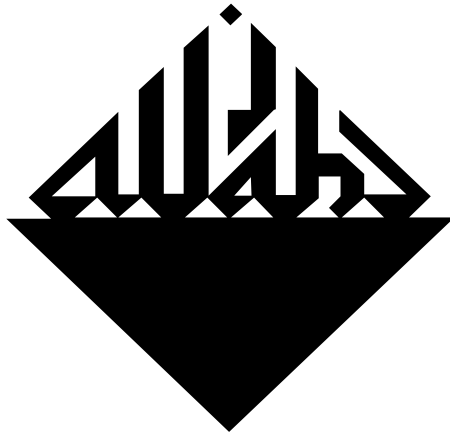


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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TRUSTING IN GOD:
RELIGIOUS INSCRIPTIONS ON MALAY SEALS

Annabel Teh Gallop

THE PERSECUTION OF ROHINGYA MUSLIMS
AND THE PATH TO DEMOCRATIZATION IN MYANMAR

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MUSIC, CONTENTIOUS POLITICS, AND IDENTITY:
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Rahmat Hidayatullah

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Voices from Indonesian Legislative on Religious Education Policy

Jamhari & Yunita Faela Nisa

Religious violent extremism remains a problem for Indonesia. Recently, three consecutive attacks carried out by violent religious extremists — a suicide bombing in front of a Cathedral Church in Makassar South Sulawesi, the discovery of several prepared high explosive bombs in Condet Jakarta, and a female lone wolf attack on the Indonesian Police Criminal Investigation Agency — shocked the public (*Fakta-data di Balik Bom Bunuh Diri*, 29 Maret 2021; *Polisi sebut Terduga Teroris Condet & Bekasi*, 2021; *Teroris Penyerang Mabes Polri*, 2021). It may not be surprising since there were some early indications from various studies that some Indonesian people still have religious attitudes and behaviors that are exclusive, closed, anti-citizenship, anti-state, and even pro-violence (PPIM, 2016, 2017, 2018; Puspidep, 2017, 2018). The PPIM study results (2018) show that around 58.5 percent of students tend to be religious radical, and 51.1 percent tend to be intolerant to differences within Muslim groups. Then, as many as 34.3 percent of students are intolerant to non-Muslim groups. Radical views that are intolerant toward those who are different are the first step to violent extremism. These studies are a reminder that violent extremism is a problem for all of Indonesian society. Therefore,

PPIM surveyed the perceptions of the public, students, teachers, and Indonesian Members of Parliament on violent extremism.

In Indonesia, political parties have a vital role. Political parties develop policies, laws, and regulations. Another strategic part is that political parties become important actors in crystallizing citizens' political aspirations, including rules related to religion and religious education (Mujani & Liddle, 2018; Muhtadi & Mietzner, 2019; LIPI, 2018, 2019). Through their representatives — who are elected through a regular fair election once every five years — in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, political parties have an essential role in determining public policy through their function as a check and balance institution for the Government. The enactment of religious education as a compulsory subject for all students at all levels has become a debate among the Indonesian public, and whether the Government should regulate religious issues in public education. The issue of religious education in public schools is essential as PPIM's research suggests that the religious subject's teachers may contribute to students' radical views (PPIM, 2017).

Another important issue is Indonesian ethnic and religious diversity. How do the Members of the Indonesian House of Representatives view these diversity issues? Diversity is the *raison d'être* of Indonesia as a nation. Therefore, the Indonesian Parliament plays an important role in caring for Indonesia's diversity, including education. However, not much information has been obtained about Indonesian legislative members' attitudes and views on this issue. Studies on legislature members have focused more on the legislature's political aspects, such as the interaction between the President and the House of Representatives within the framework of a multi-party presidential system (Hanan, 2014). Several researchers have attempted to look at other issues such as legislators' performance and public trust (Insis, 2013; Formappi, 2018; Lingkaran Survei Indonesia, 2018; and Poltracking, 2017). Very few studied each member of the Indonesian legislative's individual views on important issues in national politics or public policy, particularly those related to religious education.

This article describes PPIM's research entitled "Legislative Member's View on State Role in Religious Education in Indonesia" (PPIM, 2020). The study investigates the extent to which Indonesian legislative members view nationality and diversity as an important value in religious

education. Second, how do the Indonesian legislative members view the role of the State in religious education? To what extent are political parties influential through individual legislative members regarding religious education? What are the underlying differences between political parties?

PPIM's survey used face-to-face interviews with members of the House of Representatives. Trained enumerators collected data on October 21 – December 17, 2019, with a response rate of 68.1 percent. This study succeeded in interviewing 380 of 575 members of the House of Representatives. The survey carried out a spot check mechanism to control the data quality. From the data that has been obtained, ten data are incomplete, so the data analyzed are 370 (64.6 percent).

State and Religious Education Policy

Debates about religious education are triggered by many factors, including political dynamics or competition between ideological groups within a country (Kuru, 2009). Therefore, because of the large amount of political influence, the focus of conflict between groups regarding religious education in public schools may differ from country to country. For example, in the United States, the debate involves competition between proponents of passive secularism who want a neutral role for the state in matters of religious education and some religious conservatives who want a more significant role for religion in public schools. In Turkey, what is happening is competition between 'laicite' supporters, who actively seek to exclude religion from the public sphere, and 'religion-neutral' supporters who want a more neutral state role to open up space for citizens' religious expression in public areas, including public schools (Kuru, 2009).

In Indonesia, religion is very influential in many aspects of life. Research from Pewresearch.org (2019) showed that people in Indonesia (83 percent) believe that religion has a more significant impact on their nation today than 20 years ago. Although Indonesia is not a religious state, Indonesia is also not a secular state. Several provisions in the Constitution and other regulations and State institutions provide recognition and ample space for religion in the State's life. Concerning education, the State facilitates religious education in public schools. More than that, the State is actively involved in promoting religious schools' implementation through one particular ministry, namely the

Ministry of Religion (Ropi, 2017). In the early days of State formation, the political dynamics resulted in Indonesia being a country that was in many respects “friendly to religion.”

Without denying the broad spectrum of religious and State relations mentioned above, this research on the politics of religious education policy in Indonesia can focus on four possible political options, namely ‘laicite,’ ‘religion-neutral,’ ‘accommodative,’ and ‘state religion.’ In this regard, the models of religious education policies discussed in the previous section can also be categorized again by taking into account the four political positions. The following is a summary of the characteristics of each political choice regarding the role of the state in religious education:

Table 1. Differences in the Four Categories of the Role of the State on Religious Education

Laicite	Religion-Neutral	Accommodative	State-religion (Intervensionist)
Religion is private, and the State does not interfere in it.	Supporting the neutrality of the State in religious matters.	The State views several religions as necessary, not only the majority religion.	Religion and politics are inseparable.
Actively remove religion from state schools.	Opening the space or closing it for all existing religious groups.	The State facilitates several recognized religions.	Religious education is closely related to the interest in maintaining the majority religion’s role in the State.
Reducing the portion or eliminating religious education in public schools.	Religious education is teaching universal human values.	Religious education is provided only by State-recognized religious groups.	Give privileges to the majority religion to maintain dominance in various fields.

Awareness of Diversity Problem in Indonesia

The case of student uniforms in public schools—mandatory religious dress for all regardless of religious—is one of examples showing a lack of respect for diversity (*Polemik Siswi Non-Muslim Diminta Berjilbab*, 2021). Despite this overt demonstration of exclusiveness, there is a lack

of Indonesian legislative members paying serious attention to whether or not there are problem in religious education.

Research showed that 47 percent thought there were problems in religious education. Of the 47 percent, only 19.46 percent of respondents considered the lack of national insight into religious education as a serious problem. The percentage of respondents who felt that the lack of a good understanding of diversity in Indonesia was a severe problem was even less, only 12.16 percent of the total 370 respondents. This finding is discouraging news as there have been increasing intolerant or exclusive behavior in the school environment. This is because one of the functions of the House of Representatives is to safeguard the diversity of people in this country.

Different Views of the Role of the State in Religious Education

The complete survey results also show that there are pretty diverse views among members of the Indonesian legislative on the role of the State in religious education. The majority of respondents to the PPIM survey showed an accommodationist tendency in policies related to religious education's primary format. This includes religious teaching, group prayer activities, and the provision of religious teachers. However, the respondents expressed a more diverse view regarding other aspects of religious education. Many respondents indicated an interventionist tendency in the State or school policies regarding religious books and training for religion teachers. Meanwhile, in matters related to the enrichment of religious education, many respondents showed a neutral tendency in placing the role of the State in religious education.

Political Party Affiliations and Views on Religious Education Policy

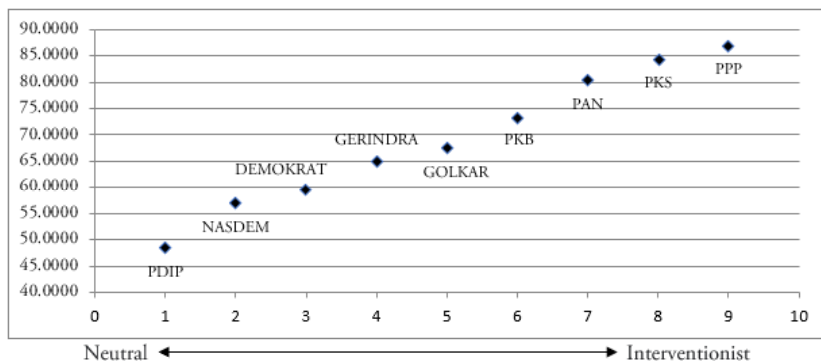
The research findings indicate that political parties have a considerable influence on how members of the Indonesian legislature see the State's role in religious education. The differences in the affiliation of political parties partly explain the differences in respondents' views on religious education policy. In other words, respondents from certain parties tend to be interventionist or neutral compared with respondents from other parties. The data showed the division of political parties based on political identity classification and religious heterogeneity. Each party's political identity is obtained from the party platforms listed on the websites of each party, as well as statements from the political party

leaders. Meanwhile, religious heterogeneity is based on how many legislative members of the party are heterogeneous in their religion. The following is the classification of political parties based on political identity and religious heterogeneity.

The Modernist Islamic Parties Tend to be Interventionist in the Provision of Religious Books

In terms of the provision of religious books in schools, for example, the results of the logistic regression analysis showed that respondents from the Modernist Islamic Parties (PAN—the National Mandate Party, PKS—the Prosperous Justice Party, and PPP—the United Development Party) had a greater tendency to be interventionist over neutral in terms of providing religious books in schools than respondents from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). The same thing — except for respondents from PPP — was also found in the case of religious teacher training. Furthermore, regarding the characteristics of political parties influencing respondents’ views, this study found that the political identity of parties has a reasonably close relationship with the views of members of the House of Representatives on the role of the State in religious education.

Table 2. Views on Religious Book and Training for Religious Teacher

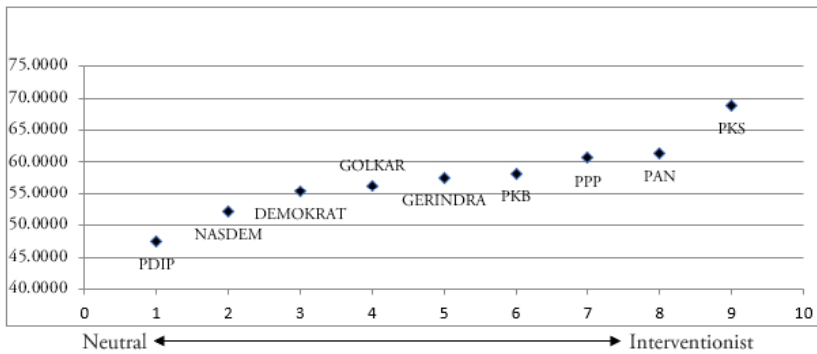


Nationalist Parties Tend to be Neutral in Religious Education

Respondents from Nationalist parties tend to show neutral views of religious education policies than respondents from Modernist Islamic parties, especially in the case of additional religious lessons. On the other hand, respondents from Modernist Islamic parties have a greater

tendency than respondents from Nationalist parties to be interventionist in religious education, particularly in the case of additional religious lessons. For the public and especially elements of civil society who pay attention to issues of nationality and diversity in religious education in public schools, the results of this study provide a clearer picture of the political map in the Indonesian legislature regarding the position of political parties, and the underlying influences of the role of the State in religious education.

Table 3. Views on Religious Education



More Active Roles of the Legislative Members

The results of this survey indicate that a relatively small proportion of Indonesian legislative members who pay attention to issues of nationality and diversity in religious. The legislative members, especially those who serve on education and religious commissions, could be encouraged to participate in amore engaging dialogue with different groups on issues of diversity. The discussions should be centered around how the Indonesian House of Representatives can maintain diversity and national unity.

Political parties also have a big responsibility to prepare their members to serve in the Parliament, especially those on commissions dealing with education and religious issues. This is necessary to understand the intricacies of religious education issues properly and address existing problems appropriately, especially those related to national and diversity matters. Without the legislature's active role to oversee the direction of government policy and the effects, it will be difficult for this country to overcome the problems that arise from increasing religious intolerance

and create a tolerant and respectful school culture between adherents of different religions.

Civil Society Need More Democratic Space for Religious Education Policy

The survey findings show the close relationship between political party identity and interventionist tendencies. Therefore, to strengthen respect for diversity, a more significant democratic space is needed for civil society elements to voice their aspirations regarding the development of religious education policies in public schools — National Education, which was proposed by several groups. Democratic opportunity needs to be given to representatives of both large groups and those who have been marginalized or discriminated against in matters of religion so that the rights of minority groups in religious education are maintained.

This democratic space needs to be opened up at the national and local levels of government and even at the school level. The formulation of school rules or policies related to the implementation of religious education needs to provide the broadest possible space for community representatives, especially student guardians, to maintain and ensure that every student, regardless of religion, receives religious education services and respect in the school where they study. This is necessary to create a school culture that is friendly with diversity and is more respectful of the differences between students and the school environment in general.

The research report of *Suara dari Senayan: Pandangan Wakil Rakyat tentang Pendidikan Agama* is available in Bahasa on <https://conveyindonesia.com/id/publikasi/buku/>.

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The journal invites scholars and experts working in all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences pertaining to Islam or Muslim societies. Articles should be original, research-based, unpublished and not under review for possible publication in other journals. All submitted papers are subject to review of the editors, editorial board, and blind reviewers. Submissions that violate our guidelines on formatting or length will be rejected without review.

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3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
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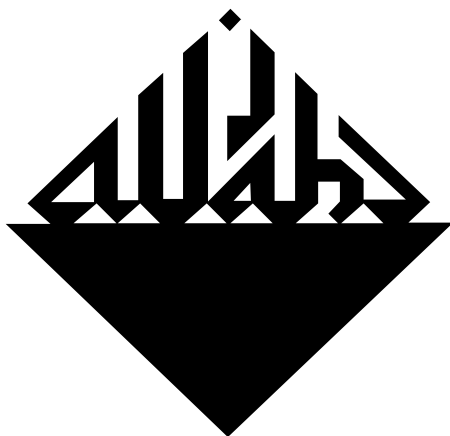
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ستوديا اسلاميا

سثوديا اسراميا

مجة إنءونيسية للءراساء الإسلامية

السنة الثامنة والعشرون، العءء ١، ٢٠٢١



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في نوسانتارا: ءراساء في مخطوط
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