

MAPPING THE IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS AND TEACHERS AT ISLAMIC HIGH SCHOOLS

RESEARCH TEAM

**Centre of Cultural and Social Change Studies (PSBPS)
Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta**

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CONVEY REPORT

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FOREWORDS

This CONVEY Report is based on the result of qualitative research conducted by Centre of Cultural and Social Change Studies – Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta (CCSCS UMS) in collaboration with PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta under the Convey Indonesia program titled “Mapping the Ideological Spectrum of Islamic Education Textbooks and Teachers at Islamic High Schools.” This research analyzed the contents of textbooks in the subjects of *Al-Quran Hadith, Aqidah Akhlaq, Fiqh, and Islamic Cultural History (ICH)*, which are used in Islamic High Schools, published by Indonesian MoRA, and written based on the paradigm of 2013 Curriculum. This research also employed in-depth interview and focus group discussion (FGD) methods to religion teachers in 5 cities/provinces (Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Cirebon, Manado and Jakarta).

Many have been involved in their different roles allowing this Research Report to be delivered to its readers. We would like to express our deep gratitude to PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta for their trust in us in implementing this research in the forms of funding and providing constructive input. We would also like to express our gratitude to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Indonesia for their support that has been essential in the success of the research and report writing. Furthermore, we would also like to express our gratitude to Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta, especially the Rector and LPPM UMS, for their support in various things, such as providing an office for us to deliver these series of research.

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We hope that this research report can contribute to the improvement of religion education that is inclusive and progressive, as part of the collective effort to continuously improve the quality of social capital as well as the just and harmonious social integrity in our beloved country.

Surakarta, 19 February 2019

Yayah Khisbiah & Azaki Khoirudin

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A. Background

In the implementation of Islamic education, textbook is a key component as it is a mandatory learning medium from which students receive knowledge, absorb values, and act upon religious teachings. In addition, religion teachers at Islamic schools also play a significant role as transmitters of Islamic values to shape student's religious perspectives. Textbooks and Islamic Education (hereinafter abbreviated as PAI) teachers have contributed to the formation of socio-religious understanding, attitude and behavior by developing student's Islamic character, morality and ethics. The question is, amidst the current rise of discourses on clashes of cultures and religions, has PAI been consistent with efforts of, and is it capable of, contributing substantially toward the development of a tolerant, inclusive and pluralist Islamic character?

Discourses on intolerance, exclusivism and extremism contained within PAI and socialized by religion teachers have been frequently reported in research by various institutions. The Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies/CRCS (2015), for instance, stated that the Islamic Education 2013 Curriculum apparently contains materials that are indoctrinating, disrespecting diversity, as well as lacking the support toward interfaith harmony. PPIM UIN Jakarta (2018) found that some religion teachers have an intolerant-radical religious understanding due to Islamism ideology. Furthermore, they found that students obtained religious knowledge and attitude not only from teachers and lecturers in charge of Islamic education subjects, but also from teachers and lecturers in charge of other subjects, such as science, languages, and counselors. These findings confirmed previous research findings by Maarif Institute (2011), PSBPS UMS (2012, 2009), Wahid Foundation (2017) and Postgraduate Department of UIN Yogyakarta (2018).

Islamic High School/*Madrasah Aliyah* (hereinafter abbreviated as MA) is one of the educational institutions that provide academic teaching on Islamic affairs, including about doctrines, religious authorities, languages, Islamic law, and history. In addition to Islamic materials, MA also teaches social science (Sociology-Economy) and Science (Math, Physics, Biology and Chemistry). Based on the 2014/2015 education year statistics, there are 7,582 public and private MAs. MA has operated under the authority of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) ever since the modernization of Islamic educational institution, which began in 1970s by Abdul Mukti Ali as the then-Minister of Religious Affairs. The National Education System Law No. 2 of 1989 affirmed the existence of *madrasah* (Islamic school) as part of formal educational system.

This research departs from the concern resulting from the result of the PPIM (2018) research which found that *Islamic Education and Ethics* (PAI-BP) textbooks for junior high school and senior high school students contain materials that teach exclusivism and intolerance toward other religious believers (Hamid Nasuhi et al. 2018). As such, this research will illustrate the map of ideological spectrum in the content of textbooks published by MoRA and its correlation with PAI teachers at MA. The novelties of this research compared to its various predecessors are: (1) the shift of research paradigm from war on terrorism to preventing violent extremism; (2) the use of religious peace-building framework by improving the quality of Islamic education that is inclusive and progressive.

1. Research Focus

Continuing on previous studies, this research is focused on the PAI textbooks available to and used by PAI teachers at MA. The focus of this research is mapping the contents of textbooks of the following subjects: *Al-Quran and Hadith*, *Aqidah and Akhlaq* (Islamic Creed and Virtues), *Fiqh* (Philosophy of Islamic Law), and *Islamic Cultural History (ICH)*. The textbooks commonly used in Islamic schools (MA) are published by MoRA, written based on the paradigm of 2013 Curriculum. In order to see its correlation with PAI teachers, this research studied the perception and ideological spectrum of PAI teachers at MA in five cities/districts: Jakarta, Cirebon, Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Manado.

This research has several goals: firstly, to map the contents of PAI textbooks published by MoRA that are used in MA for 10th to 12th Graders. Second, to understand the perspective of PAI teachers toward PAI textbooks, as well as how teachers use, appropriate and innovate the textbooks for the purpose of their teaching, as well as identifying alternative materials used by teachers to complement or replace the MoRA-published PAI textbooks. Third, to map the ideological spectrum of teachers who are influenced by various psychosocial disposition factors that are identified through teachers' perspectives on issues of contemporary Islam, nationalism and humanism. Fourth, to provide new evidence-based and research-based findings on Islamic education textbooks and teacher's ideology that can inform and support the development of effective policies and strategies to reinforce moderate-progressive Islam in Indonesia through PAI in Islamic high schools.

2. Conceptual Definition

This research employs several conceptual definitions. The first is textbook, which is defined as a writing in the form of a standard book used as a guideline for teachers and students in the learning process for instructional purposes. The textbooks studied under this research are for the following subjects: *Al-Quran and Hadith*, *Aqidah Akhlaq*, *Fiqh*, and *Islamic Cultural History (ICH)* for 10th, 11th, and 12th graders in MA. Second, the psychosocial disposition of teachers, which includes cognition, attitude and behavior influenced by various psychosocial and political factors in cultural environment such as expectations, religious streams, as well as their worldviews (Murray, 2007; Ruitenbergh, 2011). Textbook is a text while psychosocial disposition is the context. This research observes the dialectic between text and context, i.e. how teachers filter/select textbooks, followed by how they modify/alter the textbooks according to their psychosocial disposition. The third is pedagogical dimension. Learning target is comprised of 3 levels, namely (1) Cognitive, i.e. knowledge about religious teachings; (2) Affective, i.e. feeling, believing, or part of attitude and faith component that shapes religious commitment; and (3) Behavior, i.e. doing, practicing, or concrete behavior as the logical manifestation of knowledge and faith (Bloom, 1965; Krathwohl, 2001).

The fourth concept is ideological spectrum. We categorize teacher's religious faith into 3 variations, i.e. conservative, moderate and progressive. The three categories are used as the conceptual framework to analyze textbook contents and teacher's religious ideology. The matrix for ideological spectrum as well as each of its indicators is as follows:

| SPECTRUM CATEGORY | CONSERVATIVE | MODERATE | PROGRESSIVE |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | Textual | Contextual | Humanist |
| | Exclusive | Inclusive | Pluralist |
| | Intolerant | Tolerant | Cosmopolitan |

The three categories of religious ideology along with its 9 indicators shall be referred to as spectrum since, in reality, each indicator is often inseparable from another. Their relations are not rigid but fluid – one category can intersect with another. But in order to facilitate the interpretation of these complex relations, spectrum categorization is employed by using the following operational definitions:

First, conservative: their reference is God's words. The indicators are: 1) Textual: the understanding of Islamic teaching in a literal sense (normative, dogmatic-theological), using the lens of an "insider" (observing from within), absolute (non-dialogue), apologetic-defensive and could potentially lead to truth claim; 2) Exclusive: the

consequence of textual thinking is close-mindedness (believe in one's correctness: truth claim), tends to be partial to their own group (in-group) due to having *a priori* sentiment toward the out-group; and 3) Intolerant: having prejudice toward the others/out-group; difference and diversity is considered as a burden; negative thinking (El Fadl, 2006).

Second, moderate: Their references are God's words and science. The indicators are: 1) Contextual: the understanding of Islamic teaching in an objective-scientific way accompanied by sociological, anthropological and historical approaches, in line with scientific development (Saeed, 2006); 2) Inclusive: egalitarian, open-minded, having a wide array of knowledge, whether from their own group or another, not extreme (Kamali, 2015); and 3) Tolerant: prepared to know, understand, respect difference, positive thinking, accepting difference and diversity and believe in the good of living in a heterogeneous and harmonious society (Cox, 2006).

Third, progressive¹: Their references are God's words, science and ethics. The indicators are: 1) Humanist: practicing religion in a critical and merciful manner, having social concern, criticizing the injustice in status quo and that comes from the hegemon, using religion for problem-solving purpose, supporting gender equality, anti-discrimination, anti-oppression, anti-terrorism and supporting a positive social change such as altruism, empathy, love, fighting for social, economic and environmental justice (Hanafi, 2010; Engineer, 2009); 2) Pluralist: going beyond acting tolerant, not only accepting difference but also actively spreading Indonesian values such as diversity, pluralism, multiculturalism, unity, appreciating local culture (read: Indonesian cultures) (Safi, 2003); and 3) Cosmopolitan: departed from the perspective of *tauhid* (unity of humanity), giving birth to appreciation toward diversity, awareness as global citizen, and believing in the universal-ness of humanity (Aljunied, 2016).

B. METHODS

This study employs a qualitative research method as well as data collection techniques such as content analysis, in-depth interview and focus group discussion (FGD). The research team has formulated a research design as the guideline in selecting samples, research instruments in the form of guiding questions for interviews and FGDs, data collection, data analysis, and reporting the research results.

1 Omid Safi offered a concept of Progressive Muslim by referring to several attitudes, i.e.: 1) beyond apologetics, 2) no more "pamphlet Islam", 3) Islam beyond "tolerance", and 4) Islam beyond "religion of peace." One of the key elements of a progressive Muslim, according to Safi, is "the determination to hold Muslim societies accountable for justice and pluralism." See Omid Safi, *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism*, (England: Oneworld Oxford, 2003)

1. Literature Review

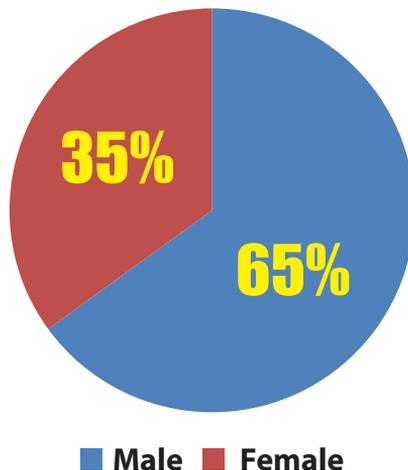
The main source of data in this research is documents in the form of PAI textbooks. The document's position in this research is as an 'informant'. As such, the method employed in this research is content analysis method, in order to complement the value and credibility of this research. Curriculum document is analyzed from the aspect of PAI basic competence in 2013 Curriculum for MA. PAI textbook for MA is studied in terms of its compatibility with the curriculum issued by MoRA. There are 12 textbooks studied in this research, all of which encompass 4 subjects, namely *Al-Quran and Hadith*, *Aqidah Akhlaq*, *Fiqh* and *Islamic Cultural History (ICH)*. Those textbooks are used in MA for 10th to 12th graders.

2. Recruitment of Research Informant

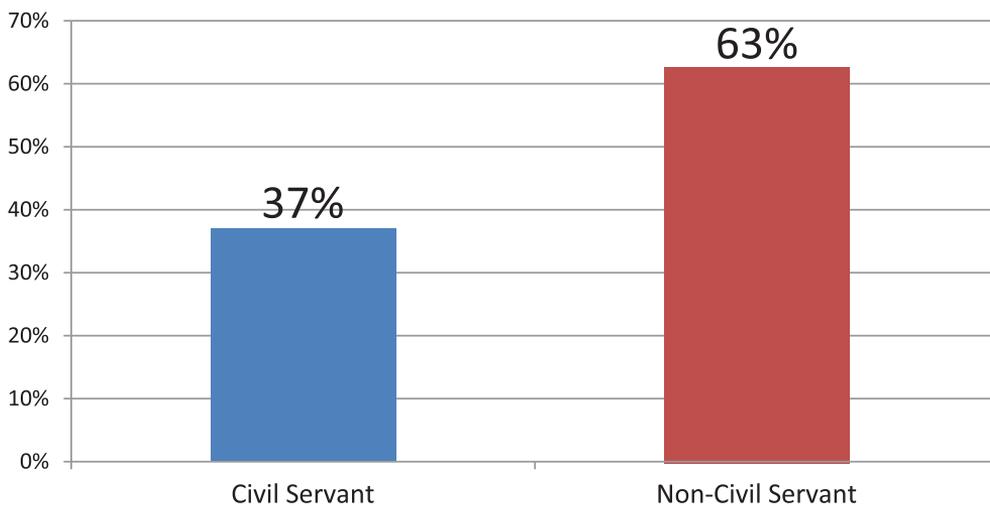
Research location is spread in 5 cities/districts from 5 provinces in Indonesia, i.e.: Jakarta, Cirebon, Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Manado. Jakarta is chosen since it is the capital city used as national barometer. Cirebon is chosen to represent West Java region. This city is quite vulnerable due to the pan bombing and various intolerance and violence incidents. At the same time, Cirebon is also located in the Pantai Utara [North Coast] route, which is a locus for cross-cultural interactions, with a social relation that has been historically known to be fluid. Yogyakarta and Surakarta are chosen to represent the SR Yogyakarta and Central Java province, which is close in proximity yet different in its multicultural characteristics. Manado is chosen as a city with Christian majority population, in order to observe the socio-religious dynamics when a Muslim becomes the minority in an Indonesian region. This is significant because most of Indonesian cities have Muslim as majority. With these 5 cities-provinces and a systematic research method with high academic rigor, we can assume that the 5 sampled cities-provinces are quite representative of Indonesia's sociocultural region.

Informants are chosen by using a purposive sampling technique in order to represent the affiliation of Islamic schools (public and private), teaching role for the four subjects, and teacher's gender. The informants in this research amount to 120 PAI teachers from 5 cities-districts, striving for a balanced representation between public MA and private MA by setting a 30% minimum rate of female representation. The following is a short profiling of PAI teacher informants in MA from the 5 cities-provinces (N=120):

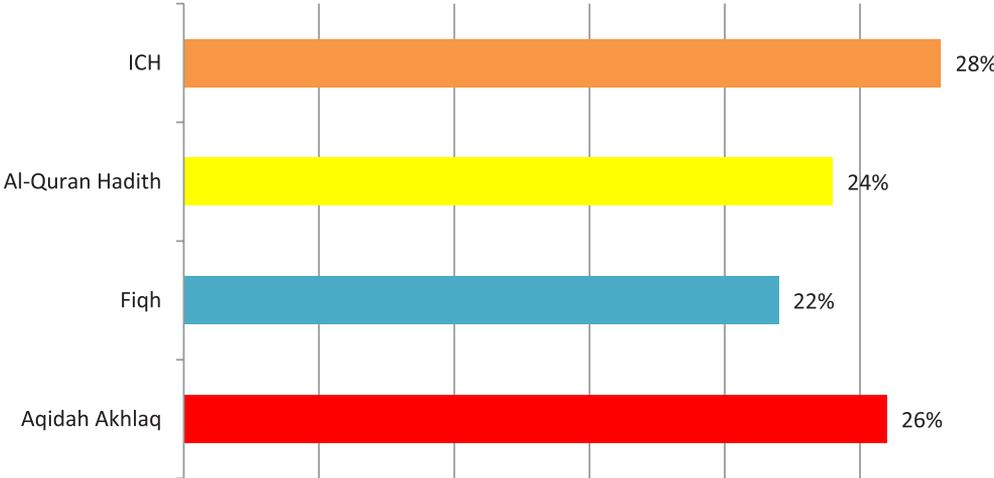
Gender



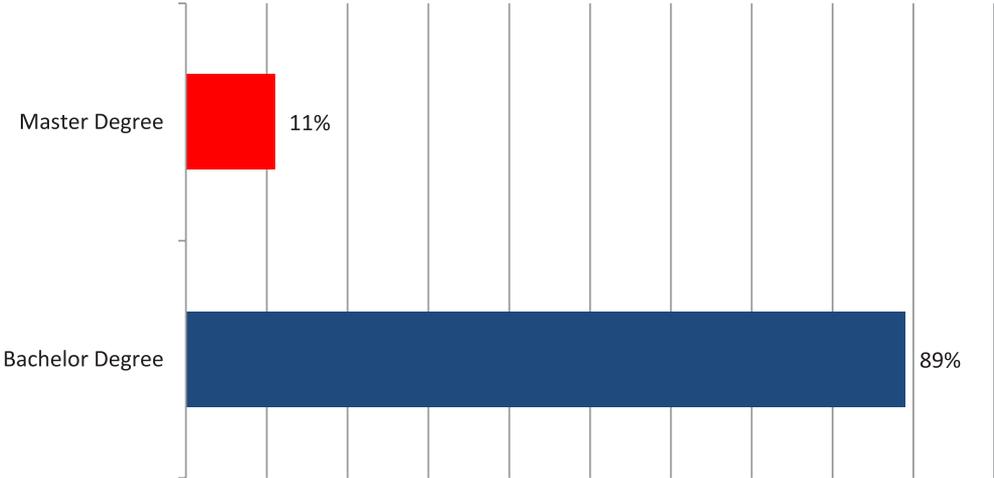
Employment Status



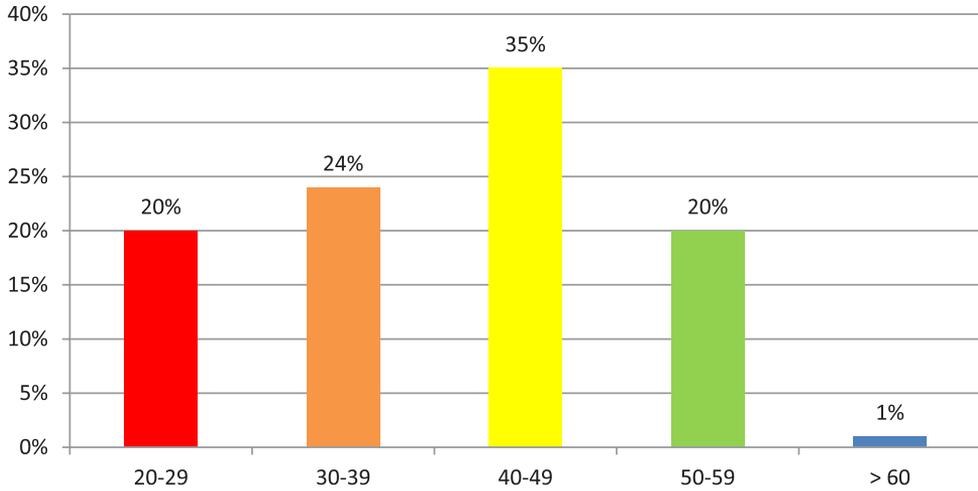
Subjects



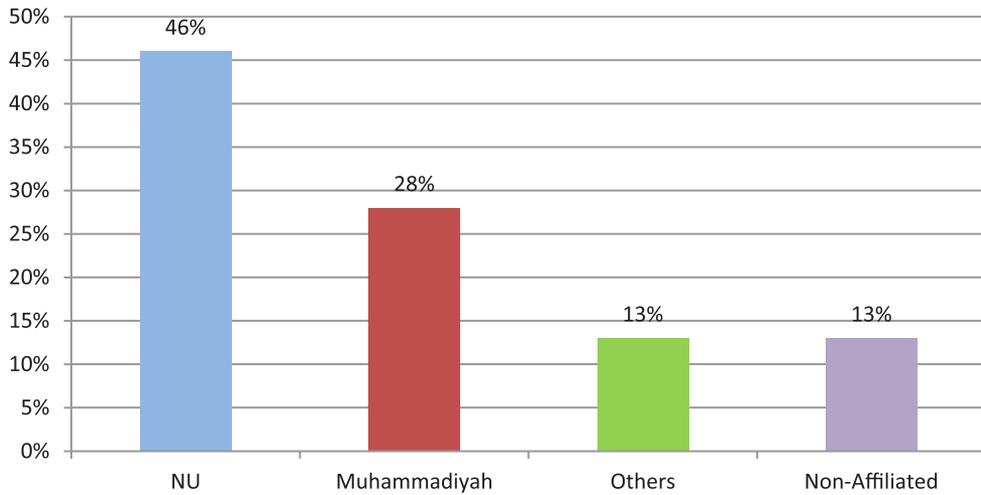
Education Level



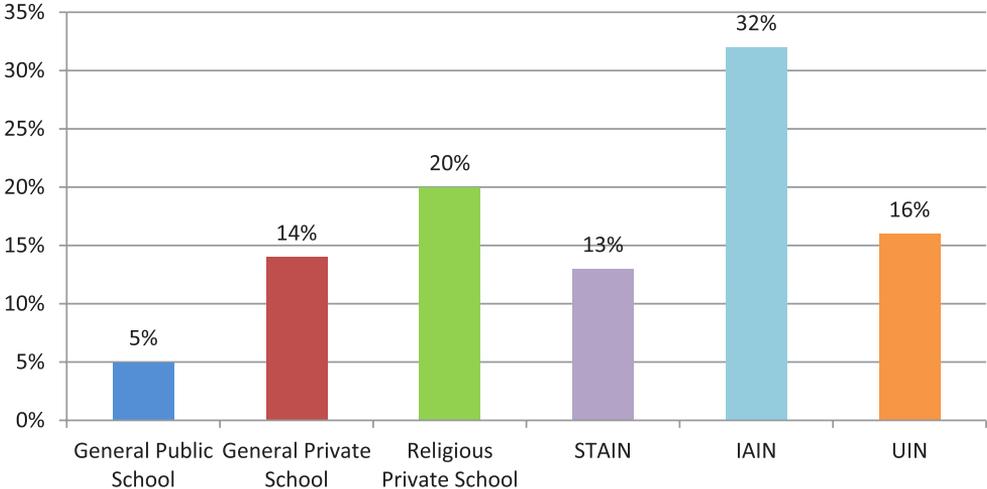
Age Range



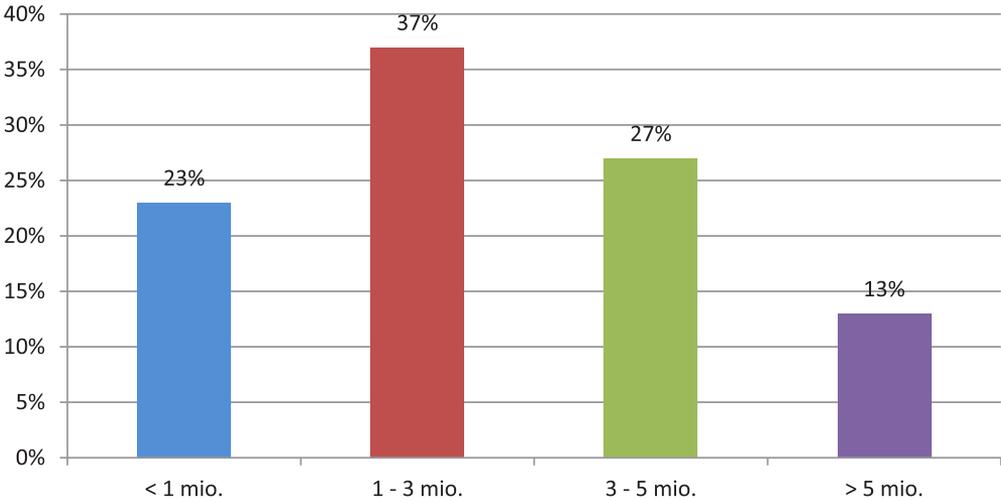
Organizational Affiliation



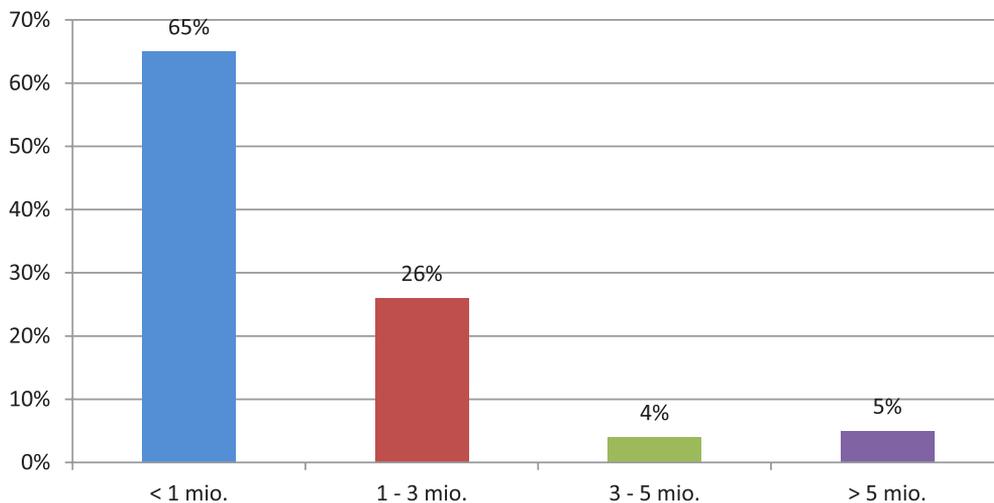
Educational Background



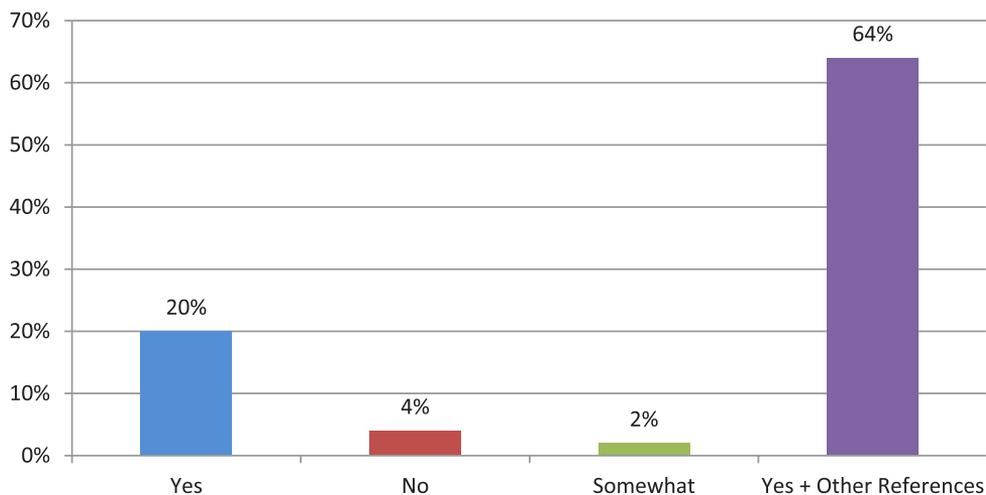
Income as Teacher



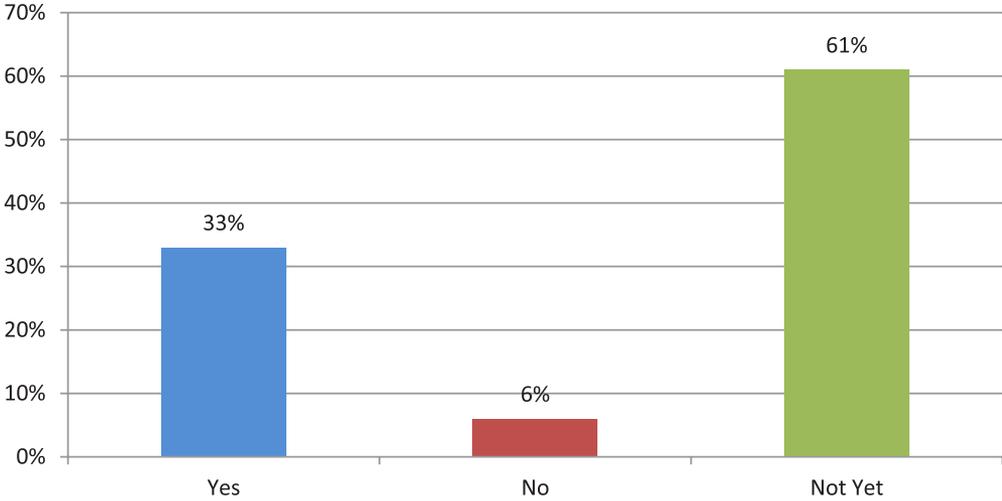
Income Outside of Teacher Profession



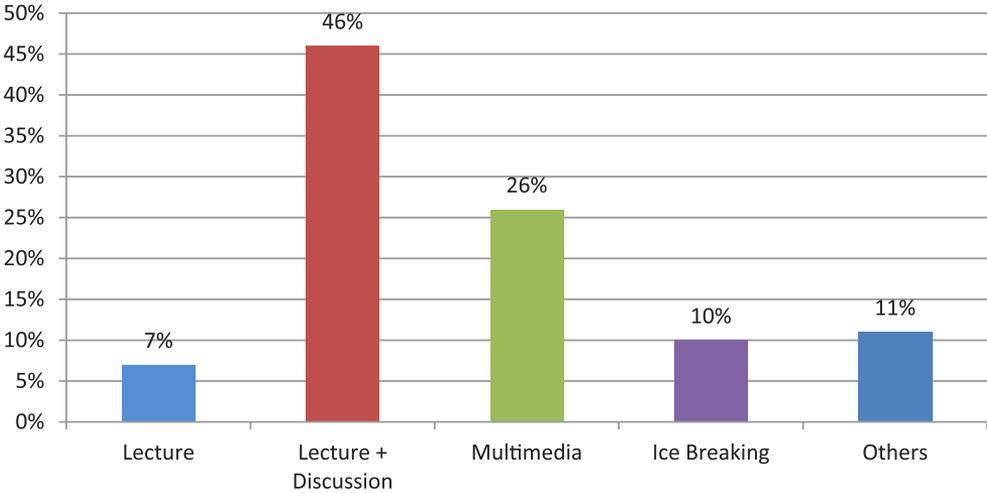
Using PAI Textbooks from MoRA



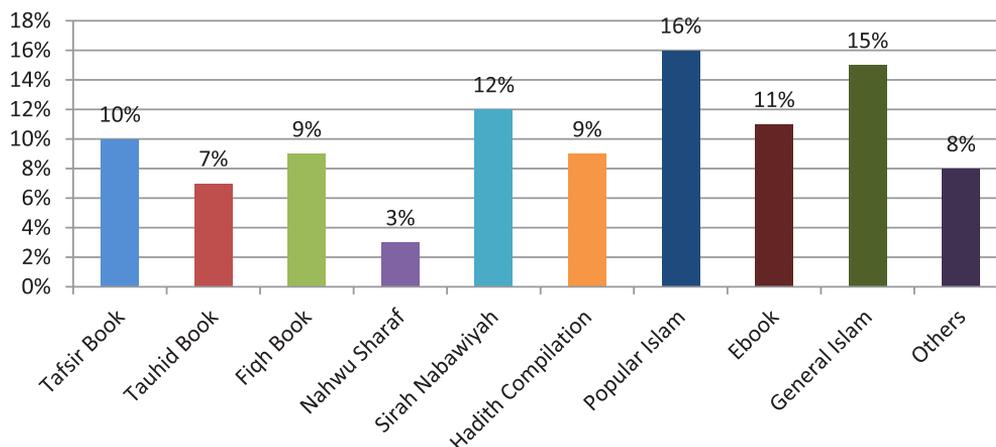
Textbook Compatibility



Learning Methods



Holy Book References & Supplementary Books



3. In-Depth Interviews and Observation

In-depth interviews along with observation are conducted in order to obtain a picture on teacher perspectives, how they use, appropriate, modify and innovate textbooks, as well as their ideological spectrum. In addition to obtaining a personal and in-depth information, in-depth interviews also aim to unveil the informants' biographical narratives as well as sensitive information that cannot be fully explored during FGDs. The understanding of each informant is explored through their psychosocial disposition, which is a dynamic combination of personal history and the result of their social relation with family and wider environment including schools, communal Quran reading groups, media and network, as well as the society.

4. Focused Group Discussions

Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) are conducted in order to obtain the various perspectives of teachers to complement the data of in-depth interviews. Each FGD is participated by 6-8 teacher informants according to the availability of teachers in each city/district. On average, an FGD will go for about 3 hours, guided by a researcher as the facilitator and assisted by a note taker who record the dynamics of discussion. Similar to in-depth interviews, FGDs are conducted to ensure the representation of public and private MA, the four subjects, and sexes.

C. IDEOLOGICAL MAPPING OF PAI TEXTBOOKS IN ISLAMIC HIGH SCHOOLS

Finding out whether a PAI textbook contains inclusive or exclusive, tolerant or intolerant, or even textual or contextual, is not easy. Since the PAI textbooks used in MA are issued by the government, in this case the MoRA, we believe that there is a small likelihood for the PAI textbooks to contain radicalism and terrorism teaching. In order to simplify the mapping of textbook contents, this research uses the three main categories of ideological spectrum as explained above in the conceptual definition, i.e. Conservative (textual, exclusive and intolerant), Moderate (contextual, inclusive and tolerant) and Progressive (humanist, pluralist and cosmopolitan). In order to obtain the ideological contents, we employ a thematic content analysis based on several keywords: jihad, caliphate, infidel, sin, heresy, war, murder, shirk, *bughot*, tolerance, democracy, etc. Based on the content analysis, we found that there is a fragmentation of ideological orientation and ambivalent ideology in the textbooks due to failure or incomplete contextualization of religious doctrines provided by the textbooks. The explanations are as follows.

1. Fragmentation and Ambivalence of Ideology

In principle, the contents of PAI textbooks in MA has strong partiality toward Islamic moderatism and contextual Islamic understanding. The key factor for moderatism is the government's partiality, especially the MoRA, to reinforce moderate Islam in Indonesia, as well as the 2013 Curriculum that is imbued with the spirit of contextual learning with the goal to build a higher order of thinking among students. Reviews toward pedagogical orientation of the textbooks have found a much stronger emphasis on the cognitive dimension rather than affective and behavioral or psychomotor dimension. Although the PAI textbook appears to have strong orientation in reinforcing moderate and even transformative characters, the contextualization of *aqidah* still falls into conservatism. The 2013 Curriculum contextual learning project remains incomplete, resulting in the fragmentation of materials in MoRA's PAI textbooks into various ideologies. As a consequence, some ideological contents in PAI textbooks, as we found out, lead to seeds of exclusivism, sectarianism, textual understanding, and intolerance – all of which leads to conservatism of *aqidah*.

a. Potential for Exclusivism

In the *Al-Quran and Hadith* textbook for 10th, 11th, and 12th graders of MA, several keywords are found that can be interpreted as spiritual or bodily corruption. The keywords for spiritual corruption are: infidel, shirk, heresy, Jews and Christians whereas the keywords for bodily corruption are: murder, corruption, drugs and homosexuality. The discussion on the words infidel and shirk is found in Chapter 4 of the 10th grader textbook concerning the “Principles of My Holy Book.” This chapter explains that:

“Each Muslim is obligated to believe in Allah as The One and Only God. Those who do not believe in Allah as The One and Only God are infidels, and those who believe in God(s) other than Allah are shirks.” (p. 50)

This chapter tells students to avoid corrupting the practice that occurs on earth. In addition, students are also told to avoid making friends and interacting with infidels and shirks so as not to be exposed and influenced by their behaviors. What this book means with infidel are those who do not believe in Allah as The One and Only God while the word shirk is interpreted as believing in God(s) other than Allah.

Furthermore, discussions on Jews, Christians and shirks can be found in Chapter 2 concerning “Facing Trials with a Smile” in the *Al-Quran and Hadith* textbook for 12th Graders of MA; for example:

“Furthermore, Allah will also test the Muslim community’s faith by using Jews, Christians and Shirks who disrespect and humiliate Al-Quran, Prophet’s personality and general values of Islamic teachings that we still experience up to this day.” (p. 35)

This book places them as a threat to the Muslim community because their daily practices tend to corrupt the Muslim community’s spiritually. In light of this matter, the explanation in the book advises students to do two things that lead to exclusivism. First, they are told to be patient and keep smiling upon interacting with them. Secondly, students are told to be aware when they must cooperate and deal with them. They are told to avoid making friends with those people so they will not be influenced by their habitual corruption of their spirit.

Meanwhile, discussions on shirk and heresy can be found in Chapter 3 concerning the “Preserving Nature” of the *Al-Quran and Hadith* textbook for 12th graders of MA. This chapter explains that shirk and heresy conducted by infidels and shirks are examples of corrupting practices on earth. As such, Allah forbids those two practices. Other practices that are deemed as similar to shirk and heresy are human practices on earth that corrupt physically, including:

“Murder, misappropriation of property through theft or corruption, corrupting minds with alcohol and drugs, corrupting offspring through adultery, homosexuality and lesbian, including destroying the sources of life (agriculture, husbandry, farm), over-exploitation of mineral and natural resources etc.” (p. 51)

The above explanation shows that *Al-Quran and Hadith* textbook for 10th, 11th, and 12th graders of MA contains ideology that could potentially lead students to act exclusively and intolerantly toward those of different faith, and generalize infidels, shirks, Jews, Christians and pro-LGBT people.

Exclusive attitude in the PAI textbook is aimed at social relations and relationship with the state. Chapter 9 of the *Aqidah and Akhlaq* textbook for 12th graders concerning “Imitating the Main Characters of Ibn Rusy and Muhammad Iqbal,” explains the goal of introducing classical and modern Islamic figures that become great scientists. However, Iqbal is perceived as an anti-Western figure since the West is said to teach materialism and abandon religion. Iqbal is claimed to believe that the only good thing of the West is their advancement of science; hence he appears to act exclusively toward the West. Iqbal is claimed to believe that nationalism created by the West tends to be materialistic and atheistic. Iqbal’s opinion is claimed to be relevant in the context of his time where the nationalist movement in India was initiated by the fight for decolonization of Britain, as well as the conflict between Hindu and Islam. The Indian Muslim community will eventually create their own state, i.e. Pakistan. In the current context of global humanism, such interpretation of Iqbal’s statement could potentially plant seeds of anti-humanism and anti-nationalism in a plural global society (pp. 194-195).

Chapter 4 of the *Aqidah and Akhlaq* textbook for 12th graders concerning “Habituating the Co-mingling Ethics of Islam,” seems to believe in the good of defending morality from outside influence. However, this material inadvertently tends to lead students to act exclusively and discriminatively. This can be found in the explanation on how to make friends according to Islam by quoting the following hadith:

“Those who depend on their friend’s religion, take heed of the person you call a friend.” (HR. Ahmad).

After quoting the hadith, the chapter explains the criteria in making friends, namely: (1) smart, “Islam recommends a smart friend and not the stupid or dumb one”; (2) having good virtue by quoting the following verse without contextualizing it:

“Have you not considered those who make allies of a people with whom Allah has become angry? They are neither of you nor of them.” (QS. Al-Mujadilah (58):14).

(3) not a *fasiq* (those who violate the Islamic law), of which this book explains that “There are many youth who were initially having good behavior, pious, serving their parents well, diligent and making achievement, but everything changed after they interacted with A. The question is where did the change come from? Obviously from A;” (4) not a greedy person, by quoting Abu Sulaiman al-Darani: Do not make friends with people other than with the following: advisors and pious persons (pp. 73-74).

These lessons, without proper explanation, can make students picky and exclusive in making friends, nurturing seeds of discrimination, inward-looking and suspicious to others.

b. Potential for Fatalism: Failure to Transform *Aqidah*

In the *Aqidah and Akhlaq* textbook for 10th graders, the material on *aqidah* is presented in Chapters I, II, IX and X. *Aqidah* (Islamic Creed) is explained by quoting the idea of Muhammad Abduh and Ibn Khaldun. Based on the argument of the two figures, “*Aqidah study*” is explained as:

“A study of anything related to the principles of Faith and Islam using reliable decrees and evidences.” (p. 5)

Furthermore, Chapter 2 “Let’s have Tauhid” explains Islam as a religion of Tauhid (belief in The One and Only God) and Muslim community should not mix up *aqidah* with practices of *shirk* (p. 13). In the chapter IX for 10th graders, when explaining about *shirk* practice, Asghar *shirk* (*khafi shirk*) is explained as an act that explicitly contains recognition of power other than Allah. For example, a statement of: “Had the doctor not saved me, I would have definitely died.” Such statement is deemed to contain recognition of power other than Allah. According to this book, the correct statement would be “Had Allah not saved me through the doctor, I would have died.” This theological explanation is problematic because the role of doctor is not considered as the role of Allah, even though Allah operates according to natural law (*sunnatullah*) (Syahrur, 2007).

The failure to contextualize the material on *aqidah* can be found in Chapter 1 concerning “The Values of seven *Al-Asma Al-Husna* (Names of Allah): *al-Gaffar, al-Razzaq, al-Malik, al-Hasib, al-Hadi, al-Khaliq and al-Hakim*.” For example, when explaining about Al-Razzaq (The Bestower of Sustenance), they interpret it as “Every person has their sustenance guaranteed.” This interpretation inadvertently leads to

the act of surrendering to God. Al-Malik (The King of All Beings) is manifested in the following ideas: human has limitation in having property, controlling their lust, and expressing gratitude toward the grace of Allah. Such idea is not productive, weak, passive, incapable of making students to know more about Allah, which results in the limited idea of Allah as the king of the world and ruler of life (p. 7). A similar interpretation can also be found in Chapter X of the 10th grader textbook concerning "The Beautiful Names of Allah: al-Kariim, al-Mukmin, al-Wakil, al-Matin, al-Jami'al-'Adlu, an-Nafi, al-Basit, al-Hafidz, and al-Akhir." For instances, Al-Hafidz is interpreted as "Allah preserves and protects us in all aspects of life." Such interpretation is already correct but it is incapable of inciting social transformation such as imitating the virtue of God by "Protecting environmental security." The interpretation of al-Hasib (The Reckoner) is limited to "knowing that Allah takes into account all of our activities" and "self-restraint" but not diving deeper into living thoroughly and carefully (p. 8). The Virtues of God (*Asmaul Husna*) is still understood in a theocentric sense instead of anthropocentric (humanist-transformative *aqidah*).

The scientific spirit of 2013 curriculum has not been found in the material on theology, because the theory of Islamic theology has not been discussed "scientifically" or "philosophically." Theology has not been transformed into a concrete idea that can raise and guide Muslim community to go through the reality of life (Hanafi, 2010). Theology has not been used to free and move people into social transformation awareness by addressing real issues in the society (Engineer, 2009). On one hand, the theological aspect in the explanation of Beautiful Names of Allah and *shirk* is still trapped in a fatalistic point of view (*jabariah* model) which interprets the science of natural phenomenon as the sole will of God as part of His fate.

The *Fiqh* textbook for 11th graders explains the stage of legal action for *bughot* (those who commit treason), but it does not explain the contemporary context of *bughot* (h. 48-49). Textual orientation can also be found in the *Islamic Cultural History (ICH)* textbook on the discussion of "Arabic Age of Ignorance (*Jahiliyyah*)" which is explained without correlating it with the contemporary context. Textual learning as such can risk making students ignorant to the main message of ICH book on the missionary process where there is a conflict between the prophet's mission and the pre-prophet culture. The conceptual definition of "Jahiliyyah" is only provided as "worshipping idols or statues they made themselves from stone, wood and metal." This definition of *jahiliyyah* is far too focused on "worshipping idols" and it will lead to a theological doctrine of religious knowledge. It is especially dangerous since every

religion today has different theological background and ritual.

The spirit of scientific-contextual approach in the 2013 Curriculum tends to be overtaken by the conservative theology in MoRA's PAI textbooks. Referring to Abdullah Saeed (2006) who divided religious knowledge into three--textualist, semi-textualist and contextualist, we would argue that the interpretation of *aqidah* in these books tend to be "semi-contextual". The failure of contextualization has resulted in a theocentric interpretation of theology, instead of anthropocentric, which is centered around humanity. This is the consequence of the textbook author's desire to employ contextualization in *aqidah* learning while still using a normative-transcendental *aqidah* understanding. Based on pedagogical orientation, the material on *aqidah* is still cognitive, even though the learning objective is aimed at implementing *aqidah* in daily practices. However, the curriculum is not simply about understanding *aqidah*. The "portfolio" has already shown signs of "thinking and observing phenomena in everyday life" in line with the spirit of 2013 Curriculum.

c. Potential of Fanaticism and Sectarianism

Chapter II of *Aqidah and Akhlaq* textbook for 11th graders concerning "Understanding Schools of Kalam Study and Its Figures" explains about the principles of Kalam (Islamic philosophical theology) such as Khawarij, Murjiah, Shia, Jabariyah, Qadariyah, Asy'ariyah, al-Maturidiyah, Mu'tazilah, Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jamaah/Sunni (pp. 21-46). The goal of learning this material, as illustrated by the "let's observe" picture in the textbook, is to introduce difference, as explained below:

"The principles of each school of Kalam study have existed for a very long time. The emergence of schools of thought depicts that any society will always be comprised of different groups. It means that difference in a society is inevitable. The most important thing is to create a unity amidst the difference, instead of otherwise – i.e. turning that difference into a reason for hostility. Allah intentionally created everything in variety, instead of making everything homogenous. This is done to make sure everyone will know each other, understand each other, respect each other and reinforce each other – instead of making enemies of each other. As such, what should we do to make sure that difference a source of power for the good of all of us?"

Furthermore, materials on classical *kalam* in the *Aqidah and Akhlaq* textbook is still talking about carnal sins, infidelity, cruelty, and intergroup conflicts that occurred

ages ago, instead of the modern kalam.² This is problematic because classical Kalam is triggered by sociopolitical events, where a person shall be declared as a sinner if they murder fellow Muslim. Infidel, apostate, hypocrite, *fasiq*, *dzallun*, *manzilah baina al-manzilatain* are Islamic terminologies whose definition is closely related to political terminologies. The materials on *Aqidah and Akhlaq* textbook are still closely related to *Ushul al-Mazhab* (principles, histories and interests of Islamic groups), instead of *ushul al-din* (sets of religious fundamental values). Looking at the materials presented in Chapter II for 12th grader textbook, explanations of the schools of kalam are more about the history of conflict and politics of the Muslim community.

Chapter I concerning “Understanding Kalam” explains about the function of kalam albeit limited to explaining, reinforcing and defending Islamic *aqidah* from the various deviations that are incompatible with Islamic teaching (p. 10). Aspects of Kalam study is explained only about the oneness of substance, oneness of nature, oneness of action, and oneness in worshipping Allah. In terms of contents, the formulation of classical Kalam presented in the textbook is rather speculative, ideological and even political. The goal of “understanding diversity of belief by being tolerant” (p. 12) is not explained as much as materials on conflict between Islamic schools of thought. Despite allocating some materials to teach internal tolerance among Muslim community, other materials can actually become a gateway to teach fanaticism. Kalam in Islamic tradition of knowledge is filled to the brim with political interests, in which each group often negates the opinion of other groups due to suspicion and truth claim.

In this textbook, the material on *aqidah* has not really been in line with the spirit of 2013 Curriculum, i.e. scientific approach. With scientific approach, PAI teachers and students are expected to find objective schemes and patterns from various religions. The output of scientific approach is the idea that no religion is the same. Every religion is unique and different. The religious observation in an objective-scientific manner is necessary for believers so they cannot be easily trapped in

2 Modern kalam is basically about how Muslims in contemporary era can solve problems concerning the interconnectedness, separation, correlation and dialectics between texts and realities. It talks about fundamental humanitarian problems such as poverty, health, education, economic underdevelopment, corruption, collusion and nepotism. According to M. Amin Abdullah, there are at least nine major themes or topics that should be discussed in teaching about contemporary Social Kalam or Social Fiqh, i.e. 1) Texts and interpretation of texts; 2) human dignity (*al-karamah al-insaniyyah*); 3) modern science; 4) contemporary *ijfihad* (efforts); 5) women fiqh (*Fiqh al-nisa' al-mu'asir*); 6) Cross-cultural and interfaith dialogues (*al-hiwar*); 7) Sociopolitical Fiqh; 8) Universal Fiqh; and Citizenship Fiqh. See M. Amin Abdullah, *Falsafah Kalam di Era Postmodernisme*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2016).

sectarian egoism and severe religious primordialism. According to Amin Abdullah (2016:37-39), fundamental religious-philosophical approach is the only thing that can transform exclusive political *aqidah* (having a religion) into inclusive pure *aqidah* (being religious).

d. Messages of Extremism

Contents that lead to extremism are found in Chapter V of the ICH textbook for tenth graders titled “The birth and phases of Abbasid Dynasty Government.” Teaching of violence is depicted in the history of power struggle conducted by Abu Abbas toward Umayyad Dynasty. The ICH clearly writes:

“The title as-Saffah was bestowed to Abu Abbas because he was known for his valor in waging war against his political enemy. His firmness and courage resulted in major gain for the descendant of Hasyim with the birth of Abbasid Dynasty.” (p. 46)

Abu Abbas’ attitude in dealing with his political enemies through the use of violence and war tends to promote intolerant-extremist ideological spectrum. The way of violence used by Abu Abbas is glorified as something heroic, as follows:

“Abu Abbas was bestowed with the title as-Saffah because he courageously aimed his sword at his political enemies. He waged wars against all of his enemies, with no mercy; he exiled all of them from the reign of Abbasid, a reign he only recently usurped from Umayyad Dynasty.” (p. 48) The words “aimed his sword at his political enemies” can be perceived by its readers (e.g. students) as a justification to the use of violence to gain power in Islam, including the use of expulsion and inquisition. Psychologically this message can create extremist attitude and behavior, whether in religion or politics.

2. Ambivalence and Failure of Contextualization

Ambivalence is a condition where there is a simultaneous conflict or contradiction of ideas or attitudes on a single thing. According to Appleby (2000), ambivalence toward sacred religious idea and experience resulted in the emergence of diversity within a religion, which is often counter-productive. “Ambivalence of ideological spectrum” in this research refers to a situation where there is a conflicting message between the themes within the textbook. We also found in the PAI textbook that there is a stagnation and failure to present a moderate-contextual Islamic study; hence the teaching material is still promoting conservative understanding, and even

extremist. Due to the imperfect contextual learning of 2013 Curriculum project, it is unsurprising that there are many ambivalent ideological orientations between the topics of *asmaul husna*, caliphate, jihad and *qital*.

In general, the findings on *aqidah* materials, specifically *asmaul husna*, in the *Aqidah and Akhlaq* textbook is still “semi-contextual” hence it is still rather conservative as explained before. In the chapter on *Asmaul Husna of Aqidah and Akhlaq* textbook for 12th graders, we found an ambivalence, i.e. the tendency to present conflicting or inconsistent ideology between conservative-textual and progressive-humanist in a single theme. For example, when explaining about *Al-Razzaq* which means “The Bestower of Sustenance” it is manifested into: a) every person has their sustenance guaranteed; b) making maximum effort and *qana’ah*; and c) delivering sustenance to others (p. 7). The interpretation in point a appears to be conservative because it tells people to act passively and surrender themselves to the God because He is the Bestower of Sustenance, but also progressive-humanist because it can transform *Al-Razzaq* in a dynamic life by helping each other (delivering sustenance to others). Ambivalence can also be found in the explanation on *Al-Hadi*, which means the One who Show The Right Way. The interpretation of ideology contains three ideologies at the same time, i.e. conservative, moderate as well as progressive, i.e.: 1) “believing that Allah has given a lot of guidance” tends to be conservative because it is still theocentric-oriented; 2) “believing that religion is the supreme guidance through the five senses, mind, religion and instinct” appears moderate because the ‘guidance’ in this case refers to contextual namely the five senses; and 3) “providing guidance to others wholeheartedly” contains a transformative dimension for the actual implementation of religious teaching in the real world (p. 12).

Furthermore, ideological ambivalence can be seen in the discussion on Islamic caliphate and politics which is always controversial. The *Fiqh* book (2016 edition) for MA discusses two topics that are quite sensitive for the Indonesian context: “Caliphate (Government in Islam)” and “Jihad in Islam.” In that book, there seems to be a conscious effort to contextualize the two topics into the contemporary and Indonesian contexts. Yet we would argue that the effort has not been successful when it comes to the theme of jihad, and quite difficult for the theme of caliphate. In the topic of caliphate, although there is an effort to compare the history of caliphate with the contemporary history of other nations, such as the *trias politica* concept of Montesquieu and American Constitution as well as dividing Islamic politics into *siyasah syar’iyah* and *siyasah dusturiyah*, they conclude that – by referring to decree of clerics – creating a caliphate is *fardhu kifayah* (obligatory if possible) (p. 12). In that book, there are two

questions in the Competence Quiz which, if read without context, can have a totally different meaning. The first is “Explain the principles of caliphate along with its *naqli* principle!” The second is “In reality, there are various governmental practices in this world, so why is that so?” (p. 28-29). The first question seems to legitimize the idea that caliphate is a concept that must be accepted and the problem is how to find the *aqli* and *naqli* principles. As for the second question, caliphate is one of the choices of various possibilities of government. The statement that creating a caliphate system is obligatory if possible (*fardhu kifayah*) and those questions, if read without context, can lead to controversy. The controversial point in the Fiqh textbook for MA might also be contributed by the chapter’s title and the focus of curriculum, namely “Caliphate (Government in Islam).” The Fiqh book for 12th Graders writes about “Islamic Provisions on Caliphate.” It means that 2013 Curriculum has indeed put an emphasis on the aspect of caliphate as the main point of discussion.

In addition to caliphate, ambivalence can also be found in the interpretation of jihad. In the Fiqh textbook for 12th graders, the explanation on jihad appears to be textual-conservative and contextual-progressive at the same time. The textual-conservative tendency can be found in the following excerpt:

“Jihad can also be interpreted as waging wars against infidels, but only against the harbi infidels, not infidels who seek refuge under Muslim people.” (p. 34) In a linguistic sense, jihad here is interpreted as employing all power for self-defense and defeating enemies. According to *fiqh* clerics, jihad is a fight against infidels for the enforcement of Islam. The requirement for committing jihad also shows conservative tendency such as: an adult Muslim with healthy mind, free, male, healthy body and capable of fighting in battle (p. 47).

However, the moderate tendency can also be found in Fiqh Book for 12th graders, which explains that “Islam is a blessing to all creation; Islam dislikes violence, coercion as well as taking away other people’s rights.” We also found a progressive tendency, such as that the idea of jihad to build civilization is no less important than jihad in battlefield, including jihad to fulfill the needs of society in various fields such as science and technology, social and economy (p. 42). War is only allowed under strict circumstances:

“Even under a pressing situation where there is no other option but to take arms to fight the enemy, we must still wage war according to the limitations provided by Islamic war ethics.” (p. 55)

Jihad is understood as a thorough effort of a Muslim to fight crime and evil. Jihad is conducted with heart, verbal, mind and body in the form of war or others. The conservative-exclusive tendency can be found in the following excerpt:

“Jihad is a firm action to defend one’s faith in The One and Only God to the point that there is no way they can possibly corrupt their faith. In fact, in certain contexts, we are not allowed to imitate those who do not believe in The One and Only God.” (pp. 34-45)

This book attempts to interpret jihad contextually as seen in the following excerpt:

“In the contemporary context, jihad through verbal and religious guidance can be conducted (al-bayan al syafahiy) such as by giving speech and organizing Quran reading. Jihad can also be conducted through writing (al-bayan al tahririy) such as books, magazines, bulletins and so on; through media (al-bayan al-lamiy) such as television, radio and online media; as well as dialogues (al-hiwar), such as interfaith dialogues or civilization dialogues. Thus, jihad is not only conducted through military means (al-jihad al’askariy). There are other forms of jihad in Islam, namely spiritual jihad (al-jihad al-ruhiy) whose object is the human spirit that is always tempted by lust and jihad in the form of missionary (al-jihad al-da’wiy) by telling people about Al-Quran in a good and proper manner.” (p. 42)

These contextualization efforts are still lacking, it has not presented the meaning of jihad in the context of Indonesian society and it still affirms that jihad is a fight in battlefield. These ambivalent interpretations with no certainty in the meaning of jihad could potentially lead people to believe that jihad ultimately means war. As such, there needs to be a redefinition of jihad not only contextually but progressively, especially in the context of Indonesia. Furthermore, there needs to be an affirmation that the ultimate jihad in the context of plural society in Indonesia is jihad to build peace and preserve diversity, instead of waging war (Wijaya, 2018).

Other ambivalence can be found in the teaching about “murder (*qital*).” The Fiqh textbook for 10th graders states that murder is forbidden in Islam because Islam respects and protects the right of all human beings. This message refers to the words of Allah:

“And do not kill the soul which Allah has forbidden, except by right.” (QS. Al-Isra: 33)

Moreover, the book also affirms that Islam is a blessing to all living beings that always promotes peace, order and salvation for its believers. Islam forbids any type of

murder (p. 7). The Fiqh book for 12th graders discusses the prohibition of murder in the hadith “Murderer and the murdered will go to hell” (HR. al-Bukhari-Muslim). However, the book also explains that infidels can be killed. The infidels that can be killed are *harbi* infidels, i.e. infidels who have harmed Muslim to the point of “waging war against Muslims.” Meanwhile, *dzimmi* infidels are infidels under the rule of a Muslim ruler who interact peacefully with Muslim people (p. 11). The book explains that a Muslim ruler has the right to punish a Muslim who killed a *dzimmi* infidel. However, it does not explain who a *dzimmi* infidel is in the context of Indonesia. Prohibition to kill is incoherent with the ‘allowed’ murder discussed in the 12th grader’s textbook. For instance, the book uses the word *‘am* which means in general. The use of this word means the following can be interpreted as encompassing anything contained in that word with no limitation. When explaining the material, the author provides a verse as example: “...kill the shirks.” This order is directed at all *shirks*, with no limitation (p. 144). This teaching can be interpreted as every *shirk* can be killed – all of them.

D. IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION TEACHERS IN ISLAMIC HIGH SCHOOLS

Teacher’s ideological spectrum has recently been scrutinized and studied by scholars. A survey of PPIM UIN Jakarta (2018) stated that many teachers in Indonesia, from kindergarten to high school level, has intolerant and radical opinion. In general, the percentage of teachers with intolerant opinion is more than 50%. Reportedly, 46.09% teachers have radical opinion; 37.7% are intolerant, and 41.26% are radical. The result of the survey is concerning for the plurality in Indonesia. With regard to the situation depicted in the result, this research aims to look at teacher’s ideological spectrum in five cities-provinces, namely Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Jogjakarta, Cirebon and Manado. The result of in-depth interviews and FGDs to teachers in the five areas shows an ambivalent and unique pattern of ideology.

1. Conservative in Faith, Moderate in Practice

The finding of this research shows that theological conservatism does not always have a causal relation with extremism or radicalism. In reality, most of these PAI teachers are theologically puritan (Peacock’s terminology), conservative (Bruinessen’s terminology) and fundamentalist (Beck’s terminology); yet they have harmonious

social relationship with Christian colleagues and relatives. In general, the PAI teachers in this research strongly accept democracy and multiculturalism, although it is manifested in various patterns. Most of them agree that a harmonious interfaith and cross-cultural relationship is the key of a successful society. Most of them also believe that interfaith harmony is an important capital for Indonesia to go through this age characterized by frictions, hostilities and conflicts. They define social life as an integration and interaction of people from various social, religious, and cultural background.

Especially in Manado, most teacher informants reported that they are used to coexisting with Christian people. Their relation is at least in line with the eight models of meaningful interaction formulated by Panggabean (2018), namely: (1) visiting each other's family; (2) attending marriage events; (3) meeting up during public events/festivals; attending familial celebrations; (6) having lunch/dinner together; (7) growing up with people from another religion; (8) their family has social relationship with people of different religion. In this research, especially in the case of Manado, meaningful interaction is a result of familial relationship. For example, several PAI teachers have Christian parents-in-law. They will strive to make sure this relationship is harmonious and long-lasting by saying merry Christmas as well as attending funeral ceremonies.

The above meaningful interactions imply a socio-religious practice model that is moderate. However, the PAI teachers still treat religious texts as an exclusive doctrine. For example, they use these words interchangeably when referring to people with religion other than Islam: "non-Muslim," "infidel," or "the other guy," and refer to themselves as "a straight guy," "a guided person," and "a pious person." Terms such as "infidel (*kafir*)" is treated as exclusive doctrine because they only assume to understand what it means i.e. "people with religion other than Islam." In reality, the word *kafara* in Islamic teaching can refer to anyone who deviates from God's order. As a result, they use the word "infidel" as a way to "reject" or "refuse" others such as when they said they did not want a president who is not a Muslim or when they explained their dislike toward certain doctrines. This rejection tone is integrated in a complex manner with the narrative of their disappointment toward the state and the idea that they have been discriminated against. This research must carefully disaggregate the conservative tone caused by theological conflict (theological roots of conservatism) and political economy issues (social roots of conservatism).

This religious knowledge affirms the pragmatic moderate thesis (Burhani, 2018).

Conservatism of Aqidah and Moderatism of virtue among teachers can be seen when they respond to the issue of “saying merry Christmas.” Some people clearly and close-mindedly refuse to say merry Christmas, even if the intention is to maintain social ethics, instead of agreeing to the birth of Jesus Christ. Only a small portion of the teachers – after a long debate in the FGD – who stated that saying merry Christmas is okay to show social solidarity. However, they would only say something such as “Have a Great Celebration” or simply “Congratulations,” without using the word “Christmas.” The teacher informants feel that it is okay to simply say “have a great celebration” because they believe it will not harm their creed.

The context in Surakarta is different from that of Manado. The PAI Teachers in Surakarta believe that saying merry Christmas and praying together with people of different religion should be the “problem” of each religion alone. Saying merry Christmas, for PAI teachers, could cause one’s faith to collapse and even revoke one’s Muslim status. Many teachers from Surakarta, Cirebon and Jakarta argued that saying merry Christmas is the same as believing in the godliness of Jesus, using an analogy of saying the *syahada* to confirm that a person is Muslim. However, these teachers are also ambivalent in this regard: they believe that saying merry Christmas is “okay” for officials who have the duty to preserve pluralism.

In Jakarta, the PAI teachers are mostly vague in their opinion toward democracy. They recognize democracy but they are unwilling to accept all of its values. Their acceptance toward democracy is rather lackluster. When asked on their opinion about non-Muslim leaders, the teachers became immediately reactive: they strongly refused. They also strongly refused saying merry Christmas to Christian people, because it is believed to corrupt *aqidah*. Praying together with people of different religion is deemed useless by majority of the teacher informants. They suggested that praying should be done individually according to one’s religion; there is no need to involve other religion or faith.

Democratic ambiguity can also be found in Cirebon. On one hand, the teachers are of the opinion that democracy in Indonesia is already in line with the principles of consultation contained in Islam. However, the voting system in democracy is not in line with Islamic concept, as argued by an informant:

“Democracy is not Islam. But some part of democracy is already Islamic, I think. Democracy was not born from Islam but it is Islamic. Democracy is a culture; hence it has some truth, albeit only a little truth. Now Islam is absolute. Although democracy

is not in line with Islamic sharia, it is still Islamic. Well in the case of voting, it is not Islamic. If everyone who votes are a bad person, then they will win.”

Yogyakarta, being known as an educational city filled to the brim with various cultures, presents a much different context. The PAI Teachers tend to have strong acceptance toward democracy and Pancasila. Democracy and Pancasila is considered as final and it is in line with the condition of Indonesian nation that is plural in religion and ethnic. Almost all the teachers recognize that the founding fathers of democracy in this nation are those who have sufficient Islamic knowledge. As such, the principles of democracy that they built are already in line with Islamic values.

The teachers in Yogyakarta said that any violence toward anyone cannot be justified, because it is not in line with Islamic teaching. This understanding reflects a progressive perspective since it prioritizes humanity. The teachers reported that they have no sentiment toward other believers. However, although they do show a progressive attitude in some part, they also show a conservative attitude in the other, especially when it comes to *aqidah*. This can be seen in their perspective toward praying together with people of different religion. For them, praying is a matter of personal worship that should not be mixed up with the worship of other religion. However, there are also some teachers who argued that, as long as the prayer is about general matters and not containing religious doctrine or saying, then it is fine. There are also some teachers who argued that we should not say the prayer of other religion, but other believers should say our prayer. This attitude is obviously not in line with the spirit of tolerance because there is an element of coercion from Muslim community toward other believers. The teachers clearly stated that tolerance should not be carried out when it comes to the matter of worship because they believe in preserving religious teaching, “for you your religion, for me my religion.”

2. Twin Tolerance in Five Cities

In this research, we found a diverse model and attitude of tolerance from the PAI teachers in the five cities. There are some terminologies that can be used to describe the various model of tolerance found in this research, among others: (1) conservative tolerance, which refers to the enforcement of theological doctrine in an exclusive manner while also maintaining full commitment to harmonious life; (2) progressive tolerance, which refers to open interpretation of theological doctrine, while also actively involved in the formation of open society; (3) lazy tolerance, namely the practices of religious society that promotes tolerance in discussion forums, without

actually doing any practice in real life; (4) costly tolerance, which refers to the willingness to fully accept one another based on the principle of equality as a value in itself, irrespective of power relations. Authentic tolerance can occur if a person or a group has the power to repress, but they prefer not to.

By referring to Suhadi (2018) who introduced the term costly tolerance and cheap tolerance, costly tolerance can be found in Yogyakarta and Cirebon. The PAI teachers in the two cities strongly appreciate the superiority of Indonesian Muslim community who are “tolerant.” This tolerance model occurs if a person or a group has the power to repress, but they prefer not to. In the case of Cirebon, the PAI teachers believe that tolerance is a national asset that should be preserved and developed. Respecting difference in a plural society, whether with fellow Muslims or with non-Muslims, is an invaluable legacy of our ancestors. As expressed by KM CN1, one of the PAI teachers in Cirebon, when asked about the achievement of the Muslim community:

“The achievement of Indonesian Muslim is their great social (awareness) because people in Indonesia can coexist with one another. We might be different in faith, but we live in harmony; this is because of nationalism in the Muslim community.”

Similarly, teachers in Yogyakarta believe that the Muslim community has an advantage in showing tolerance and harmony. The following is an excerpt from HL of MAN 1YK:

“Indonesian Muslim community is superior because: first, Indonesia is known as a country with highly tolerant Muslim community; secondly, Indonesian Muslim community is known for their cooperation culture as can be seen today. When a person is harmed by an incident, religious issues will quickly spread.”

With regard to electing leaders, some teachers cannot accept non-Muslim leaders, and some can still accept them as long as they meet certain criteria. One of the teachers of private MA said:

“I disagree. Umm during the era of Caliphate Abu Bakar, he had a secretary who happened to be a Jewish person. After Abu Bakar became aware of his religion, he was immediately fired. Thus, we must be harsh toward non-Muslims when it comes to leadership.”

In Surakarta, there is a tendency of lip-service tolerance, which is a weak foundation for plural society – Paul F. Knitter (2004) called this lazy tolerance. There

are only a few PAI teachers in Jakarta MA who appreciate collective prayer activities with other believers. This psychosocial disposition is the result of growing up within a homogeneous Muslim community, as well as their working environment in an Islamic educational system. As such, most teachers have no experience in interacting with different believers. Based on the result of interview, only few teachers consider collective prayer activities with different believers as a positive thing. In general, there are no teachers who have been directly involved in collective prayer activities, except for a single MA teacher who has frequently involved in such activity. As argued by S from JKT3: "I don't agree with collective prayers. Because each difference has their own way (to pray). When it comes to praying it must be done according to the audience." On the theme of non-Muslim leaders, generally the PAI teachers in DKI Jakarta did not agree and said they could not possibly elect non-Muslim political leaders.

The closed doctrine adopted by most teachers is not only in terms of interfaith relationship but also in terms of personal piety issues. For example, some PAI teachers stated that wearing hijab is obligatory for every female Muslim. They believe that the piousness of a female Muslim is signified by wearing hijab. They believe hijab to be a "fortress of virtue." Almost all teacher informants stated that by wearing hijab, a woman can express a strong commitment toward Islamic teaching. However, on the other hand, they can tolerate women who do not wear hijab if it is done so as a part of process toward implementing religious order. According to an informant who represents other informants: "Hijab is a must; it is an order. It is common sense for female Muslim to wear a hijab. Although hiding private parts (*aurat*) is not included in the material, I still teach about it. Wearing hijab is a process to achieve perfectness" (HY, MDOGN7). Interestingly, when asked about the phenomenon of celebs suddenly wearing hijab, he expressed his delight with the celeb's new appearance while still giving some criticism. He believes that celebs wearing hijab is only to create sensation; they might have "converted" yet they still post old photos of them wearing no hijab. With regard to the phenomenon of young teenagers wearing veil, some informants in 5 cities were not too positive about it, because it is seen as a commodification of Arabic clothing culture. Such clothes are necessary in a desert country like Saudi Arabia but it is not an Islamic teaching. Some informants claim that veil is merely a cultural trend.

Almost all teacher informants believe that jihad issues must be treated as an open doctrine. Muslims should not be trapped in the context of religious verses and war stories that have been associated with the concept of jihad. They believe that people

must be careful in defining jihad because of its plural-diverse nature (fighting for the sake Allah wholeheartedly). Almost all of the teachers agree that the true meaning of jihad is making serious efforts in doing good despite the various challenges and trials, such as the effort to make your family prosper, to gain and spread knowledge, and to help each other. Such religious understanding among the teachers confirms the pragmatic moderate thesis (Burhani, 2018).

Conservatism of Aqidah and Moderatism of virtue among the teachers can be seen when they respond to the issue of “saying merry Christmas.” Some people clearly and close-mindedly refuse to say merry Christmas even if the intention is to maintain social ethics, instead of agreeing to the birth of Jesus Christ. Only a small portion of the teachers – after a long debate in the FGD – stated that saying merry Christmas is okay to show social solidarity. However, they would only say something like “Have a Great Celebration” or simply “Congratulations,” without using the word “Christmas.” Teacher informants feel that it is okay to simply say “Have a great celebration” because they believe it will not harm their creed.

The above cases and narratives that we found through the research have illustrated the dynamic of polarization and convergence between nationality-based social consciousness (*ukhuwah wathoniyah*) and humanity-based social consciousness (*ukhuwah basyariyah*). This means there is still an incompatibility in the interaction and crosscutting between discourses of Islam, nationalism and humanism. In other words, research informants were showing ambivalence and incompatibility in their tolerant-pluralist attitude while still having an exclusive doctrine. Psychology would refer to this phenomenon as cognitive dissonance, meaning a situation where there are multiple contradicting beliefs in an individual even if they convince themselves that all of them are in fact not contradicting. Another example of cognitive dissonance is an idea that cooperation between religions is absolutely necessary. However, in practice, cooperation is mostly prevalent among relatives and among people who adopt the same belief. In certain contexts, religious background is prioritized in considering help, electing leaders, conducting collective prayers, as well as choosing friends and spouses.

On the contrary, in a situation where Muslim community becomes the minority, the PAI teachers in Manado show a strong tolerance, because they are used to coexisting with people from different religion. The formation of tolerance among the teachers in Manado is driven by geographical solidarity. They grew up with neighbors and relatives from various ethnical and religious backgrounds. There are two models of

tolerance found in Manado, namely conservative tolerance and progressive tolerance. Conservative tolerance refers to a close-minded understanding of a theological doctrine while still maintaining commitment to living in harmony; meanwhile, progressive tolerance refers to open interpretation and attitude toward theological doctrines and social life. However, the tolerance attitude of some PAI teachers in Manado is also vague. For example, when it comes to non-Muslim leadership, they refuse to have a non-Muslim president, but they are okay with having a non-Muslim Governor or Regent. Progressive tolerance is really minor in the social practice and narrative of teacher informants in this research. However, they are in agreement about the importance of social harmony.

3. Teachers as Agents of Islamic Moderation

The previous findings of various research depict religion teachers as agents that teach extreme religious understanding. This research found a different tendency. MA teachers are capable of becoming agents of religious moderation in the cases of teachers in Manado, followed by Cirebon and Yogyakarta (from the more moderate to the less moderate). This finding is in line with Mark Woodward et al (2013) who denied the correlation between Islamic education in Indonesia and radicalization. Islamic schools in Manado, Cirebon and Yogyakarta have actually been successful in providing avenues for moderating student's religious perspectives. PAI classes and teachers in MA have become mediators and facilitators for students who have been exposed by intolerant-exclusive religious understanding due to participating in online and offline religious communities.

In the contexts of Manado, Cirebon and Yogyakarta, this research actually found that Islamic education in Islamic schools can become a mechanism to mitigate radicalism by turning the classroom into a space to develop moderate Islamic discourses. Although most of them belong in the tolerance-conservative spectrum, they often take the important role as an agent that introduces moderate Islam. They strive to facilitate inclusive understanding especially in classroom. In Islamic high school, teachers would not recommend their students to directly confront other believers on their different religious doctrine. They, instead, recommend students to preserve a harmonious relationship.

Teachers truly play a significant role as an agent in shaping the pattern and direction of student's pluralism in MA. Result of this research shows that 64% teachers only use some of the content of textbook, and will complement it with additional

references from other than MoRA published books. It means that textbooks are not that significant in shaping the student's ideology. Instead of textbooks, teachers are the key actors in the formation of student's religious ideology. Teacher informants in Cirebon and Manado argued that the ones vulnerable to extremism and intolerance are those who learn religious knowledge not from Islamic formal schools (*pesantren* and *madrasah*), especially schools exposed with popular Islamism.³ This is in line with previous research by CSRC (2018) that stated that religious education in formal schools has been unable to answer young Muslim's thirst of religious knowledge and has not been optimal in defending them from the influence of conservatism. One of its impacts is the fact that Muslim youth began to search for additional resources to fulfill their thirst of religious knowledge outside of school including through the social media. They were not yet able to filter and select the kinds of media that can bring them to appreciate diversity (Banualim, 2018). However, in the contexts of Manado, Cirebon and Yogyakarta, this research actually found that Islamic education in Islamic schools can become a mechanism to mitigate radicalism by turning the classroom into a space to develop moderate Islamic discourses.

E. OPPORTUNITY FOR MODERATISM

In principle, as mentioned above, the PAI textbooks published by MoRA for MA do have a strong commitment to the development of moderate Islam. The key factor for moderatism is the commitment of the government, in this case MoRA, to reinforce moderate Islam. Another factor is the 2013 Curriculum, which contains a spirit of scientific-contextual learning. In addition, the finding in five cities show that teacher's ideology ranges from conservative to moderate spectrum: conservative in theology, but moderate and tolerant in practice. There are many signs indicating that teachers can play as agents of religious moderation for students who are exposed by exclusive and radical ideas from outside of school.

One of the key issues that illustrate this role is, for example, in the topic of jihad and Islamic state. PAI teachers agree that the word jihad can be interpreted widely, not exclusively related to war against infidels. In the class they facilitate an in-depth

3 The role of Islamic literature in the spread of Islamist ideology among students is significant. Islamist ideology normally infiltrates through religious books and literatures spread among students. Islamist literatures – which teach about totality in the implementation of Islam in all aspects of life and lead to the desire to replace democratic nation-state system with caliphate – even by means of violence – are no stranger in the social landscape of Indonesian high schools and universities. See Noorhaidi (ed), *Islamic Literature of Millennial generation*. Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2018).

discussion on the topic of jihad. Almost all informants in the 5 cities-provinces stated that jihad is not war or violence but the commitment to resist lust. We do not find any teachers who believe that jihad equals violence. All teachers rely on a moderate, and even progressive, definition of jihad.

For example, Surakarta, which is often considered as a haven for radicalism, tends to have teachers with moderate perspectives, arguing that jihad must be treated as an open doctrine. Muslims should not be trapped in the context of verses or stories of war that has been associated with the concept of jihad. Almost all teachers in Surakarta agree that the correct meaning of jihad is acting upon good wholeheartedly despite the many challenges of doing so, such as the effort to provide sustenance for the family, to gain and spread knowledge, and to help those who are in need of it. AR, an ICH teacher in SOCN2 Surakarta, said:

“Jihad should be conducted according to our profession – working thoroughly according to their mandate, teaching thoroughly for a teacher, learning thoroughly for a student, and not committing corruption for those who work in the government, and so on.”

Teachers in this research agree that jihad does not necessarily mean fighting in battlefields. They all agree that the interpretation of jihad must be based on the original meaning of the word and should be applied in all aspects of life, especially with regard to each of our professions.

A small portion of teachers believe that the problem of exclusive diversity is in the capacity of teachers and students to think critically. Therefore, it is important for teachers to be able to explain the *asbabun nuzul* (original context) of a verse, especially for verses that are often used to legitimized violence in the name of religion. The issue of Islamic state, according to all the teachers, is irrelevant and should not be a problem for multicultural society. For a plural Indonesia, democracy as political system remains the best choice to maintain a conducive life in this nation.

Although we found that PAI textbooks have failed to contextualize its materials, it still has a strong potential as a learning medium that can develop a moderate-contextual Islamic perspective. This is possible because the 2013 curriculum mandates teachers to be a facilitator in learning process that is democratic, enabling students to think critically and innovatively, instead of indoctrinating. However, the problem is not every PAI teacher is prepared to work according to the 2013 Curriculum. Not to mention this system cannot be fully optimized, especially in regions with limited learning facilities. In this research we found that the teachers in general perceive the

MoRA textbooks to be quite good (meaning it has a lot of room for improvement); some argued that they are incomplete, not in-depth, or not comprehensive. At the same time, they also admit that the PAI textbooks are designed with the 2013 Curriculum in mind, which employs the principle of discovery-based scientific learning. This scientific learning method demands students and teachers to both be active participants in discovering references other than the ones provided in the classroom; hence, like it or not, teachers have to be creative and innovative.

F. CONCLUSION

The main conclusion of this research is that in principle, the contents of the PAI textbooks for MA are moderate-contextual, with an orientation toward creating progressive Islam. The main factor for moderatism is the partiality of the government, especially MoRA, to reinforce moderate Islam in Indonesia, as well as the spirit of 2013 Curriculum to implement a contextual learning process. Our findings suggest that all the teachers have indeed used the PAI textbooks published by MoRA. However, 64% have modified and employed references from other books or interpretation books as well as online sources (internet). As such, this research found that the influence of textbooks toward student's religious ideology is not that significant. In MA, teachers have actually become the primary agents in shaping student's Islamic understanding as well as becoming facilitators and mediators to mitigate students who have been exposed with exclusive and radical ideas from outside of school.

Based on the findings of this research, we have formulated several recommendations for PAI Textbooks and Teachers in MA, as follows:

1. The quality of literatures in the textbook needs to be improved and revised in order to facilitate the socialization and internalization of moderate, contextual, inclusive and tolerant messages among students. In addition, contents and materials that are ambivalent, inconsistent, contradicting or paradoxical must be corrected so they can be coherent and consistent in delivering the moderate-progressive messages.
2. Materials on virtue are delivered in the huge portion (80%) of the book. It means that the book is more concerned with the formation of student's virtue. However, this book is written by placing students as passive observers who only need to wait for other people's actions. As such, the materials on virtue need to be expanded from individual virtue to public ethics.

3. Universal *Fiqh* and modern *Kalam* need to be introduced in textbooks. Issues on majority and minority become irrelevant in the context of nation-state. The term *dzimmi* (minority group that must be protected) also becomes irrelevant in the context of social *Fiqh* and modern social *Kalam*.
4. Increasing the capacity and competence of Islamic school teachers need to be conducted in terms of their moderate-progressive Islamic knowledge, as well as their national and humanitarian knowledge. Therefore, ideological orientation for teachers under MoRA should be continued to reinforce moderate Islam.
9. Islamic Education Teachers Consultation Meeting should be empowered in order to support the competence of Islamic Education teachers and to optimize the use of textbooks as a tool to build civility among students and the public in general.

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