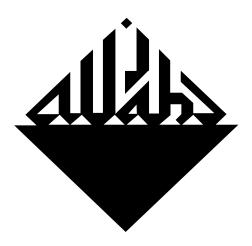


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RITUAL, *BIDAH*, and the Negotiation of the Public Sphere in Contemporary Indonesia

Jajang Jahroni

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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Enhancing Religious Education: An Attempt to Counter Violent Extremism in Indonesia

Dita Kirana

Indonesian government plays an important role in developing religious education. Since the 1970s, the government has promoted basic education for the Indonesian citizen, modernizing primary and secondary education and including religious subjects in the national curriculum. Furthermore, from the early beginning of the New Order era, Islamic educational institutions such as *pesantren* and *madrasah*—which are mostly founded by private or informal institutions— must also follow the national curriculum and comply with state regulations. On the one hand, *pesantren* is continuously recognized as an autonomous institution, and honored as a community-based educational institution. *Madrasah*, on the other hand, is supported to teach Islam and religious subjects, but at the same time it is required to introduce sciences and general subjects to its students.

During the 1980s and 1990s, major changes in the curriculum of Islamic religious education in Indonesia have turned *madrasah* into education institutions increasingly integrated in Indonesia's national education. In fact, the share of general studies reached 70%, while religious studies have been reduced to only about 30% of *madrasah*

curriculum. As a consequence, all *madrasah* graduates have equivalent degree recognized by other schools in general, enabling them to pursue undergraduate studies in public universities.

Yet, this is where the problem lies. Despite the fact that the government has made various efforts to improve Islamic education, this increased attention paid by the government still focus mainly on institutional development of religious education, often at the expense of the essence and content of religious education itself. As a result, and unlike in *madrasah*, religious education in public schools lacks proper attention from the government. Equal as they might seem, *madrasah* remains considered a religious school, an Islamic school and the public school is a main school for the general public where religion, unlike hard sciences, is only a subject with lesser significance in the curriculum. Consequently, religious subject in public schools lacks of qualifications, especially in providing qualified religious textbook and teachers. It is also affecting the students in finding another resource to study religion informally, which usually have a bigger role in developing their religious perception, attitudes and behavior.

Some studies reveal that indeed some elements of radicalism have entered Indonesia public schools. PPIM-UIN research (2008 and 2010) suggests that many teachers of Islamic religion in public schools develop an exclusive view of their own group. They tend not to appreciate the differences in others or show a lack of respect for pluralism. Other research organizations such as Maarif Institute (2011) show that the culture of violence and radicalism gains ground among the youth in Indonesia. A new research by PPIM-UIN (2015 and 2016) even asserts a new finding that there are serious problems with the writing and production of textbooks for religious subject in public schools. PPIM-UIN research has discovered several problematic concepts, radical understandings of belief on jihadism, war and murder stories, and religious expressions such as "Infidels should be killed" – all of which are questionable aspects of introducing religion to school children. These cases have become a big concern for many, including parents, religious and social activists and others.

To grasp the above situations, the project called 'Enhancing the Role of Religious Education in Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia' – later known as CONVEY, has been initiated. Designed to identify and address the underlying factors that foster the growth of violent extremism in religious education, this project wants to fight violence and extremism by developing all the constructive potentials of Islamic and religious subjects to be equally integrated in Indonesia's schools. The project aims to develop the potential of religious education in schools in Indonesia to promote peace and tolerance and counter violent extremism, to prevent the spread of extreme attitudes and violent behavior, and radicalism in schools, colleges and other educational institutions and to strengthen the involvement of students, teachers and students in countering the spread of extreme attitudes, violent behavior and radicalism.

The project has been designed in a way that fully recognizes that no actor alone is able to prevent and address the destructive phenomenon of terrorism and violent extremism, and that coordination and partnerships are essential elements of a successful strategy. The project runs simultaneously in identifying and addressing key issues. It consists of research and survey activities, including 5 activities; advocacy and policy engagement activities, including 9 activities; and public awareness activities, including 8 activities. In implementing the project, PPIM-UIN worked closely with 9 NGOs and 10 campus-based organizations across the country.

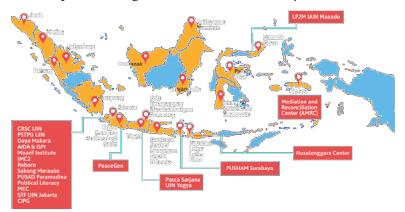


Figure 1. Map of Network in CONVEY

Project Implementation

To investigate understanding, attitudes and behavior of students, teachers and lecturers and the degree of their support for radicalism or radical religious movements, CONVEY conducted national survey on radical Islamic movement in schools and universities covering 1859 high school and university students and 322 teachers and lecturer from 34 provinces. The survey found that student in Indonesia have become increasingly radical and having intolerant opinion toward different interpretations of the faiths. Students with high level in intolerant and radical opinion were affected by such as social factors, source of religious knowledge and learning strategy model conducted by teachers.

In order to get deeper understanding of survey findings, CONVEY also conducted qualitative research on student attitude and behavior towards violent extremism, implemented by the Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) State Islamic University (UIN) *Syarif Hidayatullah* Jakarta covering 935 students from various Muslim background from 18 cities. Young Muslim today — which called millennial generation — has one over-riding characteristic in defining their association with religious organization. They are a tech-savvy, self-empowered, youthful group who seek for religious identity encompasses modernity. CSRC called this phenomenon as *hybridity of identity*.

As the Internet pervades life, its influence has carried over to the areas of faith and religion. Many researches shown that website has been used by the terrorists group to communicate their ideas to the public in cyberspace (Maura, 2016; Mantel, 2009; Ray and Marsh, 2001). The survey found that 54,87% students indicated that they are religious surfers or get the information about religious from internet (PPIM, 2017). This condition or level of radicalism in Indonesia categorized so called "fire in a chaff". This significant number of students could be extensively and effectively exposed to intolerant and radical views that could be easily exploited to generate intolerant and radical actions.

Internet is also one of the main concern where the project rides on. Using the sophisticated method on internet analysis, web-scrapping, Center for the Study of Culture and Social Changes (PSBPS) UMS tried to analyze the possible influence of religious based online media websites on the production, distribution, and consumption of radicalism messages radicalism. The websites are classified into mainstream, contemporary, and un-affiliated. The categorization was given in term of their discourse on radicalism. The mainstream Islamic organizations are represented by NU Online (nu.or.id), Muhammadiyah (suaramuhammadiyah. id), Nahdlatul Wathan (nw.or.id) and PERSIS (persis.or.id). The contemporary Islamic organizations are represented by FPUI/Suara Islam, MMI, Hidayatullah, and MTA. The Independent-Unaffiliated Islamic organizations are represented by Portal Islam, Era Muslim, VOA-Islam (voa-islam.com), Muslim Moderat (muslimoderat.net), Arrahmah (arrahmah.com), Thoriquna (thoriquna.id), Dakwatuna (dakwatuna. com). From the research conducted on July to September, it's found that the most accessed websites are those which are categorized as unaffiliated Islamic organization. This finding proves that moderate Islamic organization which has big influence in shaping Indonesia as a nation-state are left behind by those who are actively engage with technology to spread their idea in cyberspace.

In term of spreading radical view in Facebook, it is found that 4% from 180 users contribute to produce radical content. 60% are distributor and 36% took part in produce and distribute them. Surprisingly, the other social media platforms such as Instagram and Twitter show the same trend. Not only analyzing internet as source of radicalism, it is also important to scrutinize existing Islamic literature circulated at school and university.

CONVEY invited Graduate School of UIN *Sunan Kalijaga* Yogyakarta to identify and map out Islamic literature used by students at high school and university in 16 cities. Various type of books offers different view of Islam and the world. In term of content and approach, the books are categorized *into jihadists, tahriri, tarbawi, salafi* and popular Islamism. It is found that even though jihadist books are relatively small in number but they are easily found in the front display of the bookstore. Meanwhile other mainstreams book written by moderate prominent scholar are nowhere to be found on the display. Millennials prefer popular Islamism which are presented in an attractive visualization and provocative title to those serious academic literature. Another surprise fact found in the field was the growing of Salafi literature.

In response to the growing Salafist activism, CONVEY also worked on developing database of Salafism in Indonesia. In 2004, ICG had identified that there are 29 Islamic boarding school (Pesantren). Since then, there is no data provided on Salafi education institution. From August to July, PPIM UIN Jakarta has identified that there are 111 Salafi education institutions in 25 cites. This rapid growth of Salafi should be on one guard since the research also found that there is some Salafi education institution which rejected to follow national curriculum. The teachings of Salafism, especially *Tawheed* and *al-Wala 'wa al-Barra'* could shape Salafi followers into puritanical and militant which can lead to conflict and tension in society. Therefore, it is important to review religious education system in preventing radical and violent extremism in Indonesia. Those knowledge that reflected the current condition on radicalism in Indonesia should be actively communicated to the policy makers. Number of policy paper has been developed and advocated to Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA), Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) and other relevant ministries in terms of mainstreaming religious education.

In spite of analyzing religious attitude at school and source of knowledge students get, it is also important to understand the role of extracurricular provided at school on the influence of radical and violent extremism. *Student Executive Organization* (OSIS) and Boy Scout (Pramuka) also become the subject of the project as those two organizations play important role in shaping students behavior outside class in decade ago. Recently their role gradually weakened as various type of activity emerge into school. Not only OSIS and Pramuka who are on the edge, but also a strong government-controlled over the *Youth Club* (Karang Taruna) which involve effectively youth at community level are now faded away. The assessment on the policy on OSIS was conducted by MAARIF Institute in 6 cities, while the assessment on Pramuka as well as Karang Taruna have conducted by Paramadina Institute for Ethic and Civilization (PIEC).

In line with the religious education at school and university level, number of assessment on existing program conducted by numerous nongovernment organization focus on Preventing or Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) are also important in filling the knowledge gap of increasing violent and extremism in Indonesia. CONVEY also had done assessment of existing economic skills-oriented program as regards to radicalization and developed policy recommendation on economic empowerment for youth together with Center for the Study of Middle East and World Peace (PSTPG) UIN Jakarta. Meanwhile the assessment of existing social and economic empowerment program in extremist dominated border areas handled by LP2M IAIN Manado and assessment of existing economic skills-oriented program for terrorist convicts executed by AIDA. Existing education/rehabilitation system for terrorist convicts was assessed by Daya Makara, University of Indonesia. One of challenges activity that targeted the social reintegration of the 3 phenomenon victims namely NII, Gafatar, ISIS deportees. These 3 phenomena have their own characteristic that needs to be assessed in which way is the suitable one for each case. Almost all assessment activity indicated that government involvement in this area slightly touched targeted subject.

In preventing violent extremism, it is important to develop early warning system at community level. CONVEY in collaboration with PUSHAM Surabaya put a pilot project on training on countering violence and extremism for local security and civilian defense organizations. They are the guard that always interact directly with society. This training is really one of a kindly needed by the local security as they stated that this is the first ever they were invited to early warning system in preventing violent extremism at community level. This pilot project was conducted in Surabaya, Malang and Lamongan.

Not only for introducing early warning system to local security and civil defense, it is also imperative to enhance youth awareness towards peace. Training on PVE also conducted by Peace Generation in a sophisticated way. Peace Generation developed an outstanding way to transform conventional training into a-fun-and meaningful board game. Through this game, player – in this case are high school and university students – are given opportunity to figure what the game teaches them out about peace. The board game successfully transformed students' interpretation of religion driven radical views.

In enhancing student awareness on PVE as well as disseminating religious values, which are tolerant, open and peaceful to strengthen Indonesian inclusive society, CONVEY conducted a series of youth camp. *First*, Muslim Youth Camp for Muslim-based campuses (PTKIN/ PTKIS/Islamic Higher Education) conducted by Nusatenggara Center in Lombok on 20-25 January 2018. *Second*, Inter-faith Youth Camp, inter-religious gathering for youth from different cultural and religious background was held by Ambon Reconciliation and Mediation Center (ARMC) on 25-31 January 2018. *Third*, international youth leadership camp, gathering of youth from other ASEAN countries to strengthen the value of *rahmatan lil'alamin* (mercy to the entire universe) successfully executed by Social Trust Fund (STF) UIN Jakarta.

Public engagement of CONVEY is conducted through several competitions such as creating meme, vlog, comics, photo, video and short essay. This activity was directed by Sabang Merauke. Story on disengagement from violent and extremism was presented in anthology entitled "Keluar dari Ekstremism" produced by PUSAD Paramadina. This project also worked on countering weekly circular that spread radical idea. The Political Literacy Institute is selected to produce moderate and inclusive weekly circulars for mosques and religious gatherings in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, South Tangerang and Bekasi. This weekly circular received a lot of positive impressions from all over targeted area. Other public campaigns have also conducted through airing talk show on radio and television and producing music video in collaboration with Indonesian rock band namely J-Rock titled 'Wudhu' managed by Reborn.

CONVEY also had conducted regional workshop on religious education and violent extremism on 11-13 December 2017 in Jakarta to seek collaborative program and share experiences in countering violent extremism. Attended by around 200 participants from the Southeast Asia Countries, Maldives, and Japan, this event aims to gather and facilitate interaction among policy makers, practitioners, and academics/researchers that share best practices and lessons learned, to develop a common understanding and to identify challenges and opportunities in the region, to encourage networks among various stakeholders to promote productive collaboration and synergy, to explore the potential of religious education to create more tolerant and inclusive societies and formulate tangible recommendations, and to share and receive feedback on the UNDP - UIN Jakarta's CONVEY project. In the end of the workshop, all participants are agreed to declare Jakarta Declaration on Violent Extremism (download at https://goo.gl/ <u>yb3GYF</u>).

Throughout the implementation, there are at least 19 NGOs empowered. This project has already engaged approximately 5.000 students & 1.000 educators meanwhile social media outreach has touch around 20.000 people. The collaborative works had developed more than 5 policy papers. It also organized local people economic empowerment at 3 border areas and youth at 5 violent-extremist prone areas. In term of gender, more than 40% women are involved in implementing the project. Total beneficiaries of this project approximately reach 100.000 people with 48% of them are women. Almost every week CONVEY project was mentioned in the newspaper and also online news websites. This successful project has become the role model in implementing counter violent extremism in Indonesia.

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Southeast Asian Islamic studies in general. The aim is to provide readers with a better understanding of Indonesia and Southeast Asia's Muslim history and present developments through the publication of articles, research reports, and book reviews.

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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- Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
- 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.
- Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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ستوديا اسراسكا



السنة الخامسة والعشرون، العدد ١، ٢٠١٨

محلة **إندونيسية** للدراسات الإسلامية



خلغيات وتحديات الأقلية المسلمة الصينية في Pontianak هرمانشاه