what is allowed and what is not, it should be clearer, between 'the dos and don'ts.' For example, teaching values that are in accordance with Pancasila*

*and the 1945 Constitution, can be done with persuasion, as well as enforcement" (RJA, Party 16).*

As a party that is anti to discrimination, PSI supports gender-inclusive education. The right to education applies to men and women. If there is discrimination, PSI will refuse as the resource person said that PSI from the beginning was born as an anti to discrimination party (RJA, Party 16). The equality of women's roles is proven – not only in policy – but also in the party structure. PSI is led by women, and the party's daily board also involves women.

### ***Tolerance Based on Religious Education***

PSI is a very ideological nationalist party. PSI adheres to the two fundamental values of the party's establishment, namely anti-corruption and anti-intolerance. Policies run by the party refer to these two values. What has been done by PSI is in line with general theories about ideology and political parties; that ideology provides direction and policy orientation of a party. Ideology can move a person, a group, a class of society, a political party, or even a country to do something (Macridis, 1983). Anti-intolerance is an ideology held by PSI. It is this ideology that moves the party to do something. PSI realizes that the choice to become an "ideological" party is risky electorally. However, to ideologically exclude (anti-corruption and anti-intolerance) means to kill the soul of the party.

The motto of the highest result of education is tolerance (Keller, 1903) can illustrate PSI's desire for education. In achieving a tolerant level, the evaluation and reformulation of religious teaching in schools are necessary. Therefore, PSI introduces Religious Studies as a curriculum for religious education in schools. To strengthen the curriculum, teaching methods visiting each other's worship places are necessary. The objective is that students become individuals who are tolerant of differences.

The evaluation also needs to be done on policies that have not yet done to support the inculcation of tolerance. PSI rejects local regulations that favor the particular religion and sacrifices minority groups. The government is also expected to provide a stance towards schools that

impose regulations that are not in line with the spirit of tolerance and nationality, such as the imposition of Muslim dress obligations or the refusal to respect the red and white flag.

### **Perindo: Religious Education to Achieve Harmony**

Party Persatuan Indonesia/ Indonesian Unity Party (Perindo) is a nationalist party that was formed from the start of community organizations. This party is still at a young age in the country's political constellation since its inception in 2015, even becoming a new party participating in the 2019 elections. In the same boat with other new parties, Perindo has not passed the parliamentary threshold. As a party with the ideology of Pancasila, Perindo has the struggle to actualize prosperous Indonesia. In the view of the Perindo Party, if prosperity can be achieved, then the unity of Indonesia will be solid, national diversity will be maintained, and the Unitary Republic of Indonesia will be actualized. Indonesian unity must be maintained within the framework of harmony among national components because harmony is the base of unity.

Although party policies are very economic centric, this party's attention to improving the quality of education is equally important. During the yesterday election campaign, many Perindo ideas related to strategies to improve the quality of public education. Among them is going to fight for the improvement of community higher education through online tertiary institutions to interest-free college loans. The party sees education as an important means of increasing the productivity of the community to achieve prosperity.

No exception to religious education, the same spirit was also shown. Perindo has special attention to the quality of religious education in *pesantren* through the institution that is established, *Yayasan Peduli Pesantren* (YPP). The presence of YPP is to be able to help the development of *pesantren* facilities and infrastructure for the progress of the implementation of Islamic religious education and general education. The quality of today's santri is not only qualified in the context of the afterlife but in the context of worldliness, it is also able to compete.

The next section will describe in more detail the Perindo's views regarding religious education, the party's policy on religious education, and Perindo's response to the latest issues surrounding religion.

### ***Main Purpose of Religious Education: Unity and Harmony***

Broadly speaking, Perindo's vision and mission do not explicitly mention the issue of education, the Perindo Party focuses more on the issue of economic democracy. Convinced that the quality of Indonesian education will go forward if the economic level of the community increases and democracy is carried out properly. Ahmad Rofiq stressed, "It's useless to talk about democracy if your stomach is empty. Democracy will lead to a substance if the stomach is full and education is good" (AR, Party 14). According to him, democracy in Indonesia is still being carried out artificially, not yet leading to a substantial nature. Moving towards advanced Indonesia needs to be supported by equitable economic quality and education.

However, the party still believes that the position of religious education has a very important role in creating harmony in the life of the nation to maintain the unity of Indonesia - as the name of the party, Persatuan Indonesia (Perindo), or the Indonesian Unity in English. Especially if you look at life today, there is almost no homogeneous social structure or society. Somewhere there must be followers of other religions. Therefore there needs to be a shared awareness of diversity in this country, one of which is through teaching real religious education. Perindo resource person emphasized the importance of religious education as follows:

*Religious education is a fortress for the morality of this nation, if religious education is strengthened from an early age, then that becomes a filter for every society to swoop forward. The issue of terrorism, if religious understanding is complete and straight from childhood, in my opinion, society will not be affected. Culture being terrorism does not exist in our religious roots. (AR, Party 14).*

Considering that religious education teaching is very important, Perindo suggests that it needs to have a transformation in the religious process.

The teaching of religious education must be taught from an early age to adulthood, and the learning process also needs to be done continuously. If not, the resource person explains:

*The emerging fundamental Islamic groups are because, indeed, since childhood, they were not educated in the religious context that our parents once did. Thus, they are religiously shortsighted, vague, or they do not know which one is allowed and which one is not. So, when someone came to them and promised heavenly life, they might begin to fall into a trap. They were deflected with a piecemeal understanding of religion, and this is very worrying ... it is dangerous if the understanding of religion is only [limited] heaven-hell or halal-haram. (AR, Party 14).*

Religious teachings should not be taught as shallow as that, but also include teaching social knowledge among people. If this is not the case, then his knowledge in the context of diversity will be very naive. Ideally, a teacher should be able to provide guidance, limits, and guidelines for religious teaching materials well to his students. If not, then religious material will become teachings that are 'old-fashioned' and are easily trapped in radical ideas. Here the need for the capability of a teacher to continue to be upgraded regularly to meet the needs of the times. The resource person advises that there should be a strict selection for the feasibility of educators in schools to teach religious education (AR, Party 14).

Restlessness towards the teaching of religious education is also conveyed by another resource person from Perindo. Religious education materials in general (non-madrasa) schools are still far from enough. This means that you cannot expect much from schools to be able to get comprehensive religious teaching. So that religion is not only sufficiently taught in formal education, but much earlier can be taught in family education. The family became the first educational vehicle to introduce children. Religious education taught in the family can be applied in the form of theory and practice. According to him religious education in school tend to make students only pursue values, other than religious education in the family or in the community that tends to be more applicable, such as the teaching of prayer that can be directly practiced by children from modeling their mother and father (AK, Party 14).



He also stressed that there needs to be a change in the method of teaching religious education in schools. It is recommended, religious weights at the elementary, junior high, and high school levels are more emphasized on learning the psychomotor aspects, rather than merely oriented on cognitive aspects abilities. In the internet era, enrichment of knowledge for the development of cognitive skills can be achieved by independent search by students. Examples of learning that emphasize the psychomotor aspects are as follows. If there are family members of students or friends who are being treated at the hospital, a teacher plays the role of teaching etiquette to visit the sick according to religious guidance and move their students to go see him. This kind of hands-on practice has not been touched on in our current religious education material. Religious learning is currently still focused on cognitive aspects or rote learning models.

In addition, if there is an initiative that religious material in schools needs to be added with the teaching of many religions to be able to foster tolerance values, then this is a good suggestion. But what needs to be noted by the resource person is that the teaching is only limited to the introduction of basic religious principles (AK, Party 14). If it is not restricted, students may later assume that all religions are the same. And this is not true. The essence of religious learning is how religion itself is understood absolutely - the dimension of monotheism. However, for the social dimension, it is important to remember that we live in a plural society.

In addition to teaching material, the resource person also added that interfaith communication is important to be continually developed by their respective adherents. Like visiting cross-houses of worship or religious organizations, or it could also open space for dialogue between religious people. It is also suggested that when celebrating religious holidays, religious leaders across religions are given a platform to fill religious speeches related to religious harmony. (AK, Party 14). In welcoming the challenges of the younger generation amid the increasing values of intolerance and radicalism, religious education is not enough if still taught in old ways. Thus, it requires some breakthroughs in both aspects; the contents and the teachers. Each has a vital role. Basically, if religion is taught comprehensively, the learners will definitely become tolerant.

### ***Maintaining Harmony***

Diversity in Indonesia is part of a realistic aspect of life that is impossible to avoid. This diversity holds the potential to enrich the color of life. However, diversity is also stored as a disturbing, destructive potential. Then, various efforts were made so that this destructive potential did not explode. In order to maintain unity and maintain harmony, Perindo formed a special party wing in the religious field, including the Al-Ittihad Dhikr Council for Islam, *Gerakan Kasih Indonesia* (Gerkindo) for the Christian wing, and plans to form an additional wing for Catholics, Hindus, and Buddhists. Perindo's wings were formed as a way to build effective communication and can work together with interfaith institutions.

Perindo encourages general laws, including equal distribution of education and 12-year compulsory education, including supporting the teaching of religious education. This can be seen from the party's attitude regarding the *Pesantren* Bill, where Perindo strongly supports the birth of a law that specifically regulates religious education institutions, especially Islam. The existence of this bill is expected later *pesantren* get more attention from the government. Ahmad Rofiq explained the reasoning behind the expression in favor of this bill, "We [Perindo] also encourage, the *pesantren* bill encourages more guaranteed quality, we want students to deal with private schools when they are on an equal level, not in the context of schools but scientific understanding, so they are not isolated" (AR, Party 14). Before the *Pesantren* Bill, Perindo from the beginning was very close to the *pesantren*. Through *Yayasan Peduli Pesantren* (YPP) owned by Perindo, it has helped a lot of *pesantren* facilities and infrastructure in Indonesia.

For Perindo, political parties have played an important role in maintaining harmony in religious life. However, it is recognized that political parties have very limited space, especially when touching on sensitive issues, such as religious issues. In general, political parties prioritize imaging, rather than taking steps that are non-populist. The resource person explained, "you expect from political parties; political parties are weak. Talk about alignments in the world of education ... That's enough there. Getting into a specific layer is hard [for the party]" (AR, Party 14).

Therefore the role of the government in matters of religious education in both public and private schools - *pesantren* - is vital. The presence of the state here is not to intervene on the issues related to the private religious sphere, but rather to emphasize in providing regulation or standardization in the teaching of religious education. So that the role of government here needs to be assisted, stakeholders such as academics on campus and civil society must also be the frontline in building an ideal religious education system for this nation.

### ***The Threat to Harmony***

Responding to the issue of nationality and diversity, the infiltration of the understanding of radicalism into the world of education poses a threat to religious harmony. In overcoming this incident, there must be a strong push from the government. The resource person gave input that there was a need for a spirit of movement back to the mosque. Nowadays, a mosque in a reduced function is limited to the activities related to the afterlife, such as praying. Even ironically, the mosque is used as a campaign location for radical and intolerant understanding. Thus, it will have a fatal impact on the destruction of harmony that has been built strong in the community (AR, party 14). Consequently, the mosque's function needs to be optimized again, as in the time of the Prophet, where a mosque can also be a center for worldly affairs - deliberation, socialize, and so on. Optimizing the function of the mosque is also expected to increase interaction between people and between people so that it can strengthen the values of tolerance in religion.

Lately, there is also the rise of Integrated Islamic Schools or known as *Sekolah Islam Terpadu* (IT), according to him the use of the word Islam and integrated words in naming schools like this, as if this Islamic school is different from other Islamic schools/madrassa and seems exclusive -only for certain groups. In 2011, for example, two schools refused to hold ceremonies and respect the red and white flag (Detik, 2011). This exclusivity is thought to have the potential to bear the seeds of radicalism. The resource person said:

*... the emergence of IT elementary schools, which is somewhat different from other Islamic schools, could be a thorn in the flesh*

*against Islam itself. I also have to worry about the existence of diverse religious behavior in the social context of our community life, which can have a significant enough impact on a student. If they are mature and have their own responsibilities, they will be a different group (AR, Party 14).*

Therefore the government needs to be firm to curb to be in line with the national philosophy and culture of Islamic tradition in Indonesia. The big goal is to maintain harmony among the people and national unity. As part of the solution, the resource person emphasized:

*The government must intervene, even if they are private, the government has responsibility for the destiny of the nation going forward. There must be government supervision so that if irregularities occur, it can be corrected. I see the government has captured that concern. Still, the right step to counter the impact caused by education seems to only be from seminar to seminar, not a regulation. The government is not worried enough; there must be constitutional steps. The steps taken are still partial, do not involve all stakeholders. (AR, Party 14).*

Another phenomenon is that there are also public schools found that "force" their students to dress in Muslims even though there are non-Muslim students. According to him, this is something excessive and is a form of coercion of religious attributes in other religions. The essence of education is to print students into students who have faith and piety. According to the resource person, "dressing must be seen from its final destination, I think there are two, first maintaining the fairness of taste because by using the same people become egalitarian. Secondly, the actual dress is the ultimate goal of courtesy, civilization, as long as the standards of fulfillment have been completed" (AK, Party 14). Dressing rules at school should be seen based on these two aspects. So, uniform arrangements in schools should pay attention to the aspect of "building togetherness that is set above justice" (AK, Party 14).

Finally, to increase harmony, Perindo continues to build a culture of gender equality, starting from within the body of its party. Perindo believes that women have a real role in the progress of the nation so that his party continues to encourage women's participation in

party activities. The representation of women in the Perindo Party is currently quite representative. Seen in the composition of candidates in this year's legislative elections, Perindo registered 575 candidates in 80 electoral districts, 38.6 percent or 15 of them are from female candidates. This amount is far above the standard governed by the Election Law, which is 30 percent of the minimum requirements for women's representation.

Perindo, as a nationalist party and the basis of the party's struggle, focuses on national welfare with the central vision of maintaining unity and maintaining harmony in the life of a plural society. Perindo is one of the parties that declare a commitment to ideology or ethical values as the basis of the party's struggle. The policies issued especially relating to religious education cannot be separated from the principle of unity and harmony.

In the diversity of the five recognized religions in Indonesia, harmony in religious life in the community needs to be improved. The urgency of harmony is to realize the unity of views and attitudes in order to lead to the unity of actions and shared responsibilities. According to Suryana, religious harmony is related to tolerance, which is a term in the social, cultural, and religious context, which means attitudes and actions that prohibit discrimination against different groups or are not acceptable to the majority in society (Suryana, 2011).

For Perindo, religious education that is right for the country is religious education that can create harmony among people. Perindo's programs and policies related to religious education at the level of legislation do not yet exist because this party is a new party and has no representation in the national parliament. Even so, Perindo has an interest in national issues related to religious life, including its attention to *pesantren*, by establishing a special party wing in the field of religion. There have been many efforts done in terms of maintaining social harmony to preserve the unity of Indonesia. The current problem of intolerance and radicalism is in the upstream of religious education. In conclusion, Perindo agrees if religion is comprehensively taught, it will be able to fortify students from intolerant or radical thoughts and behaviors.

## **PKPI: Religious Education with National Perspective**

The Indonesian Justice and Unity Party or known as *Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia* (PKPI) is a continuation of the Justice and Unity Party or known as *Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan* (PKP) which was declared on January 15, 1999. Before becoming a party, PKP was established in the form of the Justice and National Unity Movement or known as *Gerakan Keadilan dan Persatuan Bangsa* (GKPB), which is a moral movement in the era of multi-dimensional crisis when it struck Indonesia in 1998. The critical period urged GKPB to find a way out and fight for the ideals of independence of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1999, a multi-party system was used in elections. Some GKPB initiators Try Sutrisno, Edi Sudradjat, Totto S. Pradjamanggala, and Hayono Isman felt that they needed to empower the GKPB Struggle in a party called the Justice and Unity Party (PKP). GKPB itself still exists as a moral movement and fully supports PKP (Kustin Ayuwuragil D, m.merdeka.com).

Basically, the PKP is a fractional party of Golkar. The party bearing the banyan tree was considered by Edi Sudrajat to be less cooperative with the reform movement at the time. On September 9, 2002, the PKP added the word Indonesia at the beginning of the party's name. Thus it becomes the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI). It was done to meet the requirements of the PKPI going forward in the 2004 elections but only getting 1 out of 550 seats in parliament. In the next election in 2009, 2014, and 2019, PKPI failed to place their representatives in parliament (Wikipedia.org).

PKPI is a party based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Nationalist nationalism and the struggle for people's sovereignty characterize this party. PKPI asserted itself as an open, non-discriminatory, independent party, accommodating the diversity of the nation's potential from all ethnicities, races, religions, classes, and genders. (AD PKPI, 2018) During the management of the DPN period 2010-2015 chaired by Sutiyo, the educational concept was contained in the party's mission section, namely "realizing a strong, healthy, intelligent, professional, civilized, and clean society through the development of health and education and the creation of employment opportunities in the context of poverty alleviation."

However, during the party management period 2018-2024, PKPI did not specifically put the concept of education or religious education in their party platform (AD ART and PKPI Vision and Mission). PKPI focuses on justice in the rule of law, democratic governance, civil society, unity in diversity, as stated in the vision and mission of the PKPI 2018-2024 period.

Although the issue of education or religious education has not been a focal point of PKPI, the issue of maintaining diversity is one of their concerns. Diaz Faisal Hendropriyono, PKPI Chairperson revealed:

*Radicalism, terrorism, and movements that do not agree with Pancasila are undeniable in this country. I am sure, PKPI through its cadres, can be the guardians of NKRI and Pancasila. PKPI must be a party that stands above all groups. Big houses of all race, ethnic, and religious backgrounds that are indeed very diverse in this country. The ideals of founding fathers, namely sovereign in politics, independence in the economy, and personality in culture must continue to be fought by PKPI." (beritasatu.com accessed on August 2, 2019).*

A.M Hendropriyono, former Chairman of the PKPI, had proposed military service as an effective way to ward off the rampant SARA issue. "This is military service; defending the country is the key to eradicating SARA. Through compulsory military activities, institutions such as the TNI and Polri can unite and work together with the people." (liputan6.com was accessed on 2 July 2019). Another fact that shows the PKPI upholds diversity and opposes radicalism is the action of moral support carried out by PKPI to the victims of the bomb explosion at the Kampung Melayu Terminal, East Jakarta in May 28, 2018. Miky Barito Putra, Chairperson of the Jakarta PKPI PKP, said: "This action is our strongly condemned our bombing as a party against radicalism and all forms of thuggery. We support the government and society to act decisively against acts of terrorism and all forms of violence." (pkpi-Indonesia.com accessed August 2, 2019).

### ***Religious Education in a Diversity Framework***

PKPI believes education becomes an agent of change people's lives for the better. Although in the last three elections, PKPI has not had a

representative in parliament, the issue of education is often echoed by their representatives in the regions. If placed in a school context, teaching religious education is expected to be able to foster awareness of the presence of other identities. Schools are expected to become a medium for dialogue and tolerance between religions. PKPI views schools as having an urgency to provide religious teachers for all religions. As the resource person revealed

*I noticed, maybe also, Muslim students who, by chance, had a teacher, did not see any other religious teacher at the elementary school. Because they did not see any other religious teacher in elementary school, maybe they thought their religion is the best. Suppose the word, from the beginning; they were in a class, and they continued to be separated. The Christians are on this side, oke. The Catholics are over there, oke. While the Muslims stay here, but they are all staying in the class because there are more of them. If they listen to it from the beginning, and tolerance will emerge. There will be no one-sided thinking (HT, Party 12).*

PKPI considers the teachings of tolerance as the core of religious values. Religious education is considered ideal if the teachers succeed in creating peace for the followers of their religion. Ironically, intolerant teachings—not to associate with non-Muslims—are often delivered by religious teachers who were supposed to emphasize dialogue between religious adherents. One PKPI resource person explained his personal experience in this matter.

*I personally own a house in a public community. It is not a religious one; it is just a general public house. I have also paid attention to the development of students there. Because my child is in their midst, so I pay attention to them. When they were little, those kids at my child's age around grade 2, 3 or 4 elementary school, went to my house is normal. Even they ate what was in the house, it was normal. And it is impossible for me to harm them because I knew which ones are lawful and which are forbidden in Islam. Later on, they were not so respectful of my child after he was getting older. Then I asked, you know what, they are just children, "Eh, how come you don't want this?" I always give you some kinds of konghuan or something. I do*



*not want to discredit the person. "Oh, my religious teacher said I should not eat those, uncle. I fear it is forbidden," he said. Yes, in my heart, I said okay. "Alright, just listen to your mom, don't ask the ustad. Ask your father, "I know his mom and dad, it's impossible for them to answer like that. (HT, Party 12).*

PKPI views how religious teachers have a central role in teaching religious education that is friendly to plurality. PKPI also believes that the attitude of radicalism can be prevented through the communication of parents in evaluating what kind of teaching is found in schools.

*Now we are rarely talking to children again. We are rarely asking, "What did you learn today?" It was due to the fatalities, technological advancement, or the demands of the age instead, it makes it disappeared. There is no more interaction between children and parents. So, whatever is given by the teacher or by the Ustad is the main truth for children, without having the chance to counter it.. (VSH, Party 12)*

On the other hand, a teacher has a demand to be able to personalize the example. Modeling becomes an important aspect of teaching religious education. PKPI supports the school mosque as an appropriate tool in learning religious education. The teacher can provide a good understanding of religion and set an example after performing religious rituals with students while at the same time explaining the axiological aspects of worship rituals.

*So, if students look at their teachers giving good examples such as doing complementary prayers on midday prayer, then reciting Qur'an and or listening to short Islamic studies, they will encounter more religious enlightenment. We realize that Arabic is not our daily language; however, through understanding the Qur'an meaning, the students are not only capable of fulfilling the ritual as an obligatory but also comprehending its substitute. Well, we read and understand the Qur'an since it has meaning and example. (VSH, Party 12)*

Understanding religious teachings is one of the PKPI criticisms related to religious education learning in schools. According to PKPI, religious education is symbolic, and students are emphasized to memorize

religious teachings. Thus, learning outcomes are difficult to measure with behavior. It is as what a resource person stated, "Our children. Only taught in quotation marks symbols. While the fundamental essence of why we must pray, why do we have to worship according to our religion and beliefs; we are more or less forgotten. " (VSH, Party 12) Another resource person also stated similar things

*It is indeed difficult for us to say whether religious values are identical to one's religious character? Because our education system also leads to rote learning. Students only memorize the content but do not implement it. A teacher may say queuing is good, but when he queued, he did not like to queue; he sneaked too. So this memorization also makes us just memorize. Besides, this memorization illustration is for the grade. That is actual educational output, not an outcome. But does good grades in religion mean that the students have good characters in their religious life? No. Less measurable (HT, Party 12)*

Moreover, PKPI criticism also refers to the way of teachers often emphasizes the principle of equality. This principle ignores diverse family backgrounds.

*Every child with a different family background requires a different approach, of course. Now, the system is generalized, equalized. Forty-two children or 24 children in one room with the same material, the same approach, and the same way. Do you like it or not? Are you able to catch up or not? That's not my problem. That is your problem (children's problem), not the problem of the teacher, not the problem of parents but your own problem. (VSH, Party 12)*

Religious education learning tends to be results-oriented and less stressed on the learning process. PKPI views this learning system as having an impact on the decline in students' moral values.

*What is wrong? We can reflect together. However, maybe what we see now is that all of us, parents, stakeholders, and educators are equally negligent. I am also a teacher or lecturer; we are both negligent in instilling these values in the daily lives of our students. What? When we talk, we are result-oriented. So only*

*values are put forward, but the process is not really cared for.  
(VSH, Party 12)*

PKPI sees that religious education products have not been able to work together with the community. For example, students who received religious education more than those who received education in public schools were only given roles only as teachers, whereas PKPI hoped students would be able to contribute more significantly to society.

*In my village, for instance, those who graduated from an Islamic boarding school teach Qur'an and lead Tahlilan and mauludan (celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday). Never do they try to get out of such habits, take for example conducting a seminar or an open debate about Islam. They have sufficient capability to do such things, but they are still confused. As though, when trying to get out of the comfort zone, their right foot has stepped on yet to cross while their left foot is about to leave what they are doing. Being a teacher or preacher in their surrounding is good. However, they have not tried other fields.  
(VSH, Partai 12))*

### **Full Support for the Country**

Internally, PKPI has a religious education bureau that already has a discourse to hold religious activities, such as *rohis* (Islamic spirituality) and worship services. However, these activities have not been realized because of the time and busy schedule of the management. For religious events, such as Christmas, *halal bi halal*, and the fast-breaking have been done.

*We even have Rohis, a kind of special religious program bureau for Christians. So there is, indeed, in education, because of time, we have never made a convention. However, indeed we have not planned. But we made it for Christmas, halal bihalal, iftar, it was already in PKPI. Halal bi halal now not yet, but there was used to be but not for this year. breaking the fast together has been done. (HT, Party 012)*

PKPI has never had a specific discussion related to religious education. They handed over the affairs of religious education to the government.

However, PKPI believes education is an important factor in changing the conditions of Indonesian society for the better.

*In our actual arrangement, we tend to accept what the government has upheld. As it is now, there are also Pancasila practices and so forth. We support all. So if for example, we are asked by friends in the district, how is this, how is it, we are referring to national policy. We can't get out of there. because we don't have a basic concept about the conception of religion in Indonesia. (HT, Parpol 12)*

Education for PKPI is an important factor in changing people's lives, especially those related to ideology, politics, economics, social, culture, and national defense and security. It has been stated in the PKPI program going forward in the context of strengthening the nation and state. (VSH, Party 12).

### ***PKPI in the Context of Nationality and Diversity***

Responding to the Muslim dress code that is applied in several state schools, PKPI is apologetic, "Because the regional regulation is a product of the regional government, while we are now intensifying regional autonomy, well, if indeed they say it is the best for them, yes, what can we do. " (HT, Political Party 12). For PKPI, the regulation is a necessity and obligation for Muslim women. It is as the resource person revealed, "because this is how we also need Muslim dress. Women have to cover their bodies, right? Then it becomes an obligation." (VSH, Party 12). In fact, PKPI emphasizes the maturity of thinking by all parties in responding to the implementation of the regulation. Before enacting the regulation, the government must properly socialize it to the public. Likewise, from non-Muslim parties, it is necessary to understand that for the Islamic religion to use Muslim clothing is an obligation for Muslim women as adults.

*It takes maturity from all parties, that before you give or make a decision, it must be well socialized. Then the second thing is needed maturity also by our non-Muslim brothers and sisters that "oh it turns out, that my brothers and sisters who are Muslims if already teenager or even before had to use Islamic clothing, using hijab for women, and so forth. " The*

*beauty comes when the two parties understand each other.  
(VSH, Party 12)*

For PKPI, socialization is an important key for the government when applying accommodation to the needs of the majority. Thus, resistance from minority groups will not occur.

*"Earlier, I regretted that if our children were of different religions from Muslims or certain religions wanting to enter a superior school, their intentions were canceled because they saw "why does it become an Islamic school?". Well, don't let it happen. How? We as Muslims should be wise in making provisions. We should make better socialization." (VSH, Party12)*

According to the PKPI, cases of religious exclusivism in educational institutions occur because of the lack of understanding provided by people of knowledge. It is where the role of religionists becomes very needed by the community. It is as emphasized by the resource person.

*Well, who can bridge things like this? Sorry to say, only people with good knowledge, what I see is that these knowledgeable people, sorry to say again, rather down. Somehow there maybe tolerance, but they are refraining from not to. Because God has promised a house on the edge of heaven if you leave the debate where you already feel victorious you leave. But the conditions now call us, so people who have the knowledge we hope are there to be a bridge. (VSH, Party 12)*

Not only that, PKPI demands the involvement and supervision of the government in resolving cases of exclusivism in schools. "The government must have formal and informal channels, especially in religious development." (HT, party 12). PKPI also considers the existence of government ambiguity related to which government agency should solve the problem of exclusiveness.

*"Exclusivism was indeed blooming. It becomes a debate amongst citizens. I, as a citizen, believe that the government on this issue should play an important role. In other words, either the Ministry of Religion or the Ministry of Education and*

*Culture has to decide to do clear monitoring and controlling.”  
(VSH, Party 12).*

PKPI has a fear of a social explosion if the government is unable to act as a protector of public plurality. At this moment is where the role of political parties is needed. The resource person confirmed it.

*The policymakers assume if, for example, a policy they made will get no protest from the public. It is not necessarily true since a silent minority opts to be quiet. If none cares about such an issue, I'm afraid this could become a social explosion. Herein the roles of the political parties are needed. (VSH, Party 12).(VSH, Party 12).*

For PKPI, there is still a misunderstanding for those who want to replace Pancasila with another ideology. "Respecting the flag does not mean worshipping the flag. Practicing Pancasila does not mean not completely running religious teachings. No, it is not." (VSH, Party 12). PKPI believes that Pancasila is the final ideology, and the substance of Pancasila has accommodated Indonesia's diversity. It is as the resource person expressed.

*“There are no precepts of the Pancasila whose values contradict any religion, no it is not. It is precisely here that there is a quotation mark on the greatness and wisdom of our founding fathers formulating, formulating and representing all aspects of religion, from all aspects of culture in Indonesia in the form of Pancasila. ” (VSH, Party 12) "Each party makes Pancasila as an ideological foundation. It is final.” (HT, Party 12)*

Thus, dialogue becomes an urgency that needs to be built between different societies in order to achieve understanding and tolerance between religious communities.

*We should try to rebuild communication spaces in civilised ways. We need to be honest and ask ourselves, “when was the last time we communicate openly with our brothers who have different beliefs and creeds. (VSH, Party 12). (VSH, Party 12)*

Continue to a condition in a state school where there is only one place of worship for the majority group. For PKPI, the existence of a mosque

in a state school is not part of exclusivity. It is based on the principle of need and justice.

*Muslims have an indisputable justification. Our children now go home at four o'clock, at least. There are two obligatory prayers that we must carry out, namely midday prayer and Asr prayer. It is no longer possible for our children to find a mosque outside the school. So this is the principle of justice. (VSH, Party 12).*

Likewise, PKPI views the establishment of houses of worship in every religion as not something that must be done by the Government. The most important thing accommodated by schools is the provision of religious teachers for all religions.

*It is impossible to construct five places of worship in one school. Christian or Catholic classes can be many. The classrooms can also be used for worship. The place of worship is not necessary, but the educational implementation process really does. So, students can be friends. (HT, Parpol 12)*

In the context of gender equality, PKPI feels that it is ahead of other parties in bringing this matter. Strengthened by the fact that the composition of the majority of female candidates in the DPR RI exceeds 40%, PKPI was led by women in the 2008-2010 period. Three women currently serve as party leaders at the provincial level. The resource person also strengthened, "When talking about gender equality in politics, our PKPI is among the ones standing at the forefront. We always encourage women cadres who have the potential to move forward." (VSH, Party 12)

Regarding the position of men and women in the family, PKPI idealizes as it is taught in religion. He also said, "The ideal as what was conveyed by the Prophet. So it can be adjusted to what is taught by religion and exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad." (VSH, Party 12). While the other PKPI resource person analogized the husband and wife is ideal as a pair of shoes.

*"Yes, they should take and give each other. Yes, to be mutual, I always illustrate like shoes in one family—Left shoe, right shoe. Left shoes are meaningless without the right shoes. And vice versa. They cannot walk, even at a certain time, they rarely*

*move together. One goes up, and the other one goes right. Well, they are complementary.” (HT, Parpol 12)*

Likewise, in the world of work, women are given equal opportunities in self-actualization. "In the world of work, it must not be distinguished. All must have the same opportunity. Be the same." (VSH, Party 12).

Responding to women who wear the veil, PKPI views it as individual freedom that must be respected. As stated by the resource person:

*So in my religion and well, I follow my religious scholars or my teachers, stating that earing veil is not part of the obligation of covering all bodies for women. That's what I follow. So, if my sisters wear the veil or brothers support their families to wear the veil, I will still respect.” (VSH, Party 12) “I have no intervention if wearing the veil suits ones’ best teaching. (HT, Parpol 12)*

### ***Reorientation of Symbolic Religious Education***

As a political party that always declares itself to be Pancasila, PKPI wants religious education to foster perspectives that refer to the values of diversity. In fact, PKPI does not yet have a specific policy on religious education. Even PKPI in its latest period (2018-2024), did not put the concept of education in the party's vision and mission. However, the PKPI perspective on religious education in schools is quite interesting. PKPI believes that religious education should be able to accommodate the diversity of religions in Indonesia. As an appropriate means to initiate encounters of different identities, Public schools are expected to create an atmosphere of dialogue and tolerance. Limiting the minimum number of students to 15 people to get religious education in schools is unfortunate for PKPI. This arrangement is in Article 4 of the Minister of Religion Regulation Number 16 the Year 2010 concerning Management of Religious Education in Schools. In the PMA, there are irregularities between Article 4 and the article above. Article 3, paragraph 2 of the regulation reads, "Every student at a school has the right to obtain religious education based on the religion taught by educators of the same religion." While the article below provides limits. At first glance, it can be imagined, when a



minority group does not reach 15 people in a school, the basic rights that should be obtained by a student will be ignored.

Reflecting on what has been done, Dedi Mulyadi, Regent of Purwakarta, issued a circular to schools regarding the provision of worship space and teachers for each religion. This policy has been implemented in SMP Negeri 1 Purwakarta. Non-Muslim students feel their religious needs are accommodated in school. (Rappler.com, 11/25/2016). The facts above show that schools can be used as an appropriate means to teach inclusivism.

Multicultural education is the right way to understand and accept diversity as part of human existence (Molan, 2015: xi). Multicultural education helps students gain knowledge, ethics, and ability to interact, negotiate, and communicate with different communities towards the common good (Azra, 2011). The substance of this educational concept is to recognize and appreciate differences that can begin with the school's recognition of the existence of other identities. Diversity, as a matter of nature of Indonesian society, requires the concept of awareness of recognition of minority groups. Jonathan Sacks, a British Rabbi, and Philosopher, believe that the recognition of differences as part of the nation's existence needs to be developed to avoid social conflict (Sacks, 2002).

PKPI's perspective on awareness of the importance of dialogue, tolerance, inclusive attitudes, and understanding differences towards the existence of other communities is something that can be appreciated. Basically, these values are the main values taught in religion. Bhikkhu Parekh defines multiculturalism as a normative response to the fact of cultural diversity (Parekh, 2008). Religious education, which so far according to PKPI is symbolic and result oriented, is expected to be transformed into a friendly normative response and recognize religious differences as part of Indonesia's wealth. It is as the concept of caring for harmony between religions has been contained in article 6 of the Minister of Religion Regulation No. 16 of 2010 concerning Management of Religious Education in Schools. Unfortunately, this provision has not yet been seriously implemented by schools. Thus, it is true what Azyumardi Azra said that

the challenges of multiculturalism often come from the government itself (Dwifatma, 2011).

When faced with the Muslim dress code in state schools, PKPI's apologetic attitude shows ambiguity. PKPI considers the regulation to be legitimated by the government as part of the majority accommodation. On the other hand, PKPI encourages multicultural education to be implemented in schools. If it refers to Pierre Bourdieu, when the government applies a majority rule and denies the minority, then it is part of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991).

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

Islamic parties in Indonesia have a number of similar views related to how they assess the sustainability of religious education today; what kind of religious education model needs to be realized; the challenges of religious education, especially related to the growth of intolerance and exclusivism; and also some hopes for the future religious education. Islamic parties consider the Islamic education taught is still inadequate. The reasons are the lack of depth and overall material; teaching time is considered too short, and so on. From the perspective of politicians of the Islamic parties, it is reasonable to review Islamic education. However, they turned out to have different emphases related to the ideal form and direction of Islamic education in order to overcome the problems of Islam and nationality. The views and policy directions for the improvement of Islamic education expressed by PKS, PPP, and PBB politicians are more conservative. The enthusiasm for the formalization of Islam is still apparent as there is a desire to "Islamize the sciences" and see Islamic education as a means of missionary endeavor by cultivating doctrines.

Views and policies of PKS related to Islamic education can be formulated based on some considerations. First, holistically teaching Islam is needed because Islam taught in schools today is too partial. Second, religious learning materials should be included in all general subject matter. Through those steps, religious morality will be more embedded in students. General education should not be separated from the values of religiosity. Third, intolerance is, indeed, a problem. For PKS, this problem arises because students do not study religion correctly. Therefore, according to PKS politicians, if students study one religion thoroughly, then it will definitely make the students become tolerant. He said this problem arises

because students do not study religion correctly. Because, in religion (in this case, Islam) already contained many values of goodness, including tolerance. Based on that reason, studying other religions is not or less necessary for students. Fourth, if religious education has been properly incorporated into all subjects, there is no need for character education. The reason is simple, religion (Islam) is holistic and therefore includes all moral values that make up good character. Fifth, PKS as an Islamic party actively struggles in the legislation to give a strong

Islamic nuance to some bills. Among other things, including Islamic values in the 2003 National Education Bill. Sixth, for students getting a deeper insight into Islam, PKS requires the addition of material and time of religious education in schools.

PPP also has some similar views with PKS. Six aspects are important to PPP politicians regarding religious education. First, religious education is pivotal, and it is obligatory. With such a position, PPP—as well as PKS—strongly rejects the discourse on eliminating religious education in schools. Second, in the view of them, if religious education (Islam) has been taught thoroughly, up to its implementation, character education is no longer needed. This view is similar to what is expressed by PKS politicians. Third, intolerance is more due to inadequate religious teaching (the lack of teaching material and the lack of teaching hours). Fourth, the obligation to wear Muslim clothes for Muslim women in public schools is something natural as a form of increasing Islamic awareness. Fifth, the Islamic party that was formed early in the New Order also actively fought in legislation. One of its contributions to education is a regulation about some aspects of Islam in the 2012 Higher Education Law and the Law on Bookkeeping Systems. Sixth, PPP also demands the addition of material and time of religious education in school. In addition, PPP is also currently fighting for increasing the budget and standardization of religious teachers.

There are several important points related to PBB's view on religious education (Islam), and there are a number of proposed improvements it proposes. First, PBB views conservatism and exclusivism at the root of the problem of religious education. Second, it needs to be transformed

by including modern Islamic thought in religious education to avoid radicalism. Third, fighting for sharia legislation in the legislature but also struggling for substantial aspects of Islam (informally). Fourth, the integration of Islam with other sciences need to be emphasized by including Islamic substance in all subjects. Fifth, PBB agrees with the religious study that teaches other religions to the students, only if the direction is not to open students' insights about other religions so that they still have faith in their religion and also become more tolerant. It can prove the superiority of Islam compared to other religions.

Although PKB has a close view of the nuances of Islam, it is quite different from the other Islamic parties. Its idea was developed more openly, and the important thing was underlined as well, PKB stressed the need to accommodate the virtues in the traditions that live in the community. In addition, empowering the role of *pesantren* is also central to the perspective of party religious education formed by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) figures. PKB presents some important points regarding its views about the issue above. First, the focus of religious education policies is to improve the quality and reputation of *Pesantren*. Second, it helps strengthen madrasa in terms of funding, institutional position, and teacher competencies. Third, the collaboration of religious education with local cultures should be developed in this country. Fourth, the policy should make *Pesantren* education as a basis for preventing radicalism and intolerance. Fifth, PKB needs to struggle for an increase in the budget for religious education, equivalent to general education. Sixth, the legislation should be the main initiator of the emergence of the *Pesantren* Bill. PKB has great hopes with this *Pesantren* Bill to make religious teaching become moderate and national outlook will develop.

PAN as a political party is widely associated with being close to Muhammadiyah. However, its view does not emphasize the specificity of Islam. Indeed, compared to other Islamic political parties, this party does not explicitly mention Islam, both in the principle, vision, and mission of its Article of Association, as well as the purpose of its struggle. PAN's opinions and ideas on religious education include some aspects. First, as a party that claims to be a modern, pluralist, and inclusive party, PAN

encourages an education system that is open to all religions. Second, PAN encourages an education system that integrates religion and science. SIC, as a model of an Islamic school, needs to be emulated. Third, the management of religious education should be transferred from the Ministry of Religious Affairs to the Ministry of Education and Culture. PAN views "mismanagement" conducted by the Ministry of Religious Affairs has had negative impacts on Islamic education, such as causing the emergence of exclusivism, radicalism, and so on; although how the cause-effect relationship is less clearly defined. Fourth, the politics of government budgeting that has not yet sided with religious education is proven by the very little budgeting spent on it.

In the life of political parties in the country after the reformation, the jargon of "religious nationalism" became very popular. It cannot be separated from the fact that some parties openly claim that their party's ideology is also religious besides being nationalist. It seems that what these parties want to emphasize is that the nature of nationalism that they hold firmly is not a kind of secular nationalism as anti-religious. The statement also emphasized that the ideal position for these parties was in the middle, which many interpreted as moderate and accommodating. With their national claim, they also want to confirm that their ideology and policies are different from parties with ideologies of certain religions. However, as is common in democratic electoral regimes, even middle parties because of voting considerations are often seen making maneuvers out of their ideological positions. Gerindra, for example, was one of the reasons for strengthening its electoral position, making many alliances with Islamic social and religious forces—at least it was confirmed by some people. The same case happened with Golkar because it is motivated by electoral affairs in regional competitions; the politicians actually initiated many local regulations with Islamic nuances in a number of regions. With a variety of views and policies carried out, the four political parties above can be included in the category of nationalistic parties that adequately accommodate religious interests. At the very least, it does not show antipathy towards religion or speak out for religion to be excluded from the public domain.

Golkar from its inception states that it is not based on slices of social identity, but rather on functional and artistic identities. They want to emphasize the difference between the PDIP and PPP that are ideological parties. For Golkar, religion is an important element in nation-building. It is because national policy should accommodate the religion role in the country. Talking about the role of the state toward religion, Golkar holds the view that state intervention in religious affairs is permissible, but it must not interfere too far. For Golkar, religion is not placed as a core value – as political parties identify with Islam. Still, this party underlines the position of religion as part of values that grow in the society that is crystallized by Pancasila. Because of this, Golkar emphasized aspects ideology of Pancasila as a reference in the programs that it was running.

Regarding religious policies, the party bearing the banyan tree (Golkar) is actively supporting the *Pesantren* Bill, but with a critical attitude towards the proposed bill of Islamic political parties (PKB and PPP). Golkar politicians in parliament voiced the aspirations of the church so that church schools and catechism were not involved in this bill. This attitude taken by Golkar showed approval of the existence of regulations that accommodate the interests of the majority but only if it is not too extreme.

Golkar agrees that religious education must have an impact on the strengthening of faith and piety for its adherents, but also supports religious studies that emphasize the universal existing noble values in all religions. In addition, Golkar views religious education as an important part of the national education system to provide a constructive contribution, namely the formation of a moderate and tolerant attitude. In order that this hope can be realized properly, Golkar encourages the Ministry of Religion to be more inclusive by encouraging the inclusion of values of Pancasila as ideology implemented in religious education and other religious matters.

Nasdem also on several occasions declared itself to be a nationalist and religious party. But in contrast to Golkar which tolerates enough members to support sharia regulations, the leaders of Nasdem firmly oppose such regulations that are considered discriminatory and can endanger the Republic of Indonesia. In seeing the relationship between state and religion, Nasdem's position is rather secular. One of the politicians stated

that for his party encourage state and religious affairs to be separated. The state must not interfere too much; neither should religion into national affairs. A critical attitude towards religious supremacy is demonstrated by its view that government policies on religious education should not give privileges to certain religious groups. It should promote equality and equal opportunities for other religions. There must be no inequality in Indonesia. Nasdem also stressed the need for religious education in line with the national message in order to establish a moral society.

However, in addressing certain specific issues, their attitudes and views – politicians of Nasdem were quite accommodating of religious aspirations. In drafting the *Pesantren* Bill, Nasdem's attitude in parliament was to support the ratification of the bill because it considers *Pesantren* as a moderate Muslim institution that makes a lot of positive contributions to the nation. Especially, in the flow of the development of extreme religious ideology and understanding, which is largely due to the influence of the Wahhabi model of religious understanding. In fact, because of its negative impact, a politician of Nasdem hoped that the government would prohibit the development of the Salafi and Wahhabi ideology in Indonesia because it was not in line with the culture, tradition, and religious model of the majority of Muslims in this country. In religious teaching and practice, Nasdem voiced the need to adopt cultural values and traditions that had developed in society. Strengthening traditional educational institutions – such as *Pesantren* and madrasas—both in terms of institutional, curriculum, teacher capacity, and also funding is one of Nasdem's concerns. It is quite clear in Nasdem that there are varied attitudes and views of its members regarding religious and national issues. Some of them seem rather secular, but others have a very strong interest in the religious aspect, especially Islamic interest.

The attitudes and policies of Gerindra in recently have attracted widespread attention. It was not only due to its general chairman, Prabowo Subianto, who proposed himself as a candidate in the two presidential elections against Jokowi but also his views that were critical of the government. Gerindra also received a lot of attention regarding its alleged involvement with a number of actions involving Islamist groups. The views of Gerindra



politicians on religious issues are interesting enough to observe. This party has become the vanguard of the rejection of the discourse against the elimination of religious education in schools. The discourse was opposed because, for one thing, it encouraged the development of secularism.

As political parties with the involvement of retired military officers are quite dominant, a number of politicians with Islamist tendencies are also active in it. In Islamic issues, the general view of Gerindra is quite in line with the interest of Islamic parties. Perhaps this is due to the presence of Gerindra representatives in the commission which oversees religious affairs originating from conservative Islamic backgrounds. Their opinions and views influenced the political parties' policies. Even so, a number of other politicians have a nationalistic view. In the view of these nationalistic Muslim politicians, the root of the problem of education, including religious education, which tends to be exclusive and foster radicalism in a number of precisely caused by educators lacking understanding about Islam and nationalism as a whole (both doctrine, sociological, and historical). , Islam is understood partially and always contrasted diametrically with nationality. These educators do not have insight into Indonesian Islamic thinkers who integrate well between Islam and the nation, such as M. Natsir, Mohamad Roem, and Nurcholish Madjid who were capable of integrating Islam with nationality, with Pancasila and the concept of Indonesia-ness. In this framework, to prevent the world of education from extreme understanding tendencies, the government first needs to do is to grow knowledge about the compatibility of Islamic principles and nationalism.

Unlike the three parties above, the views and policies of Demokrat related to the issue of education and religious education are relatively less prominent. According to the collected data, religious and educational issues in recent years have not become a concern of the party. It can be seen from the lack of coverage in the media about the policies or views of Demokrat politicians regarding these issues. The main focus of the Demokrat is more on efforts to strengthen electability in the last two general elections that have fallen sharply. However, Demokrat, on many occasions, asserted its position as a middle party, which adheres to the

principles of pluralism and tolerance. Since its original establishment, the founders of Demokrat have claimed that their party has a pattern of religious nationalism. With reference to the party's vision, the nuance of religious nationalism is quite clear. Demokrat declares to uphold the spirit of nationalism, humanism, and pluralism based on a submission to God Almighty in a new world order that is peaceful, democratic, and prosperous.

Garuda, which claims itself to be a nationalist, religious, and democratic party, has a religious outlook that tends to be of an Islamist pattern. From a number of opinions expressed, Garuda seems to be on the spectrum of nationalism-religious with a strong bias towards Islamists. Some of the attitudes and views of Garuda include some considerations. First, Garuda was established with a strong concern about religious issues, including Islamic education. Second, so that religious education is more advanced, Garuda proposes that the government should intervene to standardize religious schools and *pesantren*, strengthen the competence of teachers and religious teachers. Third, Garuda argues exclusivism and intolerance in schools are due to among others, the minimal hours of religious studies currently running. Thus, one of their politicians suggested that the government should add more hours to religious education in schools. The additional hours and religious education materials will have an important effect on the character of students. Based on the national religious issues, Garuda is more accommodating to aspirations that are considered to reflect the aspirations of the majority. On that basis, the Garuda Party supports Islamically-nuanced regulations as a form of accommodation for the majority of Muslims in Indonesia.

Berkarya has been less active in voicing its ideas on socio-religious issues. This party, which was initiated by the sons and daughters of former President Soeharto, was intended to preserve the legacy of the New Order, focusing more on programs of economic independence. Several ideas and opinions from the leaders of Berkarya on the issue of religious education and religiosity, among others: First, to have a vision of realizing an education that is related to nationality, unity, and Indonesia-ness. Second, intolerance and radicalism are not solely caused by erroneous education, but also

economic factors, including economic prosperity in the community that has not yet been realized. Third, Berkarya agrees with the improvement of the curriculum. According to Berkarya, the preparation of a religious education curriculum should involve multi-parties: the government, the ministry of religion, the ministry of education, Islamic organizations, and other elements of society.

As the main nationalist party, PDI-P stressed that the strengthening of Pancasila values in the world of education is the most important factor for realizing the spirit of nationalism and overcoming problems such as intolerance and radicalism. For PDIP, the direction and development of the current education system have reached an alarming stage. PDIP politicians are among the most often vocal in criticizing the national education system, which is considered to have much deviated from the nation's personality. One of the objections to this nationalist party is that some existing regulations, including regulations relating to education, are full of elements of Islamism. According to him, the tendency towards the values of one religion makes the national education system less tolerant. From the beginning, PDIP politicians in parliament took a counter position against the drafting of education regulations which they considered too dominant to accommodate a certain religion (Islam). The strong stance of PDIP is shown by its actions in choosing walkout (WO) towards the ratification of the National Education System Bill.

Even so, the rejection of a number of regulations that are benefited one religion does not automatically make PDIP policy is anti-religious. This party has created a number of party organization that is intended to accommodate the interests of Muslims. The spirit that PDI-P wants is the realization that one religion is more dominant than the others in influencing policy. If it does, it will potentially undermine the pillars of nationhood, whereas it is the most basic principle in maintaining pluralism in this country.

In contrast to the majority of Islamic political parties who want Islamic values to be integrated into all subjects, PDI-P of Struggle to integrates the values of Pancasila. According to one of PDI-P politicians, integrating the values of Pancasila into all subjects, including religious education, will

be an important factor that can prevent the growth of intolerance and radicalism in the world of education. PDI-P has a different emphasis on religious education compared to Islamic political parties. If a number of conservative Islamic political parties better position religious education as a "means of preaching" aimed at strengthening the faith and piety of students, for PDIP the most important goal is to form a Pancasila and nationally oriented man. Here, it is clear that the differences in attitudes and views of PDIP to the most Islamic political parties, especially the conservative ones. In addition, although it is not yet an agreement for the party, some PDIP politicians have views about the secular position of religion and state. One of the party's informant firmly believes that religion should be in a private domain. Religion is enough to deal with the matter of increasing faith, piety, and its relation to the afterlife, but in social and state relations, Pancasila must be first.

Nasdem also on several occasions declared itself a nationalist party. In contrast to the attitude of the middle parties in general, such as Golkar and Demokrat, which tolerated enough members to support sharia regulations, the leader of Nasdem strongly stated against such regulations that they considered discriminatory and could endanger the Republic of Indonesia. In seeing the relationship between the state and religion, Nasdem positioning itself tends to be secular. As stated by one of its politicians, state and religious affairs should be separated. The state must not interfere too much; neither should religion get too deep into national affairs. A critical attitude towards religious supremacy is demonstrated by its view that government policies on religious education should not give privileges to certain religious groups, but it must promote equality and equal opportunities for other religions. There must be no inequality in Indonesia. Nasdem also stressed the need for religious education in line with the national message to establish a moral society.

However, in addressing certain specific issues, Nasdem's attitudes and views were quite accommodating of religious aspirations. In drafting the *Pesantren* Bill, Nasdem's stance in parliament is to support the ratification of the bill – even though a number of other Nasdem politicians gave a critical note because they considered *pesantren* as a moderate Muslim

institution that gave a lot of positive contributions to the nation. Especially, amid the development of ideology and extreme religious ideology which is largely due to the influence of religious understanding Wahhabi model. In fact, because of its negative impact, a Nasdem politician hoped that the government would prohibit the development of the Salafi and Wahhabi ideology which, because in addition to conflicting with the culture and customs of the majority Indonesian nation, also often became the culprit of radicalism and intolerance. In religious teaching and practice, Nasdem voiced the need to adopt cultural values and traditions that had developed in society.

Strengthening traditional educational institutions, such as Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and madrasa, both in terms of institutional, curriculum, teacher capacity, and also funding is one of the concerns of Nasdem. It is quite clear in the body of Nasdem; there are varying attitudes and views of members regarding religious and national issues. Some of them seem rather secular, but some others have a concern for religious interests, although not as strong as the politicians of Islamic parties.

Other political parties that have similar attitudes and views to PDI-P PKPI. This party is a small political party that nationally does not have a significant role and influence. Institutionally, this political party is weak, which is characterized by frequent problems, especially with serious internal conflicts. With a very small number of representatives in parliament, even the PKPI throughout its participation in the elections in the reform era only once succeeded in placing its representatives in parliament, and it is only one person.

In the field of education and religion, PKPI put more emphasis on the importance of instilling the values of Pancasila in both fields. This political party whose initiators were mostly military retirees also wanted religious education to be strengthened to support pluralism and tolerance. The views on aspects of Islamism that developed in the world of education, such as the imposition of Muslim dressing, are quite moderate. Likewise related to the emergence of sharia regulations relatively can be understood. The resistance shown was not as hard as the PDIP politicians. However, it needs to be underlined here that acceptance of those aspects

which are considered Islamist tends to be pragmatic. It seems that the lack of ideological politicians in this small nationalist party caused its attitudes and views on a number of religious issues to be less clearly illustrated. It is just that this party is equally affirming the importance of religious education directed to be able to support the growth of a stronger national outlook.

Compared to the existing parties, both old and new political parties, PSI attitudes and views on religious issues and religious education are more progressive. It is also reasonable to refer to its views as liberal. For example, related to the ideal format of religious education to overcome intolerance, PSI offers a model of learning religions. In religion, it is enough to teach just one religion. In this regard, PSI's view has a clear differentiator. Some points of PSI's views on religious education mention several aspects. First, the need must have a strong concept for tolerance-based education. Second, it encourages religious studies (RS) to strengthen student mutual understanding. Religious studies also avoid exclusive religious understanding. Third, instilling the values of Pancasila as the main. Propose the government to make a commitment contract for religious teachers to ensure teaching under Pancasila. While relating to religious issues at a macro level, for example, the Sharia regulations, PSI stated its position firmly by opposing the existence of such regulations. The reason is clear; regulations that give privileges to one religion is a form of discrimination against minorities.

Perindo has a moderate view by stressing the importance of religious education based on tolerance and pluralism. The solution is not as radical as that proposed by PSI. However, it still encourages the need for openness in education by providing more intense dialogue space for adherents of different religions. This party also underlines the education system that can develop harmony—radicalism in schools, whatever the reason, still needs to be monitored. PSI is concerned about the emergence of religious schools that develop attitudes and understanding of exclusive religion. Its disapproval of discrimination in education became the basis of its attitude in disagreeing with the necessity of Muslim fashion in public-funded public schools.

The views of several political parties can be formulated more simply as follows.

The Islamist party's views on religious education can be divided into several models. First, modernist Islamists—PKS, PPP, PBB, and PAN. PKS and PPP focus on the supremacy of Islamic excellence in religious education. PBB is modernist-formalistic, modernist nuanced to Indonesia disagrees with the adoption of Salafi and Wahhabi from the Middle East (as did the PKS) but refers to the modernist Islamic founding minds of the founding fathers, especially M. Natsir (Masyumi's leadership) after independence. PAN also has a view on religious education with a modernist character, and it emphasizes on the need for religious integration in all subjects, but at the same time also emphasizes religious education in schools should encourage the development of pluralism that respects the diversity of the nation; Second, moderate-traditionalist Islam, included in this category is PKB. This party with a mass base of *Nahdliyin* (NU residents) agrees to the active role of the state in strengthening religious education. Differentiating from other Islamic political parties, PKB underscores the importance of strengthening traditional *Pesantren* and madrasa educational institutions as the spearhead of religious education. In addition, the PKB also stressed the need for religious teaching materials that are accommodative to the nation's cultures.

The Religious Nationalist Party, in general, is in the middle spectrum, supporting religious education and religious agendas in politics, but it does not go too deep (interventionist). Political parties included in this group include Golkar, Demokrat, and Gerindra. Emphasis on the need for a balance between state/nationality and religiosity/religion. They did not question an increasingly religious state, and they were also relatively open to ideas and proposals concerning regulations nuanced diversity. They shared critical views with nationalist groups in terms of over-politicizing religion, including the danger of radicalism that threatened the Republic of Indonesia. However, in general, their views on many aspects of religious education are closer to the Islamic group than to the nationalist and secular groups.

Nationalists Party, represented by the main political parties, such as PDIP, Nasdem, and PSI, as well as a number of other small political parties. PDIP and PSI often voiced the need for a revision of the national education system. Both of these political parties share the same view in terms of religious education currently considered problematic, among others: lack of success in fostering tolerance and within certain limits, if what is not unchecked will harm nationalism. However, the pressure points of the two political parties are somewhat different: PDIP emphasizes the need to strengthen the national outlook through Pancasila which is injected in religious education, while PSI is more concerned with the need for models of religious teaching to replace the model of religious teaching that is too orthodox. For PDIP, the main objective of religious education is to form a Pancasilaist human being, while for PSI, through its proposed religious studies, it wants to create more tolerant and pluralistic people. More specifically, the views of the three main nationalist political parties can be described as follows;

1. For PDI-P the role and function of religious education are positioned more as a "subordinate" for a greater purpose, namely to strengthen the national outlook. Cultivating Pancasila values as the most important thing for PDI-P, it is more important and strategic than religious education. Most Islamist parties who see "religious education that is whole or complete" is the way out to shape student morale, PDI-P sees the solution is "Pancasila education". This party also tends to reject the role of the state in religious affairs, or at least minimally, not to interfere because religion is understood as a private domain. It is in this context that the PDI-P tends to disagree with the over-involvement of the state in regulating religious education, especially in private schools. Several PDI-P politicians explicitly revealed that the material and direction of religious education at this time was alarming because it was considered to be too Islamist.
2. PSI, as it was stated earlier, fights for a liberal model of religious education by encouraging religious studies. Through religious studies that are expected to encourage mutual understanding between religions, inclusive religious attitudes



- and thoughts can be realized. Religious education that strengthens orthodoxy, such as happening now, can be a threat because it fosters exclusivism and the truest sense of self.
3. Based on Nasdem, national politics need to be separated from religious interference. Macro nationalist views as Nasdem has been relatively secular. When it comes to religious education, state interference is still felt necessary, even asking the state to play a more active role, but this role is in the context of stemming radical ideologies and understandings which are considered to have endangered the nationalism of students. Explicitly politicians of Nasdem cite the factor of entry and development of the Salafi and Wahhabi understanding, which he called Arabic Islam, as the main problem which helped to foster intolerance and violence. The state needs to act firmly against this religious understanding. Their views on the aspects of religious education at school are not as radical as PSI or PDI-P, but closer to religious nationalist groups



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## APPENDIX

### TABLES

#### Islamist Political Parties

Political Party	Orientation	Views and Policies
<p><i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i> (PKS) The Prosperous Justice Party</p>	<p>Islamist - Conservative</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Holistically teaching Islam is necessary</li> <li>2. Religious contents should be integrated with all general subjects</li> <li>3. Comprehensively studying religion can grow students' tolerance</li> <li>4. If religious studies have been appropriately injected into all subjects, there is no need for character education</li> <li>5. Islamization through legislation: actively engaged in the law drafting of National Education System Bill 2003</li> <li>6. Demanding the addition of learning materials and hours for religious education</li> <li>7. Are struggling to increase the budget and to standardize religious education teachers</li> </ol>
<p>The Moon and Star Party (PBB)</p>	<p>Islamist- Modernist Conservative</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Conservatism and exclusivism are the root problems of religious education</li> <li>2. It needs transformation by inserting modern Islamic</li> </ol>

Political Party	Orientation	Views and Policies
		<p>thoughts in religious education</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Struggling for sharia legislation in the laws and substantial aspects of Islam in it (informal)</li> <li>4. Emphasizing the need to integrate Islam with other sciences by inserting the substance of Islam in all subjects</li> <li>5. Agreeing with the religious teachings, but intended to prove the superiority of Islam</li> <li>6. Encouraging the entry of modernist Islamic thought into Islamic education, with an emphasis on the views of Masjumi figures. This type of modernist Islam is more representative to replace the Middle Eastern-style Islam (including Saudi Arabia) that is developing in Indonesia today</li> </ol>
<p><i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> (PKB) The National Awakening Party</p>	<p>Islamist-Traditionalist Moderate</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The focus of current religious education policy should be on improving the quality and reputation of <i>pesantren</i> and strengthening madrassas</li> <li>2. Underlining the need for religious education that accommodates the cultures of Indonesian people.</li> <li>3. The government should make <i>pesantren</i> education as a basis for preventing intolerance and fostering a moderate attitude.</li> <li>4. Fighting for an increase in the budget for religious education, equivalent to general education</li> </ol>



Political Party	Orientation	Views and Policies
		5. In the level of legislation, PKB politicians should become the main initiators of the <i>Pesantren</i> Bill.
<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> (PAN) The National Mandate Party	Islamist-Inclusive	1. This party declares itself to be a modern, pluralist and inclusive party. 2. Emphasizing mostly on the need for an education system that is open to all religions 3. While the integration of Islam and Science is also considered very important. Schools like SIC are regarded as an ideal model. 4. As to the organizing Institution, PAN voiced a lot concerning religious education management, which needs to be transferred from the Ministry of Religion to the Ministry of Education and Culture. 5. Radicalism in schools is a result of the mismanagement of the Ministry of Religion to religious education, rather of the religious misunderstanding or problematic religious material. 6. Likewise, radicalism is also seen as an external influence resulting from religious issues. Instead, it arises due to the conditions of economic, social, and political injustice. 7. Voiced the addition of religious learning hours

## Religious Nationalist Political Parties (Accommodationists)

Political Party	Orientation	Views and Policies
Partai Golkar The Golkar Party or Party of Functional Groups	Nationalist Religious	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Golkar Party was born not based on slices of social identity, but rather of functional identity. It is unlike the PDI and PPP as parties that were also born from the womb of the New Order and are thick with ideological identity.</li> <li>2. This party supports the <i>Pesantren</i> Bill, but with a critical attitude. It voices the aspirations of the church so that church schools and catechism are not included in the bill.</li> <li>3. State intervention in religious affairs is permissible, but may not interfere too far.</li> <li>4. It supports religious studies that emphasize universal noble values existing in all religions. It is different from the Islamists who emphasize the elements of da'wah, faith, and the superiority of Islam.</li> <li>5. It is initiating several religious regulations, including religiously nuanced regulations. Yet, the main motive is more on the electoral, not on the policy that reflects the ideology of the Golkar Party.</li> <li>6. As written in the party's association articles, the</li> </ol>

Political Party	Orientation	Views and Policies
		<p>pressure point of the Golkar Party does not place religion as the core values. Yet it is as a part of the values that grow in a society crystallized in the Pancasila ideology. That is why the Golkar Party emphasizes the aspects of Pancasila ideology as a reference in developing the programs that it runs.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="666 586 1166 807">7. This party encourages the Ministry of Religion to be more inclusive in implementing Pancasila, which is the basis of the state, in religious education and religious affairs.</li> <li data-bbox="666 811 1166 1068">8. Religious education, from the perspective of the Golkar Party, is an integral part of the national education system that can give a constructive contribution, i.e., moderate and tolerant attitudes.</li> </ol>
Partai Gerindra Gerindra Party	Nationalist Religious	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="666 1081 1166 1188">1. The purpose of education is to strengthen an individual's faith and character.</li> <li data-bbox="666 1191 1166 1298">2. It is firmly refusing the discourse on the elimination of religious education.</li> <li data-bbox="666 1302 1166 1635">3. One of the causes that foster intolerance in the context of religious education is the weak insight of teachers in understanding the relationship between religion and the state holistically. Therefore, strengthening teacher capacity in that area is essential.</li> </ol>

<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Orientation</b>	<b>Views and Policies</b>
		4. Islam and nationality are symbiotic mutualistic, complementary, and compatible, as formulated by some Islamic figures such as M. Natsir, Mohamad Roem, and Nurcholish Madjid.
Partai Demokrat Democratic party	Nationalist Religious	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Since its establishment, the Democratic Party has identified itself as the party with an ideology of religious nationalism.</li> <li>2. This ideology is reflected in its vision: Upholding the spirit of nationalism, humanism, and pluralism on the basis of piety to God Almighty in a new world order that is peaceful, democratic, and prosperous.</li> <li>3. Issues and policies on religion and religious education have not been a priority in recent times.</li> <li>4. In addressing the national and religious issues, this party leader's general view emphasizes the importance of moderate, pluralistic, and tolerance.</li> </ol>

### **Nationalist Political Parties**

<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Orientation</b>	<b>Views and Policies</b>
<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</i> (PDI Perjuangan)	Nationalists with a secular tendency	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Emphasizing the importance of national moral education above religious education</li> <li>2. Strengthening the nation's character can be done</li> </ol>

Political Party	Orientation	Views and Policies
Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. through Pancasila Education while strengthening personal character can be done by studying their own religion.</li> <li>4. Religion is a private domain. Thus, all people are welcome to deepen his or her religious teachings and increase their faith, piety, or any matters relating to the afterlife. While for social and state life, Pancasila must be the primary foundation.</li> <li>5. Encouraging the integration of Pancasila through all subjects</li> <li>6. Pancasila values must be integrated into religious studies to prevent intolerance.</li> <li>7. Religious education must be directed towards the formation of a Pancasila and nationally-oriented person.</li> <li>8. Criticizing a number of regulations, including the variety of religious education that is currently dense with the values of Islamism.</li> <li>9. Performing resistance, including carrying out walk-out actions in the drafting of the National Education System Bill, which is considered to have been inclined to certain religions.</li> <li>10. In avoiding exclusivism, religious education must accommodate national values and traditions or local wisdom.</li> </ol>
Partai Nasional Demokrat	Moderate-Nationalist	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Nasdem Party has given a profound concern to the</li> </ol>

Political Party	Orientation	Views and Policies
(Nasdem) National Democratic Party		increasing formalization of Sharia, which it considered had endangered the unity of the nation. 2. Disagreeing sharia regulations because they considered it as a form of discrimination. 3. State and religious affairs must be separated. The state must not interfere too much on religious matters, and vice versa. 4. Religious education policies are not to give privileges to a certain religious group and must promote equality and equal opportunity for all religions. Inequality should not be allowed. 5. The government must intervene to ensure that religious education contents do not contain any elements of intolerance and radicalism. 6. Intolerance and radicalism are mainly caused by the influence of a religious ideology development from outside (in this case, the Wahhabism). 7. Proposing strengthening programs for the capacity of teachers and preachers to counter the development of radical ideology 8. Supporting the <i>Pesantren</i> Bill to strengthen moderate Islam 9. The macro views of this party regarding the relationship between the state and religion

Political Party	Orientation	Views and Policies
		tend to be secular. However, it tends to be central and religious as to the aspect of religious education.
Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI) Indonesian Solidarity Party	Pluralist Secular	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Having a strong concept for tolerance-based education</li> <li>2. Encouraging religious studies to strengthen students' mutual understanding and to avoid exclusively religious views</li> <li>3. Disagreeing with regulations on religious nuance as a form of discrimination against minorities</li> <li>4. Evaluating religious teachers, cultivating the values of Pancasila as the central values, proposing a commitment contract to teach Pancasila for religious teachers.</li> </ol>
PKPI Indonesian Justice and Unity Party	Nationalist Moderate	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. PKPI's perspective on religious education refers to the values of diversity.</li> <li>2. Closed or exclusive religious education contributes to the problem of intolerance.</li> <li>3. Religious education, which is symbolic and result-oriented, is expected to be transformed into a friendly normative response that recognizes religious differences as part of wealth Indonesia has.</li> <li>4. It appears ambiguous. Regarding the obligation to wear Muslim clothing in schools for Muslim women, PKPI considers this provision</li> </ol>

<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Orientation</b>	<b>Views and Policies</b>
		as legitimate and natural, as a form of accommodating the majority. On the other hand, PKPI encourages multicultural education to be implemented in schools
Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (Hanura) People's Conscience Party	Nationalist Moderate	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Declaring itself as a nationalist party</li> <li>2. Emphasizing this party as a moderate, center (not to the left and not to the right), and open party</li> <li>3. Pluralist education is important</li> <li>4. Having no specific view regarding religious education</li> <li>5. Extremism in religion, including takfiri attitude, is a severe threat to the cohesiveness of life together as a nation.</li> <li>6. Having a weak party institution and the internal conflict has made the role of their representatives in parliament insufficiently visible.</li> <li>7. With a few representatives in parliament, this party does not have significant roles in legislation.</li> </ol>

### **Other Political Parties**

<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Orientation</b>	<b>Views and Policies</b>
Perindo	Moderate Pluralist	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Focusing on education that fosters harmony</li> <li>2. Intolerance is caused by inappropriate religious</li> </ol>



Political Party	Orientation	Views and Policies
		<p>teaching and understanding; the influence of global understanding</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Being Concerned about the emergence of religious schools that develop exclusive religious attitudes and understanding</li> <li>4. Disagreeing with the obligation to wear Muslim clothing in government-funded public schools</li> <li>5. Agreeing with the education that provides space for religious dialogues</li> </ol>
Partai Garuda Garuda Party	Nationalist Islamist	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Declaring itself as nationalist, religious, and populist</li> <li>2. Having a strong concern with religious issues, including Islamic education</li> <li>3. Demanding additional hours of religious education in schools so that it further strengthens the character building of students</li> <li>4. Needing to standardize religious schools and <i>pesantren</i>, and strengthen teacher and religious teacher competencies.</li> <li>5. Supporting nuanced Islamic regulations as a form of accommodating the majority</li> </ol>
Partai Berkarya Berkarya Party	Nationalist Moderate	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Supporting the education that encourages the values of nationalism, unity in diversity, and Indonesia</li> <li>2. Intolerance is not only caused by misleading education, but also caused by insufficient</li> </ol>

<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Orientation</b>	<b>Views and Policies</b>
		economic prosperity that has not yet been created. 3. Compilation of religious education curricula involves many parties







# POLITICAL PARTIES & ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

This book examines the views of political parties participating in the 2019 elections regarding education and religious education in Indonesia, whether the views of nationalist political parties (religious) and Islamic political parties on education and religious education are different, or whether they have a common ground. This book reveals the views of politicians from nationalist political parties such as the PDI-P, Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, Nasdem Party, Democratic Party; the views of politicians from Islamic political parties such as PPP, PKS, PAN, PBB, and PKB; the views of politicians from small parties such as Perindo, the Berkarya Party, the Indonesian Solidarity Party, the Hanura Party, the Garuda Party, and the PKPI.



ISBN 978-623-95035-0-5

