

ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, STUDENT ACTIVITY AND INTOLERANCE IN STATE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS IN YOGYAKARTA

Aniek Handajani

aniek_handajani@yahoo.com
ICRS School Of Graduate Studies
Gadjah Mada University

Noorhaidi Hasan

noorhaidi@hotmail.com
Islamic State University of Sunan Kalijaga

Tabita Christiani

tabita@staff.ukdw.ac.id
Duta Wacana Christian University

Abstract: Several studies show the presence of intolerance and Islamist attitudes strengthened among teachers and students. However, studies on ‘radicalization’ process among teenagers at school are still limited. We address the issue by analyzing intolerance tendency, examining the religious education at school and revealing the shift of intolerance tendency among students. By conducting mixed methods research in three public schools, this study uncovers seven factors that cause the shift of intolerance tendency: First, stakeholders formulate school vision which endorses religious tolerance in public schools. Second, the school policies that support pluralism and tolerance towards other differences in the school environment. Third, government and school leaders conduct training to provide teachers with knowledge to counter radical teachings. Fourth, teachers integrate local wisdoms in their teaching materials. Fifth, the student activities, particularly Islamic religious activities, which accommodate pluralism and endorse tolerance towards different religions, ethnics and cultures. Sixth, the supervision of books and materials from the internet that contain radical doctrines by parents and teachers. Seventh, involving Islamic mainstream organizations in countering radical ideology and mitigating intolerance in public schools. Regarding Islamist movements at schools, we suggest that religious education, if properly formulated can be used to counter Islamist radicalism at school effectively.

Key words: Intolerance, Islamist movements, Radical ideology, Religious, Education

Abstrak: Beberapa studi menunjukkan adanya intoleransi dan sikap Islamis yang menguat di kalangan guru dan siswa. Akan tetapi penelitian mengenai proses 'radikalisasi' di kalangan remaja di sekolah masih terbatas. Kami menyikapi masalah ini dengan menganalisa kecenderungan intoleransi dan meneliti pelaksanaan pendidikan agama di sekolah. Dengan memakai metode gabungan di tiga sekolah umum, studi ini mengungkap adanya penurunan kecenderungan intoleransi pada tahun 2017 - 2018. Penelitian ini mengungkap enam faktor yang mempengaruhi penurunan intoleransi agama di kalangan

siswa. Pertama, para pemangku kepentingan merumuskan visi sekolah yang mendukung toleransi beragama. Kedua, kebijakan sekolah yang mendukung pluralisme dan toleransi terhadap agama lain di sekolah. Ketiga, pemerintah dan pimpinan sekolah mengadakan pelatihan bagi para guru untuk memberikan pengetahuan dalam rangka mengatasi paham radikal. Keempat, guru mengintegrasikan kearifan lokal dalam bahan ajar mereka. Kelima, kegiatan siswa terutama kegiatan *Kerohanian Islam*, yang mengakomodasi keberagaman dan mendukung toleransi terhadap berbagai agama, etnis, dan budaya. Keenam, pengawasan buku dan bahan dari internet yang mengandung doktrin radikal oleh orang tua dan guru. Ketujuh, melibatkan organisasi mainstream Islam dalam melawan ideologi radikal dan memitigasi intoleransi di sekolah umum. Sedangkan mengenai gerakan Islamis di sekolah, kami berpendapat bahwa pendidikan agama jika diformulasikan dengan benar dapat dipakai untuk melawan radikalisme di sekolah secara efektif.

Kata kunci: Intoleransi, Gerakan Islamis, Ideologi radikal, Pendidikan Agama

Introduction

In the Reformation era, Islamist movements which previously began in universities have moved to senior high schools. A survey that was held in 2011 by *Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian* (Islamic Study and Peace Institution, LAKIP) (Oebaidillah, 2011; Setyawan, 2016) towards 590 Islamic religious teachers, in Jakarta and its neighbouring areas (Jabodetabek), reveals the spread of Islamist ideology among teachers of junior high schools and senior high schools. Further, LAKIP (cited in Dja'far, 2015) discloses the presence of intolerance and Islamist attitudes strengthened among Islamic religious teachers and students. The surveys reveal a systematic attempt of “radicalization” process conducted by radical groups at secondary schools.

However, much of the literature about young people in Indonesia focus on the role of university students towards political changes (Azis, 1989; Madrid, 1999; Rahmat and Najib, 2001). Only few studies about Islamist radicalism among Muslim youth in Indonesia (such as Rahmat, 2005; Hasan, 2006; Azca, 2011; Akmaliah and Pribadi, 2013). Nevertheless, these studies do not investigate how Islamist movements spread among senior high students. Meanwhile, the existing studies concerning Islamist practices among students are also limited (Najib Kailani, 2009, 2010; Wajidi, 2011 and Salim et.al., 2011). Their studies investigate Islamist movements among senior high students through extracurricular activities, specifically *Kerohanian Islam* (Islamic Religious Activity, Rohis).

Studies that are carried out by Najib Kailani (2009, 2010), Wajidi (2011) and Salim et.al. (2011) reveal that Islamist practices have been

systematically conducted through student activities of *Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah* (Intra-School Student Organization, OSIS) and student extracurricular activities, particularly Islamic Religious Activity. Senior high students who are lack of religious knowledge and as teenagers who are in the psychological stage of searching identity have become the target of radical groups. In this context, Komaruddin Hidayat (2009) asserts that that apart from the student's enthusiasm in studying his/her religion, the spread of radical ideology among students need to be prevented.

Several studies above indicate the important role of religious education in countering the spread of Islamist ideology at schools. Therefore, on effort to counter radical ideology that endorse intolerance, it is critical to understand comprehensively the implementation of Islamic Religious Education which in certain extent promote interreligious tolerance (UNESCO, 1995: p.vii; Han, 1995: xvi). On the other hand, it can endorse interreligious intolerance at schools (Hefner, 2000: pp. 112-113; Boland, 1982: 108). In other words, *Islamic Religious Education* that is conducted at schools can promote tolerance to other people of different religions and cultures or otherwise (see Woodward et al: 2010).

We argue that the “radicalization” process at school can be understood by examining intolerance tendency and the implementation of Islamic Religious Education comprehensively. Thereby, this research is directed at examining the implementation of Islamic Religious Education at senior high schools and investigating students' perceptions that support intolerance tendency. This research is conducted at three senior high schools in Yogyakarta, namely

Senior High School 1 Yogyakarta, Senior High School 3 Yogyakarta and Senior High School 8 Yogyakarta. In fact, the Islamist movements which endorse intolerance of other religions at public schools have become a phenomenon in big cities in Indonesia, including in Yogyakarta which is known as “the City of Tolerance”. Unlike the previous studies conducted at these schools, this research explores more deeply the syllabus designs, the school education policies, teaching-learning activities, teachers’ competences and student activities that endorse the spread of radical ideology which triggers intolerance tendency at schools.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides the theoretical foundations for investigating the spread of Islamist ideology which precipitates intolerance tendency among students. Section 3 describes research methods. Section 2.1 discuss the relation between intolerance, radicalism and terrorism. Section 2.2 defines the concept of religious intolerance. In Section 4, we provide quantitative evidence of intolerance tendency among students and discuss the findings. In Section 5, we elaborate on the theoretical and practical contributions of the findings, their limitations and a future research agenda.

Theoretical Framework

Our stand point is that Islamist ideology (Islamism) endorse intolerance tendency among senior high students. We agree with Pak’s notion that there are two main factors that cause intolerance: prejudice and enemy images. The two factors affect the students’ perception about other religions. In this context, Islamist networks encourage prejudice and enemy images by utilizing Islamist ideology. This radical ideology endorses

prejudice and enemy images towards adherent of other religions which leads to religious intolerance (Robinson, 2016). However, intolerance or tolerance can vary depend on the factors that affect it (Han, 1995; Stouffer, 1995). Tolerance is acquired and developed through education and social experienced but is affected by the social and political environment (Han, 1995). By using Hasan’s theory of Islamism (2013), Han’s notion of intolerance and Robinson’s concept of religious intolerance, this study investigates intolerance tendency among students and explores the teaching-learning activities of Islamic Religious Education at schools.

Islamism, Intolerance, Radicalism and Terrorism

Before conceptualizing the term “intolerance” in this study, it is essential to discuss the relation between intolerance, radicalism and terrorism. The tendency of intolerance that leads to radicalism and triggers terror actions can be explained through the ideology of Islamism. According to Roy (2004: 58) Islamism is a “political Islamic fundamentalism that re-creates a true Islamic society by enforcing shari’a and establishing an Islamic state through political action”. Further he asserts that “Islamism is not a mere religion but a political ideology which is intended to reshape all aspects of society shared among Islamists actors” (Roy, 2004: p. 58). Whereas, Kepel (cited in Hasan, 2012) claims that “Islamism is not primarily a religious symptom but rather a socio-political phenomenon involving a group of Muslim who are active carrying out Islamist movements based on certain ideology that they believe in”.

There are three factors that distinguish Islamism from other socio-political phenomena, namely 1) the

actors involved; 2) activism and 3) ideology. Actors involved in Islamism are a group of people who use Islam religious identity as a source of meaning built by the individuals during the process of social interaction, and binds all members who serve in Islamist movement (Hasan, 2012). However, religious identity alone is not enough to attribute an individual to Islamism if he/she does not involve in certain activities. The symptoms of Islamism occur when he/she is active in certain political movements which have a broad spectrum related to the power system (Hasan, 2012). The ideology becomes crucial in Islamism because of its political agenda that is related with the power system. In this context, ideology serves as cultural matrix to simplify the complexities of social life (Geertz, 1973) and functions as a shared ideology behind activities categorized as Islamist movements (Hasan, 2012).

In this regard, Islamism served as a political ideology upon which shari'a (Islam law) is implemented and an Islamic state can be established (ibid, 2012). The notion of purity and the need to maintain a firm boundary between 'we' and 'liyan' (others) are inherent in Islamism (Roy, 2004: p. 126; Ahmad, 2009; also Amin, 2018)). Through the slogan of returning to a model of *pure Islam* - the Qur'an, the Sunnah of the Prophet and his companions - Islamism manifested into various dimensions, from parochial identity to terrorism in the name of jihad (Hasan, 2012). According to Hasan et.all. (2013) Islamism is a political-religious expression that covers four main spectrums, including militancy, radicalism, extremism and terrorism. These four spectrums show the gradual strength of the influence of Islamism which are exposed on an individual. The

four spectrums can be described in the matrix as follows (Hasan, 2013):

Table 1 Matrix of Islamism

| | Intolerance | Anty-system | Revolution | Violence | Terror |
|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|----------|--------|
| Militancy | V | V | | | |
| Radicalism | V | V | V | | |
| Extremism | V | V | V | V | |
| Terrorism | V | V | V | V | V |

Hasan et.al. (2013) asserts that the concept of militancy refers to the thoughts, views and intolerant actions that seek to encourage changes in the society. Militancy covers sincerity, determination and commitment to certain thoughts, beliefs, attitudes and principles which spring from prejudice, suspicion and hatred toward those who have different views and perceptions (ibid, 2013). Militancy requires to distance oneself and deny the influence of 'liyan' (others), which are often considered as 'infidels' (Hasan, 2013). Based on the matrix above, intolerance is key factor in militancy and other spectrums as well (Hasan, 2013).

Militancy can develop into radicalism that endorses radical changes in the political system and society (Hasan, 2013). Radicalism supports a political order that rejects the legitimacy of modern nation-state and seeks to establish an Islamic state or revitalize the caliphate system

(Hasan, 2013). In this context, radicalism serves as a revolutionary spirit that supports a comprehensive change in the system, but it does not require immediate actions and the use of violence (Hasan, 2013).

Radicalism can lead to extremism when the desire and actions to change the society requires the use of violence (ibid, 2013). Extremism is always revolutionary because it emphasizes the use of violence as the only method to breakdown the old system and build on the ruins a completely new system (Hasan, 2013). Compared with radicalism, extremism shows impatience waiting for change by choosing violent tactics. The change is expected to happen quickly and immediately (Hasan, 2013).

From extremism develops terrorism which is the peak of violence (Hasan, 2013). However, it does not mean any violence is called terrorism. Violence can occur without terror but there is no terror without violence (Hasan, 2013). Terrorism is an act of violence based on systematic thought and tactics for certain political objectives (Hasan, 2013). Thus, acts of violence that are not based on systematic thought and tactics cannot be called terrorism (Silke cited in Hasan et.al., 2013). Terrorism is conducted to change the entire system and political order by using violence which aims at creating chaos and fear to influence people in order to deal with the authorities who are considered responsible behind state policies (Hasan, 2013).

Conceptualizing Intolerance

On the basis of Islamism matrix proposed by Hasan et. al. (2013) intolerance is the key factor that precipitates radicalism, extremism and

terrorism. What is intolerance? There are many concepts about intolerance proposed by scientists (Han, 1995; Pak, 1995, Lindsey and Pausacker, 2016). According to Han (1995) tolerance or intolerance is not an attribute fixed to a system or individual. In this regard, the scope of admitting the differences is affected by education and one's environment. Han (1995) asserts that respecting differences and improving relation with others is tolerance; while despising the difference and worsening the relation is intolerance. Whereas, Pak (1995) holds that prejudice and enemy images as the important traits of intolerance. Prejudice involves prejudgment which produces discriminatory behaviour. It develops into enemy images which are a perception of the situation, taking others as enemy. Prejudice is the source of intolerance and enemy images. Thus, prejudice and enemy images are closely related.

Meanwhile, looking from Indonesian case, Lindsey and Pausacker (2016) assert that all forms of intolerance in Indonesia have increased due to the state intervenes in various disputes among groups. Society is shattered in conflict that is accelerated by the hegemonic views and hoaxes broadcasted by social media. Moreover, Lindsey and Pausacker (2016) argue that the main cause of Indonesia's chaotic situation is the interpretation of the first principle of *Pancasila* (The Five Principles), the Believe in One God. The Five Principles was launched by founding fathers as a state principle to guarantee religious freedom and to accommodate the diverse religious identities of all Indonesian people. However, the recent interpretation transmits into a homogeneous doctrine of One God that mainly based on the majority perspectives, disregarding any

other interpretations (Lindsey and Pausacker, 2016). Such homogeneous and majority interpretation is so embedded and institutionalized that it legitimizes widespread of false consciousness and sentiments within society (Lindsey and Pausacker, 2016).

From the discussion above it can be inferred that Han's theory reveals factors that affect intolerance. Whereas, Pak's concept uncovers the important traits of intolerance. Meanwhile, Lindsey and Pausacker examine the main causes of intolerance in Indonesian context. However, these concepts do not give working definition of religious intolerance. On the contrary, Robinson (2016) defines religious intolerance as "*not respecting the fundamental human right of other people to hold religious beliefs that are different from one's own*". Moreover, he proposes seven forms of religious intolerance as follows: 1) spreading misinformation about a group's beliefs or practices even though the inaccuracy of that information could have been easily checked and corrected; 2) spreading hatred about an entire group; e.g. stating or implying that all members of a group are evil, behave immorally, commit criminal acts, etc.; 3) ridiculing and belittling an entire faith group for their sincerely held beliefs and practices; 4) attempting to force religious beliefs and practices on others against their will; 5) restricting human rights of members of an identifiable religious group; 6) devaluing other faiths as worthless or evil; and 7) inhibiting the freedom of a person to change their religion.

Conceptually, we claim that students' intolerance tendency spring from their perceptions of other differences which are caused by prejudice and enemy images. Islamist radical groups encourage prejudice and enemy images by using certain religious

doctrines based on Islamist ideology (Islamism). Accordingly, based on Hasan's Islamism matrix and Robinson's concept of religious intolerance, this study determines the category of intolerance tendency which comprises of twenty statements, namely Item A, Item B and Item C. These three categories show the gradual strength of influence of Islamism which are exposed on an individual. Further, the twenty statements are aimed at investigating students' perceptions of other differences.

Research Methodology

This study applies a mixed methods research in which the qualitative approach is supported by the quantitative approach (case study and survey). The case study was carried out from July 2017 to December 2017, focusing on teaching and learning of *Islamic Religious Education* at schools. While the survey was managed from February 2018 to April 2018, focusing on tendency of intolerance among senior high students. This research uses qualitative data that are collected from participant observation and in depth interviews. The interviews were conducted towards students, teachers, alumni, principals and vice-principals. There were 28 participants, consisted of 13 women and 15 men, who were interviewed and involved in Focused Group Discussion. The FGD involved between 4 and 10 students.

Whereas, the population of the survey are taken from the total number of students of three public schools in Yogyakarta in the academic year 2017-2018. They are 964 students of SMAN A Yogyakarta, 671 students of SMAN B Yogyakarta and 768 students of SMAN C Yogyakarta. Thus, the total number of population of this research is 2403 students. By using purposive random

sampling the survey was conducted towards **195** respondents of three schools, from tenth grade to twelfth grade of senior high students, both male and female students. The survey was held through distributing questionnaires based on Hasan's theory and Robinson's concept of intolerance which consist of 20 statements. The students should respond to the statements in the questionnaires by choosing one of five scales: 1) strongly agree; 2) agree; 3) undecided; 4) disagree and 5) strongly disagree. The data was analyzed with margin error 10 % and 90 % confidence level.

This research implements two kinds of computer programs for data analysis: Excel program and Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Student Version 23.0. By using SPSS Student Version 23.0, the researcher can analyze the data to describe general tendencies in the data (mean, mode, median) and the spread of scores (variance, standard deviation, range) of each school. In this way this research implements *descriptive statistics* to describe intolerance tendency of senior high students.

Findings

Survey Results

The survey reveals that intolerance among students of Senior High School A Yogyakarta is the highest among three state schools. In contrast, students of Senior High School B Yogyakarta have the highest level of tolerance. Meanwhile, most students of state senior high schools have quite high level of tolerance. The research findings disclose that in general 25 % students of Senior High School A Yogyakarta have high level of tolerance. Whereas, 74 % students have quite high level of tolerance and only 1 % students have

tendency of intolerance. On the other hand, 45 % students of Senior High School B Yogyakarta have high level of tolerance, 55 % students have quite high level of tolerance and none of the students are intolerant. On the contrary, 13 % students of Senior High School C Yogyakarta have high level of tolerance, 87% students have quite high level of tolerance and none of them is intolerant.

The survey indicates that the majority of students have quite high level of tolerance. Moreover, based on students's responses the study uncovers that most students of all schools are less vulnerable in terms of Item A and Item B. However, most students are not vulnerable in terms of Item C.

On the basis of Item A of all participated schools, the survey uncovers that 23 % students of all participated schools are not vulnerable, 71 % students are less vulnerable and 6 % students are vulnerable. Whereas, based on Item B, the survey discloses that 11 % students are not vulnerable and 68% students are less vulnerable and 21 % students are vulnerable. In contrast, based on Item C, the survey indicates that 83 % students are not vulnerable, 17% students are less vulnerable and none of students is vulnerable.

Students' responses of all participated schools indicate that none of students is vulnerable towards terrorism. However, 6 % students are vulnerable based on Item A and 21% students are vulnerable in terms of Item B. It means that many students of all participated schools are exposed to radical doctrines eventhough it does not lead them to radicalism. The survey discloses that students of all participated schools in general are not vulnerable to radicalism and terrorism.

Based on Robinson's concept the students' responses on Item A and Item B uncovers their perceptions of differences in religion which can be categorized into five types of religious intolerance, namely: 1) spreading misinformation about a group's beliefs or practices even though the inaccuracy of that information could have been easily checked and corrected; 2) spreading hatred about an entire group; 3) ridiculing and belittling an entire faith group for their sincerely held beliefs and practices; 4) restricting human rights of members of an identifiable religious group and 5) devaluing other faiths as worthless or evil.

In general, this research reveals that the tendency of intolerance among public high schools in Yogyakarta in the Academic Year 2017 – 2018 have decreased compared with the previous survey held by *Lembaga Kajian Islam* (Wajidi, Salim HS and Kustiningsih, 2009). The previous survey shows that 6.4% of senior high students have low level of tolerance, 69.2% students have quite high level of tolerance and 24.3% students have high level of tolerance. This survey reveals that 1% students have low level of tolerance. Whereas, 72% students have quite high level of tolerance and 27 % students have high level of tolerance. In addition, this research reveals that tendency of intolerance among students of Senior High School A is high, whereas at Senior High School B this trend is low and the trend of intolerance among students of Senior High School C lies between the level of Senior High School A and Senior High School B.

Based on the survey results we support Han's notion that tolerance is acquired through education and social environment. As declared by UNESCO (1995) that education is important to

cultivate tolerance, harmonious life among people of different ethnics, tribes, customs, religions, sex, age and cultures. To further understand the decrease in the level of intolerance among senior high students, it is important to discuss the implementation of Islamic Religious Education in these schools in the next section.

Discussion about Islamic Religious Education in State Senior High Schools in Yogyakarta

The Law of national Education System No. 20 Year 2003 requires senior high schools in Yogyakarta to implement the 2013 Curriculum. Further, Islamic religious education is conducted based on the regulation of Minister of Education and Culture Number 59 Year 2014 about *the Basic Framework and the Structure of Curriculum for Senior High School* which covers the curriculum structure of compulsory subjects, specialization subjects and cross-specialization subjects. Based on the curriculum structure, *Religious Education* belongs to Compulsory Subject Group A which is allocated **three** lesson hours a week for grades X, XI and XII. Each lesson hour lasts for forty five minutes.

The school curriculum which is called *Curriculum Document of Educational Unit Level* is prepared by the principal with the assistance of vice principal coordinating curriculum. The school curriculum contains vision, mission, the school goals, curriculum structure and the curriculum content. Then every teacher develops his/her own lesson plan based on the syllabus. Whereas, based on the school policies *Islamic Religious Education* is conducted both as intra-curricular (inside classroom) and extracurricular

programs (outside classroom) in all schools.

In Senior High School A Yogyakarta vice principal assisted by Commission 3 of *Intra-School Student Organization* (OSIS) carry out raids for enforcing students' discipline, namely morning raid, afternoon raid, incidental raid and on the road raid. This commission sweeps students who do not wear proper uniform both Muslim and non-Muslim students. Particularly, female Muslim students are required to wear hijab, shirts with long sleeves and long skirts. Whereas, in Senior High School B Yogyakarta wearing hijab, long-sleeves shirts and long skirts are optional. Only on Monday all students must wear shirt with long sleeves, while on Tuesday and Wednesday, students can wear short-sleeves shirts. In contrast, in SHS C Yogyakarta the school policy requires all female students to wear long-sleeves shirts and long skirts. Specifically female Muslim students are obliged to wear hijab, long-sleeves shirts and long skirts. Teachers support the campaign of wearing hijab during religious classes. However, many female students do not wear hijab in the school environment.

There are two important things which endorse radicalization process: school policy and the spread of Islamist movement. First, school policy obliges religious education is not merely a subject lesson taught by religious teachers during a certain period of time inside classroom. Second, such policy precipitates the demand of practicing Islamic religious teachings in almost all academic activities. This reveals how Islamist movements have dominated public spaces at senior high schools.

The research findings reveal that the school policies conducted in intra-curricular and extracurricular programs

affect the tendency of intolerance among students. The school policies of Senior High School A Yogyakarta and Senior High School C Yogyakarta endorse Islamist practices inside and outside lesson hours. Whereas, the school policies of Senior High School B Yogyakarta are more dynamic because they accommodate pluralism regardless differences in religions, ethnics and cultures.

Concerning teaching strategies this study indicates that many teachers at public schools are lack of knowledge to counter radical teachings. Religious teachers tend to confuse the term "*Religious Education*" with the term "*Education of Religion*" stipulated in UU *Sistem Pendidikan Nasional* (the Law of National Education System) Number 20 Year 2003. This misunderstanding of the two concepts leads them to teach *education of religion* which emphasizes students' mastery of their religions and practice the teachings of their religions rather than *religious education* focusing on building "students' good personalities and capable of keeping peace, harmonious intra- and inter-religious followers.

Accordingly, the government and school leaders conduct many programs to improve teachers' capabilities in countering radical doctrines. The government holds training for teachers to counter Islamist movements. The school management promotes multicultural understanding by organizing local curriculum content, such as Javanese language education and making Batik (Javanese traditional cloth) as additional subjects. The school leaders require teachers to integrate local wisdoms in the subjects taught in classes.

On the basis of teaching materials, the main reading books of Islamic

religious education used at senior high schools are entitled “*Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Budi Pekerti untuk SMA/MA/SMK/MAK for grade X, XI and XII*” published by ‘Pusat Kurikulum dan Perbukuan, Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan’ (the Centre for Curriculum and Books, Development Research Agency of Education and Culture Ministry). The use of the textbooks based on the provisions of the Education and Culture Ministry, the Ministry of Religious Affair and the agreement of ‘*Musyawah Guru Pendidikan Agam Islam*’ (Association of Islamic Religious Teachers, MGPAI) in DI Yogyakarta. The material structure of PAI books for senior high schools of grade X and XI contain 11 chapters, while materials of grade XII consist of 10 chapters.

Besides textbooks, Islamic religious teachers use “*Lembar Kegiatan Siswa*” (Student Worksheet, LKS) and search for materials from TV and the internet. LKS is developed by teachers based on the 2013 Curriculum. The benefit of using LKS is that learning materials are in accordance with syllabus set out in the 2013 curriculum. Whereas, teachers who only ask students to search for material on the internet have weakness of finding material content that is radical.

Concerning PAI books at senior high school, there some important notes proposed by Suhadi (2018: pp. 60-62). First, the PAI materials are not entirely inclusive. Second, the inferiority of authors to use local figures as a source of learning. Third, concerning the increasing trends of intolerance among senior high students, it is crucial to pay attention to the shift of theology from *Ash’ariyah* theology to *Salafi* theology in PAI literature (Suhadi, 2018). The theology of Islamism (Salafi) begins to take part in PAI books that precipitate

authors to neglect the use of Indonesian local wisdom to counter radicalism.

Regarding the availability of Islamic literature, this study reveals that there are three types of Islamic literature which are circulated among senior high students: ideological, puritan and popular piety. Ideological Islamic style is found in Islamic literature of Jihadi, Tahriri and Tarbawi. Although there are several books that contain radical content, most students of all participated schools tend to read *popular* literature and some students read *tahriri* literature. However, the availability of *Jihadi, Salafi, Tahriri* and *Tarbawi* literature at schools enable students to access the books. Likewise, books that are recommended by the alumni during mentoring program also provide an opportunity for students to access the radical ideology.

Concerning mentoring programs, this research indicates that Islamist movements have penetrated senior high schools. The influence of Islamist movements among students is closely related with the missionary movements of university students, *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus* (The Campus Propagation Institute, LDK) through the door of *Kerohanian Islam* (Islamic Religious Activity, Rohis), establishing Islamic mentoring programs at high schools. Generally there are three patterns used by the Islamic activists to expand their influence among high school students. First, through alumni who directly involve in *Rohis* management in some public schools. Second, university activists approach *Rohis* activists by inviting them to take part in Islamic activities held in certain mosques. Third, through the request of school management to LDK which provide volunteers to manage *Rohis* mentoring in high schools.

In SHS A Yogyakarta although alumni and mentors have no longer systematically organize the recruitment of cadre for Islamist movement, they still call for the application of Islamic teachings based on the shari'a. For example, they endorse anti-dating campaign, encourage female Muslims to wear *hijab* and recommend certain books such as Felix's novel "*Muhammad Al Fatih 1453*" who is described as a figure who succeeded in implementing the *khilafiyah* government system. Whereas, in SHS B Yogyakarta Rohis programs are more flexible based on the school condition. Although in mentoring Rohis activists discuss about shari'a and *khilafiyah* government alumni, they do not impose Islamist practices in school. Moreover, mentors and alumni have no longer organized systematically the recruitment of cadre for Islamist movement. Despite their recommendations for students to wear *hijab*, the choice remains on student personal opinion. Meanwhile, in SHS C Yogyakarta Rohis activists take a personal approach to female Muslim who does not wear *hijab*. Every Rohis activist is responsible for persuading her close friend to wear *hijab*. However, if the student is not ready to wear *hijab*, the Rohis do not enforce it. Nevertheless, Rohis activists hope that Islamist practices can be applied in the school environment. In this regard, Islamist practices are intended to minimize naughty students, encourage students to practice Islamic values in daily life, such as wearing *hijab*, conducting congregational prayers and keeping a distance between male and female in student activities.

In "*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional*" (the National Middle Development Plan, RPJMN) 2015 – 2019 the government admits that religious education still has not fostered

inclusive insight. The teaching process tends to be doctrinal and has not yet directed at strengthening students' religious attitudes which are tolerant and respect pluralism. Therefore, to counter the spread of radical ideology at schools, the government has conducted many programs. The government has launched a curriculum to improve students' competences and endorse character buildings. Also, the government has established education policy that promotes cooperation among people of different religions, ethnics and cultures. In addition, the government has conducted training for teachers of various subjects, specifically religious teachers.

Conclusion

This research reveals that the tendency of intolerance among public high schools in Yogyakarta in the Academic Year 2017 – 2018 have decreased significantly. This survey reveals that 1% students have low level of tolerance. Whereas, 72% students have quite high level of tolerance and 27 % students have high level of tolerance. Obviously, there is a shift in intolerance tendency of senior high students in Yogyakarta. Moreover, this research reveals that tendency of intolerance among students of Senior High School A is high, whereas at Senior High School B this trend is low and the trend of intolerance vulnerability among students of Senior High School C lies between the level of Senior High School A and Senior High School B.

Based on the research findings, there are some factors that cause the decrease in intolerance tendency. First, stakeholders formulate school vision which endorses religious tolerance in public schools. Second, the school policies that support pluralism and tolerance towards other differences in

the school environment. Third, government and school leaders conduct training to provide teachers with knowledge to counter radical teachings. Teachers integrate local wisdoms in their teaching materials. Fourth, the school policies that promote tolerance. Fifth, the student activities, particularly Islamic religious activities, which accommodate pluralism and endorse tolerance towards different religions, ethnics and cultures.

There are a number of steps that can be taken to overcome intolerance. First, mainstreaming diversity values in public schools. Second, increasing the participation of parents to ensure that their children do not experience discrimination or take the path of intolerant understanding. The school can also maximize the role of the teacher forum. Third, cooperating with moderate religious organizations, such as the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, in Indonesia to strengthen the values of diversity in state schools.

Limitations

This paper has some limitations. The research is conducted in three state schools in Yogyakarta. The study needs to be conducted in both public school and madrasas (Islamic religious schools) to obtain comprehensive understanding of intolerance trend and the role of Islamic Religious Education to counter radical ideology and promote interreligious tolerance. Also, this research focuses more on the implementation of religious education in countering Islamist ideology. Hence, it needs to investigate students' background (economy, parent, social and psychological condition) that affect intolerance tendency.

Implication for Education Policy and Further Research

The government need to implement education policy that facilitate understanding of the nation history, promote intercultural and interfaith tolerance, endorse character building, and equip young people with knowledge and skills to face the challenge of the global world. It is important for the government to use any means available through formal education (such as schools, universities) and informal education (such as religious gatherings, publications, mass media, internet) and any other means possible. Accordingly, an important question need to be addressed, at the regional level, is how the curriculum based-school support local wisdom of the area that can mitigate radicalism and promote intercultural and interfaith tolerance. More specifically, it is crucial to find ways of how local traditions such as folklores, handicrafts, traditional dances, can be used as teaching materials and syllabus design embedded in the school curriculum. ideology and promote tolerance needs to be conducted.

Daftar Pustaka

- Akmaliah, Wahyudi and Khelmy K. *Pribadi, Anak Muda, Radikalisme, dan Budaya Populer*, Maarif, Vol.8 No. I-Juli 2013, pp. 132 - 153. Available at https://www.academia.edu/4053304/Anak_Muda_Radikalisme_dan_Budaya_Populer
- Amin, Ali. "Alumni Pesantren Gontor dan Jaringan Islam Global." *Journal of Islamic Education Policy* 3.2 2018. Available at <http://journal.iain-manado.ac.id/index.php/jiep/article/view/862>
- Azca, Muhammad Najib, "Yang Muda, Yang Radikal: Refleksi Sosiologis Terhadap Radikalisme Kaum Muda di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru," *Maarif*, Vol. 8, No.1 (Juli 2013),19-20.
- Azca, Muhammad Najib, *After Jihad: A Biographical Approach to Passionate Politics in Indonesia*, Ph.D Thesis, Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research [AISSR], 2011, 90.
- Boland, B.J. *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982).
- Dja'far, Alamsyah M, *Intoleransi Kaum Pelajar*, (Jakarta: The Wahid Institut), 2015.
- Djelantik, Sukawarsini. *Terorisme: Tinjauan Psiko-Politis, Peran Media, Kemiskinan, dan Keamanan Nasional*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2010.
- Geertz, clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures, Selected Essays*, New York: basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1973.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi (ed). *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial: Transmisi, Apropriasi, dan Kontestasi*, Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2018.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi dkk., *Narasi dan Politik Identitas: Pola Penyebaran dan Penerimaan Radikalisme dan Terorisme di Indonesia, Laporan Penelitian*, Yogyakarta: Fakultas Syariah dan Hukum UIN Sunan Kalijaga bekerjasama dengan FKPT dan BNPT, 2013.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi, *Islam Politik di Dunia Kontemporer: Konsep, Genealogi, Teori*. Yogyakarta: Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2012.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. *Islamic Militancy, Sharia, and Democratic Consolidation in Post-Suharto Indonesia*. Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. No. 143, 2007. Available at <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/rsis-pubs/WP143.pdf>
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. *Reformasi, Religious Diversity, and Islamic Radicalism after Suharto*, 2009.<http://www.google.co.id/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0ahUKEwiCrxZlfbQAhUqjVQKHUYaAFcQFggiMAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fdspace.library.uu.nl%2Fbitstream%2Fhandle%2F1874%2F39599%2F3632-6270-1-PB.pdf%3Fsequence%3D2&usg=AFQjCNGJCWEGqoQZKPOr7GE8U6s6v96XBQ&sig2=ZeUeffZaliYrrG8BXz6jNq>

- Hefner, Robert W. (*translated by Amirudin and Asyhabuddin*). *Islam Pasar Keadilan: Artikulasi Lokal, Kapitalisme dan Demokrasi*. Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta, 2000.
- Hidayat, Komaruddin. *Radikalisme Islam Menyusup ke SMU*, 23 October 2009, available at <https://denagis.wordpress.com/2009/10/23/radikalisme-islam-menyusup-ke-smu/>
- Ikhwan, Munirul, *Produksi Wacana Islam (IS) di Indonesia: Revitalisasi Islam Publik dan Politik Muslim*, Noorhaidi Hasan (ed), *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial: Transmisi, Apropriasi, dan Kontestasi*, Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2018, pp.63-108.
- Kailani, Najib. “*Kami Adalah Mujahidin Berpedang Pena: Studi Gerakan Dakwah Forum Lingkar Pena Yogyakarta*”, *Thesis MA*, Jurusan Antropologi, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2009.
- Kailani, Najib. “*Muslimising Indonesian Youths: The Tarbiyah Moral and Cultural Movement in Contemporary Indonesia*”, in Madinier, Remy (ed), *Islam and the 2009 Indonesian Elections, Political and Cultural Issues: The Case of Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*, Bangkok: Institut de Recherche sur l’Asie du Sud-Est Contemporaine (IRASEC), 2010.
- Kemendikbud, *Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Budi Pekerti untuk SMA/MA/SMK/MAK Kelas XII*, Edisi Revisi 2012, Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2015.
- Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, *Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Budi Pekerti untuk SMA/MA/SMK/MAK Kelas XI*, edisi revisi, Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2017.
- Kepel, Gilles: *Jihad – The trail of Political Islam*, London: Belknap/Harvard Press, 2002.
- Lindsey, Tim and Helen Pausacker. *Religion, Law and Intolerance in Indonesia*. London/New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Oebaidillah, Syarieff, *Intoleransi Guru dan Siswa Mencemaskan, Media Indonesia*, minggu, 27 februari 2011, No.10952, tahun XLII hal. 1.
- <http://mirror.unpad.ac.id/koran/media-indonesia/mediaindonesia.2011.02.2.pdf>
- Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 55 Tahun 2007 Tentang Pendidikan Agama dan Pendidikan Keagamaan.
- http://kelembagaan.ristekdikti.go.id/wpcontent/uploads/2016/08/PP_55_2007-Pendidikan-Agama-Keagamaan.pdf
- Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Nomor 59 Tahun 2014 Tentang Kerangka Dasar dan Struktur Kurikulum Sekolah Menengah Atas dan Madrasah Aliyah.
- Robinson, Bruce A. 2016. “*Religious Intolerance*”, Viewed from <http://www.religioustolerance.org>

- /relintol1.htm#def, on 3 February 2018
- Roy, Oliver, *The Failure of Political Islam*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Salim HS, Hairus; Najib Kailani and Nikmal Azekiyah, *Politik Ruang Publik Sekolah: Negosiasi dan Resistensi di Sekolah Menengah Umum Negeri di Yogyakarta*. Tim Peneliti Yayasan Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial (LkiS) dan Pusat Studi Sosial Asia Tenggara (PPSAT) UGM, Yogyakarta: Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies/CRCS, 2011.
- Han, Wan- Sang. *The issue of Tolerance as an Element of Peaceful Unification of the Korean Peninsula, UNESCO, Democracy and Tolerance: Proceedings of the International Conference Seoul, Republic of Korea, 27-29 September 1994*, Seoul: the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 1995, pp. xv – xxv.
- Senior High School 1 Yogyakarta, *Kurikulum SMA Negeri 1 Yogyakarta, Tahun Pelajaran 2017-2018*
- Senior High School 3 Yogyakarta, *Kurikulum SMA Negeri 3 Yogyakarta, Tahun Pelajaran 2017-2018*
- Senior High School 8 Yogyakarta, *Kurikulum SMA Negeri 8 Yogyakarta, Tahun Pelajaran 2017-2018*
- Setyawan, Davit. *Inflasi Radikalisme: Amankah Anak Kita Bersekolah*. 25 Januari 2016 at <http://www.kpai.go.id/utama/inflasi-radikalisme-amankah-anak-kita-bersekolah/>
- Suhadi et. al. (eds), *Mengelola Keragaman di Sekolah: Gagasan dan Pengalaman Guru*, Yogyakarta: Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies, 2016.
- Suhadi, *Menu Bacaan Pendidikan Agama Islam di SMA dan Perguruan Tinggi*, Noorhaidi Hasan (ed), *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial: Transmisi, Apropriasi, dan Kontestasi*. Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2018, pp.2-27)
- Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 Tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional <http://pendis.kemenag.go.id/file/dokumen/uuno20th2003ttgsisdiknas.pdf>
- UNESCO, *Democracy and Tolerance: Proceedings of the International Conference Seoul, Republic of Korea, 27-29 September 1994*, Seoul: the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 1995.
- Wajidi, Farid, Salim HS, Hairus, and Kustiningsih, Wahyu, *Toleransi Siswa di DIY: Laporan Survei*: Yogyakarta, LKiS-Hivos, 2009.
- Young Pak, Chi. *Prejudice and Enemy as a Source of Intolerance, UNESCO, Democracy and Tolerance: Proceedings of the International Conference Seoul, Republic of Korea, 27-29 September 1994*, Seoul: the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 1995, pp. xv – xxv.