# In Search of a Citizenship Education Model for a Democratic Multireligious Indonesia: Case Studies of Two Public Senior High Schools in Jakarta

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**Abstract**

Concerned with interreligious conflict in Indonesia, this study seeks to describe and evaluate the current citizenship education that has been designed and implemented for a democratic multireligious Indonesia. The context for the study, outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, is contemporary Indonesian society. Three features of this society are highlighted as especially significant. First, it is characterized by a wide diversity of religious groups. Second, it is governed by the state which acknowledges religious diversity with an official (constitutionally guaranteed) stance of interreligious tolerance. Third, since 1998 it has adopted a democratic political system. The study begins by outlining how the state and national education has tried to meet demands of national unity (citizenship) and those of religious acknowledgment. The remainder of the study combines philosophical and qualitative empirical methods.

In Chapter 3, I critically examine three contemporary liberal theories of citizenship education models (autonomy liberalism, diversity liberalism, and political liberalism). I suggest that these theories contain important insights relevant to a forward looking assessment of Indonesian citizenship educational policy and practice even though Indonesia is not a secular liberal democracy in the 'Western' mould. Specifically, I argue that what is critical to cultivate in multireligious Indonesia is the core idea of political liberalism – that is, the capacity for "public reasonableness" which involves the attitude and capacity to think, to judge and to behave in a way reasonable to pluralist societies.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on two case studies of public senior high schools in Jakarta and provide examples of citizenship education taking place in the education system.

Overall, I found that although educational policy and the public schools I studied did indeed focus on civic knowledge transmission, the specific practices indicated mixed results for achieving the desired aims of citizenship education for a multireligious Indonesia. On the positive side, school settings were relatively diverse and facilitated a good deal of social interaction and created the potential for shared civic knowledge across religious differences. In some cases, friendships and cooperative relationships among religiously diverse students seemed to occur. On the negative side, there were cases of interreligious discrimination, misunderstanding, tension and conflict and these seemed to originate from a lack of open communication, and interreligious misunderstanding and ignorance. Furthermore, when it came to the official curriculum and classroom practice (as opposed to informal within school contexts), both schools emphasized confessional religious education, ignored the internal diversity of religion, lacked exposure to religious diversity, deemphasized democratic deliberation and opposed interreligious dialogue. As such, I argue that the schools are missing a crucial element of citizenship education for "public reasonableness" as proposed by the political liberalism model studied in Chapter 3. I conclude that in order to meet the demands of creating a citizenry prepared to address the challenges of religious diversity, disagreement, and respectful interaction, Indonesian citizenship education should seek to encourage the following characteristics: 1) maintain and increase, where possible, religiously diverse school settings, 2) ensure fairness in accommodation of diversity, 3) intensify social interaction and practice of democracy and dialogue, 4) focus on the development of deep shared civic knowledge, and 5) develop interreligious conversation and knowledge of religious diversity (religious literacy). It is important to start talking about these issues or otherwise as Indonesians

we will continue to combat one another, with all Indonesian citizens being the losers in the end.

**Résumé**

S'occupant des conflits inter-religieux en Indonésie, cette étude a pour l'objectif d'évaluer l'éducation à la citoyenneté actuelle dans le pays, celle qui a été conçue et réalisée en pensant à une Indonésie démocratique et multireligieuse. Les deux premiers chapitres sont des sources d'informations sur la société indonésienne contemporaine et ils mettent en évidence les trois caractéristiques sociales particulièrement significatives en ce qui concerne cette analyse : la grande diversité des groupes religieux ; la reconnaissance officielle de la part de l'État de la tolérance inter-religieux ; et l'introduction de démocratie en 1998. L'auteur discute comment l'éducation nationale a tenté de satisfaire les demandes associées à l'unité nationale (la citoyenneté) et au pluralisme religieux. Le reste de l'étude utilise les méthodes empiriques philosophiques et qualitatives pour étoffer l'analyse.

Dans le troisième chapitre, l'auteur examine, critiquement, trois théories libérales de modèles d'éducation à la citoyenneté : le libéralisme de l'autonomie, le libéralisme de la diversité et le libéralisme politique. Ces théories contiennent des aperçus importants qui peuvent aider à assurer une évaluation des politiques et des pratiques d'éducation à la citoyenneté qui est tournée vers l'avenir, malgré que l'Indonésie ne soit pas une démocratie libérale et laïque comme celle connue à l'Ouest. L'auteur met l'accent sur l'argument que l'idée centrale du libéralisme politique—la capacité des citoyens de se comporter et de juger d'une manière raisonnable aux yeux des sociétés pluralistes—est essentiel de cultiver dans une Indonésie multireligieuse.

Les deux prochains chapitres sont centrés sur deux études de cas d'écoles secondaires à Jakarta. Ces études de cas donnent des aperçus sur l'éducation à la citoyenneté dans le système éducatif indonésien. En général, bien que le système éducatif se concentrasse sur la transmission du civisme, l'auteur a découvert que les pratiques spécifiques employées dans les écoles pour transmettre des connaissances civiques ont mené à des succès mitigés dans l'atteinte des objectifs nécessaires d'une éducation à la citoyenneté efficace pour une Indonésie multireligieuse. Du côté positif, les deux écoles avaient des corps étudiant relativement divers et ils créaient un espace de partages des connaissances civiques à travers les différences religieuses. Dans certains cas, il a paru que des amitiés et des relations coopératives se formaient parmi des étudiants de différentes appartenances religieuses. Du côté négatif, il est arrivé des incidents de discrimination inter-religieuse (des sentiments de méconnaissance, de tension et de conflit) qui avaient émané d'un manque de communication et d'ignorance. De plus, dans le cadre du curriculum et dans les pratiques formelles de la salle de classe, les deux écoles accentuaient une éducation religieuse confessionnelle ; ils se montraient peu insistant sur une démocratie libérale ; ils ignoraient la diversité à l'intérieur des religions ; et ils s'opposaient au dialogue inter-religieux. S'appuyant sur les principes du libéralisme politique discutés dans le troisième chapitre, l'auteur souligne que le manque de la raison publique dans ces deux milieux scolaires représente une défaillance de l'éducation à la citoyenneté.

Cette dissertation suggère qu'afin d'assurer que le peuple indonésien sera prêt à apporter des réponses aux défis de la diversité religieuse, du désaccord général et de l'interaction respectueuse, l'éducation à la citoyenneté en Indonésie devrait incorporer les caractéristiques suivantes : (1) la protection (et, si possible, l'augmentation) de la

diversité religieuse aux milieux scolaires, (2) l'équité dans l'accommodation de la diversité religieuse, (3) la maximisation de l'interaction sociale et les pratiques de la démocratie et du dialogue, (4) le développement des connaissances civiques profondément partagées et (5) l'encouragement des conversations inter-religieuses et l'importance de l'enseignement de la culture religieuse. C'est essentiel que chaque citoyen s'engage à communiquer et à négocier ouvertement sur ces points. Sinon, les conflits résultants produiront les effets adverses pour tous les Indonésiens, pas seulement ceux d'une certaine affiliation religieuse.

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Table of Contents

Abstract ..... ii
Résumé ..... v
Acknowledgment ..... viii
Table of Content ..... xii
Glossaries and Acronyms ..... xv

**Chapter 1: Rationale for My Study: Why Citizenship Education for a Democratic Multireligious Society?**

1. Background ..... 1
2. Research questions ..... 5
3. Previous Studies ..... 7
4. Key Terms ..... 9
5. Overview of the Chapter ..... 11

**Chapter 2: Religious Diversity, Conflict and Citizenship Education**

1. Introduction ..... 14
2. Religious Diversity ..... 15
3. Muslim and Secular Compromise on Nation State ..... 18
4. Accommodation of Secular and Muslim Aspiration in National Education ..... 21
    4.1 Supporting Educational Choices ..... 29
    4.2 Reliance on Citizenship Knowledge Transmission ..... 31
5. Religious Conflict: What Went Wrong with Citizenship Education? ..... 32
6. Why Public School? ..... 34
7. Summary ..... 40

**Chapter 3: Theories of Citizenship Education for a Religiously Committed and Diverse Indonesia**

1. Introduction ..... 41
2. Autonomy Liberalism ..... 44
    2.1 Educational Implication ..... 47
    2.2 Possibilities and Problems of Autonomy Liberalism ..... 51
3. Diversity Liberalism ..... 57
    3.1 Educational Implication of Diversity Liberalism ..... 61
    3.2 Possibilities and Problems of Diversity Liberalism ..... 62
4. Political Liberalism ..... 66
    4.1 Educational Implication of Political Liberalism ..... 70
    4.2 Possibilities and Problems of Political Liberalism ..... 76
5. Summary ..... 83

**Chapter 4: A Methodological Framework**

1. Introduction ..... 85

2. Paradigm Orientation for the Fieldwork ..... 85
3. Research Design ..... 89
4. Data sources in the schools ..... 103
5. Working with the data ..... 115
6. Validity & Reliability ..... 116
7. Summary ..... 121

**Chapter 5: Case Studies: Mixed Experiences of Interreligious Relation**

1. Introduction ..... 121
2. Creating a Good Religious Believer ..... 125
    2.1Views on Religious Faith ..... 126
    2.2 Islamic Religious Education in the Classroom ..... 129
    2.3 Student Islamic Club ..... 130
    2.4 Islamic Textbooks on Cultivating Islamic faith ..... 133
    2.5 Protestant and Catholic Religious Education ..... 137
3. Creating a Good Citizen for a Democratic Multireligious Society ..... 141
    3.1 Accommodation of Religion from Different Backgrounds ..... 142
    3.2 Islamic Textbooks on Cultivating Citizenship ..... 144
    3.3 Teachers on Religious Diversity ..... 151
    3.4 Religious Diversity and Citizenship Textbooks ..... 154
    3.5 Social Interaction ..... 157
4. Positive Experience of Interreligious Relation ..... 163
    4.1. Democratic Skills ..... 163
    4.2. Making Friends of Different Faiths ..... 165
    4.3. Avoidance of Talk on Religion ..... 170
    4.4. Interreligious Conversation ..... 171
    4.5. Good impressions ..... 173
5. Issues and Problems of Interreligious Relation ..... 173
    5.1. Interreligious Misunderstanding ..... 175
    5.2. Interreligious Tension ..... 176
    5.3. Issues of Teacher Interaction ..... 180
6. Limitation of the Approach ..... 185
7. Summary ..... 186

**Chapter 6: Contributions, Findings, Conclusions, and Future Research**

1. Contributions to Knowledge ..... 187
2. Why in Search for Citizenship Education Model? ..... 190
3. To What Extent the Current School Practice of Citizenship Education Reflect Ideals of Citizenship Education for a Democratic Multireligious Society? ..... 192
4. To What Extents does the Current Public School Practice of Citizenship Education Reflect Political Liberalism Model? ..... 196
5. Democratic Citizenship and Religious Diversity: What can Indonesia learn from the experience of other countries? ..... 201
6. Challenges to Making Diverse Public School for a Democratic Citizenship Education ..... 207
7. Future Research ..... 211
8. Final Reflection ..... 212

References ..... 216

## Glossaries and Acronyms

**Confessional Religious Education** is religious education from the perspective of commitment to a particular religious faith to nurture a particular religious value.

**Constitution 1945** is Indonesian Constitution that highlights mainly liberty, equality, social justice, supremacy of law, and democracy

**Faith school** is a school controlled by particular religious faith, such as Islamic school, Protestant school, Catholic school, madrasah, pesantren and pendidikan diniyah. Some faith schools have diverse students and some do not.

**Public school or common school** is interchangeable. It is a state school open to students of different background and controlled by national values (Pancasila and the Constitution 1945)

**Islamic education institution** is a broad term that includes all forms of schooling controlled by Islamic values and this includes Islamic Religious Education in public schools, Islamic schools, madrasah, pesantren, and pendidikan diniyah

**MONE** is Kementrian Pendidikan Nasional or Ministry of National Education

**MORA** is Kementrian Agama formerly called Departemen Agama or Ministry of Religious Affairs

**Madrasah** is a Muslim community school that has a balanced emphasis of both general modern subjects and Islamic subjects

**MPR** (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat) is the People's Consultative Assembly

**OSIS** (Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah) is the student school council at school level that coordinates a variety of student clubs

**Pancasila** is state ideology that consists of five basic principles: 1) Belief in one and only God, 2) A Just and civilized humanity, 3) Indonesian unity, 4) Democracy through popular consultation and representation, and 5) Social justice for all Indonesians.

**Pendidikan Diniyah** is a type of education to introduce Muslim children to elementary knowledge and practice of Islamic faith.

**Pesantren** is a boarding school for the Muslim community whose aim is to produce ulema

**PK** (Perwakilan Kelas) is classroom student representatives

**PMP** (Pendidikan Moral Pancasila) is a moral education subject developed from Pancasila state ideology

**P4** (Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila) is guidelines for internalization and implementation of Pancasila state ideology

**ROHIS** (Rohani Islam) is Student Islamic Club

**ROHKAT** (Rohani Katolik) is Student Catholic Club

**ROHKRIS** (Rohani Kristen) is Student Protestant Club

**SMAN** (Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri) is public senior high school (grade 9-12) that gives a greater emphasis on academics

# Chapter 1

# Rationale for My Study: Why Citizenship Education for a Democratic Multireligious Society?

## 1.1. Background

This study reflects my personal concern with what happened in Indonesia from 1998 to 2002. Initially, I had wished to write a dissertation about the curriculum reform of madrasahs (a Muslim community-based school that teaches Islamic and modern knowledge), not on the creation of citizens for a democratic multireligious society. My interest, however, changed as a result of the events in my country.

In 1998, the military-backed authoritarian regime of Soeharto, the second president of Indonesia, was toppled by civil unrest after thirty years in power. As an Indonesian who lives in Jakarta, I was very happy that I had a chance in my lifetime to witness this historic event, for Soeharto had been in power too long (31 years) and was so powerful. It was unthinkable that he would step down. I was also very happy and proud that in 1998, Indonesia was able to hold a peaceful, democratic, general election for the second time in Indonesian history after its independence in 1945 (the first democratic election was in 1955).

Later in 1998, however, religious and ethnic tensions started to emerge in the small town of Sambas, West Kalimantan province. It did not physically disturb me since I lived in Banten province, while this violent conflict took place in West Kalimantan a one-and-a-half-hour flight away. I thought at that time it was just a common phenomenon for any country undergoing a transition to democracy, so it did not bother me. Some political analysts speculated that the Indonesian armed forces were behind the religious conflict in order to restore their role in security as well as the politics of the nation. Armed forces had been blamed by the masses and parliament at that time for their past support of the Soeharto

authoritarian regime and they were pushed to return to their professional duties of national defense and to get out of the political arena.

Later, however, I was struck by the continuing tension between religious groups in Ambon and North Maluku. When I came to McGill in October 24, 2000, it had gotten worse and it lasted until 2002. Since then, I have been searching for the reasons why this conflict lasted for so many years; I was really saddened by these events. I was, at the same time, very fortunate that I could follow what happened in Indonesia through the internet almost every day. The more closely I looked at the conflict, the more disappointed I felt I did not know why I was so sad. It may have been because I had always dreamed that Indonesia would be peaceful, pluralistic and democratic. Another reason may have been because I had grown up in a modern liberal Islamic atmosphere, especially in the Association of Muslim Students (HMI) Ciputat and the State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta of the 1980s. Here I had been introduced to ideas advocating for religious pluralism and harmony. I believe in those ideas. I am myself Muslim: I pray,  I  fast in the month of Ramadan, I do not eat pork, I do not drink, I have a family and so on. Yet, I believe in freedom of conscience and belief, equality, and social justice for all. I believe that a different faith should not necessitate drawing the line in relation among people. Religious differences should not lead to disrespect, tension, conflict between each other and above all, it should never legitimize discrimination of others. And I believe that everybody has the right to believe or not to believe. I believe in liberty and equality of all peoples of different backgrounds. To others, my attitude might seem naïve, for Indonesia is a complicated nation with rich resources, poverty, diversity, and democracy.

When I came to McGill, my department, the Department of Culture and Values in Education (now merged to be part of Department of Integrated Studies in Education), offered courses on civic/ citizenship education, multicultural education, peace education and

democratic values education. I felt that my concern fit these subjects offered by the Department. Indeed, Indonesia had been continuously confronted with religious issues and increasingly known as a country with religious and ethnic strife. I remembered that when the country was mentioned, many immediately associated it with such a situation. It surprised me that Muslim and Christian conflict occurred in Ambon, North Maluku and Poso, areas which formerly were harmonious and peaceful. They had never been in conflict. In fact, it was common to see Christians and Muslims help each other, even in building their churches or mosques. As a result of religious violence in 1998 to 2002, 19,000 people were killed and hundreds of thousands were displaced (Klinken, 2007, p. 138) Just in North Maluku in one year, conflict caused the death of 3,000 people and displaced 250,000 more. More than 18,000 houses, 97 mosques, 106 churches and 110 schools were destroyed. Also bridges, telephone poles, fishing boats, warehouses, gardens and other crucial infrastructure in sub-district villages of the two opposing groups were also destroyed (Wilson, 2008, p. 2-3). Since then, there has been a recognition that religion in Indonesia nationwide has become a hindrance to creation of a strong national cohesion. The Bali Bombing committed by an Indonesian Muslim fundamentalist made it worse. A terrorist attack in Bali killed 180 people, many of whom were international tourists (Australian, German and Britain). These events all shocked me.

I wondered why Indonesia had religious violence of such intensity in a country that had been known to be peaceful and why the country continued to have interreligious tension and conflict. There have been many studies conducted that give accounts of the violent religious conflict from historical, sociological, and political perspectives and these generally conclude that conflict involves a variety of factors such as political competition in local election, government partiality, behavior of the political elite, economic hardship, history of discrimination, and international factors (Bertrand, 2004; Sidel, 2006; Van Klinken, 2006;

Wilson, 2007). Yet, few studies are concerned with accounts of democratic culture and democratic education, especially in the context of interreligious relation: how do Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians and other faiths interact with one another and how do they communicate in the school or how do the schools make them interact and talk and listen to each other? How do the schools produce Indonesian citizens who are religiously respectful of one another and able to live, to reason and to work together despite their differences?

Attention to religion is important in Indonesia, for, compared to other modern democratic multicultural countries, Indonesia is unique. Its uniqueness is that although it is a nation state (not a theocratic state or an Islamic one), the state positions religious faith very highly. Religious faith is one of the five pillars of the state and, currently, the Ministry of Religious Affairs has the fourth largest budget of the ministries after the Ministries of Infrastructure, Defense, and National Education (MOF, 2011). And religion and religious education are very important in public life including in public education.

As a nation state, however, the government has made a great deal of effort to unite its diverse peoples, by fostering nationalism and patriotism through a common sense of national history, national values, language, and symbols. Yet on many occasions, religion in particular remains a factor that tends to create and reinforce in group-out group boundaries, segregated communities and social division along religious lines. This, in turn, creates mutual suspicion, mutual exclusion, conflict and discrimination, factors that endanger social justice and weaken social cohesion. For instance, up to the present, to some extent, many Muslims and Christians remain each in their own communities, suspicious, insecure and threatened by one another. Christians fear that Muslims would Islamize the country and expel them, while many Muslims similarly fear that Christians would Christianize the whole land (Mujiburrahman, 2006). Chapter 2 contains a more detailed discussion of specific examples of such conflict.

This study is premised on the idea that citizenship education that takes religious diversity seriously is very important for the social cohesion of the country. Therefore, this study investigates Indonesian citizenship education and searches for a citizenship education model that develop youths' knowledge of religious diversity, recognition, trust, mutual understanding, mutual respect and ability to reason together and to work together for the common goods of a democratic multireligious and multicultural society. The focus of the study is on public schools (not religious schools or private schools), because they are supposed to give mutual respect to all students irrespective of their backgrounds and to have a greater citizenship mission. This is important because public senior high school currently enroll 60 % of all Indonesian students.

### 1.2. Research Questions

This study explores following questions:

1. What models of democratic citizenship education in multireligious societies currently prevail in the scholarly literature?
2. How do present public schools in Indonesia seek to create citizens for a democratic multireligious society?
3. In comparing the actual practices of Indonesian schools with the theoretical models outlined in the dissertation, how well does the citizenship creation serve the goals of creating a democratic multireligious Indonesia?
4. Which model of citizenship creation best serves public schools such as my two case studies in Jakarta?

5. Are there specific examples of how models of democratic citizenship education have been operationalized which may serve as useful reference points for improving or expanding democratic citizenship education in multireligious Indonesia?

In the dissertation, I approach the questions by first describing the social context of religious diversity and conflict within Indonesian society. I also describe the existing system of schooling in Indonesia, in order to better understand and to discuss the various ways in which Indonesian public schools currently address, or fail to address problems of interreligious relations. Then, this study investigates and critically discusses contemporary theories of citizenship and citizenship education developed particularly for secular liberal multicultural democratic countries of English-speaking societies (US, UK and Canada) in search of a model suitable for the specific context of Indonesia I discuss three liberal theories (autonomy liberalism, diversity liberalism, and political liberalism) particularly the main tenets, the educational implication, and the possibilities and problems if implemented in Indonesia. I also discuss and argue for the model which the country needs to implement in order to consolidate democracy of the country while remaining respectful of religious and cultural diversity.

To flesh out the theoretical discussion with what is actually being implemented in Indonesian schools as far as interfaith relations are concerned, this study investigated and analyzed how two public senior high schools (Sekolah Menengah Atas [SMAN] 121 and SMAN 122, Jakarta) contribute to creating citizens, and how they made a balance between respecting religion from diverse background and creating national unity or social cohesion and ponder what model of citizenship education adopted. To understand what was going in the school, I examined the formal curriculum of two subjects: Citizenship Education and Religious Education. I also interviewed school principals, teachers, and students to get at their underlying ideas and beliefs, and observed classrooms, extracurricular activities and the

life of the schools. With regard to religious education subjects, I only examine the subject of Islamic education because I have an academic background in this area and it was a subject taken by 88 percent of the student population (although I did also interview of students and teachers of Protestant and Catholic faiths). This study sought to look carefully at weaknesses and strengths of the citizenship education model implemented in light of theoretical models already discussed. At the end of the discussion, this study offers some proposals useful for its future improvement.

### 1.3. Previous Studies

There are a number of studies that are concerned with Indonesian citizenship education, such as those by White (1997), Sudjana (1988), Listia, Arham & Gogali (2007), Mapiasse (2007), Nurmaliah, and Raihani (2011). However, their studies did not focus on exploring a suitable citizenship education model for a democratic multireligious society in public schools. White's (1997) study, for example, focused on the subject of social studies. By conducting an observation of classrooms, carrying out an analysis of curriculum content, and engaging in conversations with teachers, administrators and students, White purported to understand whether or not social studies classes were intended to promote critical thinking and problem solving. She found that the teaching of social studies neither developed critical thinking nor problem solving although the purpose of its official curriculum was to promote democratic citizenship (p. 88). A study by Mapiasse (2007), using the survey method, focused on the influence of the democratic classroom on student civic learning. Mapiasse (2007) found that that the democratic climate of Civic Education classrooms had a significant effect on student engagement, student civic knowledge and interpretation skills, and student concepts of citizenship (p.393).

Studies by Listia, Arham & Gogali (2007) and Nurmaliah (2009) have similar concerns as mine, in that these researchers were interested in how schools educate their students for multireligious societies. Yet, their focus was on religious education in private schools. While Listia, Arham & Gogali (2007) studied religious education in several faith-based schools (Islam, Protestant, and Catholic) in Yogyakarta, Nurmaliah conducted a case study of one Indonesian Progressive School, Madania, in Bogor, West Java. Listia, Arham & Gogali (2007) found that religious education in the schools under investigation neither promoted religious tolerance nor dialogue. On the contrary, Nurmaliah asserted that the Madania School was a good example on how a school educated its students in a multireligious society. Nurmaliah showed that Madania had accommodated prayer for Muslim, Christian Protestant, Christian Catholics, Hindus and Buddhist. The school also had a program of exchange of greeting cards on religious celebration days and practiced common prayer and community service together.

Sudjana (1988) had a similar focus to my study in relation to religious education and citizenship education, but his focus, employing a survey method, was on the instructional problems of teachers, not on an exploration of citizenship education models for a democratic multireligious society. Sudjana found that the greatest difficulties perceived by teachers were the following: (1) developing the subject, (2) getting opportunities and acquiring technical skills to write a book, (3) formulating learning experience, and (4) selecting and using instructional facilities and support services (p. v and 161).

Raihani (2011) made an important general observation. He was of the opinion that education for tolerance in Indonesia was found primarily in the textbook and it employed indoctrination. Raihani argue that education for tolerance in Indonesia should move from a partial approach to a whole school approach and should involve all components and stakeholders, not just textbooks (p. 29). Yet, his study is general, and he does not point out

which schools (public or religious school) teach tolerance through textbooks only. This kind of observation could miss some social realities of the school. In the context of public schools, for example, although formal teaching on tolerance relies heavily on textbook and indoctrination, students of diverse faiths in public school might still learn tolerance and friendship from daily interaction.

My study is different from the above studies in that it focused on public schools, employed case studies as a method, included both citizenship education and religious education, and specifically concentrated on the context of a democratic multireligious Indonesia. What is most important is that this study discusses and develops theoretical models that can be utilized to problematize ideas, to clarify the position of Indonesian citizenship education, to identify the problems and to make clear what can be done for improvement. For example, using the theories, we can problematize Raihani's (2011) concept of tolerance: what exactly did he mean when he proposed that Indonesia needed a school approach for tolerance? This kind of question is important because if what is meant by tolerance is the one understood by diversity liberalism (that is, the principle of non-interference), then the whole school approach will not work well. It might have the opposite effect, creating further division.

### 1.4. Key terms

The title of this study is "In Search of Citizenship Education Model(s) for a Democratic Multireligious Indonesia." I use the word "citizenship education", not "civic education", because the term "civic education" does not directly and explicitly point to the citizen, although "civic education" has equally shared ultimate goals with "citizenship education". These are to create societies that are peaceful, civilized and prosperous, ultimate goals embedded in the word "civic". Yet "citizenship" relates to the "citizen" status, a formal

position relative to a particular nation. For that reason, citizenship, at least traditionally, entails development of national identity and, to some extent, it arouses attachment to a national history, language, and culture that distinguishes it from citizenship of another country. I do not use the word "civics" either, for the term "civics" traditionally means a subject of study concerning constitutions and systems of government. Instead, I use the term "Citizenship Education subject" to refer to a specific school subject of citizenship studied in the school as a separate subject. And when I use the term "Citizenship education" (without "subject"), the term has a broader meaning than "Citizenship Education subject". Citizenship education includes all school subjects, programs, activities, and school environment that have an influence on shaping students to become citizens. In the Indonesian context, the religious subject is also as a subject that has a citizenship education mission in that the national curriculum sets guidelines that religious class is supposed to foster religious tolerance, freedom, and harmony. In fact, religious class is seen to have a central role in creating good citizenship. Therefore, in examining the national curriculum and textbooks, this research pays particular attention to the Citizenship Education subject and the Religious Education subject.

The term "Religious Education subject" is used to denote religion as a school subject in order to distinguish it from religious education which has a broader sense for it includes the Religious Education subject, extracurricular activities and school activities that has an influence on nurturing religious faith.

In the title, I use "multireligious", not multireligion, for, as I see it, Indonesians are not just adherents of religions. They are also religious in the sense that they are practicing believers. It is because of this religious nature that worship places such as mosques are growing. However, their beliefs are diverse. The words "faith" and "religion" are used here interchangeably with a similar meaning. What is also important is to make it clear that I use the word "public school" instead of state school or government school to denote a school

which is not only mainly funded by the government or state, but also a school that is guided by national values and open to larger society regardless of their backgrounds. In the Indonesian context, there are government-funded schools specifically arranged for Muslims, namely, madrasah negeri (state Islamic school). The madrasah negeri is certainly a state school or government school, but it clearly cannot be called a public school. The madrasah is a faith-based school.

### 1.5. Overview of the Chapters

This dissertation constitutes six chapters. Chapter 1 has explained how I came to study citizenship education for a democratic multireligious Indonesia. It also helps to outline the following: What are the questions and the purposes of this study? How do I answer the research questions? Why is this study important? In the final part of the chapter, key terms are also discussed.

Then, Chapter 2 shows the religious diversity of the country and how national leaders have made compromises concerning the nation state and its state ideology (Pancasila), and how the state has accommodated the demands of Muslims on religious education. I show that the state, actually, has always been concerned about national unity, nation building and citizenship education, as can be seen from its policy and national curriculum. However, religious conflict taking place in several areas makes it necessary to examine the adequacy and inadequacy of the current implementation of citizenship education in schools, and to learn from the contemporary debate of citizenship education in searching for a suitable model of citizenship education for a democratic multireligious Indonesia.

Chapter 3 explores how contemporary liberal theories of citizenship and citizenship education shape citizens for a democratic multireligious and multicultural society. This section elaborately and critically discusses three main liberal theories useful for

understanding the Indonesian context: 1) autonomy liberalism, 2) diversity liberalism, and 3) political liberalism. After examining each theory's main principles, educational implications, possibilities and problems, I argue that each has something to offer but political liberalism is the most suitable for Indonesia in that it maintains a balance between civic unity and diversity. In fostering civic unity, political liberalism put an emphasis on the central importance of public reasonableness and this, in Indonesian context, requires not only diverse school settings, practice of deliberative democracy, development of a civic knowledge, but also knowledge of religious diversity purported to counter misunderstanding, prejudice and fear of differences.

After discussing contemporary liberal theories, this study explored current schools practices of citizenship education through the lenses of case studies of two public senior high schools in Jakarta. In Chapter 4, I explain my research methodology. The chapter seeks to explain and defend the qualitative methodological framework of my case studies. I explain my research paradigm, my methods, and how I gained access or entry to the subjects of the research, collected data, and also how I did data analysis.

Chapter 5 is a description and an analysis of two public senior high schools that set out to create good citizens for a multireligious society. The chapter begins with a discussion on how the schools create a good religious believer and a good citizen, in that the schools develop religious faith and citizenship all together and one reinforces the other. On the one hand, the public schools made efforts to create a good religious believer. Here the schools supported confessional religious education in which there was neither exposure to diversity nor a comparative approach or critical reflection. On the other, the schools also supported the creation of good citizens (public reasonableness) for multireligious societies by practicing respect for religious differences through accommodating the needs of religious activities from

diverse backgrounds, by teaching students tolerance via the Citizenship Education subject and Religious Education subject, and by supporting student social interaction in the schools.

I argue that the approach adopted for citizenship creation is important. Social interaction in particular is very important, and students learn much from the interaction. However, I found that the chosen approach leaves interreligious issues (discrimination, misunderstanding, tension, and conflict) arising out of social interaction unresolved, for it does not practice deliberative democracy and there is no interreligious conversation or discussion. Therefore, I argue that it is a must for schools to engage school members of differing faith backgrounds to talk one another on matters of concern and interest, in deliberating over differences and settling them. If schools do not develop deliberative democratic practice and conversations on religious diversity, even the fact of having diverse public schools will not contribute much to consolidating multicultural democracy and civic unity.

Finally, Chapter 6 contains a summary, findings, conclusions, recommendations, and directions for future research. Among other things, the chapter includes discussion of Quebec's Ethics and Religious Culture (ERC) curricular model adopted by the Quebec Government in 2007 as a way of promoting interreligious dialogue, understanding and cooperation among diverse citizens. My purpose in discussing this Canadian model is that it provides a practical example or model of the kind of interreligious citizenship education that, I suggest, could provide important guidance for Indonesian democratic citizenship education.

# Chapter 2

# Religious Diversity, Conflict and Citizenship Education

## 2.1. Introduction

In the new democratic era of Indonesia from 1998 to 2000, there were bloody violent religious conflict in several areas, such as Ambon, North Maluku, and Poso, in which thousands of people were killed. This has raised many questions: Why did they resolve conflict through violence? Why not talk? Why not vote? Why not in a peaceful manner? The conflict was surprising, because the state had made efforts to unite Indonesians of diverse backgrounds and national education had always purported to guide students to becoming good citizens in a multireligious society. Although the state supported Islamic education institutions as part of national education, the government, especially since the New Order government in 1967, had modernized them and made them teach values of religious tolerance. Yet, why was there still religious conflict? What had gone wrong with citizenship education?

The first part of this chapter discusses religious diversity and religious commitment of Indonesians and shows how Indonesian leaders of different backgrounds had made great efforts to reach consensus on the idea of the nation state and Pancasila state ideology. The discussion is then followed up by demonstrating how the state accommodated the demands of both secular aspirations and Muslim aspirations in national education and how this has implicated recognition of educational pluralism and made citizenship education rely on civic knowledge transmission. The third part of the chapter examines violent religious conflict in the democratization era and this raises question as to what went wrong with the citizenship education adopted. The last part of the chapter mainly argues the need to investigate contemporary theories of citizenship education and current implementation of citizenship

education in public schools and gives reason why public schools are the most appropriate environment for this type of investigation

## 2.2. Religious Diversity

According to Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS)-Indonesian Statistics (2010), Indonesia is a country of 237. 6 million peoples (it is the fourth most populous country in the world after China, India, and US) and one of the most multicultural and multireligious societies in the World. In terms of the economy, the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) (2011) regards the country as medium development country.[1] The UNDP positions Indonesia as 108 (Norway 1, USA 4, Canada 8, Malaysia 57, China 89, India 119, Zimbabwe, 169) with income per-capita US$ 3,900 (Norway, 58,800; USA, 47,000; Canada, 38,600; Malaysia, 14,000; China, 7,250, India, 3,300; Afghanistan, 1,400; Zimbabwe, 176). Yet, there has been so much of a gap between the rich and the poor. According to UNDP (2010), around 45.9 percent of the population are intensely deprived (Norway 0; USA 0; Canada 0; Malaysia 0; China 44.9; India 53.5; Zimbabwe, 45.2).[2]

The country is also an ethnically diverse country.[3] According to Suryadinata, Arifin and Ananta (2003), it has more than 1000 ethnic/ sub-ethnic groups and there are 15 languages that are each spoken by more than 1.5 million people: Javanese, Sundanese, Malay, Madurese, Batak, Minangkabau, Betawi, Bugisnese, Bantenese, Banjarese, Balinese, Sasak, Makasarese, Cirebon and Chinese.[4]

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[1] UNDP group countries in to four categories: developed, high income, medium income, and low income.
[2] UNDP measured intensity of deprivation by standard of living (based on income - those who live on US $ 1.25 or less considered below poverty line), education (expected years of schooling and percentage of those enrolled), and health (mortality rate and nutrition).
[3] I use "ethnicity" here as translation from "suku" in Indonesian language which refers to distinct group of people by mainly language. I exclude religion or faith in the word "ethnicity", for someone may belong to similar ethnic group such as Javanese yet hold different religion, albeit there are ethnic groups that could be associated to religion altogether, such as Melayu or Madurese to Islam.
[4] Studies of Suryadinata, Evi Nurvidiya Arifin and Aris Ananta contain useful information of ethnic groups, their growth, and geographical concentration. See their work (2003) *Indonesia's population: Ethnicity and religion in changing political landscape*. Singapore: ISEA.

In addition, there are many religions in the country including local religions and minorities. However, the government only recognizes six major official religions: Islam, Christian Protestantism, Christian Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism.[5]

Table 2.1: *Indonesian Population 2005 by Religious Affiliation and its Geographical Concentration*

| Religious Group | Main Concentration | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Muslim | Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and West Nusa Tenggara | 192,932,919 | 88.8 % |
| Christian Protestant | North Sulawesi, North Sumatra, Maluku, North Maluku | 12,395,753 | 5.7 % |
| Christian Catholic | East Nusa Tenggara, Papua | 6,563,199 | 3.0 % |
| Hindus | Bali, Central Kalimantan | 3,698,282 | 1.7 % |
| Buddhist | Cities throughout Indonesia | 1,306,248 | 0.6 % |
| Confucius | Cities throughout Indonesia | 205,808 | 0.1 % |
| Others (Kaharingan, Karo Batak, Madrais, Sikhs). | Scattered | 243,931 | 0.1% |
| **Total** | | **217,346,140** | **100 %** |

Source: MORA (2009). *Penduduk menurut agama* (population by religion)

The adherents of religion in Indonesia are generally practicing believers. According to MORA (2008), there are numerous places of worship in Indonesia: 109,094 Muslim mosques; 25, 877 Christian Protestant churches; 6,355 Christian Catholic churches; 24,441 Hindus temples (pura); 2, 943 Buddhist temples (vihara).[6] Each religion has different orientations from conservative to liberal and each has organizations. Many of them are local, yet there are religious-based organizations that are national. Particularly, Muslims, Christian Protestants, and Christian Catholics have numerous educational institutions at all levels from

[5] In 1965, Soekarno, President of Republic of Indonesia, issued a presidential decision that there were six recognized religions: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The following president, Soeharto, continued to give recognition of six official religions until 1979 when his government decided to derecognize Confucianism (Suryadinata, Arifin and Ananta, 2003, p. 103-104). But, the state began to recognize Confucianism again as an official religion in 2000 and, since then, its holiday celebration has becomes a national holiday (Muzhar, 2010).

[6] It is surprising that there are so many places of worship. With respect to Confucianism, until July 12, 2011, MORA did not have data of their temples (called Klenteng). They were collecting it (MORA, 2009).

primary level to higher education, with different forms and orientation for preparing priests and theologians to educating adults with religious commitment.[7] Not only that, since 1998 (the Reform era) there have been political parties based on religion for Muslims, Christians, and Catholics, such as United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan [PPP]) for Muslims and Party of Democratic and Loving Nation (Partai Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa) for Christians.[8]

The majority of Indonesians are religious. Mujani (2006) in his studies found that Indonesian Muslims (97. 2 %) believe in God. It is only 2 % that says that they sometime doubt God and only 1 % who doubt God (p. 92). They are also practicing believers: 88 % always practice obligatory pray five times a day; 94 % always do obligatory fasting in Ramadan (p. 93). They also practice recommended religious activities: 59 % very frequently recite the Quran; 83 % very frequently practice prayer before working; 59 % very frequently pray in a congregation; 37 % visit religious figures, 26 % visit saint tombs. They (74 %) also give to charity. Many of them (61 %) attend religious forum (pengajian) very often; 47 % are also actively involves in local community Muslim-based organization, while 21 % of them are involved in national Muslim-based organizations.[9]

Religious enthusiasm is also obvious in Christian Protestant, Christian Catholic, Hindus, Buddhists, and Confucian communities. Christian Protestant and Christian Catholic churches on Saturday and Sunday in particular are always crowded. Catholic communities in Yogyakarta, for example, pray together; hold religious celebrations together and also

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[7] There is no national statistical data of Islamic, Christian and Catholic schools, for MONE does not collect data of schools by religion affiliation. Meanwhile, MORA has data on religious schools, but it has only data of Muslim education institution under its administration. There were 39,469 madrasahs (a school that studies both modern subject such as math and science and Islamic subjects such as study of the Quran); 21,521 pesantrens (Muslim education institution that focus on Islamic subject and prepares Islamic ulema); and 37,102 pendidikan diniyah (education for elementary knowledge and practices of Islam) (MORA, 2008, p.33 and 2009, p. 39).

[8] Indonesians, however, voted for nationalist party. PPP (Islamic party) only got 6 % in 2009 election, and PDKB (Christian party) could not meet electoral threshold (2 %) and to join other party that passed the threshold. The rest voted nationalist parties.

[9] Mujani and his team in 2002 conducted survey nationwide through sample of 2,488 in 311 villages in 33 provinces of Indonesia.

organize visits to sacred places together.[10] In fact, the Christian religion is the fastest growing religion in the country. It has been growing annually at a pace of 2. 48 %, while Islam is growing at 1.86 %.[11]

What enriches the nation state is that different ethnic and religious groups are largely concentrated in different areas, even districts. Therefore, their cities and towns are constituted of ethnically and religiously diverse societies.

### 2.3. Muslim and Secular Compromise on the Nation State

The challenge is how to bind people of different faiths together. Religious life and its diversity has been a reality facing the nation since 1945. National leaders touched on it when they deliberated over the future of the state In the last five months of its occupation, the Japanese administration allowed Indonesian leaders to set up the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Independence (BPPK) in March 1945 and the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee (PPKI), in August 7, 1945, which involved national leaders of a variety of groups and spectrums (secularists, Muslims, Christians, traditionalists) to deliberate the future state. In the committee, Muslim leaders proposed that Islam become the fundamental element of the state, and not just a personal private matter. They aspired to establish an Islamic state so that the state would recognize religious values, because for them, religious values are important in private as well as in public life. However, other national leaders with secular and non-Islamic orientations totally opposed this Muslim aspiration. This became the most heated debate of all.

What is interesting here is that the confrontation of political ideologies was not divided along religious lines (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, or Buddhism) nor ethnicities (Javanese,

[10] For how Christian Catholics address religious community rituals and activities in Jogjakarta, see Monika Arnez (2010), "Indonesia" in Richard D. Hecht and Vincent F. Biondo (Eds.) *Religion, everyday life and culture.* Santa Barbara: Praeger, p. 181-204.

[11] Suryadinata, Arifin, and Ananta (2003) showed that number of adherents of Hinduism, Buddhism, and other religious minorities decreased (p. 104-106 and 129)

Sundanese, Melayu, Madura, Ambon, or Batak) nor liberalism and socialism. It was rather between those who held neutral views of religion and those of Islamic orientation. Regarding the state, the secular group (including Christians, Catholics, Hindus, Buddhist) envisioned that the future state of Indonesia would be one where its citizens shared common identities and values: language, history and civic values fundamental to national unity. They perceived any public attachment to a particular religion as divisive and, thus, they opposed it. To the secular groups, the state had to be neutral and non-involved in religious matters, for otherwise, minority groups would be discriminated against. Groups with an Islamic orientation insisted that the future state of Indonesia should be an Islamic state whose members have a commitment to religious values as well as to the nation. To this camp, the state, therefore, had to be responsible not only for their public interest but also their religious flourishing. To them, in Islam there is no separation between religion and state. Both are supposed to reinforce each other positively. In addition, to this Muslim group, Islam is the religion of the majority; therefore, the state has to give a greater place to Islam (Noer, 1987; Maa'rif, 1987). In the end, a consensus was reached that the "Muslims are obligated to practice their shari`ah (Islamic law)". The consensus of national leaders, involving seculars, Muslims and non Muslims was later known as Piagam Jakarta (Jakarta Charter). According to the Jakarta Charter, the state has a special responsibility to make sure that Indonesian Muslims practice their Islamic beliefs and this means that the state should engage in Islamic and Muslim affairs, and there should be no separation of Islamic religion and the state.

But, later, in August 18, 1945, Mohammad Hatta, a nationalist leader who is close to Muslim leaders, noted that Christians of the eastern part of the country objected to this special treatment of Muslims, and suggested that the specific Muslim proposal within the Jakarta Charter be deleted. Otherwise, Hatta reminded, the nation would disintegrate. Despite the fact that Muslim leaders were dissatisfied with Hatta's proposal, all reached, at

least, a temporary agreement to delete the obligation of Muslims to carry out shari`ah. They agreed to form neither a secular nor a theocratic state, but a state that recognizes religions. Such a state is based on what is later called the Pancasila, a Sanskrit word that means five pillars: belief in one and only God, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy through popular consultation and representation, and justice for all Indonesians. In this formula, even though there is no obligation for Muslims to implement shari`ah, "Belief in one and only God" constitutes the first five pillars of the state. Although there remained dissatisfaction on both sides (Muslims were disappointed for Jakarta Charter dropped the shari'ah clause and secular groups also objected to the inclusion of religion), both groups at least settled their long ideological disagreement. And they understood that the final national decision would be determined later by those groups who could win a national election.

This time was a critical period of nation building of a diverse and imagined Indonesia. Since this time, Indonesian leaders have come to a consensus that Indonesia is a nation state (not Islamic state) and that the Pancasila is the state ideology. The Pancasila state is neither a secular nor theocratic state. It is not secular because its first principle is "Belief in one and only God". It is not theocratic either because it does not refer to any particular religious authority. This formula means that the state recognizes religions from different backgrounds. This, in part, apparently was to please Muslim groups who wished for Indonesia to be an Islamic state. Yet, it is also to affirm that the state is not an Islamic state, neither based on shari'ah nor on religious authority. This formula was to please non-Muslims, particularly, the Christians who had vehemently rejected the idea of an Islamic state.

As a consequence of the Pancasila state that recognizes religious beliefs, the state engages in religious affairs from different backgrounds. Since early of independence in 1946, the state has established a Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). This was one of the concessions of the seculars to Muslims. Since then, MORA has worked especially on affairs

of Islamic religion and Muslims: religious education in public schools, Muslim schools, pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj), Muslim courts, and mosques (Aboebakar, 1957).[12] Christians historically rejected the establishment of MORA, for they suspected that MORA was only a stepping stone to promote the Islamic state agenda and the Christians insisted on the separation of state and religion. Therefore, Christians did not get fully involved in MORA. So, initially, MORA served primarily Muslim affairs, for it was Muslims who wished to have it. However, since 1971, the New Order mandated MORA also to serve Christian Protestants, Christian Catholics, Hindus, and Buddhists.[13]

### 2.4. Accommodation of Secular and Muslim Aspiration in National Education

The aspirations of Muslims to have Islam guiding their values in national life and even to have an Islamic state are still alive. Their leaders have continued to fight for this aspiration and express it at every opportunity. As a response to it, the seculars have responded to them by continuously opposing the Islamic state and by building the nation state and expanding national education (public universities and public schools) to deepen nationalism, patriotism, Indonesian citizenship, and national values. In the end, what has happened is not mutual exclusion, but mutual adjustment between Muslim aspirations and secular aspirations. The following sections will provide a brief description of the process in which these adjustments and compromises occurred.

The first compromise was when Muslim leaders in the Education Commission supported the whole concept of democratic and patriotic national education in the Educational Act 1950

[12] Muslim courts in 1992 were removed from MORA jurisdiction and integrated to the Supreme Court (Mahkamah Agung).

[13] In the course of its historical development, MORA has played a role in making a balanced accommodation between demands of Muslims and the nation state. MORA, presently, has 188,365 personnel nationwide including teachers and lecturers. They are distributed among seven directorate generals: Directorate of Islamic Education, Directorate of Haj (pilgrimage), Directorate of Islamic Affairs, Directorate General of Christian Affairs, Directorate General of Catholic Affairs, Directorate of Hindu Affairs, Directorate General of Buddhist Affairs. Although the state has recognized Confucianism as one of the six major recognized religions, there is no directorate nor division in the MORA that coordinates affairs of the Confucians. See http://www.kemenag.go.id

and the seculars accommodated Muslim aspirations to have Religious Education in public school. Although both disagreed on whether Religious Education was compulsory or optional, they, at least, agreed to develop national education and to incorporate Religious Education in national education (Hing, 1995; MONE, 1954; Mudzhar, 1981).

Yet ideas of having an Islamic state are always alive. Kartosuwirjo in West Java in 1948 declared the establishment of Indonesian Islamic State (Darul Islam Indonesia [DII]). Although this was only a separatist movement and the number of its supporter was tiny, this showed that idea of Islamic state was alive (Ricklefs, 2001; Van Bruinessen, 2002). The confrontation between the supporters of the nation state and Islamic state happened again when the first free democratic election was held in 1955. The results placed Islamic political parties, Masjumi (Majelis Syuro Muslim Indonesia or Indonesian Muslim Consultation Assembly) and NU (Nahdlatul Ulama or the Islamic Leaders Movement) as the second and the third largest parties and National Indonesian Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia [PNI]) led by President Soekarno and Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia [PKI]) as the first and the fourth. This had reopened the debate on Islamic state and Pancasila state. This continued from 1957 to 1959 until President Soekarno in 1959 issued a decree to return to the nation state based on the Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945 because Soekarno believed that Muslims and seculars would not reach any consensus on the issue. The decree upset the Muslims (Maarif, 1985; Noer, 1987).

As a nationalist, Soekarno's main concern was nation state building and shaping nationalism, patriotism and national values such as equality, social justice, unity in diversity, and cooperation (Feith, 1970). Indeed, his government expanded the establishment of numerous public schools and public universities accessible to Indonesians of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds in order to shape those values. The Ministry of National

Education (MONE) developed contents of school subjects, such as Civics and History, to teach nationalism, patriotism, national unity, as national guiding values.[14]

Yet Soekarno was also a politician. Being aware of some opposition from Muslims, especially from Masjumi (the second largest parties in the 1955 election), Soekarno, with NU support in the government, especially through MORA, tried to accommodate Muslim aspirations. During this time, the Soekarno government made religious education part of the national curriculum from elementary level to higher education and MORA built numerous state Islamic schools and many state Islamic higher education institutions especially to prepare Islamic subject teachers (MORA, 1987; MPR, 2011; Yunus, 1995). So Soekarno made simultaneous efforts to meet demands of secular groups for nation state building and that of Muslim aspirations to develop religious values.

By 1965, Indonesia had been economically worsening and this created frustrations among university students and Indonesian peoples generally and resulted in discontent and opposition to the government. The army also opposed the government, particularly, when its six military generals were killed. The army accused the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) of killing them and wanted revenge. With the support of Muslims, the army killed those whom they considered to be communists. With this massacre of the communists, life became harder for people in general and political life was unstable. President Soekarno was accused of being behind the tragedy, and was no longer able to control the situation. In this context, Soekarno assigned strategic military commander, Soeharto, to restore security and stability. In 1967, the Indonesian Consultative Assembly (MPRS) held an assembly and appointed Soeharto to be President of the Republic of Indonesia. His government was called the New Order government.

[14] In 1960, state owned publisher, P.N. Balai Pustaka, for example, disseminated a school textbook of Civics entitled *Manusia dan masjarakat baru Indonesia* (A New Indonesian man and society) authored by Soepardo et al.

Soeharto was an army general who became the President because he was backed by military forces and Muslims who were often in conflict with the communists. As an army man, he was a nationalist. He had to secure the Pancasila state ideology and nation state, for the army was the defender of the nation. As an anti-communist and supported by Muslims, his regime had to give a place to religion. What the Soeharto government did in 1967 was to make religion a fundamental element of national identity: it made religious education a compulsory subject in national education from elementary to tertiary level. This had long been one of the Muslim aspirations, for Muslims had proposed this in 1949, but it had been rejected.

The support of the New Order to Muslims, however, was limited to non-political life. With regard to the idea of the Islamic state, the New Order opposed it vehemently. In the early years of the New Order in 1967, Muslim leaders expressed their aspirations for an Islamic state in the People's Consultative Assembly and this made the New Order aware of the Muslim threat to the nation state. Since this time, the military regime has combated any idea of the Islamic state. The Soeharto government in 1985 even forced all parties and social and civil society organizations to adopt the Pancasila state ideology as the sole basis of their organization and made P4 (Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila [P4] or Guideline of Appreciation and Implementation of Pancasila) learned in schools, universities, and societies in addition to Citizenship Education subject. The New Order government also, through MONE, established massive public schools and public universities with one of the main goals being to build the nation state of the Republic of Indonesia and to deepen national values and identities (Tilaar, 1995).

Yet, the New Order made Islamic Religious Education a compulsory subject. During this time, the government had an idea of study about religions to promote understanding other faiths and religious harmony, but Muslim organizations leaders opposed it for they suspected

that the government would teach religious relativism or erase religion completely. At this time, Muslim leaders were suspicious to the intention of the government for they perceived that the government of the time was hostile to Islam and Muslims (Noer, 1983). The government dropped the ideas. Instead, the government made Islamic Religious Education teach religious tolerance and religious harmony compatible with national values (MORA, 1994). The New Order government established state madrasahs and Islamic universities, but the government controlled their curriculum and modernized them to make sure that Islamic education institution matched the demand of the nation state and national development.[15]

So, again, like the previous government, the New Order (1967-1998) had expanded public schools, public universities, and made national values internalized by all Indonesians, but the government also accommodated aspirations of Muslims to have the Religious Education subject in public schools and to have faith schools, especially madrasahs, recognized by the state (Harun, 1990; Kelabora, 1979). Since the 1970s, the government has increasingly supported the establishment of state madrasahs even though the government has allocated more resources to public schools.

Political changes occurred in 1998. In difficult times, the grip of even very powerful men/ women may be lessened. This was what happened to the Soeharto regime. Since there were no checks and balances in his time, the late Soeharto's powerful position was utilized to benefit his son, daughter, cronies, armed forces, bureaucracy, and ruling party (Golkar). The government became corrupt and nepotism was widespread. Meanwhile, a growing number of

[15] In making madrasah, Islamic universities (UIN/ IAIN/ STAIN) modernized and teach tolerance, see Muhammad Zuhdi (2006), Modernization of Indonesian Islamic schools' curricula, 1945–2003, *International Journal of Inclusive Education,* 10 (4–5), pp. 415–427; Robert W. Hefner (2009). *Making modern Muslims: The politics of Islamic education in Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press; Fuad Jabali and Jamhari (2002). *Modernization of Islamic higher education*. Jakarta: PPIM; Abdullah Saeed (1999), Toward religious tolerance through reform in Islamic education: The case of the State Institute of Islamic Studies of Indonesia, *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 27 (79); Elizabeth Jackson & Bahrissalim (2007). Crafting a new democracy: Civic education in Indonesian Islamic universities. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 27 (1), 41-54. The Directorate General for Christian, Catholic, Hindus, and Buddhist Affairs of MORA does not play a role in the schools because their schools are supervised by Ministry of National Education. Beside, a majority of non Muslim schools generally excel academically so they do not need government supervision.

educated middle class based in campus, mass media, and NGOs voiced their critique of government corruption and nepotism. The regime was accused of using and abusing the Pancasila to legitimatize his regime and personal interest. The world financial crisis in 1997 shattered the economies of many Asian countries. Indonesia was one of the worse hit. The rupiah (Rp: the Indonesian currency) sharp declined in value - from Rp. 6,000 per one US dollar to Rp. 15,000. This, in turn, led to skyrocketing prices for all basic needs, due to the country's heavy dependence on imports, and this created increasing frustration among the people. Since this crisis created widespread dissatisfaction and resistance throughout the country, Soeharto was forced to step down at the demand of university students and intellectual elites. This was the beginning of what became known as the Reform era.

Unlike political changes in 1945 and 1966, Muslim leaders, represented by Abdurrahman Wahid and Amin Rais, each former leaders of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah (the first and the second largest Muslim organization in the country), played a very important role in political reform era. They, separately, established nationalist parties (not Islamic parties) open to all Indonesians. Later, in 2000, as a result of House of Representatives election, Abdurrahman Wahid became President of the Republic of Indonesia and Amin Rais became House Speaker of Parliament. And this increasing presence of Muslim politics on the national scene was to have an impact on the future development of Indonesia including the educational development of the country. This democratic era in particular made Muslims very important. Since they were the majority they had a strong voice and the parties (both Islamic as well as nationalist) tried to show that they supported Muslim aspirations.

In this era, the Pancasila and Constitution 1945 remained in its central place, yet they were interpreted democratically. The Reform era is characterized, among others, by its insistence on the respect of human rights, democracy, rule of law, good governance, and decentralization (Prasetyo, 2009). What is historic is, during this time, the national leaders

elected through free democratic election declared that the Pancasila to be the national ideology of the state and the Constitution of 1945 as the constitution of Indonesia. This was very important, for it was the first time that all national leaders of all ideological spectrums agreed democratically yet forcefully to commit to the national ideology and to the Constitution of 1945, interpreted through the framework of democracy, human rights, and globalization.

As a result of the political development of the nation, there have been numerous political parties, mass media, and civil society organizations and these have made political life dynamic. In respect to election, for example, in Indonesia 48 political parties participated in the national election in 1999, 24 political parties in 2004 and 35 political parties in 2009. In every five year, there have been 33 elections of provincial level and 497 elections of district and mayoral levels. All these democratic dynamic and achievements have made Indonesia regarded as the third largest democratic country after India and United States.

Some adjustments were also made in the education field. Two major aspects distinguish the education of the Reform era from that of previous periods. First, national education gives greater accommodation to religious aspirations, while at the same time, it also gives emphasis to democracy. This is particularly reflected in the Education Act passed by parliament in 2003 and its derivative laws and regulations. The creation of men or women of faith, piety (iman takwa), and noble character (akhlak mulia), for example, became national objectives of education. Iman takwa and akhlak mulia had never been mentioned before. Religious accommodation by the Educational Act 2003 is also manifested in the acknowledgment accorded to types of educational institutions, the pesantren and pendidikan diniyah, devoted exclusively to cultivating faith and religious education as part of a national system of education. This had not happened before. So, Muslim educational institutions such as pesantren (Islamic boarding school for producing ulema) and pendidikan diniyah (Muslim

education for elementary knowledge and practice of Islamic faith) could, officially, get funding from the government. Similarly, other religious educational institutions, such as theology schools promoting Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism became eligible as well (MORA, 2011).

However, at the same time, the Educational Act 2003 emphasized democracy. The creation of democratic citizenship is stated explicitly as one of the national educational objectives. The word "democratic" (or democracy) was asserted in Education Act 1950, but deleted in subsequent Education Acts. Inclusion of the word "democratic" in the Education Act signifies the spirit of the Reform era in giving educational institutions the responsibility of shaping democratic citizenship. Unlike during the New Order when emphasis was placed on personal characteristics, the present official curriculum engages students in discussions of democratic politics, law, and government (Budiyanto, 2007). Still, although there is no curriculum content for interreligious understanding and dialogue, since the Reform era in 1998, the Islamic Religious Education subject endorses democracy (MORA, 2007) and there are several other subjects that teach citizenship, such as History, Sociology, Anthropology, and Geography (MONE, 2005).

So, although it has always been a nation state in its values and institution, the state of Indonesia has always accommodated Muslim aspirations on educational and social life. The state, through MORA, has very much engaged in religious affairs, such as Islamic Religious Education in public schools, madrasah, pesantren and pendidikan diniyah. And this state support was seen to be legitimate, as Indonesia is not a secular state but a Pancasila-based state that recognizes religions. Yet, MORA, since it is part of the state, also has engaged in promoting religious values supportive of national values.

### 2.4.1. Supporting Educational Choices

The government accommodation of Islamic education or religious education gives the message that Islamic schools and religious schools are also good for the nation state and good for citizenship education. Religion is suggested to be compatible to national values. It also means that citizenship does not require diverse school settings, such as public school whose students come from different backgrounds. This government policy of schooling allows the growth of homogenous schools, such as faith schools, because requirements for school establishments are minimal or limited to availability of school subject curriculum, teachers, and learning facilities. The support for homogenous schools has started since the government, through MORA, initiated to establish schools for training Islamic subject teachers in 1950s and developed state madrasah in 1970s. Since then, the state has essentially not only recognized public schools but also faith schools that place highly in nurturing religious faith.[16]

As a consequence, support for faith schools is growing. Broadly, there are three types of schools in the country: public schools, faith schools, and national schools. What I mean by public school or common school is a state school that is open to all Indonesians irrespective of religion, ethnicity, or socio-economic status in which its funding (curriculum, teacher salary, school facilities) significantly comes from government. The second is faith schools. They are ones in which religious values form the core or base of school programs and activities even though they teach modern subjects. Faith schools comprise Islamic schools, Catholic schools, Protestant schools, madrasah, pesantren, and pendidikan diniyah. Faith schools are statistically continuously growing.[17] The madrasah itself currently contributes 17

[16] The work of Mahmud Junus (1995) contains very useful information of MORA support to establishment of schools for training Islamic school subject teachers.

[17] There is no data of faith-based schools nationwide. Yet, it is very tangible that this type of schools is on the increase. The most well-known Islamic schools is Al-Azhar school. Presently, the Al-Azhar Foundation established Al-Azhar school in almost all big cities in Indonesia. See Nurlena Rifa'I (2006). The emergence of elite Islamic schools: *A case study of Al Azhar Islamis school*. A Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Department of

percent towards total schooling in Indonesia.[18] The third type is the national school, that is, a school similar to the public school except that, in term of funding, they get support from a private foundation.[19] But the number of national schools is insignificant and becoming so due to their inability to attract many students. While public schools, national schools and faith schools are under the supervision of the Ministry of National Education (MONE), madrasah, pesantren and pendidikan diniyah are supervised by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). [20] Pesantren is the oldest education institution in Indonesia. This is a boarding educational institution mainly to prepare Islamic scholars (ulema). Many religious and national leaders graduated from the pesantren. In fact, the third president of Republic of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid, graduated from it. Presently, due to their adjustment to the changing aspirations of Muslim communities, the majority of pesantrens offer formal schooling (madrasah or school type) that runs parallel with the pesantren program. As a result, pesantren are enjoying popularity and, the number of pesantren and their students are steadily growing. Pesantren is becoming a popular option of schooling in Indonesia.

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Integrated Studies in Education, Faculty of Education, McGill University. It is equally true for Christian schools. See, for instance, schools founded by Badan Pendidikan Kristen Penabur (Penabur Christian Education Board) that continuously grow in Jakarta as well as outside Jakarta. See http://www.bpkpenabur.or.id/id/school/

[18] Some might equate the present madrasah to Islamic school above, for, apparently, there are indistinguishable differences between them except for their names. Yet, while Islamic schools essentially have a greater emphasis on modern school subjects, madrasah was a school historically devoted to studying Islam and less to modern subjects. In fact, many of madrasahs originated from madrasah diniyahs (Islamic education institution that devote themselves solely to elementary Islamic studies) and many of madrasah teachers have an Islamic studies background.

[19] Those who founded national school were inspired by nationalist and patriotic ideology during the struggle for independence. They opposed colonialism and the colonial school model as they made students alienated from their culture. They are also critical toward faith schools as they see them as dividing rather than uniting diverse peoples of Indonesia (Hing, 1995).

[20] MORA supervises 39,469 madrasahs (MORA, 2009b). Eighty percent of them are private, funded by Muslim communities. To improve the quality of madrasahs, MORA established state madrasah --in many cases, MORA converted the private madrasah to become state madrasah—and set them as exemplary models for the rest of madrsahs in terms of curriculum contents, teaching-learning, and school management so that private madrasahs can learn from the state madrasahs and improve their educational practices.

Table 2.2.: *School Types in Indonesia*

| **MONE** | | | | | **MORA** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Public Schools** | **Nationalist schools** | **Faith School** | | | | |
| | | Islamic School | Protestant School | Catholic School | Madrasah | Pesantren & Pendidikan Diniyah |

In Indonesia, options of schooling could grow further, for any civil organization/society is free to open a school and could get permission from the government as long as they meet standard academic requirements such as a specific number of students, qualified teachers of common school subjects, and classroom facilities.

### 2.4.2. Reliance on Citizenship Knowledge Transmission

If the requirement of schooling policy is limited to standard academic requirements and does not require diversity of student background or is supportive of homogenous faith schools, then, how can the government ensure citizenship creation in a multireligious society? As discussed above, in ensuring social cohesion of the nation, the state makes sure that school subject contents support national values and serve the interests of the nation state including the demands of citizenship for a diverse country. Thus, the government sets the curriculum content of school subjects and makes schools implement it. It is assumed that students who study, for instance, contents of the Citizenship Education subject that discusses the history of the nation state of Indonesia, Pancasila national ideology and the Constitution of 1945 will become good Indonesian citizens, even though students study it in homogenous schools or faith schools. As the government considered subject content to be very important, the government has been actively engaged in the reform of the curriculum document and textbooks.

## 2.5. Religious conflict: What Went Wrong with Citizenship Education?

Given that the Indonesian government has always been concerned with national unity and made all schools teach citizenship, it was surprising that there was communal violence in several towns that caused thousands of deaths and the displacement of more than a hundred thousand people. The fact that the conflict took place from 1998 to 2002 also raises question as to why it took place in the democratic era. Yet, recent accounts of conflict in certain areas (Sambas, Central Kalimantan, Ambon, North Maluku, and Poso) out of many provinces, districts, and municipalities[21] point to several complicated factors: local political competition, poverty and economic gap, government partiality, elite provocation, religious identities, and weak police.[22]

In 1998-2002, the country was in transition from a previously centralized government to a decentralized one, from appointment of public office by central government during the New Order government in 1967-1998 to provincial, district, and mayoral democratic election afterwards. In a democracy, political contestation is open and dependent on how many resources and infrastructure are available to support one's position. This pushes the elite to utilize all means available, including religious institutions. In politics, religious institutions are important because they are usually organized and have connections to power (Klinken, 2007). This exacerbates sensitive interreligious relations. Yet, despite the factors mentioned above, the question still remains as to why politicians, religious leaders, and citizens chose to fight, not to talk, and not resolve problems in a civil manner.

Violent religious conflict reveals that Indonesia has problems in relation to democratic culture. People, seemingly, are not ready to resolve differences through talk and negotiation

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[21] To Kementrian Dalam Negeri (Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia) (2011) Indonesia has currently 33 provinces, 399 districts (kabupaten), and 98 municipalities.

[22] On recent accounts of the violent conflict in this area, see Jacque Bertrand (2003). *Nationalism and ethnic conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Gerry van Klinken (2006). *Communal violence in Indonesia*. London: Routledge; Chris Wilson (2010). *Ethno-religious violence in Indonesia*. London: Routledge

in peaceful manner. Democracy implemented is still limited to laws, administration and institution. Democracy is still procedural confined to voting, administrative decentralization and public forums such as parliament, mass media, and talk show in TVs. In day to day life, civil societies, mass-based organizations, even political parties and public institutions, lack democratic culture. Civic values such as respect for individual freedom, diversity, and equality are far from being entrenched in Indonesian societies. As consequence, Muslim majorities, for instance, often discriminate against minorities such as Ahmadiyah, while democracy relies on the people who live in it. The threat against democracy is when democratic institutions work without competent democratic citizens. It is like a good, well built ship that is hampered by a poor crew and incompetent machinists. The ship remains in danger. Democracy, with undemocratic citizens, will cause social problems. In the Indonesian case, the persistence of potential violent interreligious conflict shows that the task of creating a democratic citizenry is not yet accomplished.[23]

Religious conflict in the country raises critical questions around citizenship education in the country, whether or not the Indonesian education institution has adequately prepared citizens to live in a democratically diverse society, for democracy needs to cultivate its believers to uphold idea of liberty, equality, and to respect for differences, to develop mutual respect, burden of judgment, fairness, reciprocity, negotiation, deliberation, public reasonableness, and non violence. In this sense, democracy is like a religion. It needs followers who believe in the principles and who practice them faithfully. And democracy will not be sustained or flourish if there are only few who value and cherish it. Thus, democracy is badly in need of shaping its (prospective) believers, proponents, adherents. In other word, democracy needs to create its democrats. Therefore, democracy must continuously be consolidated to create and recreate citizens who have knowledge, values, attitudes, and skills

[23] Chris Wilson (2008) repeatedly argues for centrality of human agency in ethno-religious conflict in Indonesia: government peoples, politician, religious leaders, citizens.

to live together in democratic multicultural society, to engage in democratic life, and to strive together to create a better world for all. This is particularly true in the context of religious diversity which in many occasions tend to create communalism, distrust, and suspicion. Indonesians of diverse religious backgrounds have to be educated to understand each other, interact, work together, deliberate and sometimes debate over matters of crucial public interest.

The available studies of the conflict do not pay attention to studies of democratic culture and democratic socialization. Certainly, interreligious conflict is complicated. It involves a variety factors. Yet, it raises questions and points to education as well. The question is, then, what went wrong with citizenship education? Is there something missing or lacking in citizenship education in its present form? Therefore, it is necessary to explore how current Indonesian education prepares citizens for multireligious societies in a democratic era and also how contemporary theories of citizenship education of mature democracy can inform this process of creating a citizen for multireligious societies. I think it is important to explore both theories and practices in that it will give us insight to assess the strength and the weakness of both theories and practices and to see the practical reform possibilities based on the discussion, although we have to be aware that Indonesia has differences in its history, values and traditions.

### 2.6. Why Public Schools?

As mentioned earlier, in Indonesia there are public schools, faith schools, and national schools. In investigating implementation of citizenship education, it seems, compared to faith school and national school, public school is (or is supposed to be) the most appropriate place to investigate this process. According to the Ministry of National Education (MONE) (2011), public schools in 2008-2009 house the majority of Indonesian students (90.46 % in primary

school; 73. 82 % in junior secondary school; and 64. 30 % in senior secondary school). Looking at mandatory curriculum content, both public and private schools are similar, for they are required to follow similar standards of national (not provincial) education. So, in terms of compulsory subjects studied, they are similar. Yet, in term of guiding values, the schools are different. Public schools must commit to shared inclusive, public, or national values. They are not allowed to recognize only one particular set of values such as Islamic values, Christian values, Hindus values, or Buddhist values. Consequently, in term of the school's social environment, public schools are diverse due to the backgrounds and composition of students, school personnel and surroundings. This is different from faith schools, for the environment and symbols expressed in faith schools only reflects one particular faith. If children go to Islamic school they will only be educated in Islamic values and interact with those of Islamic faith. In Jakarta, in April 2003, for example, I visited Muhammadiyah Senior High School (affiliated to Muhammadiyah, the second largest Muslim organization) and Al-Ma'arif Senior High School (affiliated to Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Muslim organization). Both these Islamic schools are homogenous in that all of their students and teachers are Muslims. There was no Catholic, Protestant, Hindu or Buddhist found in these Islamic schools.

Unlike the Islamic schools I observed, I observed that Protestant and Catholic schools in Indonesia were heterogeneous in the sense that they had a number of students and teachers with Islamic, Buddhist and Hindus backgrounds. Protestant and Catholic schools were reputed for their excellence especially in terms of values education and academics (Jones, 1976). Therefore, they were able to attract Muslim students to their schools. However, the school norm and culture were only Catholic or Protestant. For Catholic schools, for example, the form of prayer practiced was only Catholic prayer and the symbols that were found in the school were also Catholic. This was equally true for the Protestant School that only held

Christian Protestant prayer. Prayer of others or multifaith prayer was absent even though they had some students who were Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus. Similarly, its school student organization only organized Catholic-related religious prayer and celebrations even though their student body was diverse. Muslim students who studied at Catholic and Christian schools had to sign a formal agreement that they would take part in the denominational religious education offered. Yet, this seems to be the natural character of all faith schools, for the primary reason faith schools were established is because the founders believe in its faiths and wanted to cultivate its values and spread them.

In contrast, public schools are (or are supposed to be) quite different from faith-based schools. The very concept of public school is rooted in the fundamental principle of equality of all people and all citizens. Thus, the public school is open to students regardless of their backgrounds. So, like in other modern countries, students and teachers of public schools in Indonesia, especially in the urban cities, constitute Muslim, Protestant, Catholic, Hindu and Buddhist faiths. Indonesian public schools are unique because the schools provide religious menus differently in accordance with students' faiths. Muslims go to Islamic religious education class; Protestant students to Protestant religious education; Catholic students to Catholic religious education. The same applies to Hindus and Buddhists. Public schools also support religious activities outside class such as student religious clubs: Student Islamic Club (ROHIS [Rohani Islam]), Student Christian Protestant Club (ROHKRIS [Rohani Kristen]), and Student Christian Catholic Club (ROHKAT [Rohani Katolik]).

Public schools have a student council (OSIS [Organisasi siswa]) which functions as an executive student body in school. This OSIS is controlled by the student parliament, called PK (Perwakilan Kelas), whose members are classroom representatives. OSIS coordinates a wide variety of clubs such as religious club (ROHIS), science club, debating club, soccer club, volleyball club, basketball club, modern dance club, traditional dance club, Red Cross

club and hiking club. These extracurricular activities, except for the religious club, are open for students of all backgrounds allowing them to intermingle, interact and engage in dialogue and expand the students' horizons and experiences beyond the confines of their religious faiths and communities. Actually, Catholic and Protestant schools are also composed of religiously diverse students and have wide extracurricular activities as public schools have. But, since the public schools recognize all five official religions (Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hindu and Buddhism), public schools have a more favorable atmosphere for multireligious interaction and dialogue particularly in regards to religious life.[24]

The mission of the public school is the formation of a democratic public. Historically it was also to develop a shared national identity and common loyalty (Gutmann, 1987; Callan, 1997; Feinberg, 1998; Levinson, 1999; Macedo, 2000). In Gutmann's words, the public school is the site of the "conscious social reproduction" of democratic citizens (p. 42 and 287). In this sense, Macedo (2000) states that public schools are instruments for the most basic and controversial of civic ends (p. ix). In Western societies like the US, Canada, France and the UK, there is a tradition that sees public schools as offering a space of growth and development for children that departs from and in some cases conflicts with the learning that occurs in the family. Thus, for example, Levinson (1999) urges that public schools are important because they are detached from family and the local normative community and allow children to be independent persons who can lead their own life (Macedo, 2000, 232-233).

[24] There are faiths schools regarded as capable of assuming good moral and social education. In their studies, for example, Bryk, Lee and Holland (1993) argue and show that Catholic school better foster values for the common good than public schools as reflected in a prevalent sense of community, cooperation and social solidarity in the schools, but their studies lack information on how Catholic schools deal with diversity of religion. For instance, do Catholic schools recognize the diversity of religion and the diversity of Christianity in their classroom curriculum? Do they allow students to opt out from Catholic faith class? Faith-based schools may have some individual teachers who are inclined to recognize diversity fairly, but most faith-based schools generally tend to foster their own culture and tradition and disregard others' values and culture despite their diverse students' faith.

To Callan (1995), the virtues of reasonableness, reciprocity, and the burden of judgment can only be acquired in the most refined ways. It can happen through practice, reflection, and practice again. This, in the education context, for Callan, presupposes deliberative diverse school settings and serious imaginative intellectual engagement. In terms of educational setting, public school is more appropriate, for one fundamental feature of common school is that it is open to all students of all backgrounds and all voices that represent diversity of a larger society. In addition, common school, to Callan (2000), is a good deliberative arena for it is organized on inclusive values compared to religious school which is organized on exclusive identity (p. 65). To Levinson, toleration and mutual respect for others can best be acquired only by interacting with others in a setting that itself is challenging, heterogeneous, and mutually respectful (p. 114). Children learn these values best within the context of public school that models, in miniature, the public square so that they can practice the civic virtues and establish them over time as habits of character, for "book-learning" in civic virtue with the absence of real diverse reality is not sufficient (p. 114).

In the Indonesian context, public schools, historically, were established as part of nation building, intended to create citizens who have pride of national identity and culture, and who love the country (Poerbakawatja, 1970; Tilaar, 1995). This goal is to counter colonialism and colonial schooling that created graduates obsessed with Western culture and alienated from their heritage. Yet, public school is also a response to the development and growth of educational institutions along religious and ethnic lines, which can be regarded as socially divisive. The mission of public schools, therefore, is also to build national unity in diversity.[25]

The question is, "Do schools and public school matter in citizenship creation?" There is no doubt that good school makes a difference. To Gutmann (1987), without public schools,

[25] The spirit of nationalism is very clear in writing of the founding father of Indonesian education, Ki Hadjar Dewantara. See his work (1956) "Masalah kebudayaan" (On culture). In *Enam Puluh Tahun Taman Siswa (1922-1982)* [Sixty years of educational institution of Taman Siswa". Jogjakarta: Percetakan Taman Siswa; Lee Kam Hing (1995). *Education and politics in Indonesia 1945-1965*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press

Protestant parents would have continued to teach disrespect for Catholicism and "the religious prejudices of Protestant parents would have influenced their children" (p. 31).

There are a number of empirical studies that argue that schools can contribute to developing democratic civic culture. Their principle common argument is that democracy involves not only procedures such as general elections and the existence of independent political parties, but also particular knowledge, values, attitudes and behaviors, as argued in previous discussion. And those are to be cultivated, created and shaped systematically. Schools, particularly public ones, have a crucial role in citizenship creation. This is developed through democractic practices, social interaction, active learning, experiential learning, extracurricular activities, community school, school rules, community service, representation, speaking in public forum, and student voice (Niemi & Junn, 1998; Riedle, 2002; McFarland & Thomas, 2006: Hart, 2007; Parker, 2003; Pasek, 2008; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, Schulz, 1999 & 2001; Kahne, 2009; Thornberg, 2009; Anette, 2009; Seamann, 2009; Strike, 2010; Vogt, 1997). In the context of Indonesia, Mapiasse (2007), for example, using the survey method, found that democratic classrooms of public junior high schools in North Sulawesi, Indonesia, had a great influence on student knowledge, disposition and skills (p. 393). Similarly, Nurmaliah (2009) found that Islamic religious education for interreligious respect and exposure and interaction of students of diverse faiths in private Madania School in Bogor, West Java, Indonesia, created a positive attitude among students (p. 150). That is why public schools are appropriate places to look at how schools respond to religious diversity and how they educate their students to become good citizen for a democratic multireligious societies.

## 2.7. Summary

This chapter has shown that although they have different views, Indonesian leaders of secular and Islamic orientation have made compromises on the form of the state, that is, the Pancasila-based state. They also have made compromises in the development of national education so that it accommodates aspirations of secular groups to foster nationalism, patriotism, and national values as well as aspirations of Muslims to foster religious values. In order to reconcile the demand of national values and religious values, the state has not simply incorporated religious education to national education, but modernized them and made them compatible to national values. As a result, there has been mutual reinforcement between national and religious values. This accommodation approach has implicated recognition of faith schools and implicated that the state supports pluralism of educational institution. It also increasingly relies on citizenship knowledge transmission as the primary means of citizenship education.

A bloody violent religious conflict in several towns raises questions about the adequacy of the citizenship approach adopted. Therefore, it is very important to investigate school practices of citizenship education as well as contemporary theories of citizenship education, particularly for the context of a democratic multireligious society. Public school is also the proper place to explore this issue, since public schools are supposed to have a strong citizenship mission. Investigation of both theories and practices is important for it enable us to see problems and possibilities for reform.

The following chapter critically discusses contemporary theories of citizenship for a diverse society and explores model of citizenship education suitable for a democratic multireligious Indonesia

# Chapter 3:

# Theories of Citizenship Education for a Religiously Committed and Diverse Indonesia

## 3.1. Introduction

How have democratic theorists of citizenship addressed issues of citizenship education in multireligious societies in the West? I examine this question in this chapter primarily to pick out important theoretical features that will help my analysis of the Indonesian schools visited as part of my fieldwork and as described in Chapter 5. There, my main task will be to examine educational practices in two schools in order to see how close (or how distant) Indonesian civic educational practices are from the ideals of Western educational and political citizenship education. But in order to do this, I must first outline in more detail what these ideals are. That is the first task of this chapter.

This chapter explores different models of liberal-democratic citizenship education in order to develop a theoretical model of citizenship education suitable for Indonesia, a democratic country of religiously committed citizens from diverse religious backgrounds. The discussion focuses on three contemporary philosophical theories of liberal-democratic civic education that have been very influential in Western educational scholarly literature. I have labeled these, in order, 'autonomy liberalism', 'diversity liberalism', and 'political liberalism'. The discussion in this chapter follows this order. After discussing some relevant background issues pertaining specifically to Indonesian society and culture, the chapter is based on three subsections, each of which examines one of the theories in question. The discussion of each sub-section is further divided into three parts – first, an examination of the main tenets of the theory, second, an examination of its broad implications for education and especially the place of religious diversity in citizenship education; and third, a brief summary of some key ways in which the theory and its educational implications

pertains to the Indonesian context. Ultimately, the purpose is to provide a clear sense of the extent to which these theories provide useful 'normative' guidance for understanding and potentially reforming Indonesian schooling in ways that can make education serve the ends and values of democratic citizenship.

By examining three of the most influential theories of democratic citizenship education as found in Western scholarship, I will show that these theories should only be applied selectively and carefully to the Indonesian context. Some of the theories, especially autonomy liberalism – which emphasizes the aim of promoting children's capacities of critical thinking and choice-- are unrealistic and potentially opposed by mainstream Muslims if they are applied in a way that means teaching children to choose among different ways of life. This is what Shelley Burtt (2003) calls the 'hyperliberal' model of autonomy as consumer choice (p. 198). The point is not that children should not be allowed to develop a sense of judgment to have freedom in choosing their lives. But there is a question of whether promoting such capacities requires radical and egalitarian exposure to all religious and non-religious options without any firm grounding in a particular tradition or religious way of life; or whether such capacities can be developed by enabling children to explore the different and complex options that arise *within* a particular way of life or tradition; or whether some complex combination of the two is possible – e.g. an initial grounding in a particular tradition (and diverse interpretations of that tradition – not just a *single* version of Islam, or Christianity, etc.); plus a later exposure to diversity after this initial grounding is secured (e.g. in high school). The point here is just that some liberal theories – those that favor autonomy liberalism – are probably unrealistic and it could draw resistance in the Indonesian context.

In contrast, diversity liberalism – which emphasizes group integrity and coherence but minimizes intergroup contact and integration (especially in schools) -- provides a theoretical

basis that might be acceptable to many people from different religious groups in Indonesia. Recognition of religious diversity by the state is important for many Indonesian citizens for reasons outlined earlier. Importantly, for example, it is a way of reassuring members of different religious groups that the state does not 'belong' to one group or another but is common. However, this theoretical feature of diversity liberalism is not necessary conducive to democratic citizenship in Indonesia, since interaction, dialogue, and knowledge of religious diversity are important foundations for fostering values of democratic stability in Indonesia –values such as public reasonableness, mutual respect, recognition of others, etc. So, in this chapter I argue that autonomy liberalism and diversity liberalism are in important ways deficient as models for democratic citizenship education in Indonesia. However, in spite of these criticisms, I do not argue that Indonesia should ignore the values and principles of autonomy liberalism and diversity liberalism completely.

Political liberalism emphasizes the importance of public reasonableness for building a democratic political (not moral) consensus among citizens of different religious backgrounds. The main idea is that education should provide a setting for citizens of different religious backgrounds to interact, deliberate and engage in mutually respectful dialogue, while also avoiding the goal of aggressively pressuring students to critically reflect upon and rationally 'choose' their religious beliefs and affiliations. In short, the aim of political liberal citizenship education is to encourage respect, reciprocity and cooperation among citizens by providing them with opportunities to understand important political matters from diverse perspectives, but at the same to balance this interaction and dialogical engagement with an emphasis on toleration of diversity. In this way, political liberalism incorporates the concerns of autonomy liberals and diversity liberals while at the same time mapping out a path for citizenship education that focuses on cooperation and social stability in accordance with key democratic values. The main conclusion I draw from this discussion is that

political liberalism (for example, in the work of John Rawls) is a hopeful model for building and imagining democratic citizenship education in multireligious Indonesia.

### 3.2. Autonomy Liberalism

Perhaps the most dominant version of contemporary liberal educational theory focuses on the educational value of promoting children's autonomy (Callan, 1997; Brighouse, 2001; Feinberg, 1998; Gutmann, 1987; Levinson, 1999; Reich, 2002). To advocates of autonomy-based liberalism, public education must create citizens who are able to reason, deliberate, and decide for themselves and who are able to evaluate and reflect critically on the variety of values, traditions, cultures or identities they have inherited from parents, family and community. Brighouse, for example, has said: "The role of public education should be to expand children's horizons, to teach them that they are part of a larger moral community beyond the one in which they were raised, and their life-options should not be limited to those endorsed by their parents and communities. Thus the expansion of horizons aims both to liberate children from their roots, and to induce moral concern with the rest of humanity" (Brighouse, 2003, p. 157). To Callan (1997), public school is intended to enable critical reflection, and if necessary rejection of values learned from civil societies (family, community, churches).

At the core of personal autonomy is an ability to critically examine one's major values, commitments and beliefs in light of available alternatives, and to revise or endorse them accordingly (McDonough, 1998, 468). Such a critical capacity is not limited to the realm of political or public life, but it has to apply to all aspects of life, because political and public life cannot really be separated from non-political or non-public life. Thus, it applies not only to those aspects of life that one shares with all citizens of a pluralist society, but also to one's fundamental religious beliefs and commitments, which stand at the core of individual

conscience, and are thus highly personal and definitive of the sense of meaning one gives to one's own life. The advocates of this liberal view could be called supporters of comprehensive autonomy liberalism. They believe that autonomy is comprehensive, so nothing in life, including private life, is untouched by critical intellectual scrutiny and examination. To the supporters of comprehensive autonomy-based liberalism, a meaningful life is a life that is an examined and chosen life from wide array of alternatives –including religious alternatives (Mill 1971; Reich, 2002; Levinson, 1999).

Thus, an education that follows this autonomy based model of liberalism would obviously require extensive and sustained exposure to a variety of religious and cultural ways of life. It would also need to ensure that no single way of life is too firmly established by education in the early years of a child's life, before she is able to choose or reject that way of life for herself. Thus, for example, autonomy promoting civic education would need to ensure that children's commitments to their parents religious traditions is somehow constrained by exposure to alternative and competing religious and secular values that will protect the child's capacity for autonomous choice later on. At least some religious parents will strongly resist such constraints if they are imposed by the state – such as when the state requires an education for autonomous choice.

To supporters of autonomy-based liberalism, local and parentally cultural identities (religion, language, ethnicity) are not the only identities. Thus, such cultural identities should not be treated as fixed (Feinberg, 1999; Reich, 2002, 183-184 and 219). This point has very important implications for education. A child is not born with an identity. Someone, some group, or some institution gives her one. That is, identity is something that is acquired through upbringing and education. The question is who should have the educational authority to determine a child's identity. To McDonough & Feinberg (2003), there is no definitive answer to that question (p. 9). Giving this authority solely to parents or religious

communities means that they have the power to powerfully shape and even 'fix' a child's identity so that he or she cannot critically choose and revise it later on. This is a major concern for autonomy liberals, who insist that education should make sure that children's identities are not fixed – but rather open to revision –until they are old and mature enough to decide for themselves what their commitments, beliefs, and values will be. Since, according to the autonomy liberal, the child's identity is not fixed, a variety of choice of identities should be made available so the individual can choose what she prefers. The conclusion here is not that autonomy liberals reject all parental or community control over children's religious upbringing and schooling. For autonomy liberals hold that parental rights over children's upbringing and education is an important way of respecting both children's interests and also parental interests in having intimate and caring relationships with their children. Nevertheless, to the autonomy liberals, parents cannot have total authority over children's upbringing and schooling.

Children's exposure to religious, cultural and moral diversity is crucial for nurturing children's autonomy (Gutmann, 1995). Educational exposure to diversity is a fundamental requirement for developing the capacity for personal autonomy. As Reich (2002) asks: "If mine is the only way of life I know, how can I judge that it is in fact a worthy and valuable way of life?" (p. 133). Yet, autonomy liberalism doesn't just require exposure. It requires very extensive and sustained and deep exposure to different religious views. Children need to know enough about different ways of life to be able to examine them as real options in their own lives. Just a visit to a mosque or a Church or a Synagogue is not going to be enough. Just watching a few short TV programs on different faiths will not be enough. Testing and challenging encounter and interaction will be required in order to enable genuinely autonomous choice (Brighouse, 2010, p. 36). McDonough (2006) argues that individual agency depends on knowledge and imagination and this must be developed

through concrete and rich encounter with real communities, stories, and identities (p. 803). To Callan (1997), exposure needed is not just to transform repertoire of capacities, but what is most crucial is to transform character, motivation and affection necessary to secure self-directed life so that the youths desire to think autonomously, pride in independent judgment and disdain for thoughtless conformity and non-conformity, (p. 227).

### 3.2.1. Autonomy liberalism: educational implications

Autonomy liberals note that an education based exclusively on the values of the family or the local community cannot, typically, provide children with the exposure to diversity required for developing a sense of personal autonomy. In addition, children require a school setting that is itself reflective of the wider social diversity that exists beyond the child's family and local religious community. To Pring (2008), the great value of the public/common school lies in its diversity, as diversity is a condition of growth. He stated: "One's personal growth requires a community that is culturally rich and diverse enough for the person to benefit from the interaction within it –testing one's own ideas against those of others, being challenged by and coming to see a new perspective on matters of human importance and learning in a community as a prelude to the life of a citizen" (p. 3). To Callan (1995), the reason is not only that public schools have a diverse setting conducive to dialogue, but they have public ethos and the goals to promote values of public reasonableness, equal respect, and reciprocity. If public schools do not have those characteristics, then, to Callan, there are no argued reasons to have these schools. For this reason, autonomy liberals tend to favor state sponsored public or 'common schools' as the privileged public educational institution for promoting children's autonomy.

By the same token, the supporters of comprehensive autonomy liberalism are cautious and highly qualified in their treatment of religious schooling. The proponents of autonomy

liberalism are mainly concerned about the threat of religious indoctrination, since this is the most serious threat to children's autonomy. Importantly, though, for autonomy liberals, religious upbringing is not necessarily indoctrinatory. For example, some religious schools and families encourage and incorporate ecumenical teachings in the curriculum, promote pedagogical practices that encourage critical engagement and dialogue with alternative perspectives, and incorporate student diversity and interaction (for example allowing, and even encouraging, students from outside the faith to enroll in the school). Thus, autonomy liberals concede that religious education becomes potentially indoctrinatory only if it disallows other influences in a child's education that conduce to autonomous critical reflection upon one's inherited religious commitments. As a result, autonomy liberals are usually committed to tolerating private religious schools, so long as such schools are regulated to ensure that conditions for autonomy facilitation are maintained. Nevertheless, autonomy liberals typically reject state funding of religious schools (Feinberg, 2003), although some autonomy liberals have recently expressed openness to some limited state funding of religious schools – at least so long as those schools agree to open up enrollment to everyone and not restrict it to members of a particular faith group (Brighouse, 2010). For Brighouse (2010), compared to requiring all children to attend secular public school or allowing parents to send their children to private religious schools at their own expense, supporting funding to religious school with appropriate regulatory framework is probably the best because it makes them "either a *de jure* or *de facto* part of the public school system" (2010, p. 36-37). Brighouse believes this "…might also lead to a greater integration even within schools of children from different faith and no-faith backgrounds, to the benefit of development of reasonableness among children, it being easier to develop the habits and dispositions of reasonableness in public discourse if one has direct experience of those toward whom one has to be reasonable!" (p. 51).

Obviously, education about religion and in particular education about different religions is quite compatible with the aim of promoting liberal autonomy. However, autonomy liberals are very concerned that much religious education aims not at promoting autonomy but at subverting it. Reich (2002) maintains that religion constrains personal autonomy. Kymlicka (2000) and Feinberg (2003) maintain that religion develops learners to act as congregants instead of as citizens. Therefore, Gutmann (1987) insists that religious faith cannot provide the basis for liberal-democratic citizenship education. She says: "A religiously diverse democracy must therefore choose between deestablishment of religion within public school and *de facto*, if not *de jure*, deestablishment of democratic schools" (p. 104). However, comprehensive autonomy liberalism does not bar religion completely in public school. Gutmann (1987), for example, suggests that comparative religious courses in could be included in public schools. The approach should be scientific, critical and comparative so that students develop their critical reflection skills.

There are some critical responses to comprehensive autonomy liberalism worth mentioning. Michael Walzer argues that liberal theory fails to recognize a cultural particularity, it fails to recognize that a variety of cultures have different conceptions of the good life, or to realize that many cultures do not place a high value on choice (Mulhall, 1992).

Other critics argue that liberal values such as tolerance, mutual respect and other values central to liberal-democratic citizenship do not require the development of critical autonomous secular rationality. For example, Michael Sandel (1998) describes his view of how we should deal with disagreement. As he writes: "…we respect our fellow citizen's moral and religious conviction by engaging, or attending to them –sometimes by challenging and contesting them, sometimes by listening and learning from them—especially when those convictions bear on important political questions." (p.217). Sandel's description of civic

virtue here notably omits any mention of the need to critical 'choose' one's commitments or to challenge others to do so. In his view, civic dialogue and respect can be practiced from a committed and non-autonomous standpoint.

While liberal-democratic theorists debate the necessity of personal autonomy as a requirement of citizenship and civic education, critics of liberalism like Sandel and Walzer agree with advocates of liberal autonomy like Callan, Gutmann and Macedo that civic education requires exposure to religious and cultural diversity. They also agree that such exposure is necessary to promote children's autonomous capacities. Thus, they agree that democratic citizenship and civic education needs to prepare children for dialogue and engagement in public affairs by enabling them to practice talking to and attempting to understand and criticize in a mutually respectful way. And they agree that promoting these capacities entails exposure to religious diversity in schools. Walzer and Sandel have not spelled out the implications of their criticisms of liberalism for schooling and education, but their acceptance of the importance of exposure to diversity as a condition of preparing children for democratic citizenship and dialogue suggests that their educational prescriptions do not necessarily diverge very radically from those of the autonomy liberal. They seem to depart from autonomy liberalism not so much by rejecting the aim of promoting children's autonomy through exposure to diversity, but rather in their interpretation of the ideal of autonomy itself.

For critics like Walzer and Sandel, autonomy is a capacity that grows organically from a child's initial immersion in a particular, local religious or cultural community and tradition. Thus, they are sometimes referred to in the scholarly literature as 'communitarian critics of liberalism' or 'liberal communitarians' (Feinberg, 1995). According to the liberal communitarian, promoting children's autonomy does not require that the child's early education be geared to ensure that an early commitment to a particular way of life (by the

influence parents, religious leaders, etc.) be strenuously checked and counterbalanced by rigorous exposure to religious diversity. Rather, a child's exposure to a particular way of life is to be encouraged early on, since such commitment is a necessary precondition for the skills of autonomous choice. The emergence of autonomy itself as a full blooded capability can and should emerge later on, when exposure to diversity is encouraged once a child's initial identity is securely established. Ultimately, the main difference between autonomy liberals and liberal communitarian critics like Walzer and Sandel comes down not to whether rich and sustained exposure to cultural and religious diversity is necessary for children's autonomy, but to different judgments about when and how such exposure should be implemented in a child's upbringing. While this difference does indicate some different practical possibilities that will be of interest when it comes to exploring actual policy options that have been tried in Western societies and that may be of interest in the Indonesian context as well (for example, an approach that favors state funding of religiously homogenous schools for elementary years and required exposure to diversity through heterogeneous high schools), there is no deep disagreement here on the ideal of liberal democratic citizenship education.

### 3.2.2. Possibilities and Problems of Autonomy Liberalism if implemented in Indonesia

What is central to autonomy liberalism is the exposure to diversity and the capacity of critical reflection. Regardless of whether or not the autonomy liberalism model is feasible for a religiously diverse and democratic country like Indonesia, I argue that liberal autonomy is extremely crucial, for Indonesia is a diverse country and citizens have to live with diversity and engage in it critically. One of the advantages of engagement in critical intellectual examination of diversity is that it could combat conservatism, fundamentalism, extremism, or radicalism that could come from religion. Intellectual scrutiny also will enlarge the

students' minds and expand their horizons and provide rich perspectives, rich interpretations, and provide alternative views, life options and cosmopolitan alternatives.

Can the requirement of exposure to diversity and its critical scrutiny be implemented in Indonesia? Perhaps the main obstacle to its implementation is the worry that autonomy liberalism threatens the integrity and stability of religious and cultural sub-communities. A main idea behind this criticism is related to education of children. If promoting individual autonomy is the main goal of education, then if religion is to be taught at all in schools it can only be taught to children as a way of introducing children to a variety of different 'ways of life'. On the 'autonomy liberal' approach, children are supposed to learn which way they prefer to live. The problem is that if all children are required to learn the skills of autonomous choice, then there is no reason to educate them in ways that facilitate their future commitment to the religious faith of their parents; indeed, there are strong reasons to disrupt that possibility by exposing them to different and even 'repugnant' religious traditions (Callan, 1997) and ways of life so that they can critically examine the views learned in the family from alternative perspectives, and then choose for themselves 'who they are'. This is a very different way of understanding what religious faith is all about from the point of view of many religious believers. This is a very different understanding of religion compared to that which many religious parents wish their children to learn. For these groups and parents, religious faith is primarily about learning how to lead a good life as defined within a particular tradition and historical community. The tradition and community offers different possible roles and life pathways for children, but the way of life of the Muslim (or Hindu, or Christian, or Buddhist) community is supposed to provide a firm and guiding basis for a child to choose what is best for him or herself. Without such a basis, the child will lose her ability to make a wise choice about the best way of life, and will be left only to choose her religion (or no religion at all) on the basis of individual preference.

One has to be cautious and a bit speculative about the feasibility of policies that have not yet been tried out, but the discussion in this section indicates a mixed conclusion about the feasibility of policies that are based on autonomy liberalism. On the one hand, policies of citizenship education that are based on autonomy liberalism are likely to face extensive resistance in Indonesia from many parents, religious leaders and political leaders. That is because many parents will be hostile to the notion that citizenship requires children to choose their own religious or cultural affiliation.

When looked at from this perspective, autonomy liberalism appears unfeasible in Indonesia in part because of the nature of religious attachments of the Muslim majority, which makes it unpalatable to them, at least for the present. Muslims would regard autonomy liberalism as trying to secularize, to infuse relativism, or to eradicate religion. Indeed, the government in the early 1970s introduced the idea of the "Comparative Study of Religions" in higher education as an alternative to confessional religious education, for in Indonesia, since 1967, religious education is an obligatory subject from elementary to undergraduate level. But, Muslim organizational leaders opposed the idea for reasons mentioned above and the government dropped it. They questioned the purpose of the proposal and argued that if the purpose is to create tolerance and social harmony, religious studies would only create the opposite, religious conflict (Saridjo, 2002). It seems to most Indonesian Muslims, religious faith is something to be cherished or nurtured, not something to be critically examined. Furthermore, the aggressive promotion of autonomy would risk exacerbating rather than easing social conflict. This would be a negative from a liberal-democratic perspective which values tolerance and mutual respect as the basis of social stability. This suggests that attempts to impose such policies may not only be unfeasible, but could themselves generate sources of social conflict and hostility that policies of democratic civic education are meant to resolve or soften.

A final possible obstacle to autonomy liberalism in Indonesia lies in the fact that Islamic fundamentalist groups also are increasingly present in public life. They have an agenda of bringing Islam to the state, such as the implementation of Islamic law, in that they believe that the implementation of non Islamic values since Indonesian independence in 1945 has failed to ensure a moral life and social justice. However, the supporters of this Islamic fundamentalist group are also few and mostly consist of the urban poor, albeit they are very vocal. Islamic fundamentalists are adamant opponents of Islamic liberals in many arenas such as TV shows and demonstrations. Of course, the problem of Islamic fundamentalism is something that democratic citizenship education would and should seek to ease and moderate. It is far from clear, however, that a model of democratic education based on promoting children's autonomy quite aggressively is an effective way to achieve this goal.

Nevertheless, there are also considerations that indicate a more favorable assessment of the practical possibilities for autonomy based democratic civic education in Indonesia. Here, the liberal communitarian modification of autonomy liberalism may open up some politically attractive options. Recall that according to the liberal communitarian, the educational requirements for promoting children's capacity for critical autonomy are not as radical as they first appear. According to the liberal communitarian, the development of children's autonomy requires a strong grounding in an initial local religious or cultural tradition. On this basis, parental preferences for children's strong religious education might be satisfied by offering religiously homogenous schooling at least in the early years; at the same time, the aim of promoting children's capacity for critical autonomy could be met by state policies that give preference to, or require, a secondary education that involves rigorous and in depth exposure to religious diversity. While far from conclusive, these reflections do suggest that autonomy liberalism, at least in its liberal communitarian form, may offer useful practical guidance for democratic citizenship education in a multireligious Indonesia after all.

To reinforce the plausibility of this suggestion, the idea of autonomy liberalism is not completely foreign to indigenous Indonesian intellectual tradition. Indonesia does have an intellectual tradition that highlights rationalism, humanism and freedom. Sutan Sjahrir, former Prime Minister, 1945-1947, was one who could be regarded to represent this intellectual tradition. He was a Dutch educated national leader who was very critical of tradition and indoctrination and very appreciative of Western civilization. He was an adamant supporter of critical inquiry, liberty, equality, and justice. His ideas were shared also by other Dutch educated Indonesian elites. In the beginning of Indonesian independence, Sjahrir and his circle played a very important role in introducing liberal ideals including political and economic policy. Yet, ironically, it was during his mandate as Primary Minister that Ministry of Religious Affairs was established in 1946 (Aboebakar, 1957; MORA, 1987).

Supporters of Sjahrir were very few. When Indonesia started introducing a democratic political system, Sjahrir and his supporters slowly lost their influence, especially in the free election in 1955. His political party, Indonesian Socialist Party (Partai Sosialis Indonesia [PSI]), gained only a small percentage of the votes. In 1960, Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, banned PSI, for the government accused its leaders of being rebels against the central government. After that, its supporters were mostly very highly educated Indonesians playing a role as technocrats, intellectuals, or professional in government, universities and mass media.[26]

Autonomy liberalism continued to grow among educated Indonesians, as Indonesia was economically, culturally and intellectually integrated to the rest of world. In fact, since 1970s, especially in the 1990s, even, young Muslim intellectuals began to support and advocate

[26] Herbert Faith (1977) portrayed a variety of political ideologies of Indonesian party leaders (nationalism, Islam, socialism, and communism). It is only socialist party leaders who could be grouped to as supporters of liberal ideas. Yet, they are not libertarians. They are rather close to "egalitarian liberals" who enunciate human rights and welfare state system of government. See Faith's *Indonesian political thinking*. Ithaca: Cornel University Press. Although educated political elites were few, they were very influential. They helped formulate the Constitution 1945 that highlights unity in diversity, equality, liberty and social justice.

liberal ideas (rationalism, humanism, democracy, gender equality, individual choice). They are based in universities, research centers and mass media. These liberals have contributed to a healthy dialogue in religiously diverse Indonesia, especially in confronting conservatism, fundamentalism and injecting cosmopolitanism. Yet, the adherents of this autonomy liberalism tradition are limited to an educated few and their influence in infusing a tradition of critical reflection into formal schooling, particularly in the context of religion remains to be seen.

It seems present mainstream Indonesians are neither autonomy liberals nor fundamentalists. They are mostly committed to religious faith yet they would live together with members of diverse societies.[27] They may oppose the necessity of critical examination of religious beliefs yet be committed to national unity in diversity, the nation state, and civic values.

Although there is a great deal of opposition to the notion of a critical dialogue of faith geared towards encouraging children's free choice of their own religious or non-religious way of life, this does not mean that Indonesians widely oppose the social and demographic diversity of the school or reject diverse school settings. In fact, Indonesians generally support the idea that public schools are composed of religiously, ethnically, and culturally diverse students. They also support the idea that the government should facilitate religious activities of different faiths. In the context of faith schools, Protestant school and Catholic schools have always had students of Islamic backgrounds and some Islamic school have started to have

[27] For that reason, although Indonesians are practicing believers, according to Indonesian Survey Institute, a significant majority of Indonesian voted for nationalist parties that are based on Pancasila national ideology and committed to diversity of the country. Muslims and Christian show similar tendency. Both Islamic and Christian parties were unpopular compared to nationalist parties. In 2004 national election, Islamic-based parties such as Justice and Welfare Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtra [PKS]) could only get 7 % of the vote and United Development (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan [PPP] only gained 6 percent. If combined together, they have only 13 % voters nationwide, the rest went to nationalist parties. This number certainly shows an increasing unpopularity of Islamic parties, for in 1955 election, the Islamic parties gained 40 percent of the voters (Bahtiar Effendy, 2009).

students of other faiths. What they object to is the necessity of exposure to a diversity of religious and non-religious values presented in a detached and critical manner.

So far, I have suggested that autonomy liberalism in its strong form appears to be incompatible with Indonesian social, cultural, religious and political realities. But a modified 'liberal communitarian' version of autonomy liberalism offers some interesting possibilities for new directions in Indonesian citizenship education.

### 3.3. Diversity Liberalism

The second theory of liberal citizenship I will examine in this chapter is formed on the basis of criticism of autonomy liberalism examined in the previous section. This second theory can be called 'diversity liberalism' – since it emphasizes the importance of respecting religious diversity and in particular the desire of established religious groups to maintain their group identity through education. According to this conception of liberalism, the primary value to which liberal education should be devoted is tolerance (of diversity) and not the promotion of children's autonomy. In the rest of this section, I develop the ideas of 'diversity liberalism' in more detail, consider their educational implications, and briefly indicate the relevance of this view to the Indonesian context.

The most prominent and sophisticated proponent of diversity liberalism is William Galston.[28] Galston (2002) charges that autonomy liberalism constrains the implementation of fundamental values of liberalism, namely, the freedom of expression. Galston argues that people have the liberty to lead their lives as they wish and no authority can legitimately impose values – even the value of autonomy-- on individuals. Importantly, Galston emphasizes that some traditional religious ways of life place little or no emphasis at all on the

[28] To recognize Galston's contribution, the Journal of *Theory and Research in Education* has special issues that discussed and revisited his ideas. Eamonn Callan (2006), for example, reexamined critically Galston ideas in his article entitled "Galston dilemma and Wisconsin v Yoder" and Galston gave rejoinder to Callan and other crtics.

value of personal autonomy. To require an education that promotes autonomy for everyone, then, is the same as legislating the destruction (maybe gradually) of some religious groups and their traditions. Galston (1995) asserts that the proponents of autonomy-based liberalism often claim that autonomy could go hand in hand with diversity, while in reality, the imposition of autonomy is often in conflict with the value of other cultures in that the imposition of autonomy weakens individual and group identities. To Galston, requiring an autonomy facilitating education also could not become a standard public value for it would mean imposition, creating homogeneity and uniformity.

To Galston (2002), liberalism essentially protects individual and associational liberty. He calls his liberalism plural liberalism stressing "expressive liberty" that allows people or cultures to lead a good life according to their understanding of what gives meaning and value. Galston (1995) maintains: "Liberalism is about the protection of diversity, not the valorization of choice" ( p. 523) and goes on note "A liberal state need not and should not take sides on issues such as purity versus mixture or reason versus tradition" (p. 523). Another liberal theorist who values diversity over personal autonomy is Shelley Burtt (1994). She supports Galston's view of toleration of diversity and argued for "principle of parental difference" in which liberals should allows parental choice for schooling and opt out-option. Burtt (2003) also asserted that religious education may focus instead on promoting courage, honesty and other virtues rather than autonomy. But as Burtt says, there is no clear reason why this sort of education is 'less worthy' than an education focused on autonomy, which emphasizes the value of choosing among ways of life as if they were different products in a "global IKEA" (p. 205). To her, liberal value of autonomy is not superior to the other virtues that multicultural societies uphold. Galston (2002) says: "…from a value-pluralist standpoint, there are many valuable ways of life, individual and collective, that are not autonomous in the sense that they are not product of conscious reflection and choice but,

rather, of habit, tradition, authority, or unswerving faith." (p. 49). Galston (1989) maintains, "Liberal freedom entails the rights to live unexamined as well as examined lives." (p. 100).

Diversity liberalism is concerned with civic unity too. Thus, Galston (1991) also cites law abidingness, virtues of independence, tolerance and respect for individual excellences and accomplishments as virtues required for liberal democracy. But, diversity liberalism rejects the claims of autonomy liberalism, which suggest that liberal citizenship requires exposure to diverse moral conception or multicultural conversation. For the diversity liberal, as Galston puts it, the fundamental purpose of civic education is "not the pursuit and acquisition of truth but, rather, the formation of individuals who can effectively conduct their lives within, and support, their political community" (1991, p. 243). He does not mean that children should not learn to pursue and acquire the truth. He means that this goal of education should and can be left up to the religious or other family upbringing of the child. Galston is stressing, instead, that the public school (and the state) should not be trying to teach the child what is one, single 'truth'. The role of the state and the public school is to teach citizenship values, which for the diversity liberal are the values needed for the society to be stable. As Galston says, "The key criterion [for civil authority over education] is the maintenance of civil order" (1991, p. 249). However, "the liberal state must not venture beyond this point. It must not throw its weight behind ideals of personal excellence [such as autonomy] outside the shared understandings of civic excellence" (Galston, 1991, p. 256).

What are the virtues of 'civic excellence' that diversity liberalism advocates as the basis for civic education? Galston (1991) mentions several civic virtues needed for good citizenship, which he argues are acceptable by members of wide cultural backgrounds:

> …the willingness to fight on behalf of one's country; the settled disposition to obey the law; and the loyalty –the developed capacity to understand, to accept, and to act on the core principles of one's society…the capacity to evaluate the talents, character and performance of public officials, and the ability to moderate public desire,…the patience to work within social diversity and the ability to narrow the gap between wise policy and

> popular consent…developed capacity to engage in public discourse and to test public policy. (p. 245-246) [29]

McLaughlin (2003) calls Galston's conception of common education a "light burden" for public schools to promote, as requirements demanded by Galston are uncontroversial and can be easily agreed to by all parties (p. 129-130). Beyond these 'minimal' virtues of citizenship, Galston leaves present social diversity largely unchanged, as he neither sees the importance of exposure nor dialogue nor the crucial importance of public reason.

Galston (1991) maintains:

> Civic education is not to instill a commitment to particular value, nor truth seeking nor rational inquiry. It is also not to develop critical reflection of different ways of life nor to arouse skeptical thinking about their parent, family or community way of life. Civic education is to support the growth of all culture and identities in the pluralist society. Thus, the pedagogy needed is rhetorical and moralizing rather than rational. (p. 242)

As he says, there is no need for public education to "take an interest in how children think about different ways of life. Civic tolerance of deep differences is perfectly compatible with unswerving belief in the correctness of one's own way of life" (Galston, 1991, p. 253). Since liberal civic education of the 'diversity liberalism' variety promotes virtues of tolerance without requiring citizens to examine alternative ways of life, and since it does not require sustained or deep critical reflection on one's own way of life, civic education seeks as much as possible to foster civic virtue while leaving existing forms of religious and social diversity unchanged and unchallenged.

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[29] In his previous work, Galston mentioned that responsible citizens requires four types of civic virtues: (1) general virtues: courage; law abidingness; loyalty; (2) social virtues: independence; open-mindedness; (3) economic virtues: work ethic; capacity to delay self-gratification; adaptability to economic and technological change; and (4) political virtues: capacity to discern and respect the rights of others; willingness to demand only what can be paid for; ability to evaluate the performance of those in office; willingness to engage in public discourse. See Glaston (1991). *Liberal purposes: Goods, virtues, and duties in the liberal state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

### 3.3.1. Educational Implication of Diversity Liberalism: Galston

The broad educational implication of diversity liberalism is that there are no rigorous state requirements for public schools. This is indicated by McLaughlin's (2003) comment, quoted earlier, that diversity liberalism involves only 'light burdens' for public schools when it comes to promoting democratic citizenship knowledge and skills. For example, there is no requirement of diversity in schooling, for any requirements imposed on schools will be considered imposition and this infringes on rights and liberties. To adherents of diversity liberalism, public school is important for citizenship education. Yet, it is equally true for private schools. More specifically, this standpoint leads to argue that the state must accommodate the demands of all cultural and religious communities including demands of public funding for religious schools, school choice, parent choices, and homeschooling (Thiessen, 2001; Solomone, 2000). The state cannot discriminate public schools over private ones. Education in a multicultural society, to Galston (2002), has to reflect the liberty of both individuals and groups. Consequently, this means educational pluralism should be allowed. The state has to recognize and provide funding for Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Islamic, Hindus, Buddhist, Sikh, and all kinds of cultural identity schools.

In terms of curriculum content and pedagogy, the state cannot impose an autonomy promoting education on everyone. Galston's theory of citizenship education is minimalist in the sense that it demands nearly nothing to avoid conflict with parents and community values and would rather give maximal room for a family or religious community to reinforce their own values. Thus, to Galston, public schools are to be arranged flexibly so they can appreciate and accommodate a diversity of visions and identities brought by students from home; such diversity is not only reflected in the school environment, but also in the curriculum. For example, the school calendar could be adjusted to the demand of diverse religious and secular groups. Exemption or rights to opt out from the class should be made

possible.[30] According to Galston, a believer with unswerving faith could be a good citizen too. He contends even further that there is no evidence that the graduates of Christian schools are less well prepared for democratic deliberation than are those of the best public schools (2002, 118). What the schools need to do is to teach respect for the law and the general principles of democratic rule. The schools do not need to foster understanding of others let alone respect for them (Francis Schrag, p. 29-30).

### 3.3.2. Problems and Possibilities of Diversity Liberalism if Implemented in Indonesia

What general conclusions can we draw about the implications of Galston's theory for Indonesia? I believe the conclusions are once again, as in the case of autonomy liberalism, mixed since Galston's theory has both positive and potentially harmful consequences for shaping a form of civic education that might strengthen a democratic multireligious Indonesia.

Galston's theory has something important to offer in the context of Indonesia in its emphasis on the importance of tolerance for citizenship in multireligious societies. For Galston, tolerance is reflected in a respect for group integrity, rights of non-interference, separate schools or home schools, and so forth. In this respect, Galston's theory seems more helpful in the Indonesian context than autonomy liberalism, for Galston provides justification for religious, ethnic and cultural groups to exercise their rights to flourish without any interference. And this diversity liberalism was already carried out in Indonesia during the Dutch colonial time (1602-1943) when the government left civil societies to manage their affairs including in educational activities. The Dutch government supported educational pluralism and provided funding for faith schools that met its requirement and did

[30]To Galston, Amish aspirations should be accommodated. The Christian fundamentalist parents who object to the Holt series in Hawkin County, Tennessee, have to be given alternative materials respectfully, for such school accommodation as this would not harm democratic citizenship (2002, p. 114-118).

not touch faith life. Although the Dutch school allowed student religious clubs as extracurricular activities, student religious clubs were totally controlled by students.

Since independence, however, as a nation aware of diversity and its danger to national integration, the Indonesia government has made Indonesian education an agent of nation and character building that gives emphasis to national unity and national values. The state had favored public school and allocated funding to public school, for public school has the clear purpose of citizenship education, that is, to create citizens who could get along with others in reciprocity, equal respect, and cooperation.

So, while autonomy liberalism would be seen as too idealistic and 'aggressive' an imposition of liberal values by many religious groups in Indonesia, diversity liberalism seems like a gentler and more accommodating version of liberalism, and therefore more likely to be acceptable to more people from different religious backgrounds, for different civil societies could develop their own educational institution and coexist side by side, and this means parents and communities have educational choices.

The question is whether or not education can promote democracy in a multi religious Indonesia simply by adopting a stance of tolerance and allowing different religious groups to educate for tolerance of diversity within a system of separate religious schools. Or will such a system be too weak, and perhaps court the possibility of religious conflict and strife rather than stability? Galston's theory also assumes that different groups will reliably tolerate one another even if they lead largely separate lives and their children are educated separately (no interaction or dialogue within religious schools). In the US context for which he largely writes, this is arguably a legitimate assumption. [31] There the vast majority of children go to

[31] It should be emphasized that this assumption is highly contentious. Many critics have challenged Galston precisely on the grounds that he is far too complacent about the educational conditions required for ensuring social stability in Western democracies that are stricken by deep moral and religious disagreement and conflict (Callan, 1997; Gutmann, 1995)

public schools with other children from different religious and cultural backgrounds. So potentially there is lots of interaction and interreligious learning taking place.

Private religious schooling is not funded in all US states, and although it is a growing sector, according to National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (2009), the number of children attending private religious schools (private, church-related) is still comparatively small (8.7) compared to those attending public school (88.7).[32] Even if a small minority of children go to separate religious schools, this may not have a huge effect on the civic education of the population as a whole. For Indonesia, however, this is far less safe as an assumption. There is no guarantee in Indonesia that a state position of non-interference with respect to different religious groups will facilitate greater stability rather than enable simmering and still potentially volatile conflicts to erupt. Incidences of religious conflicts and persistent communal tension and prejudices in Indonesia have proved the failure of relying on mere emphasis of tolerance. On the contrary, this forces the state to take a greater effort in shaping citizenship. With a policy of the state that accommodates religion in public institutions, national education, has to lay an even greater common ground and intensify interreligious interaction.

I think a relevant question for a theory of diversity toleration (based on the principle of non-interference) is whether or not the theory is able to account for ways of creating new and strong bonds of citizenship between people who come from different religious traditions. At the theoretical level, it seems likely that such a pluralist society or a society with multiple identities is able to co-exist or tolerate one another, for each cultural group is equally allowed to lead their good life, for all personal and group rights are protected. Besides, imposition of one cultural group over the other is also avoided. But such a society remains essentially in the stage of coexistence since they do not interact nor dialogue with one another. Consequently,

[32] Private, not church related (2.6)

people within this co-existence mode, typically, have prejudices and stereotypes of one another which are vulnerable under tension and conflict. Thus, mere toleration of diversity may divide peoples further along philosophical, religious, ethnic and other particularities. Galston is probably referring to the US as an example, but I think in the US there have been already relatively strong civic grounds, and so religious toleration and respect, for instance, have taken root and have become crucial elements that stabilize a multicultural society. I think Indonesia is not like the US. Indonesia is a new democratic country (since 1998). Indonesia has laws and institutions of democracy, but the civic grounds have not been entrenched in society. While the US is secular country, Indonesia is a country that is very much inclusive of religion in public institutions and in public life.

Therefore, theories such as the diversity toleration theories as championed by Galston appear to be inadequate especially for a plural society of religiously committed peoples such as Indonesia, a society that lacks a widely shared liberal tradition and is troubled by sharp economic disparity as discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Problems that may arise with the toleration of diversity model, if implemented in Indonesia, include the possibility that the society will continuously be troubled by a lack of civic unity, ghettoization, prejudices, stereotypes, inter-communal distrust, discrimination, racism, and injustices since there is no relevant program to address those issues and problems.

To sum up the discussion of this section, diversity liberalism emphasizes important concerns related to the need for toleration and recognition of religious difference – concerns that are important in Indonesia both historically and in contemporary contexts. By contrast, diversity liberalism also neglects educational conditions that are important for promoting a sense of social cohesion, commitment to the common good, and collective social purpose in Indonesia. Educational policies that strongly emphasize group difference and separation, and which thereby allows groups to avoid educational exposure to one another, leave

considerations of civic cohesion to chance, instead of careful and principled educational planning.

I have already examined arguments that suggest that at least some significant educational exposure to religious diversity is needed to advance children's sense of autonomous critical judgment. What this critique of diversity liberalism suggests is that similar considerations apply to educational goals pertaining to civic unity and collective purpose, in which its citizens have attitudes and capacities to deliberate and exchange ideas in a multicultural democracy and can work hand in hand for the common good. These considerations are addressed prominently in the political liberal theory of John Rawls, which is the subject of the next section of this chapter.

### 3.4. Political Liberalism (John Rawls)

A third liberal theory central to contemporary debate on citizenship and citizenship education for diverse societies is the theory of 'political liberalism' championed by John Rawls (2005). Rawls' fundamental question asks "…how citizens, who remain deeply divided on religious, philosophical and moral doctrines, can still maintain a just and stable democratic society?" (p. 10). What follows is his line of reasoning:

> A modern democratic society is characterized not simply by pluralism of comprehensive religious, philosophical, and moral doctrines but by a pluralism of incompatible yet reasonable comprehensive doctrines. No one of these doctrines is affirmed by citizens generally. Nor should one expect that in the foreseeable future one of them, or some other reasonable doctrine, would ever be affirmed by all, or nearly all, citizens. Political liberalism assumes that, for political purposes, a plurality of reasonable yet incompatible comprehensive doctrines is the normal result of the exercise of human reason within the framework of the free institutions of a constitutional democratic regime. Political liberalism also supposes that a reasonable comprehensive doctrine does not reject the essential of democratic regime. Of course, a society may also contain unreasonable and irrational, and even mad, comprehensive doctrines. In their case the problem is to contain them so that they do not undermine the unity and justice of society. (Rawls, 2005, xvi-xvii)

A central value of citizenship for liberals in a politically liberal society is what Rawls calls "public reason"; that is, a citizen's capacity to reason or to deliberate in a way that makes sense to all reasonable people of different philosophical, cultural and religious backgrounds. To Kymlicka (2000), public reasons are "reasons capable of persuading peoples of different ethnic or religious groups" (p. 9). Public reason belongs to a conception of a well-ordered constitutional democratic polity (Rawls, 2005) and it is part of democracy itself. Public reason is a form of reasoning given by citizen to citizen as free and equal persons. It is employed as a response to the fact of reasonable pluralism. Public reason relates to values of reciprocity and beliefs that peoples are reasonable and rational. Macedo (2000) states that citizens with public reasonableness are committed to two basic virtues.

> First, good citizens should seek to discern and abide by fair terms of cooperation… core of this aspect of public reasonableness is, as Gutmann and Thompson stress, the virtue of reciprocity …The second cardinal virtue of public reasonableness is what Rawls calls a willingness to acknowledge the fact of reasonable pluralism…that reasonable people 'recognize the burdens of judgment. (p. 171)[33]

Callan (1991) attributes public reason to spirit of fairness and compromise (p. 85).The capacity for public reason is needed to live in a culturally pluralistic society since it will enable citizens to engage with each other for the common good despite their deep differences.

Rawls (2005) conceptualizes a just and stable society as "a fair system of cooperation together with the conception of the person as free and equal citizen" (p. 167). Such a society is based on a shared political conception of justice. This can be achieved through what he calls an "overlapping consensus" or an agreed conception of justice grounded in, congruent with, supportive of the various comprehensive views of citizens . Rawls (2001) believes that this overlapping consensus is attainable because, despite the fact that the citizens are

[33] I employ the definition of "public reason" in inclusive sense as Macedo and Callan highlighted. In its narrower sense, public reason demands that citizens from diverse backgrounds employ common reasoning accessible to the public, such as logic, evidence, and refers to common shared public values in their justification. According to Rawls, public reasoning skill is perfectly exemplified by the Supreme Court. Unlike the discourse in a congregation that can only be shared by its members, Rawls maintains that the discourse of the Supreme Court is reasonable to people of all different backgrounds, no matter the comprehensive views they endorse.

characterized by philosophical and religious disagreement, they are nevertheless reasonable people (or capable of reasonableness) who are ready to cooperate (or who can be educated into the virtues required for reasonable cooperation) for mutual benefit. For example, unlike in the past, religious tolerance is now gradually accepted and slavery is rejected. Many people from diverse backgrounds now accept and endorse these shared values, but they often accept them by seeing how they connect to and affirm values that are part of their various, different religious and non-religious 'comprehensive' views about the good life. Thus, as Rawls suggest, when people of different backgrounds feel that public policy already meets the sense of justice required, they will support a system of justice from their own view.

For Rawls, the task of political liberalism and of liberal civic education is to extend the range of values and policies that are part of the social 'overlapping consensus'. For example, in Western societies, the hope is that many people from different backgrounds can come, from their various comprehensive perspectives, to share views about justice in relation to issues like abortion, the treatment of gay and lesbian citizens, and other controversial and divisive political issues. In the Indonesian context, even though Muslims are a majority of the population (88 %), they have refused an Islamic state and endorsed a Pancasila and the Constitution 1945 that endorse human rights, democracy, supremacy of law, gender equality and assert that the Pancasila state is final or non-negotiable. This did not happen until 1990. In fact, it was only in 2002, after free deliberation of the People's Consultative Council (MPR) of all political parties, including Islamic parties, that national consensus was made. This consensus affirmed that the state is based on the Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945 which values very highly religious faith, equality, liberty, national unity, democracy, social justice, and gender equality. The challenge is how overlapping consensus and national commitment over those values can be deepened and expanded so that they are practiced in daily life including individuals and group minorities of various kinds. Importantly, this

process of extension and expansion does not happen on its own; it requires that citizens become competent public reasoners. This is one reason why a process of citizenship education aimed at promoting public reasoning capacities of citizens is so important for the political liberal project. (Callan, 1997; Macedo, 2000)

The political liberalism that Rawls defends does not take a position on the moral conception of a good life, and it is left to different comprehensive views to answer this question (Rawls, 2005). Thus, the conception of public reasoning that citizenship education seeks to promote cannot be that form of reasoning that is distinctive of any particular comprehensive religious tradition. It also cannot be that form of reasoning that is distinctive of any secular comprehensive tradition (not just religious ones) – even comprehensive conceptions of liberalism based on such ideas as Kantian autonomy or Deweyan growth and individuality.

In relation to creating and maintaining a just and stable democratic society, Rawls rejects the affirmation of comprehensive liberal values, such as autonomy, since any imposition of such values would contradict the recognition of pluralism or would deny the fact that people of different religious backgrounds lead different, including non-autonomous, ways of life. To impose a comprehensive value or set of values would be to affirm and enforce a public comprehensive morality and thus would violate the constraints of political liberalism and the notion of an overlapping consensus among disparate comprehensive moral views. According to Rawls, in a religiously diverse society, no particular comprehensive view will or should be affirmed by all.

Political liberalism is not comprehensive since it does not intend to orient people in their private life in family, churches or community. By limiting itself to politics and being "freestanding" of all metaphysical views about morality in its character, it is hoped that all reasonable comprehensive views (religious as well as philosophical) will be treated fairly and

public policy will serve justice for all. Rawls developed a concept that he calls "civic friendship". This means an environment where we have a certain kind of concern for one another as citizens, as Blacker (2003) puts it, "where we are not only civil in our discourse but we work positively to overcome mutual suspicion and hostility by bothering to try to understand something of our own and our fellow citizens' deepest moral motivation" (p. 249). Thus, there will exist in citizens a deep commitment to democratic norms and tolerant attitude to divergent beliefs possessed by their fellow citizens. And, by implication, political liberalism would gain full acceptance of comprehensive doctrines needed for sustaining a just and stable democratic polity.

### 3.4.1. Educational Implication of Political Liberalism

So far I have emphasized three aspects of political liberalism. First, I outlined the importance of public reason and public reasonableness. Second, I explained the notion of justice based on the aim of promoting and growing and extending 'overlapping consensus' of diverse comprehensive (religious and non-religious) doctrines. Third, I have distinguished it from comprehensive or 'autonomy' liberalism. Now I want to focus on the educational implications of political liberalism. Rawls (2005) regards education as having a very critical role in developing a well-ordered constitutional democracy or deliberative democracy (p. 447-449). Rawls (2005) distinguishes his conception of civic education from Kant's and Mill's since it stresses neither individuality nor autonomy nor any particular comprehensive view. Rawls states:

> Various religious sects oppose the culture of the modern world and wish to lead their common life apart from its unwanted influences. A problem now arises about their children's education and the requirements the state can impose. The liberalism of Kant and Mill may lead to requirements designed to foster the values of autonomy and individuality as ideals to govern much if not all of life. But political liberalism has a different aim and requires far less. It will ask children's education include such things as knowledge of their constitutional and civic rights so that, for example, they know that liberty of conscience exists in their society and that apostasy is not a legal

> crime, all this to insure that their continued membership when they come of age is not based simply on ignorance of their basic rights or fear of punishment for offenses that do not exist. Moreover, their education should also prepare them to be fully cooperating members of society and enable them to be self-supporting; it should also encourage the political virtues so that they want to honor the fair terms of social cooperation in their relations with the rest of society. (p. 199)

To Callan (1997), education is the only example that Rawls used to make distinction between political liberalism and comprehensive liberalism in practical political life. Callan has commented on Rawls stating that "political liberalism sets the aims of political education in a way that avoids any oppressive assault on diversity" (p.6).

It is clear, to Rawls, as quoted above, education has to make sure that children are aware of their civic rights and liberties–in particular as these are historically and politically situated in a particular society. In other words, the aim is not just knowledge of rights and liberties as abstract philosophical notions, but as these are concretely embodied in the specific legal, political and moral context of the nation. To Rawls, education also has to prepare children to be cooperating and fair-minded members of the larger society. Nevertheless, Rawls himself does not develop in detail the educational implication of his ideas. How far would he go to make a different proposal for what is commonly known as the study of civics and government? How would he imagine a model of education to prepare citizens able to cooperate with members of society with virtues of toleration, mutual respect, reciprocity, reasonableness, fair-mindedness, civility, spirit of compromise, and a readiness to meet others halfway? How would he make sure that youths of different religious backgrounds have mutual understanding, mutual respect, mutual recognition and can exchange ideas and overcome differences among them? Even though Rawls himself does not really write in detail about education, other theorists have adapted his ideas to the question of citizenship education.

What is obvious is that in order to ensure public reasonableness for a multireligious society of Indonesia, political liberalism requires four essential elements of schooling: diverse school setting, practice of dialogue and democracy, the development of shared civic knowledge, and knowledge of religious diversity.

Although somewhat ambiguous about diverse school setting, it seems reasonable that political liberalism points in the direction of a common education in educational settings that welcomes young citizens from different religious backgrounds, for it is impossible to reach an overlapping consensus based on public reason if citizens are educated and live separately from each other, based on religious affiliation. The reason is that this atmosphere will develop cooperation and skill on how to exchange ideas, to resolve disagreement, and reach consensus. Through these practices, students will learn mutual respect, reciprocity, and the burden of judgment -central characteristics of public reasonableness.

To Rawls, one central feature of the political liberalism model (deliberative democracy) is the possibility of exchanges and debates between citizens of various religious and non-religious backgrounds about public political questions. Learning to engage in this sort of political dialogue requires that children in schools be exposed to diversity, since without such exposure they cannot learn to reason publicly in the way Rawls envisions. Importantly, for Rawls, the main aim of this exposure is not to promote autonomous critical thinking, but rather to enable young citizens to reach mutual understanding, compromise and even agreement on divisive issues. This marks, for Rawls, a major difference between Political Liberalism as compared with autonomy (or what he calls 'comprehensive') liberalism.

Although Rawls recognizes and probably does not regret the fact that civic education will sometimes lead to an increase in citizen autonomy, and therefore may sometimes lead children to 'choose' against their parents' religious views, these are not intended effects of

citizenship education in the political liberal view. For Rawls, the development of personal autonomy is at most and accidental side effects of citizenship education (Callan, 1997).[34]

Instead, the main focus of politically liberal civic education is on the empowerment of a democratic citizenry and not on the promotion of individual choice. Political liberalism seeks to foster citizen consent and endorsement of the main social and political institutions of democracy through eliciting and 'wooing' their participation and reasoned consent. The focus, once again, is in increasing democracy and not on maximizing individual choice.

Politically liberal civic education provides a morally powerful basis for backing an educational program that mobilizes the cooperation of citizens from various religious backgrounds in a collective democratic project designed to ensure that the population at large possesses the skills and collective force needed to regulate and control the shifting and politically arbitrary forces of not only religious minority affiliations but also global and national economic forces. Importantly, political liberalism makes a bet that citizens from many different backgrounds can and will agree to an educational program along the lines of collective democratic public reason (which goes beyond the diversity liberals minimal focus on tolerance of diversity) so long as the educational program in question does not seek to

[34] Eamonn Callan does not think Rawls succeeds in showing a significant difference between Political liberalism and Comprehensive liberalism. Callan (1997) maintains that the educational implication of political liberalism requires similar conditions to autonomy liberalism with the exception that Rawls proposal point to autonomy from the back door of political liberalism (p. 40). In respect to burden of judgment that Rawls highly values, Callan (1997) enumerated the following educational task of political liberalism: "Future citizen must be taught to think in particular ways about doctrines that properly lie outside the scope of public reason: they must become critically attuned to the wide range of reasonable political disagreement within the society they inhabit and to the troubling gap between reasonable agreement and the whole moral truth. This will require serious imaginative engagement with rival views about good and evil, right and wrong, and this in turn means that these views must be confronted in their own terms, without the peremptory dismissal they might receive according to whatever doctrine a child learns in family. The moral authority of family and the various associations in which the child grows up must be questioned to the extent that the society contains reasonable alternatives to whatever that authority prescribes. All this look a pretty familiar depiction of central elements in an education for autonomy…"(p. 40). Callan (1991) also maintained that skills of public reason in pluralism can only be developed via substantial interaction between members of diverse religious and secular ways of life. It will also require a good deal of knowledge and sympathetic understanding or imagination of on the part of citizens of religious and non-religious comprehensive conceptions other than their own.

aggressively promote a specifically 'liberal' moral agenda of individual autonomy and choice.

Furthermore, in order to have stronger grounds for public reasonableness, political liberalism requires that the schools expose students to shared civic knowledge such as, for Indonesian context, Pancasila, Constitution 1945, Human Rights Act so that children know, as Rawls (2005) stated, that apostasy or heresy are not legal crime. Schools also should expose children to pressing social and political problems so that they would be intellectually and legally equipped and become engaged citizens. Otherwise, decisions of crucial political and social problems cannot be made by citizens but by those who are socially and politically powerful due to their wealth, prestige and status, or because they are backed by powerful corporate influences.

In the context of Indonesia, knowledge of other faiths or beliefs is also essential for reducing fear of difference, combating prejudice, developing understanding and respect of others and for fostering burden of judgment, empathy and reciprocity important for social continuity. Ignorance of others very often lead to avoidance and disengagement and this paves the way for social division, communalism and hatred. Thus, a 'literacy' of other values, beliefs and traditions has to be crucial element of education for public reasonableness (Kunzman, 2006; Moore, 2007; Jackson, 2003).

To sum up, Rawls educational implementation would be characterized as following. In term of public policy of schooling, the emphasis on public reasonableness as a goal for citizenship education provides a strong reason for political liberals to favor a diverse school setting. This means that the school reflects its diverse societies whose students are composed of different backgrounds. Therefore, public schools would probably fit this requirement best, for the public school is diverse, controlled (or at least, it is supposed to be controlled) by shared public values and open to diversity of values and culture. Yet, religious schools could

also meet this requirement if they are open to diversity. Brighouse (2010) suggests that diversity of religious schools is also crucial in that it will enable the schools to foster democratic civic virtues such as public reasonableness and reciprocity albeit, in the case of religious school, it does not necessary make personal autonomy an explicit aim.

Another requirement of Rawls educational implementation is that interaction, dialogue, deliberation and conversation over differences or matters of importance are to be a central element of the school. This means that the schools are to practice democracy and deliberation. School culture and behavior (among others, reflected in principal-teacher-students/ parents/ community relation) has to be democratic so that deliberative democracy is not just for students and teachers in classroom, but for the whole community in the school.

In terms of curriculum, political liberalism requires that students are to study constitutional essentials that entail human rights, democratic government, and pressing political and social problems. The aim is to promote greater agreement – based on an overlapping consensus through the use of public reason – on these issues. To adherents of political liberalism, citizens ideally employ modes of reasoning whose values and principles are grounded on principles and values shared by the general public. To supporters of political liberalism, diversity of religion, culture, and orientation could lead to social disunity unless every citizen commits to shared public values and principles. If not, diversity could create social division according to religion, ethnicity, race, and other particularities. For that reason the advocates of political liberalism give weight to studies of constitutions and democratic government.

In terms of pedagogy, deliberative democracy would be characteristic of student learning and teacher teaching. Students as free and equal citizens irrespective of their backgrounds must engage and deliberate on matters of public interest employing public reasonableness justification. The supporters of political liberalism highlight the importance of promoting

citizens' ability to exchange ideas and debate freely on matters of critical political and social issues in order to allow them to become reasonable democratic citizens with a sense of 'civic friendship' to all citizens from various religious and non-religious backgrounds. Here, political liberalism would support interreligious dialogue or intercultural discussion intended to develop mutual understanding, equal respect, public reasonableness, and reciprocity. If education deemphasizes this public reasoning capacity while communities of different kinds emphasize only a particular cultural reasoning distinct to their own community, people living in an increasingly pluralist world would have difficulties communicating with one another.

In Chapter 6, I will discuss Ethics and Religious Culture (ERC) adopted by Quebec Province, Canada, as an example of political liberalism education model on how to educationally engage youths in religious, ethical and cultural diversity, because this is what seems to be missing in Indonesian curriculum. ERC fits political liberalism in the Indonesian context, for it does not appear to be aggressively committed to promoting children's autonomy as an ideal directly. Its main purpose is to develop recognition of others and to promote pursuit for the common good.

### 3.4.2. Problems and Possibilities of Political Liberalism if implemented in Indonesia

*Suitability of political liberalism model to Indonesia.*

In drawing out the practical implications of political liberalism for Indonesian citizenship education, I have to once again emphasize that some degree of speculation is inevitable, and thus caution is required. However, there are some strong reasons to think that political liberalism provides a model of democratic citizenship that is attractive and suitable—more than the other liberal theories I have discussed in this chapter. One reason is that political liberalism is not only very much concerned with civic unity in diversity, but also, and this is what is most important, political liberalism provides a middle way or a moderate solution

between other theories. It is hard for Indonesia to endorse autonomy, critical reflection, and secular rationality to everyone in all aspects of life, as endorsed by autonomy liberalism, because religion is still very important in the country. However, it is also dangerous for Indonesia to adopt diversity liberalism model that protects the freedom of individual and diverse civil societies without state interference in securing social cohesion, for Indonesia, particularly, has problems of interreligious relation complicated by poverty and inequality.

Political liberalism is appropriate in that it recognizes the fact of pluralism and gives greater space for private life, such as religious life. Yet it also seeks to build common grounds – or 'common civic groundings' to use David Blacker's (2003) term -- so that members of societies, although they are attached to different cultures, as citizens, remain able to deliberate and engage one another for the common good. This model can fit the Indonesian experience, for the country has recognized religious and cultural diversity and concurrently has always made many efforts to build social cohesion. This is why the national motto of the state is Bhineka Tunggal Ika (unity in diversity).

The political liberalism model of schooling is extremely critical for the country, for Indonesian democracy is still formal, procedural and confined by the existence of laws, political parties, voting, free leadership competition, administrative decentralization and autonomy. In ethnically and religiously diverse Indonesia, this formal and procedural democracy is inadequate for it does not necessarily reduce prejudices, divisions, tensions, discrimination, injustice, and violence. In fact, to some extent, freedom of association and civil societies tends to create communalism, and 'ghettoization', and to implicate discrimination, injustice, tension and has caused violent religious conflict. Formal and procedural democracy also does not automatically transform people's values and attitudes to becoming respectful towards individual choice, the rights of minorities, commitment to

equality and social justice in relation to living in multicultural and multireligious societies. This democratic culture remains to be consolidated (Gutmann, 2003).

Since people (the government officials, political elites, religious leaders, policemen & policewomen, and citizens) are a key factor, they need to be educated not just about laws, democratic process and democratic institutions, but, more importantly, about personifying and embodying values of diversity, freedom, equality, and social justice. They also need to value the process of learning to deliberate, engage in dialogue, negotiate, compromise and to solve differences, especially in the context of multireligious and multicultural societies.

Indonesian democracy also tends to be elitist, privileging those who are in power, middle class, and educated. The masses tend to be passive and are only the "object" of democracy. As a consequence, democracy tends to serve the interest of corporations and those in authority. The political liberalism model in education could help to address this deficit of democracy and could contribute to transform Indonesian democracy to become a participatory democracy where citizens of all background have the capacity to participate for the welfare of all.

Deliberative democratic schools can play an important role as a bridge to consolidating democracy in society. If children or young people of diverse backgrounds have positive experiences, knowledge, values, attitude and skills to live in religiously and culturally diverse societies, they certainly will bring all of these experiences and values for the good of societies at large. Therefore, the schools have to make sure that youth gain meaningful democratic multicultural experiences. At the same time, if they have negative experiences in the schools, youth also will bring them to society. This challenge is, indeed, not easy, for the schools themselves tend to be undemocratic and do not consider the central importance of schooling as an agent of democratic citizenship education. Yet, it seems there is no choice. Schools have to take democratic citizenship as their central agenda in order to consolidate

deliberative and participatory democracy of diverse Indonesia. Otherwise, the promise of democracy (social stability and social welfare for all) will never prevail.

*Problems of Indonesian education*

An important question is whether or not Indonesian education meets the requirements of political liberalism (diversity, deliberative democratic practice, and development of shared civic knowledge and knowledge of religious diversity). I will address this question when discussing my fieldwork in Chapter 5. But some aspects of the question can be addressed just by noting some features of Indonesian educational policy.

In respect to the requirement of diversity and diverse school settings, the problem is that government educational policy does not require diversity as a requirement of establishment of educational institution. As discussed in Chapter 2, although the government favors public schools, the government policy has recently tended to be open and to supportive to faith schools (Islamic, Protestant, Catholic, Hindus, Buddhist, and Confucian). In other words, the government policy tends to support educational pluralism along the lines of diversity liberalism. This might be positive in that it creates growth of educational institutions and gives more educational options to parents. Yet, it allows homogenous schools to grow and create separation of educational institutions particularly along religions line. It results in homogeneity which is not conducive to citizenship that requires engagement in diversity. As a consequence, within Indonesia as educational institutions and policies are currently structured, it is only public education or public schools that relatively have the diverse atmosphere fitted to the requirements of political liberalism, for most public schools are diverse and they give relatively equal treatment to students of different faiths.

A second problem of Indonesian education is that it does not place deliberative democratic skills as central mission of the schooling. Actually, the Education Act 2003 has placed democratic citizenship as one of the main educational goals and this, of course,

requires that the schools are to be democratic and deliberative. Yet, since the government measures educational achievement and success primarily through national examinations and mostly paper and pencil test, this makes the schools function primarily as agents of knowledge transmission and appears to neglect considerations of democratic citizenship and religious diversity as educational aims. Therefore, teachers and principals do not consider that deliberation, dialogue, and exchanges of ideas over differences or over pressing political and social matters as being of central importance for the schools although the Educational Act 2003, clearly, demands that a school is expected to create a democratic citizen and this, of course, requires that the schools be deliberative and democratic. This suggests that aside from a clearer articulation of aims for democratic citizenship education, what is also needed is a re-prioritizing of educational goals/purposes and aims within Indonesian educational institutions.

John Rawls (2005) highlighted the central importance of shared civic knowledge – knowledge that does not depend on commitment to a single, particular religious tradition – to be developed through study of the constitution and other common resources of the national culture. In Indonesia, this has been long stressed by the national curriculum (Poerbakawatja, 1970; Jasin, 1987; Soemantri, 2010). The country has [since the early independence day in 1945] put emphasis on the study of state ideology of Pancasila and the Constitution 1945, laws, government and politics. In fact, in 1977-1997, the government made them socialized to wider communities to foster mutual tolerance, harmony, cooperation regardless of the differences. Since 1970s, the government has even interfered to make sure that Islamic Religious Education teaches the values compatible to national values such as freedom, equality, and unity in diversity (Morfit, 1981).

One constraint of the implementation of the political liberalism model is the pervasive presence of confessional religious education in Indonesian schools. The purpose and

pedagogy of the political liberalism model might be in conflict with the purpose and pedagogy of religious education in public school.[35] While political liberalism is oriented to creating deliberative democratic citizens, religious education or faith schools are more interested in creating congregants. While the former employs critical thinking, the latter employs indoctrination and stresses obedience. The question is whether or not this problem can be reconciled.

Yet, political liberalism is political, not moral or comprehensive (Rawls, 1985). In terms of religion, political liberalism, certainly, would prefer to approach religion through the lens of civil liberties so there is no compulsory subject of religious faith class. Political liberalism also would approach religion in a scientific and critical manner, for the scientific approach is reasonable and accessible to peoples of different backgrounds and could enhance public shared values and eradicate fanaticism, radicalism, extremism, and fundamentalism in religion. Yet, political liberalism does not impose a critical approach to religious education as it is a private sphere and any imposition would deny the fact of pluralism and freedom of conscience (Strike, 1998). What political liberalism is concerned about most is how to foster public reasonableness, overlapping consensus and mutual respect. This is also what the state of Indonesia has adopted. The government has always made efforts to make sure that Indonesians are good citizens, irrespective of deep religious attachment, by making, among others, its national curriculum and textbooks teach values of tolerance, religious harmony and religious freedom.

What is also lacking is the fact that although religion from different backgrounds is recognized in public institutions and public education, the state educational policies do not

[35] Religious education has had a compulsory status since the military-backed government undertook politics of religious accommodation in 1967 to please Muslims who supported its rise in struggle against Indonesian communist parties. Since that time, the government interpreted religion as inherent part of national identity and students are oblidged to study religion of her faith. There is no right to be communist nor atheist and the state only recognized major religions (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism). There is no place for adherents of religious minorities in the school.

contain provisions that encourage students to understand various beliefs and religious traditions. Such mutual understanding is crucial to mutual respect for mutual respect cannot genuinely be developed with ignorance of religious diversity (Kunzman, 2006). In Western contexts, proponents of 'religious literacy' have argued that ignorance of religious diversity creates prejudice and bigotry (Moore, 2007). If that is right, then in Indonesia, as elsewhere, there are very good reasons to encourage religious literacy in the name of politically liberal citizenship education. In Chapter 5, I will discuss this in a greater detail on several practical educational models: "imaginative engagement" and "civic deliberation" as proposed by Kunzman (2006) which put emphasis on understanding and empathy to ethical difference as basis of dialogue and making decision; "religious literacy" as developed by Moore which stresses complexity, multiplicity, and multi interpretation of religious phenomenon; and particularly the Ethics and Religious Culture implemented by Quebec government that urges citizens aware of the fact of ethical, religious and cultural diversity and be able to achieve ethical, dialogue and religion competences.

In sum, in light of the political liberalism model, the challenges of Indonesian education seems to include the following four things if national education is to be expected to contribute to creating citizens for a religious and culturally diverse society in Indonesia. First, regarding the public policy of schooling, the state has to ensure that diversity is a requirement to of all educational institutions. This means that schools are to welcome diversity of views and ideas and to welcome students from different backgrounds. Second, the state has to make sure that interaction and deliberative democratic practice is a fundamental element of the schools so that students can be educated to overcome differences and disagreements in civility and non violence and this approach will consolidate democracy culturally. Third, the state has to make students share greater common grounds in terms of public or national values, such as through the study of the Constitution that values social justice, equality, and

liberty. Fourth is that the schools have to develop in students (school members) knowledge of religious diversity that enable them to live together harmoniously despite religious differences.

### 3.5. Summary

So far, I have discussed three main liberal theories of citizenship education: autonomy liberalism, diversity liberalism, and political liberalism. Each liberal theory has something to offer. Autonomy liberalism reminds us of the central importance of children's liberties and their right to choose what is best for themselves. It also emphasizes the necessity of the state to expose children to alternative views, values and traditions, and to educate them for critical thinking. I have argued that exposure to diversity and critical reflection is necessary in order for children to develop a reasoned argument, to their expand horizon, and to prevent the development of fundamentalist and radical beliefs. Yet, since autonomy liberalism requires a critical examination of one's whole life, including faith life, it would be hard to implement it in present day Indonesia since it has a society that highly values religious faith. As Macedo (2000) anticipated, it would create controversy, and probably strong opposition (p. 214-215). Yet autonomy liberalism has reminded us that children will take full responsibility of their future and they also (will) live in diversity, so they need exposure to diversity and critical reflection.

Diversity liberalism is actually appealing to Indonesia, in that it argues for the central importance of non-interference to rights and liberties of parent and civil societies so that different groups could live as they wish as long as they live in a civil manner. Yet, diversity liberalism would leave the Indonesian situation unchanged or even exacerbate separation, division, tension, prejudice, conflict along religious lines and implicate social injustices, for religion from different backgrounds is deeply entrenched in people's lives.

A middle ground is needed, and political liberalism may provide it. Political liberalism shares the ideals of autonomy liberalism on the necessity of exposure to diversity, for diversity is a fact of life, yet the purpose of political liberalism is not for autonomy, but for public reasonableness. In the context of pluralism, political liberalism shares some of the ideas of diversity liberalism in that both of them remind citizens to respect diversity and pluralism. The difference is that political liberalism believes that a diverse society can only exist and flourish if its members share common grounds which, for political liberalism, mean cultivating public reasonableness.

Of the three liberal theories, I have suggested that political liberalism is probably the best fit for Indonesia. The state of Indonesia has realized that pluralism is a fact of the country and has been aware of its danger to national unity and civic unity. Therefore, Indonesia, since its independence in 1945, has stressed the central importance of tolerance, mutual respect, and cooperation. Yet, Indonesian citizenship education increasingly relies on Citizenship teaching or civic knowledge transmission. It does not require a diverse school setting or deliberative democratic practices. These are the challenges for Indonesian educational reform if the country would respond to diversity, democracy, and religious conflict adequately

# Chapter 4:

# A Methodological Framework for Conducting Fieldwork in Public Schools

## 4.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 discussed contemporary theoretical debates on the role of public school in creating citizens for democratic multireligious societies and examined possibilities and problems of its implementation in Indonesia. What is important to investigate is the current implementation of citizenship education in Indonesian public schools. This fourth chapter then turns to the research paradigm for the fieldwork; the methodology and design of the study; what counts as data; and the data collection methods, including the ways that research participants were approached and incorporated into the study. The final section of the chapter examines techniques for data analysis and offers a discussion on the validity of the approaches taken.

## 4.2. Paradigm Orientation for the Fieldwork

My research paradigm is based on a constructivist paradigm. This paradigm stipulates that knowledge is mentally, socially, and culturally a human construction of the researcher and the participant. Reality is constructed by a social actor in a particular time and place through a complex process of social interaction involving history, language, and action. Constructivists seek to understand the complexity of reality from those living in it. But to understand the meaning of the reality one has to interpret it (Schwandt, 1998, pp. 221–222). Constructivists deny being able to get into the heads of participants and retrieving inside information. Instead, constructivist theory seeks to look over, to understand, and to analyze the meaning of participants' words, images, behaviors, and institutions (Schwandt, 1998, p. 232). Knowledge, to constructivists, can neither describe nor approximate one true and objective reality since human individuals experience and understand the world differently.

Constructivists assume that human beings are purposive agents. The investigator actively enters the worlds of the people being studied in order to understand how they see their worlds. (Schwandt, 1998, p. 232). As Eisner (1991) maintained: "We are always in a constructive position. We *make* our experience, not simply *have* it" (p. 60). And because the individual has a distinct perception, experience, inclination, and capabilities, reality is never singular but pluralistic and pliable. As Nelson Goodman states, it is human beings who create many versions of the world (as cited in Schwandt, 1998, pp. 237–238). In the constructivist paradigm, being objective and distant is impossible and undesirable (Guba & Lincoln, 1998, p. 203, 206; Hatch, 2002, p. 15). If knowledge of reality is multiple, how can it be enhanced? The constructivists reply that more informed knowledge about reality can be enhanced through interaction between the researchers and the participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1998, p. 207).

This work also draws on critical theory. As Kincheloe and McLaren (1998) note, the strongest argument for the social construction of knowledge comes from the critical theory traditions inspired by Marx, Kant, Hegel, Weber, the Frankfurt school theorists, Foucault, Habermas, Derrida, Paulo Freire, Irigaray, Kristiva, Cixous, Bakhtin, and Vygotsky. For these theorists, reality is not out there and detached. We create reality. Indeed, for criticalists, knowledge cannot be separated from us as knowers and therefore obviously reflects our own ideological and political interests. Because knowledge reflects the social structure of its society, mainstream knowledge legitimates the existing society and is oriented to the status quo. For this reason, knowledge always benefits the elites of a society even if the society as a whole may not realize it. Criticalists also maintain that knowledge is a product of power relations.

In the criticalist tradition, it is extremely important to question the material basis and system of ideology that perpetuate domination and inequality. It is equally necessary to respond critically to any knowledge or description of reality by posing questions such as "Who describes reality?", "Who defines knowledge?", and "Which group does knowledge serve?" Because of their belief that ideological and political interest is embedded in knowing and knowledge, critical researchers have to provide accounts of the world from the perspectives of the marginalized. Here, the main function of knowledge is not simply to describe or to explain reality but to empower individuals. Critical inquiry is charged with uncovering the unjust reality and transforming it. Otherwise, knowledge and thoughts will only reproduce unjust societies. Kincheloe and McLaren (1998) illustrate the distinctiveness of critical theories:

> Whereas traditional researchers cling to the guard rail of neutrality, critical researchers frequently announce their partisanship in the struggle for a better world. Traditional researchers see their task as the description, interpretation, or reanimation of a slice of reality, whereas critical researchers often regard their works as a first step toward a form of political action that can redress the injustice. . . . Horkheimer (1972) puts it succinctly . . . critical theory and research are never satisfied with merely increasing knowledge. (p. 264)

Such a notion is held by feminist theorists as well (Fine, 1994; Kirby & Kenna, 1989). Kirby and Kenna (1989), for example, maintain that research has to serve the dominated, exploited, and oppressed group in order to counter the research perpetuated by the dominant group. Feminist theorists argue that knowledge cannot be separated from the gendered identities of the knowers or from whom they are, and feminists demonstrate how material and immaterial culture is full of male-dominated gender bias that subjugates women into a hidden, second class—a subordinate and powerless group. Similar conclusions are forwarded by theories of minorities. For instance, James Banks (1994) argues that the history of the United States distorts the contributions of minorities because history only serves White domination. The criticalists shared the view that research should serve the emancipation of

the powerless. In a similar tone, postmodernists also perceive that knowledge is a product of a particular history, a particular context and time. However, postmodernist theory is in marked contrast to grand narrative, meta-narratives, universal truth, foundationalism, stability and coherency. Alternatively, postmodernism argues for indeterminacy and anti-foundationalism, maintaining that research is imprecise and inconclusive and requires open dialogue between the researcher and the researched (Scheurich, 1997).

I chose to employ the constructivist paradigm, for I believe that research and the researched are inseparable, and that knowledge is socially constructed. I did not use criticalist methodology because the main purpose of the fieldwork was to understand reality in its setting. Unlike the criticalists, I did not intend to make the researched aware of injustices nor to transform their reality. The transformation is necessary, but the process would take time and involve cultural and structural change of the setting as well as the alteration of many elements outside the immediate environment.

I have also some reservations about classifying people in groups and labeling them according to race, class, and gender. I would rather regard human beings as more complicated than they are portrayed and understood by criticalists. I do not mean that we have to abandon theories of group identity—for class, gender, racial differences are indeed a source of discrimination—but that we have to put such group differences in the context of individuals because each individual has his or her own narrative of reality (Appiah, 1994).

Eisner (1991) drew the analogy that doing research is like painting. The painter does not depict the true reality of the world; instead, she depicts the world that she intends to or is able to paint (p. 46). Her work is still a description of the reality of the world, but the world as it is understood by the painter (Eisner, 1991). Instead of using either the term subjective or objective, Maykut and Morehouse (1997) prefer to call knowledge ‘perspectival’ because knowledge contains elements of both subjectivity and objectivity (p. 19).

Researchers within the constructivist tradition try to understand this complex reality from the points of view of the research subjects experiencing it. On the one hand, a constructivist paradigm might be regarded by its critics as preserving the status quo because of the lack of analysis of power relations, but on the other hand, this paradigm will equip the researchers with the tools to understand the subjects' reality. I am aware that criticalists may criticize that I am simply increasing knowledge, but knowledge of what goes on in school is still required because an insufficient understanding would result in problems too (Jackson, 1998).

### 4.3. Research Design

To grasp current citizenship education carried out in public schools, I embarked upon fieldwork, employing a qualitative case study method. I wanted to investigate a specific phenomenon, that is citizenship creation for a democratic multireligious society, and to see how it was implemented in two public senior high schools (SMAN 121 and SMAN 122) in Jakarta. Merriam (1988) defined case study as "an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group" (p. 9). Case study is a special study that investigates a contextualized contemporary (as opposed to historical) phenomenon within a specified boundary. The distinctiveness of case study is its focus on the "bounded system." (Hatch, 2002; Holliday, 2002) and its "interest in individual cases" (Stake, 1998). Yin (1994) states that case studies are very appropriate to "how" and "why" questions in that case studies provide a detailed explanation of such questions. (p. 6).

Since my fieldwork covered two schools in Jakarta, Bogdan and Biklen (1992) would call this strategy a multi-case study (p. 68) while Merriam (1988) would classify this study as a cross-case, cross-site or multi-site case study (p. 154). Stake (1998) calls this type of research a collective case study (p. 89). However, in principle, multi-case studies are identical

to case studies (Merriam, 1988; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). The difference primarily lies in the management of the data (Merriam, 1988). One of the reasons for choosing of a multi-case study is because this kind of study, as Stake says, is able to provide a "better understanding, perhaps better theorizing…" (p. 89). Even though all schools utilize the same formal or official state curriculum due to government regulations, schools and their personnel may perceive and shape religious commitment and citizenship differently. And this study highlights some commonalities and particularities of the schools and how these impact on students and citizenship education.

### 4.3.1. Selecting the schools

*Jakarta*

I conducted my field work in two public senior high schools in Jakarta. Jakarta is the capital city of Indonesia. In term of government administration, Jakarta is not a city or a district. Jakarta is one out of 34 of provinces in Indonesia that constitutes 6 municipalities/ regencies out of 377 regencies and cities in Indonesia. The six municipalities or cities of Jakarta are South Jakarta; North Jakarta, Central Jakarta, East Jakarta, West Jakarta, and Thousand Islands.

Since the Reform era in 1998, national development has been decentralized (discussed in Chapter 2). Yet, Jakarta remains a very important city. Jakarta is the center of government administration, business, trading, arts and culture. Jakarta is also the center of national political parties, civil societies, and religious organizations. Jakarta is a place where international embassies and institutions are located. All these make it a magnet nationally as well as internationally. Now, Jakarta is a mega city that pools expatriates and is a symbol of internationalization and globalization.

Although Jakarta is originally home to the Betawi ethnic group, now, the Javanese are the largest ethnic group. Betawi has become the second largest ethnic group followed by Sundanese, Indonesian Chinese, Batak, Minangkabau, and Malay (Suryadinata, Arifin & Ananta, 2003, p. 140). Presently, Jakarta is the most populous city in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, and the tenth largest city in the world.

Jakarta is also the most diverse provinces and cities in Indonesia. In term of its religion, Jakarta has six major religions. According BPS-Statistics Indonesia (2005), the breakdown of Jakarta's population by religion is as follows:

Table 4.1.: *Jakarta Population by Religion*

| **Adherents of Religion** | **Number** |
|---|---|
| Muslim | 7,767,369 |
| Protestants | 414,393 |
| Catholics | 361,308 |
| Hindus | 11,367 |
| Buddhist | 235,111 |
| Confucius | 45,839 |
| Others | 3,860 |
| **Total** | **8,839,247** |

Therefore, mosques, churches, and Buddhist vihara and their activities are common features of Jakarta.

According to BPS-Statistics Indonesia (2010), Jakarta has a population of 9,588,198 people. But that number is only based on the census conducted on the basis of formal identity card. During the day time, Jakarta attracts millions of commuters coming from surrounding cities (Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi). In addition, there are many temporary migrants who come for work from all other provinces throughout the country. Many of them lack skills and, consequently, live in slum areas so that the contrast between global and rural, the rich and the poor are visible features of certain pockets of Jakarta.

In terms of schooling, Jakarta's population has, on average, among the highest levels of education compared to other provinces in Indonesia. To Dinas Pendidikan DKI Jakarta (Jakarta Provincial Office of Education) (2011), this capital city has 6,824 schools from pre-schools to grade 12 and 301 higher education institutions.[36]

Table 4.2.: *Number of Schools in Jakarta*

| **Levels** | **Jakarta** |
|---|---|
| Pre-schools | 1,808 |
| Primary school (1-6) | 2,987 |
| Junior secondary school (7-9) | 989 |
| Senior secondary (10-12) | 1,040 |
| **Total** | **6,824** |

If we look at its status, the following table shows that around 60 % of the schools are private. The rest are run by the government.

Table 4.3.: *Status of Schools in Jakarta*

| **Levels** | **Public** | **Private** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-schools | 9 | 1,799 | 1,808 |
| Primary school (1-6) | 2,225 | 762 | 2,987 |
| Junior secondary school (7-9) | 319 | 670 | 989 |
| Senior secondary (10-12) | 179 | 861 | 1,040 |
| **Total** | **2,732** | **4,092** | **6,824** |

[36] In respect to senior secondary, the Jakarta Provincial Office of Education grouped senior secondary into two streams: academic and vocational. Here I combined them to make it simpler. See Jakarta Provincial Office of Education (2011). *Data pendidikan Tahun 2009/ 2010* (Educational data 2009/ 2010). Retrieved on August 13, 2011 from http://www.disdikdki.net/topic.php?id=9

In Jakarta there are only 9 out of 301 higher educational institutions that are run by the government.[37] Ministry of National Education (MONE) does not have any statistical data or information of schools on the basis of religious faiths. Yet, faith schools, such as Islamic, Protestant, and Catholic schools, apparently have continuously grown.[38]

In terms of educational policy, the Jakarta Provincial Office of Education is geared toward making sure of good governance in educational administration, equitable access to education and universalizing basic and secondary education for all school age children from grades 1-12, improving its quality and making it relevant to the provincial, national, and globalization context.[39] This educational policy is shared by other provinces except that Jakarta has an emphasis on access to senior secondary education and adjustment to globalization.

In Indonesia, the Ministry of National Education and the Board of National Standards of Education set minimum competences to be achieved by school children from grades 1- 12. Educational achievement of students is primarily measured by national examinations administered centrally by the Ministry of National Education. The higher the passing rates or test scores, the better the school. As a consequence, teacher-centered and paper-pencil tests or transmission of knowledge remains a predominant feature of schooling.

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[37]Jakarta Provincial Office of Education only engages in preschool to grade 12 (senior high school). Higher education institution formally has an autonomy to manage and develop its own, although Directorate of Higher Education working together with Accreditation Board of National Higher Education has authority in ensuring quality, such as issuing permits or rejecting a study program and conducting evaluation and accreditation of study programs.

[38] Islamic Foundation of Al-Azhar, for example, established Al-Azhar schools in several locations in Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, East Java, and West Kalimantan. See Nurlena Rifai (2006). *The emergence of elite Islamic schools in contemporary Indonesia: A case study of Al Azhar Islamis school* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), McGill University, Montreal, p. 109. In case of Protestant schools, Badan Pendidikan Kristen Penabur (Penabur Christian Education Board [BPK Penabur]) (2011) has developed school branches in Jakarta as well as outside Jakarta. See BPK Penabur (2011). *Daerah lokasi* (school location). Retrieved in July7, 2011, from http://www.bpkpenabur.or.id/

[39] For detailed program, see Peraturan Daerah No 1 Tahun 2008 tentang Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah Tahun 2007-2012 (Government Regulation number 1 year 2008 on Jakarta Provincial Medium Development Plan year 2007-2012). Retrieved on August13, 2011 from http://www.beritajakarta.com/Download/SK/Detail/Perda1thn2008.pdf

The national education system, has formally adopted a school-based management approach which gives schools freedom and autonomy to explore, to experiment, and to implement what is good for each student and, certain schools have developed creative programs. Yet, since the pressure of national examinations is so powerful, public schools are generally geared toward achieving standards required by the Ministry of National Education. In fact, even private ones oriented toward democratic progressive education cannot ignore these national examinations.[40] However, several schools, including public schools, try to develop school programs creatively so that the students gain meaningful school experience.[41]

*SMAN 121*

Two SMANs (Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri or public senior high school) were explored in this study: SMAN 121 and SMAN 122. SMAN 121 was established in 1958. It is located in Sundoro, Jakarta an area where there is a lot of poverty. The area is surrounded by messy and smelly garbage. However the school attracted students of middle class parents throughout Jakarta. Some students even came from other provinces outside Jakarta and students who were far away from home resided nearby the school.

The school is currently well known as one of the best public high schools in Jakarta. In the academic year 2005-2006, it was the best public senior high school in terms of its national examination score in Jakarta. In 2006-2007, however, its position decreased to the forth. Yet, it was still one of the ten best senior high schools in Jakarta. To Surendra (2010), in term of

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[40] Schools, such as Madania school, Serpong-Bogor, West Java, that believe in education for individual growth as championed by John Dewey had to comply with government regulation and to meet demand of parents on national examination. See Madania (2011). *4.428.797 siswa ikut UASBN* ( 4,428,797 students took national examination). Retrieved on August14, 2011 from http://www.madania.net/

[41] In addition to national examination, school accreditation also becomes one of the school concerns. In accreditation, the Board of Accreditation look at student learning outcomes, qualification of teachers and administrators, students, educational content, educational process, educational facilities, management, and leadership (Interview with Yuliana, Head of SMAN 122, October, 26, 2010). But, national examination put pressure more on schools than accreditation, for national examination is interest of parents, students, the schools as well as the Ministry of National Education.

its alumni, in 2009, 97.49 % (389) out of 399 alumni were admitted to the best and most competitive universities in Indonesia, such as University of Indonesia, Bandung Institute of Technology, and University of Gadjah Mada. Many of them gained scholarships abroad: The Netherlands (11), Singapore (10), USA (6), Japan (5), UK (4), Russia (2), Korea (2), and Australia (1).[42] Due to its quality, the Jakarta Education Office has selected it as an international school level. In its website, SMAN 121 (2010) states its vision "To become the best international school in Indonesia" and the school claims to excel in the following ways: "national and international standard; integration of religious faith, science technology, and creativity; CIE (Cambridge International Examination)-enriched learning, competent and professional teachers, development of creativity, independence, and competitive quality nationally and internationally, admitted in reputed national and international university, and adequate facilities". Maemunah, Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 121, comments:

> One of the reasons parents send their children to this school is they expect that their children can be admitted in best state universities. And, so far, only 2 or 3 student out of 40 students do not go to the state university, for they choose to continue their studies abroad instead, either through scholarship or self-financing, for since 5 to 6 years many of students have been oriented not only to study at home country but also overseas. This is made possible in that the school has memorandum of understanding with some universities in Japan, Singapore, and Germany. I think it is only few schools do the same thing. (Personal interview, May 6, 2003)

Yet, entrance to good public schools is competitive. It is the case for SMAN 121, for this school requires high standards of academic achievement. In Jakarta, who is accepted in public high school is made publicly and online. Selection of students is only based on national examination test score. The higher the student's test score, the more chance the student has of being admitted to a good school and this allows students of different backgrounds to have an equal access to public schools. To Dumira (2009) in year 2009, for

[42] Similarly, it was in June 10, 2010, when admission announcement was not completely yet, 78 percent of the alumni were already admitted in very competitive national as well as national universities. See Surendra (2010). *Siswa yang diterima di perguruan tinggi* (Students admitted in higher education). Retrieved from http://surendra.wordpress.com/2010/06/10/sma-negeri-8-jakarta-perguruan-tinggi-2010-per-10-juni-2001/

example, passing grade average to be able to be admitted to SMAN 121 is 9.088. This is the highest score required by public senior high school and, in term of selectiveness, the most competitive public senior high school in Jakarta in 2009.[43]

Most parents of SMAN 121 are middle class and well-educated, and include university professors, provincial representatives, lawyers, medical doctors, bank managers, and engineers. They are parents who care very much about high quality schools. It is common that middle class parents in Jakarta send their children to private schools, mostly faith schools, such as SMA Al-Azhar (Muslim), SMA BPK Penabur (Protestant), or SMA Kanisius (Catholic).[44] They would not send their children to public schools unless they are regarded as high quality. SMAN 121 is one of them. SMAN 121 could attract students, including Indonesian Chinese students whose parents choose to send them to very high quality schools.[45] As a result, SMAN 121 constitutes students who are academically excellent and religiously diverse (Muslim, Protestant, Catholic, Hindus, and Buddhist backgrounds.

[43] On the list of Jakarta High Schools and their passing grade in 2009, see Dumira (2009). *Passing grade SMA Negeri Jakarta tahun 2009* (Passing grade of Jakarta public senior high school year 2009) Retrieved from http://dumira.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/passing-grade-sman-dki-2009-final-tahap-2.pdf

[44] They are academically best faith senior high schools. See IKATILA (2009). *20 SMA & SMK peringkat terbaik dapat penghargaan* (20 best high senior schools received a reward). Retrieved from http://ikatila.wordpress.com/2009/05/09/20-sma-dan-smk-peringkat-terbaik-dapat-penghargaan/

[45] Sungkono, Sociology teacher of SMAN 121, also noticed that an increasing number of Chinese chose the school showing that the school was recognized as being a high quality school (Interview, August27, 2010).

Table 4.4.: *Students of SMAN 121 by Religion*

| Year | Religion | | | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Muslim | Protestant | Catholic | Hindus | Buddhist | Confucius | |
| 2010-2011 | 1,137 | 125 | 15 | 2 | 2 | - | 1,225 |
| 2009-2010 | 1,137 | 112 | 32 | 1 | 1 | - | 1,283 |
| 2008-2009 | 1,101 | 134 | 30 | 4 | 4 | - | 1,273 |
| 2007-2008 | 1,083 | 131 | 41 | 7 | 6 | - | 1,268 |
| 2006-2007 | 1,043 | 145 | 45 | 9 | 7 | - | 1,249 |
| 2005-2006 | 1,025 | 145 | 49 | 14 | 10 | - | 1,243 |

Source: Data of SMAN 121 Jakarta, August25, 2010

The table shows that the Muslim student population form the majority in the school and the percentage of non-Muslims is only around 12 percent. Although it looks imbalanced in favor of the Muslim student population, it reflects Muslim-non Muslim population nationally (Muslims, 88 percent and non Muslim, 12 percent) and this is unusual since Protestant and Catholic students traditionally go to the schools of their faith which is mostly academically far better than the majority of public schools.[46]

*SMAN 122*

Meanwhile, SMAN 122, established 5 January 1967, is slightly different from SMAN 121. The school has a vision of creating human resources excelling in religious faith (imtak) and science and technology (iptek) with following missions:

"1. Holding religious practices in order to elevate religious faith and piety... 2. To increase a balance between intellectual and emotional skills in order to achieve national goal of education...3. To improve skills in science and technology...4. To improve skills in foreign languages...5. To improve academic and non academic achievement...6. To preserve

[46] In Jakarta, Christian Protestant and Christian Catholic schools such as SMA Kristen 1, SMA Kristen 3, SMA Katolik Santa Ursula, SMA Kanisius has always academically excelled over public senior high schools. Students of SMA Kristen in West Jakarta have traditionally won international medals. Stephen Sanjaya, grade 11, for example, won the silver medal in *China West Mathematics Olympiad*, held in 28-30 Oktober 2010. See BPK Penabur (2011). *Prestasi* (Achievement). Retrieved on July7 from http://www.bpkpenabur.or.id/id/school/smak1jkt/achievements

(national) culture of greetings, hospitality, politeness, safety, order, cleanliness, beauty, caring, and concern for the environment."[47]

SMAN 122 did not clearly state that the students were being prepared to enter the best public universities nor to take scholarship abroad. What SMAN 122 seeks to achieve is to pass national examinations, for the government keeps increasing minimum national standards. Nuraini, Mathematics teacher, said: "To be honest what the school seeks to achieve is to pass the national examinations" (Interview, April14, 2003). Of course, the principal, teachers and students would be proud if the students are admitted in the best public universities in Indonesia. Indeed, some of them are. But, unlike SMAN 121, this school is not obsessed with making sure the alumni are admitted into competitive universities. Rather, school personnel are happy when a number of its students are admitted to public universities (not necessarily the best ones).

The different expectations between these two schools could be explained by the fact that SMAN 122's student backgrounds are academically lower than those of SMAN 121. In 2009, the minimum passing grade for SMAN 122 admission was 7.163 compared to SMAN 121's 9.14. Parents apparently demanded less of this school, for the school also charged less, compared to SMAN 121. Parents of SMAN 122 are composed of middle ranking private and government employees. The school charged 500 dollars (Rp. 4,900,000) for new students and 28 dollars (Rp. 275,000) per month while SMAN 121 charged 1,000 dollars for new students and 50 dollars per month.[48]

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[47] Many public senior high schools valued religious faith and stated it in its formal vision and mission. SMAN 122 Jakarta is one of the examples. See SMAN 122 Jakarta (2011). *Selamat datang in SMAN 122 Jakarta* (Wecome to SMAN 122 Jakarta).Retrieved on July7 from http://sman122-jkt.sch.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=27

[48] It worth mentioning that in senior high school level, unlike grade 1 to 9, the government school charged student tuition. This year ( 2011-2012), SMAN 122 actually had decreased new student charge as regulated by Jakarta Education Office (Sugiri, Interview, March24, 2011). Yet, to majority of Indonesians, the charge of these two schools were still very expensive. Only those parents who have a good income could afford it.

However, SMAN 122 is a good school, for, considering its passing grade (7.163), it was ranked 35th out of 104 public senior secondary schools in Jakarta. The lowest passing grade is SMAN 120 with passing grade 6.238. Therefore, as seen in the following table, SMAN 122 still attracts some students of diverse faiths, although the number of non Muslim students in this school was less than 12 percent and less diverse if compared to SMAN 121 Jakarta.

Table 4.5.: *Students of SMAN 122 by Religion*

| Year | Religion | | | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Muslim | Protestant | Catholic | Hindus | Buddhist | Confucius | |
| 2009-2010 | 642 | 33 | 3 | 2 | - | - | 680 |
| 2008-2009 | 669 | 44 | 4 | 2 | 1 | - | 720 |
| 2007-2008 | 696 | 38 | 6 | 1 | - | - | 740 |
| 2006-2007 | 720 | 45 | 6 | 4 | - | - | 775 |

(Source: SMAN 122, South Jakarta, 26 October 2010)

*Why did I select these two schools?*

I chose two public senior high schools (SMAN 121 and SMAN 122), Jakarta, as my case studies because senior high school students are considered to be at an appropriate age for citizenship education: they are about to gain full citizenship. In Indonesia, the age of full citizenship is seventeen years old. I wanted to work with public schools, because, unlike private schools, public schools (in theory at least) provide a public space for all students of diverse backgrounds and teach shared public values. What is important is that the schools selected to be the case studies are not only accessible to diverse students, but they are diverse schools themselves, particularly, in terms of faith. The student population is made up of Muslims, Christian Protestants, Christian Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists and a few Confucian students. Even though this diversity is probably regarded as heavily skewed towards the Muslim majority, this diversity is still important, for there are public schools in Indonesia that are homogenous especially if they are located in homogenous small districts or sub-districts, or if they are academically poor and unattractive to non-Muslim students who mostly come from better educated backgrounds.

The two schools under investigation are those located in the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta, where interaction of peoples of different faiths is part of daily life either in the neighborhood, community, market, or government offices. SMAN 121 is representative of senior public high schools with high academic performance, while SMAN 122 is representative of public senior high schools with medium academic performance. The different degree of academic performance apparently has caused differences in their ability to attract students of different faiths. The higher the academic performance, the more attractive a school becomes to students of diverse backgrounds. SMAN 121 has a larger number of non-Muslim students than SMAN 122. In turn, this has an impact on the ability of the school to pool resources from outside. But how each school creates citizenship among its students becomes one point of interest of this research.

### 4.3.2. Gaining "access", "entry" and "trust"

Entering foreign sites as someone from outside the country is usually difficult. It takes time to gain entry. Although I live and work in Jakarta, I still had to follow formal procedures. The first time I called SMAN 121 to express my intention of doing research in the school, the man who answered the phone asked whether or not I had a research permit from the Jakarta Education Office. He told me that researchers could only do research if he/ she could show a research permit from the Office. I then tried to find the phone number of Jakarta Education Office. When I called, I was told to bring a letter from the university where I work. The letter, I was told, should express the intention of my work and it should be directed to the Head of the Office. A detailed research proposal should be attached. I prepared the proposal and asked the university to prepare a letter. Then I went to the Jakarta Education Office bringing the letter and the proposal and submitted them to the Office. It stated in the letter and proposal that I wanted to conduct a study on citizenship creation for a

democratic multireligious society in six public senior high schools (2 Islamic schools, 2 Christian schools, and 2 public schools). The letter was received by the administrative staff, and a week after, the letter of research permit was ready. It is stated in the letter of research permit that I could conduct a research provided it would not interfere with school activities. I was also asked to report on the results of the research to the Office. I then created a letter for the schools to inform them that I would conduct a study in the schools and the letter was submitted to the head of school administration.

After I followed the procedure noted above, the schools were formally open to me to conduct my research. However, it did not necessarily mean that teachers would be open to receiving me. On several occasions, when talking to teachers, after I explained my intention, they asked if I had the research permit from the Education Office. Therefore, to make it smoother, in the schools I asked one of the teachers if there is any teacher graduated from the university where I come from (UIN Jakarta). A friend is often very important for gaining access, for schools may not take into account our research proposal. Instead, they accept us for personal reasons such as friendship. (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 34; Holliday, 2002, 162-164).

Fortunately, I had friends in these schools. Amir in SMAN 121 and Husna in SMAN 122. Amir was a year my senior in undergraduate education in UIN Jakarta. But, we met very often, for we were members of Islamic Student Association (HMI) and attended seminars and conferences, when we were in university. We were also classmates in an Islamic theology class. Meanwhile, I was also lucky to meet Husna. She was three years younger than me in UIN Jakarta, but when she was in university, Husna joined the Undergraduate Student Association of the Faculty of Education (Fakultas Tarbiyah) in which I was the former president. So, it was Amirullah and Husniya who opened an access to the schools and introduced me to the teachers and school personnel.

Some authors suggest that the researcher does not need to reveal the purpose of the research and ideological position clearly if the revelation will lead to the participants exercising self-control. For example, according to Rossman and Rallis (1998), instead of revealing at study of gender or race interaction, the researchers were better to say that they were going to study classroom interaction in general because by revealing the purpose clearly the classroom activity will be arranged for gender awareness (Rossman & Rallis, 1998, p. 100). I did not follow this. Honesty and transparency are important. If I did not reveal my identity, the Catholic and Protestant teachers and students might be cautious or suspicious, and a suspicious atmosphere is obviously not conducive for collecting good data. Thus, I revealed my identity while at the same time allowing a space for different positions on this matter between the researcher and the researched. I told them that I believe in liberty and equality of all people of different background, and thus, I will fight for diversity, for respect for the opinions of others, including the participants' disagreement with my view. This relationship and its intricacies should be clearly anticipated because the main issue of qualitative research is the idea of personal relationship. If the researchers succeed in gaining personal trust the project will go smoothly, if they fail the whole research process will fail.

### 4.3.3. Obstacles to data collection

Some might have thought that research on religion and citizenship would be sensitive, for religious belief is considered a personal matter and many would prefer to avoid talking about it. That is what I thought too. I questioned whether my fellow Christian, Catholic, Buddhist and Hindu teachers and students that I was going to interview would communicate honestly. One of the challenges facing me then was how to build a personal relationship or how to develop mutual trust so that I could gather good information. An obstacle, then was being an outsider in the schools especially in realtion to teachers coming from non-Muslim

backgrounds. As an outsider, I may not fully understand their feelings and thoughts (Banneji, 1991; Smith, 1999, Narayan, 1989). Therefore, I knew that I should always try to be aware of who I am, where I come from and what particular ideological standpoint or ideologies I have. Self-consciousness is an important factor for a researcher. As an outsider, I had to be open to explanation of an insider's perspective.

In this research, I did not pretend to be an insider. I defined myself as an outsider who is attempting to understand the feelings and thoughts of school personnel. Fortunately, I did not have problems communicating with different religious groups for I had already exposed myself to environments of different faiths. I had studied philosophy at the Catholic Institute for Philosophy Drijarkara Jakarta for one year (1990) and have always been interested in religious dialogue. I have also experienced working together with people of different religious beliefs since I was an undergraduate student. Moreover, I had conducted research on religious harmony from 1997-1998 by interviewing religious leaders of different backgrounds. This background helped smooth my entry into the schools where I was doing field work.

## 4.4. Data Sources in the Schools

### 4.4.1. School Materials

The first source of school information I looked at was the school websites. Both schools under study had websites that contains information of the school vision, mission, history, teachers, curriculum, school program, and extracurricular programs. These formal sources were important references as they inform learning activities developed by the schools. Other than websites, I also looked at school statistical data to see student population and composition of school personnel by religion in order to understand how diverse the schools were in terms of religion. To get this data, I made a blank data form and requested the

school to fill it out. Still, to gain adequate information of student council and extracurricular clubs, I gathered specific information of their programs and activities and made a copy of them. In addition, I also took picture of other school sources, such as school mottos, wall magazines, and announcement boards.

### 4.4.2. Textbooks

I also studied the textbooks of Citizenship Education and Islamic Religious Education being used by the teachers. For this research I only studied Islamic textbooks because, as noted earlier, I have some expertise in Islamic studies and in any case these textbooks were used by about 88% of the students. Some textbooks I examined were purchased in school cooperatives; some were bought from general bookstores; some others were given by the teachers. I analyzed the textbooks to understand what kind of citizens were going to be created and how their responses to the religious diversity of the country were being shaped. What citizenship virtues are emphasized: autonomy, tolerance, or deliberative democracy? In Islamic textbooks, I searched for an answer as to what kind of Muslim is being created? How do Islamic textbooks respond to Indonesian multireligious societies?

Many qualitative researchers might not consider these documents to be important for the reason that school documents and textbooks are not 'subjective'; they are not, like memos, or minutes from meetings (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Formal document and textbooks are not personal expressions of the school personnel. In fact, formal document and textbooks are often imposed by an external authority, namely the ministry of education or regional school board. But, formal documents such as syllabi and textbooks are part of the schools, and indeed a very powerful part of daily school life. They are physical objects in the bookcases and on the minds of the principals and teachers, and as such can be artifacts for study (Mitchell, 2011). Textbooks in particular are typically an important reference for the students.

Formal curriculum and textbooks are referred to, read, understood, and followed by school personnel although they may have a different understanding of the contents than what the authors intended. In my view, the formal curriculum and textbooks are also important to study because the definition of curriculum includes what Eisner (1994) calls, "implicit/ hidden, explicit and null curriculum" (p. 87-107). These documents are also particularly valuable because they are always a preoccupation of the teachers as they struggle to implement, to contextualize or to adjust or negotiate between what is formally written and what the local reality of the schools is. Even though Clandinin and Connelly (1988) defines curriculum as a situation experienced by learners in the classroom in which teachers play a very central role, they include textbooks (learning materials) as important curriculum materials.

### 4.4.3. Interviews

My fieldwork is based on interviews with selected participants. Seidman (1991) defines the interview as a conversation with a purpose. This method is very powerful in that the story, description and words that the interviewee gives will help the researcher understand the subjects' reality as they understand it and will help make sense of the school reality from the perspective of inhabiting the environment. With conversation, we can grasp the meaning of what teachers, principal and students say and do or we can make sense of the school phenomenon as they see it. An interview is particularly important, because we tend to read a text, to perceive or to judge a particular phenomenon or action with personal biases. As a result, misunderstanding is unavoidable. Communicating with the people directly and letting them explain to us is one way of making sense of their world and this will help correct our understanding. As Seidman (1991) puts it, "to observe a teacher, student, principal or counselor provides access to their behavior. Interviewing allows us to put behavior in context

and provides us access to understanding their action" (p. 4). One main purpose of my study is to gain "subjective understanding" and insight. This is one of the important reasons for my preference for doing an interview. In 2003, I utilized a tape recorder. So, interview data were on cassette. In 2010, I used a voice recorder with the Winamp program so I could save it to the flash disk. To record interesting and important situations, I also made my field notes right after I did my interview and I saved them as a file.

In the study, I interviewed teachers, students, and school principals as shown in the following breakdown in Tables 4.6 and 4.7.

Table 4.6.: *Fieldwork April-July, 2003*

| **Interviewees** | **SMAN 121** | **SMAN 122** | **Gender** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Male | Female |
| **Teachers** | | | | |
| Citizenship Teachers | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Islamic Religious Education Teachers | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Christian Religious Education Teachers | 2 | 1 | 3 | |
| Catholic Religious Education Teachers | 1 | 1 | 2 | |
| **Students** | | | | |
| OSIS & PK (Student Council & Representatives) | 7 | 12 | 7 | 12 |
| ROHIS (Islamic Student Club) | 1 | 5 | 6 | |
| ROHKRIS (Christian Student Club) | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| **School Principals** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **TOTAL** | **18** | **25** | **26** | **17** |

Table 4.7.: *Fieldwork September-October, 2010*

| **Interviewees** | **SMAN 121** | **SMAN 122** | **Gender** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Male | Female |
| **Teachers** | | | | |
| Citizenship Teachers | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Islamic Religious Education Teachers | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| Vice Principal, student affairs | 1 | | 1 | |
| OSIS Supervisor | 1 | | 1 | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christian club supervisors | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Teachers (History, Physics and Indonesian Language, Economy) | 3 | | 1 | |
| **Students** | | | | |
| OSIS (Student Council) | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| ROHIS (Student Islamic Club) | 3 | 10 | 13 | |
| ROHKRIS (Student Protestant Club) | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| ROHKAT (Student Catholic Club) | 1 | | 1 | |
| **School Principal** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **TOTAL** | **23** | **23** | **30** | **13** |

In total then I interviewed 4 principals, 32 teachers, and 52 students. Almost all of the interviews took place on school premises. It was only on one occasion that I conducted an interview outside the schools and that was in a car repair station one kilometer from the SMAN 121. We had already talked when this teacher was on break from teaching, but we continued our conversation in a care repair station. It was the participants who set the time of our interview. Teachers arranged a time for the interview in the schools during teacher professional development day, a day allocated by the school to allow teachers to improve their professionalism through training, seminar, or conferences. But, very often that this day is used by teachers to prepare teaching materials. Many teachers, however, preferred to give an interview in-between teaching class, for there are 40 minutes to 90 minutes of break that could be utilized for giving an interview. In essence, time for an interview was flexible and as a researcher, I just adjusted to the availability of their time. And this was one of the challenges facing the research - to create an informal relationship. Once a personal relationship is established, an interview could take place anytime. On one occasion, I saw an Islamic religious teacher with four other teachers sitting in a security office. I approached him and talked with him directly. On another occasion, I had an interview with a Citizenship teacher during a school gathering to welcome the coming of the Ramadan month. I saw her

and approached her. When she noticed me, and she moved to the back and I carried out the interview.

I had different experiences of interviewing. My notes on an interview of the SMAN 121 school principal were interesting. I did not make an appointment to see the principal, because I was told by Udin, the secretary to the school principal, to just come. I had three times visited his office, but he was not there; he must have gone out to have meeting inside or outside of the school. It took 75 to 90 minutes to come to the school from my home by motor cycle. At that time I was already in the waiting room of the school principal and he saw me waiting. But, the guests kept coming to see him and I felt that I was ignored and felt left out. These are my field notes from April 21, 2003:

> I arrived at 8 a.m. Students were all in the class except those who had sport class. Udin, the principal secretary, said: "the principal is meeting guests." I heard from School Festival Committee (the SMAN 121 band festival) committee. Since the door was open, I can see 4 peoples talking with the principal. I have been waiting for more than 38 minutes and they were being inside. I did not know what they were talking. I feel hard to conduct a research, because parents or other guests are somebody while the researcher is no body. He might look at me disturbing the school. When I was feeling that, the principal closed the door which was opened and said: "Sebentar Pak" (for a moment). My watch showed almost 9:00 a.m. So, I decided, not to see the principal who was busy and is always busy…Rather, I saw my friend.

Later, however, I set up an interview with him. On another day, I even joined him in teacher forum room (MGMP) when he provided orientation to the national examination team. I had a similar experience with another principal. We scheduled the interview, but she was not available. I was told she had a meeting with sub-district education office (rayon). After several visits, I finally met her in the corridor, we scheduled again, but she could not make it. Then I called her. Fortunately, she picked up the phone. She asked me to come on the school break of the Idulfitri holiday. So I went and we talked. On another occasion with another school principal, it was very easy. We met at the gate of the school and when I explained my purpose, he seemed to have read my letter. So we talked in the security office right away. Most interviews with teachers went smoothly - it was only a matter of finding a good time.

Some were made by appointment and scheduled. For most of them, I did the interview right away when we met, either in the teachers' room, computer room or security office. There was a teacher who asked not only for my research permit from Jakarta Education Office and written interview questions, but also permission from the Vice Principal of Curriculum Affairs. What upset the schedule of research is when teachers cancelled the interview without notifying me or when they told me to come again next week. I knew that the interview was not their interest, but mine, so they were not concerned with time.

With regard to the students, all of them welcomed the interview. I interviewed them mostly in groups. They often came with their friends. When I first met them, I usually introduced and explained the purpose. I notified them that I would be around in the schools for a few months. Then, we made an appointment. The only problem I faced was that students have very limited time. They came to school on time and when school hours are finished, many of them had to attend after school tutorial classes, either in the schools or outside the schools. This happened especially to students of SMAN 121. So, I interviewed them during class break, extracurricular activities, or school gatherings. Sometime we were standing near the classroom or sometimes sitting in the corridor floor. Yet when we already knew each other I could ask them questions any time I saw them. Some of them even approached me and we talked. There were occasions when students were ready to be interviewed but needed permission from the teachers. I first met the vice principal of student affairs asking his permission to talk with students and he permitted it. I sometimes went to schools on Saturday too, during time for extracurricular activities. Yet, for OSIS and ROHIS, since they had base camp (OSIS office and school mosque), the access was much easier. I just went to their base camp and talked to them in the base camp.

My common questions in interviewing teachers, principals and students were as follows: "What kind of person did the schools intend to create? Why was religious faith important?

How did the school create interreligious harmony? How do the schools educate students for a democratic multireligious society? What do you think of the idea of studying different religions and having interreligious dialogue? How does a diverse school setting help increase multireligious knowledge, attitudes, and skills; or create awareness of the importance of shaping national values; or reduce prejudice and biases; or increase interreligious dialogue and cooperation to solve common problems? How should we deal with religious diversity?

Then with school principals, I had some very specific questions. I wondered how school policies responded to students and to school personnel of different faiths. What were their views on privatizing religion? When it came to teachers of Islamic subjects, I asked what kind of Muslim the schools intended to create? What was highly emphasized in Islamic Religious Education class? What is the Islamic view of religious diversity? Does Islamic Religious Education intend to create good citizensand if so how?

As for the teachers, I asked Citizenship teachers about what was highly emphasized in Citizenship Education class? How was the response of Citizenship Education class toward religious diversity? How was a teaching method employed?

I also interviewed teachers of Christian Protestant and Catholic faith on what kind of Christians the school intended to create? How was the school response to the need for religious activities of the Christians? How was interaction with colleagues of other faiths? How was interreligious life in the schools? Similarly, I talked to students of the Christian Protestant and Christian Catholic faith on how the schools treated them. How has the school responded to the need for religious activities in school? How do they find their interaction with Muslim students? How was interreligious life in the schools? What did they think of public school compared to their previous faith school? I found the interview was very powerful in gathering information for it could reveal issues and problems of interreligious relations which would otherwise have been unknown.

When I talked to students, I asked them what were the main purposes and activities of the school council/ student representative/ clubs. How were friendships formed in school? Did they make friends with students of different faiths in school? Did they have interreligious conversations? Had they ever experience tension or conflict with friends of different faiths and views? How did they resolve them? What learning can be drawn from making friends with students of other faiths? How does school educate students on interreligious relation? What was highly emphasized in Islamic Religious Education class? What was highly emphasized in Citizenship Education class? How does Islamic Religious Education respond to interreligious relations? How does Citizenship Education class respond to religious diversity in Indonesia? What kind of teaching methods are employed?

### 4.4.4. Classroom and school observations

In addition to interviews, another important method of collecting data used in this study was observation (Merriam, 1988). Observations of the situation, environment and actions of the people are critical, since all of these factors often reflect their beliefs and culture (Rossman & Rallis, 1998, p. 137). Through observation, we notice the actions and understand paradigms of meaning. As Gillham observes, "Watching precisely what people do can be very illuminating. It can also help you to understand better what people are about…[it is] particularly important if people can't express themselves in other ways" (p. 49-50). Silverman (2000) maintains that the strength of qualitative research lies in the ability to provide an explanation of how social interactions are routinely enacted and how people do things (Silverman, 2000).

Personal observation is one means of seeing what actually happens in the schools. Philip W. Jackson comments on past curriculum studies by stating that researchers were more concerned with "what ought to be happening" than "what actually happens in the classroom"

(cited in Clandinin, 1994, p. 380). Through observation, my intention is to see the classroom and school climate in a natural setting or the first account of the world expressed in dress, gesture, face, and behavior.

I visited and observed several sites in the schools such as the classroom to see the teacher teaching and learners learning in Citizenship subject classes and to see the design of the class in terms of whether it was lecture or seminar. I also looked at whether the class developed student-centered learning, group discussion, group assignment, debate, and simulation. These methods help foster social and intercultural relationships among students of different faiths and allow close friendships to form. I did classroom observation by sitting in the back of the lecture-designed classroom or I sat side by side with the students. Of course I talked to the teacher before and asked permission. Teachers replied differently. Some would allow me directly to join their teaching. Some asked to do it a week after so that they could make preparations, such as preparing teaching materials and presenting them on the overhead projector.

To observe teachers' interaction, I went to the teachers' room, the teacher professional development office, office of school administration, and school principal room. I wondered if there were teachers' mutual exchanges, open conversation, communication, collaboration, and interaction either on matters of teaching-learning or school management. I carried out observation of teachers by sitting and talking with them on the sofa of the teacher room, the computer room, or the teacher forum room, or school cooperatives. I also joined in their prayer and school gatherings. From my experience, the security office of the school located near to the gate of the schools was a good place to interact with teachers, principal, and students. It was there I met them and made appointments and informal conversation. It was

there also that some features of interactions among teachers and teachers and principal could be observed.[49]

I visited and observed student extracurricular activities specifically to see their engagement and social interaction. For Maitles & Deuchar (2006), student/ pupil councils promote active citizenship and create a sense of ownership in school. They also make pupils feel recognized and respected by the schools. Pupil councils contribute to the development of pupil moral and social responsibility and political literacy and play a central role in the center of democratic polity of the schools where the school hierarchy does not just inform or consult, but discusses, debates, negotiates, and dialogues with the pupil council. For Maitles and Deuchar, the need to have a pupil council does not come from the belief that school pupils are citizens-in-waiting or the future, but that school pupils are citizens now. Maitles and Deuchar believe that democratic citizenship is shaped through democratic practices, not through teaching, let alone preaching. Clotefelter (2003), found that student engagement in extracurricular activities allowed more intensive interracial interaction. Kennedy (2008) found its importance in building teamwork culture. Braddock, Hua and Marvin (2007) related it to an increase in political engagement of minorities. Fredricks and Eccles (2006) asserted that extracurricular activities contributed to development of personal and social skills.[50]

Thus, I visited and observed OSIS (student council), a student body that coordinates student clubs of various interests, to see their activities. Both SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 have a fixed OSIS office used by the OSIS committee or student clubs so that I could come to their office, sit with the activists and see their activities. Here I was interested in looking at students' interaction. I noticed, for example, that OSIS committee members, including

[49] Both SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 where I conducted my fieldwork had a security office. It is very common in Jakarta that public high schools have the security office located near the gate of the schools. I functions to monitor the visitors, students and school members.

[50] I have tried to find studies of school council and extracurricular clubs in the Indonesian context, but I have not found.

members of ROHIS (Student Islamic Club) and ROHKRIS (Student Christian Club), were very involved in making plans and working together. They discussed, chatted, and stayed on at school, some even until 8 p.m. although their friends had already left school at 3 p.m.

I also studied student clubs, especially, the Student Islamic Club (ROHIS), Student Protestant Club (ROHKRIS), and Student Catholic Club (ROHKAT). Here, I was interested in the prayer they did and the close friendships and community they built. So, several times I joined Christian prayer. I saw one of the members playing guitar and some members reading stories in the Bible. I remembered one wish in the prayer was to have a good result of the exam. I noticed in Christian morning prayer, teachers also joined the activity so the Christian students and teachers seemed very closed. In fact, I often saw that members of religious clubs walked together in group. All clubs other than OSIS did not have fixed rooms or offices. So when the Christian club had programs to discuss, they used the OSIS office or classrooms after formal learning hours. But for regular prayer, they did have fixed rooms. For example, the Catholic students of SMAN 121 used the Biology Laboratory Room; Christian students used the school meeting room, while Muslim students used the school mosque. Both public schools investigated, like the majority of other public schools in Jakarta, had a school mosque. Their school committee built mosques because Muslims are required to pray five times a day and ideally, in congregation. So, ROHIS used school mosque as their base camp and, after school hours, ROHIS activists went to the school mosque. I often met and talked with them in the school mosques. I also noticed that members of ROHIS (grades 10, 11, and 12) were close to one another. In the mosque, I saw some were reading the Quran; some were revising their school subjects; some others just chatted.

### 4.5. Working with Data

Rossman & Rallis (1998) define succinctly the meaning of data analysis as "… process of bringing order, structure and meaning to a mass of collected data" (p. 176). This is exactly the data analysis approach I pursued. Since the nature of my research is more structured or more focused or, at least, not open-ended, my data analysis started during data collection (what is called ongoing analysis), not after data collection. Ongoing analysis helps the researcher perform a final data analysis (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992, p. 154; Rossman & Rallis, 1998, p. 173).

Since the nature of my research analysis was not totally open-ended, it enabled me to focus my information collection on what was relevant to the research question since I was in the field even though I was also prepared for divergent and unanticipated ideas or data. For instance, in exploring the research question "How do schools create citizens for a democratic multireligious Indonesia?", I went directly to investigate textbooks of Citizenship and Islamic subjects. Also, I interviewed their teachers. In exploring the life of the school, I conducted observations of classrooms, student clubs, and school activities. The focused nature of this study was possible because my research strategy used case studies or multi-case studies. From the beginning, my research paid attention to the elements of interest, unlike phenomenological studies which are more open-ended or ethnographic studies which are between open-ended and structured (Rossman & Rallis, 1998, p. 174-175).

Before doing analysis, both data from cassettes and Winamp files were transcribed. While for the first field work, I asked my friends to transcribe them, I did it myself for the second one. It was better when I did myself for I remembered the face, the location, and the situation, and this helped me understand the meaning and helped me to transcribe more smoothly. In analyzing and discussing the data drawn from the fieldwork, I went through seven phases. The first phase was to select the data that responded to research questions on 1)

how do present public schools in Indonesia seek to create citizens for a democratic multireligious society, 2) how well does the citizenship creation serve the goals of creating a democratic multireligious Indonesia? and 3) which model of citizenship creation best serves public schools such as my two case studies in Jakarta? The second was to find major themes of the responses to the questions. The third is to determine (based on characteristics observed) which model each school had in place. The fourth is to compare and contrast model of citizenship education adopted by two schools under discussion. The fifth is to examine the model of citizenship education implemented through the lens of the three models or ideal types of citizenship education (autonomy liberalism, diversity liberalism, and political liberalism) discussed in Chapter 3. After comparing school practices and citizenship education theories, I went to the sixth phase, that is, to examine which part of the citizenship education practice that worked well and which that did not work and analyzed and explained the reasons. After that, in the final phase, based on the data and theoretical framework, I discuss very briefly which model of citizenship creation might be an appropriate model for the Indonesian context and explain reasons for that.

### 4.4.6. Validity/ Reliability

The question as to whether or not the data that is collected truly reflects what happens at the school is of course fundamental in research. It is critical to demonstrate whether validity and reliability of the research has been ensured and this depends on how rigorously data is collected and analyzed. In order to ensure reliability and validity I took the following steps:

*Triangulation*

In order to gain valid and reliable data, this work uses triangulation: multi methods (interview, observation, and document analysis) and multi sources (particularly teachers, students, and school principals) (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008; Cresswell, 2003 & 2007; Denzin

& Lincoln, 2003; Flick, 2007; Gibson, 2009; Green, 2007; Merriam & Associates, 2002; Schwandt, 1997). One of the reasons for using multi methods and multi sources is to provide the researcher with rich explanations and a variety of perspectives so that the researcher can compare the explanations and develop a sound justification for an idea. The explanations are meant to reinforce one another and there are, on some occasions, instances where additional data helps correct previous understanding or biases. For instance, although the interview is the most appropriate method in gaining an in depth understanding from the insider perspective, there are occasions where this data is limited. This happened, for instance, when the interviewee said one thing and behaved differently as revealed through observation. Here, observation helps correct the perception the researcher obtained of the interviewee. When analysis of documents or textbooks was employed, it became very clear that what the teachers did was actually only implementation of the textbook. In this case, multi methods reinforce one another.

*Engagement in Data Collection*

In addition to triangulation, engagement in data collection is very important (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008; Creswell, 2003 & 2007; Flick, 2007; Merriam & Associates, 2002). The research data was derived from two instances of field works conducted in different years: April-July 2003 and August-October 2010. The first fieldwork might have provided adequate data on the subject under investigation. However, I felt I would have better information if I could discuss the situation of citizenship creation in present Indonesian education and not just when I first embarked upon the fieldwork 7 years ago. In the second instance of fieldwork, I went back to most of the teachers I had talked to before. Of course, the students had changed. And there were some participants that were unavailable. One of the teachers of the Citizenship subject in SMAN 121, for example, had moved to another school, and one of the Islamic subject teachers had passed away. The Heads of both schools also had changed.

Similarly the textbooks had changed. So, I revisited them all. I interviewed them again including students, new teachers and new heads of the schools. I also read new textbooks being used. Through the second instance of fieldwork, not only were the description of the schools better informed, but also, continuity and changes of the schools could be highlighted

*Reflexivity*

One thing which should be of concern to researchers is the issue of personal biases, assumptions, and theoretical orientations that might hinder one in looking at alternative data or alternative interpretations. To avoid being hindered by personal bias and theoretical orientations, it is important to make the biases and orientations clear in the first place (Creswell, 2003 & 2007; Flick, 2007; Merriam & Associates, 2002; Schwandt, 1997). In conducting this research, I brought along a number of personal biases, convictions, and theoretical orientations. I believe that Islam, like other religions (Christian, Jewish, secular, Hindus, Buddhist, or atheist), is one of the important sources of moral values. It is up to the individual to live and lead her life. Yet Islam I believe is one that is open, inclusive, and democratic. Therefore, citizens of diverse societies should recognize one another respectfully and share public values, work together for common good, communicate, interact, and dialogue, and even challenge prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination of one individual or group over the others.

I also believe that in the context of a diverse society, a diverse public school is a good site for creating such citizens with the dispositions mentioned. This, to some extents, happened in the public senior high school under study even though the schools 1) provide education for religious commitment, not study about religions nor interreligious dialogue, 2) teach only "light" public values, 3) only adopt religious accommodation and toleration model, 4) do not encourage to communicate, interact and dialogue, let alone 5) challenge inter-group prejudices, stereotypes, and discriminations. I believe that public schools will

make even more positive contributions to multicultural citizenship creation if the schools have an explicit policy and program of a citizenship education for a democratic multicultural society by making corrections to what is lacking as mentioned above.

Being aware of personal biases and theoretical orientation, I attended to alternative convictions, orientation, observation, information, and discussion of the public school that challenged my own beliefs. First are those who believe that secular citizenship and a secular model of public education is the only option for equal citizenship and Indonesian unity. To its supporters, the current public school is too Islamic and, even, too radical. Ideally, public school should totally exclude religious education. Second are those who hold belief that Islam and Islamic Religious Education are sufficient for citizenship education. To adherents of this, the current public schools are too secular. To them, public schools should integrate Islam to school curricula and activities so that students have a "thick" religious foundation. And the third are those who insist that the existing accommodation and toleration model is the best that public school can offer and it is sufficient for creating citizens for a multireligious or multicultural Indonesia.

In response to these challenging views, I attended closely to their arguments, supporting facts, evaluations and proposals. This reflexivity made me sometimes doubt my argument, for they also carried some plausible arguments and strong facts. Although most conversations happened in my imagination, this reflexive manner helped make me aware of my ideological standpoint and make me aware and cautious with views proposed, data, and its interpretation.

*Peer Review*

One other way to make the research result sound is to present it in both formal and informal contexts to gain reactions, comments, and feedback (Creswell, 2003 & 2007; Flick, 2007; Merriam & Associates, 2002; Schwandt, 1997). This research has undergone several discussions starting when the writing was still at conceptual stage and has been presented

during data collection and analysis states and in discussing emerging findings. One of them I presented in the Australian-ASEAN Conference on Religion, Multiculturalism, and Conflict, funded by the Australian Embassy and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, and organized by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Jakarta on 8-9 September 2008. I also presented part of the research in Comparative International Education Society (CIES) conference recently, 30 April-5 May 2011. These presentations contributed to pushing me to better theorize and consolidate my arguments and enabled me to respond to unanticipated questions or problems taken for granted. In CIES, for example, I was confronted with a question about reconcilability of accommodating religious faith on the one hand and deliberation on the other.

*"Maximum variation"*

The term "maximum variation" is used by Merriam & Associates (2002, p. 31) to refer to diversity in sampling. The more varied the school cases studied the more likely the research is able to produce a general concept or model (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008; Creswell, 2003 & 2007). For one particular concept drawn from one particular case study would be explained and confirmed by the others. However, there are only two schools studied here, each representing academically excellent and good ones. In the study of two different schools, commonalities and differences in concepts, programs, activities, size and intensity were explored. Although the study was confined to two schools, it helped me find common patterns and consolidate descriptions and arguments on how the school created citizens and how they responded to a multireligious Indonesia.

It is important to note that the names of participants, schools, and places mentioned in the following chapter of field work description are pseudo names. Quotations presented are also originally in Indonesian languages which I translated them to English as close as possible to its original expression. I edit them only if I feel necessary for clarity of meaning.

## 4.7. Summary

This chapter has served to map out the general and specific orientation to data collection and analysis. I have discussed the constructivist paradigm of qualitative research that I have chosen and explained case studies of two public schools employed and how to get entry, to gather school sources, to do interviews, to do observations, to analyze and to interpret data, and to be reflexive.

In the following chapter (Chapter 5), I discuss case studies of citizenship education for a multireligious society of Indonesia implemented by two public senior high schools in South Jakarta, Indonesia

# Chapter 5:

# Case Studies: Mixed Experiences of Interreligious Relation

> *"You took wrong place to study citizenship education for multireligious society here. We lived here harmoniously…There is no specific program to create religious harmony but through daily interaction. We respect each others. We support Christian religious activities. While Muslim students were doing tadarrus [reading Quran], non Muslim were doing Morning Prayer. Even, religion teachers of different faiths work one another. We are separate only in religious activities. Other than in religious activities, students are united. We never said all of these. We do not need interreligious dialogue. We just put it in action. Action is more important."*
> (Benyamin, Principal of SMAN 121, Interview, August 24, 2010)

## 5.1. Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1 and 2, one of the goals of this study is to explore contemporary theories of citizenship education and to examine school implementation of citizenship education for a democratic multireligious society. In Chapter 3, I discussed three liberal theories: autonomy liberalism, diversity liberalism, and political liberalism. I have argued that political liberalism model fits Indonesia best, for this theory emphasizes a middle ground: recognition of diversity yet stressing the necessity of civic unity. The importance of the political liberalism model is that it emphasizes the necessity of promoting public reasonableness for diverse societies or the necessity of development of knowledge, attitude and capacity of citizens to think, to converse and to act that is reasonable to a pluralist society. Based on this theory, this chapter examines and discusses the implementation of citizenship education carried out by two schools and demonstrates the strengths and weaknesses of the two schools in citizenship education implementation.

This chapter does not provide detailed denotative information of two public senior high schools under study since they were already discussed in Chapter 4. Rather this Chapter focuses on the research questions posed in Chapter 1. In the analysis, I drew all data and information about SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 Jakarta from my field work (interviews of

students, teachers, and principals, observations of student clubs, school activities and classroom, and analysis of textbooks of Islamic and Citizenship textbooks) on March-July 2003 and August-October 2010. Moreover, as stated in Chapter 4, I did not do any analysis of Christian Catholic, Christian Protestant and other non Muslim textbooks for I do not have academic background on them. I limit my textbook analysis to Islamic textbooks. Islamic textbooks are used by almost 90 percent of student populations although I did interview non Muslim students and teachers on multireligious situation in the schools.

My approach in this chapter is to offer my overall reading of the data, and then to provide in a more detailed way the evidence which supports the interpretations I offer. What is most crucial here is to highlight that in contemporary Indonesia, all schools (including public schools) are expected to create good religious believers as well as good citizens. The first part of the chapter explores the schools' appreciation of religious faith and how they attempt to create a good religious believer. This religious activity might be seen as merely creating an exclusive man or woman of religious faith or closed religious congregant and, thus, they might be seen to be in tension with the citizenship education mission, but, at least, according to official national curriculum and views of teachers and administrators, as discussed later, school religious activities also intend to create good citizens and they also contain teaching for civic virtues such as tolerance. The following discussion, which is the main part of the chapter, illustrates how the public schools under study create good citizens for a democratic multireligious society. Here, the chapter illustrates three main activities carried out by the schools under discussion in order to create good citizens for a democratic multireligious society: (1): practicing respect for different faiths through accommodating religion from different background, (2) teaching tolerance, and (3) supporting student social interaction.

School administrators and teachers as a whole suggested that what was being done by the school in creating a good citizen for a multireligious society is sufficient. However, I provide evidence in this chapter that the approach is inadequate and I show issues and problems of interreligious relations in the schools. Concerning the accommodation of religions from different backgrounds, for example, I argue that religious accommodation is important, as it shows, in concrete ways, respect and mutual understanding to people of other faiths. However, I argue that the content of religious accommodation cannot be determined only by the administrators but deliberated by all parties concerned and involve religious minorities too so that the accommodation satisfies all parties. With respect to teaching for tolerance, I argue that the Religious Education subject that teaches tolerance, respect for differences, democracy, equality, and freedom (as evidenced in Islamic textbooks) is very crucial in that it will create a greater ground for public reasonableness and civic unity and it also reflects overlapping consensus. Citizenship Education subject, in particular, seems to provide greater grounds for a democratic citizenship creation because this subject is grounded on shared national values. Unfortunately, Citizenship Education textbooks do not include knowledge of religious diversity and lack interest in interreligious dialogue so that both the Islamic Religious Education subject and Citizenship Education subject do not engage in real religious diversity. What I found troubling are attitudes of teachers and head of the schools. They are very cautious and extremely fearful of religious diversity and interreligious dialogue and this caused school avoidance in real engagement in religious diversity, even though, as stated repeatedly in their conversations, they respect people of different convictions and live together peacefully. To them, as expressed in repeated interviews, in order to be able to live in mutual respect one does not need exposure to religious diversity or interreligious dialogue, because religion itself has already taught values of respect for differences, tolerance and social harmony. They feared that exposure to religious diversity or interreligious dialogue

might cause religious conflict. But how can we have mutual respect for diversity with avoidance to engagement in diversity or without talk, knowledge, and understanding? (Kunzman, 2006; Moore, 2007; Strike, 2007)

What I found very promising is the fact that the schools under study are religiously diverse schools and their students were composed of different faiths and they interact and engaged one another in classroom, extracurricular activities, schools, and outside the schools. I argue these diverse settings and social interactions are crucial components of citizenship education for a religiously diverse society in the schools under study because students of different faiths create friendships, talk, listen, exchange ideas, debate, and cooperate with one another.

There were some cases of misunderstanding, tension, and conflict, but those happen because the schools under discussion ignore the issues and do not foster develop open communication and do not expose students to knowledge of other faiths. In order to be able to develop the capacity for political liberalism, educational institutions need to meet four conditions: 1) diverse school setting, 2) practice of deliberative democracy, 3) development of shared civic knowledge, and 4) development of knowledge of religious diversity. This requirement is necessary, at least, for high school age, especially if parents regard that children of primary age should have an education that provide children to have a strong grounding in particular culture and tradition.

Overall, this chapter does not limit itself to a description of the creation of a good religious believer and a good citizen. Rather, it also discusses whether or not this model is adequate.

In discussing two schools, it might be expected that I present two schools in separate sections: SMAN 121 and SMAN 122. There is no doubt that they had differences, particularly academic achievement and reputation, and this impacts on the school's ability to

attract students and resources. Due to its academic reputation, SMAN 121, for example, was able to attract middle class parents and, consequently, to mobilize resources for school activities. This, in turn, allowed SMAN 121 to develop programs that were bigger than SMAN 122 or other SMANs in Jakarta. While other SMANs in Jakarta, for instance, could hold sport, music and art competitions only in the school and immediate surroundings, the SMAN 121 could invite SMANs and private schools in Jakarta and hold it in Bung Karno Stadium, the biggest stadium in Jakarta. Yet, since I found that these differences matter only in size, not in the model of citizenship education or in how the school creates citizens for democratic multireligious societies, I have decided to present the discussion of the two schools in an integrated way. I found both schools shows similar patterns of response in citizenship education. It may be because both of them are public schools, located in Jakarta, that followed a similar centralized national curriculum. Thus, I distinguish the two schools only by mentioning the name of the schools and identity of research participants.

**Creating a Good Religious Believer**

As stated earlier, in Indonesia, even public schools are supposed to create good religious believers in addition to making good citizens. So, students not only study Mathematics or Physics, but also study Religion. Students of different backgrounds have the possibility of interacting with one another, as they go to the same classes, study the same subjects, and can engage in the same extracurricular activities. If we look at the following table of school subjects for senior high school, it is only in the context of the subject of Religious Education that students from the same classes are separated.

Table 5.1.: *Subjects and Time Allocation*

| **Math & Science Program** | **Time Allocated** | **Social Studies Program** | **Time Allocated** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Religious Education | 2 | Religious Education | 2 |
| Citizenship Education | 2 | Citizenship Education | 2 |
| Indonesian Language | 4 | Indonesian Language | 2 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| English | 4 | English | 4 |
| Mathematics | 4 | Mathematics | 4 |
| Physics | 4 | History | 4 |
| Chemistry | 4 | Geography | 3 |
| Biology | 4 | Economy | 4 |
| History | 1 | Sociology | 3 |
| Arts | 2 | Arts | 2 |
| Physical, Sport and Health Education | 2 | Physical, Sport and Health Education | 2 |
| Information & Communication Technology | 2 | Information & Communication Technology | 2 |
| Foreign Language | 2 | Foreign Language | 2 |
| Local Contents | 2 | Local Contents | 2 |
| Personal Development | 2 | Personal Development | 2 |

Note: 1 session is 45 minutes[51]

While in religion-related activities, students are primarily educated to become a good religious believer; in subjects that do not deal with religion, they are educated to become Indonesian citizens, and world citizens who are reasonable, rational, and scientific.[52] For Indonesian education, shaping both a good religious believer and a good human being are educational objectives of the schools.

### 5.2.1. Views on Religious Faith

One of the predominant beliefs of teachers and principals of SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 was that religious faith is very important. This view was not only shared by religion teachers, but also by Citizenship and General Subject teachers. Marianne, a teacher of Christian faith, for example, said: " Even though I am an English teacher, I felt called to educate Christian students to become religiously faithful…I told them even though we are minorities we have to be like a candle that gives light to surrounding." (Interview, September 1, 2010). Teachers generally believed that it is only through religious faith that one is able to lead to a better life, here and here after.

[51] Regarding the list of the school subjects, see Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan (BSNP)-Indonesia (2011). Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional nomor 22 tanggal 23 May, 2006 tentang Standar Isi (Regulation of Ministry of National Education number 22, May23, 2006 on Content Standard). Retrieved on August14 from www.bsnp-indonesia.go.id

[52] Formulation of present national education goal is general that is " to create a faithful and pious religious believer, man and woman of character, healthy, knowledgable, competent, creative, independent, democractic and responsible citizen." See Departemen Pendidikan National (2006). *Undang-undang Republik Indonesia, nomor 20 tahun 2003 tentang sistem pendidikan national* (Educational act of the Republic of Indonesia number 20 year 2003 on national education). But if go to formulation of educational objectives of school subjects, such as Citizenship, Mathematics, Physics, and English, the schools clearly also intend to create a reasonable, rational, scientific and world citizen.

When told that there are those with aspirations that religious education should stay out of public schools and be handed to mosque or church or family, Sugiri, Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 122, maintained:

> Religion is the foundation. Therefore, in my view, religious education has to be provided in public school. There are so many bad things such as drug and free sex. What happens if religion is not there? In addition, there are so many students unable to recite the Quran or do not know the pillars of Islam (rukun Islam). Who will ensure religious education if it is only in the hand of parents? In my class (Citizenship subject) if there is any student who has not prayed yet, I will encourage him/ her to do prayer first. (Interview, May 23, 2003)[53]

Yuliana, Head of SMAN 122 observed:

> Religious education is very essential, it makes good citizens... religion makes your life successful and orderly....in addition when character education is part of religious education it will be more acceptable and stronger for it is based on God's revelation, the Quran. (Interview, October 26, 2010)

When asked about Citizenship Education, Yuliana said:

> Citizenship Education is only a product of mundane life, only theories, created by human beings. Certainly, there are positive things from it, but religion has a stronger effect. When teachers motivate students to learn, it would be stronger if they cite injunctions of the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad's tradition. I believe in religious education. It may be because I was raised that way. (Interview, October 26, 2010)

Similar views were offered by SMAN 121 teachers and the principal. I asked Yaya, Vice Head of SMAN 121, Student Affairs, and also teacher of Physics, why the school put so much emphasis on religious activities as compared to citizenship creation. He stated very firmly:

> For me, I would rather choose to be truly Muslim, for a true Muslim must be a good person and good citizen. A true Muslim must be truly Pancasilaist [one who is committed to the Pancasila national ideology] and must be a true member of the nation, while a true Pancasilaist is not necessarily a true Muslim. Therefore, the first oath of students of this school is to be faithful to God...the second is to be good to their parents. This is Quranic teaching, for if you are Muslim you have to embrace Islamic faith fully and completely. God guarantees happiness here and hereafter. (Interview, October 26, 2010)

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[53] Social problems are regarded as the common enemy of Islamic faith. It is shared by other teachers of Christian faith. One of the Catholic teachers, Petrus Jemadi, felt torn out when notified that one of the students in his Catholics class had become addicted to a drug. He said: "I have been teaching 20 years in this school and never felt so ashamed as with this case (drug abuse)." Religion is believed to act as a guide that prevents bad behaviors and leads us to good deeds. (Interview, May 23, 2003)

Hayati, PKN teacher of SMAN 121 offered the following:

> Only smart, without practicing religion, will create problems. With religious faiths, someone will live sincerely, not rely always on money. The reason why our country is at risk is due to a lack of religious piety. If all religious believers practice their religious beliefs as they should, they must do only right things. The more committed they are to religious faith, the more likely they are to be good persons. They must care and respect others. What is contagious are half religious believers who do not fully commit to it...I am a Citizenship Education teacher...yet if I find (Muslim) students who do not recite the Quran when they are supposed to, I will reduce his/ her grade." (Interview, August 26, 2010)

Hayati went on to say: "In Citizenship class, I sometime discuss Islamic religion, such as its view on man or woman as vicegerent of God or its teaching that the best of human being is the most benefitting to others. If I only talk about Citizenship, students are not interested in it." (Interview, October 26, 2010). When I asked whether or not non-Muslims feel bothered when Islamic teaching was inserted, Hayati replied: "No. In fact, they like it. For I am talking about something general, applied to all religious faiths." (Interview, 26 October, 2010)

In the interview, Surono, the head of SMAN 121 in 2003-2007, asserted that the ideal Muslim he imagined was Habibi. Habibi is a public figure who is a highly learned person, a good practicing Muslim and well-known aerospace engineer and technocrat. He finished his Ph.D. from Freiburg University. Habibi is seen as someone that combines mastery of Iptek (science and technology) and Imtak (religious faith and piety). Habibi was a former Vice President of Indonesia who became president for one year and-a-half after President Soeharto resigned due to the economic crisis and massive strikes throughout the country in 1998. Habibi was an instrumental figure during the transition period from the totalitarian military regime to what is called the Reform era. For Surono, the school has to create a new Habibi, a model citizen who is religiously faithful and knowledgeable in science and technology. (Interview, April 28, 2003)

In both schools, religious faith as virtue kept being emphasized again and again during interviews.[54] In fact, it is a common phenomenon that teachers of general subjects such as Math, Biology or Chemistry were preoccupied and engaged in religious activities, especially being advisor of religious club. Some of them even gave Friday sermons. Yaya, a Physics teacher of SMAN 121, was very much involved in school mosque activities and he frequently gave the Friday sermon. When I visited the school, I joined Friday prayer and Yaya gave a sermon. And Surono, the principal of SMAN 121, 2002-2007, proudly mentioned that all Muslim women teachers in his school wear hijab (Interview, April 28, 2003). Hijab, head cover for Muslim women, was not a mainstream practice of Muslim woman in Indonesia, but recently it is increasingly regarded as obligatory (wajib).

### 5.2.2. Islamic Religious Education in the Classroom

Since religion was deemed very valuable, religious education, even though it was not a subject for the national examinations, was very important in the schools. Both schools were very supportive of religious activities. We may wonder what religious education looks like in terms of purposes, emphases, and activities carried out in public school. What follows is a description of Islamic religious activities carried in classrooms, student Islamic clubs, and school Islamic activities.

The nature of Islamic religious education carried out in the classroom is confessional—that is, one intended to nurture religious faith in Islam. Its purpose is not to study about other

[54] The strong religious zeal of teachers could lead to some behaviors and attitudes that might be deemed to be improper. Doni, a Muslim student who finished his junior high school in Catholic school, for example, found that one of his teachers' attitudes in SMAN 121 was insensitive to the multireligious reality of the classroom. He said: "There is a female Muslim teacher, with head cover (kerudung), who teaches Indonesian language. During the class, there was a question raised by a student on issues of pacaran (making boy or girl friend). Hearing that question, the teacher asked the view of the class, but there was no response. The teacher, then, insisted that Islam prohibits pacaran. She ignored that there were some Christian students, for whom pacaran is acceptable. What the teacher should do, in my opinion, is to ask the view of students with Christian faith so that a discussion among class can be created. And the teacher also suddenly insisted that in her class, no female would be allowed to sit with male; male has to be with male, and female with female, without making any explanation of reasons behind it. Actually I wanted to discuss with her, but I refrained, for her attitude seems to be close minded." (Interview, May 16, 2003)

religions or to provide interreligious education. Amir, an Islamic Education subject teacher of SMAN 121, stated that his class emphasized Islamic faith (aqidah), for, to him, if students have a strong religious faith she/he will carry it out. Amir gave emphasis also to prayers, recitation of Arabic Quran, and good deeds (akhlakul karimah) (Interview, September 2, 2010). Sulaiman, Islamic Religious Education teacher of the same school, expected similar outcomes: that his students should be able to recite short verses of the Arabic Quran, to understand its contents, to do prayers, including prayers for the dead (jenazah/corpse), to lead prayers (imam) in their community, and to have good conduct (akhlak).[55]

Students of SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 also confirmed that the teachers of Islamic Religious Education class put great emphasis on prayers, the ability to recite the Arabic Quran, and good deeds. And what is meant by good deeds is related to personal virtues such as tidiness, respect for teachers, and discipline (Group interview, August 31, 2010).

### 5.2.3. Student Islamic Club

Other than Islamic Religious Education in the classroom, both schools also facilitated student religious clubs. Many students that I interviewed felt that what is covered in the Islamic Religious Education classroom was limited. Then, they joined Student Islamic Club (ROHIS). I asked about the purpose of ROHIS. Farid, Head of ROHIS, SMAN 122, 2010, replied: "ROHIS is to create Muslim students of good character (akhlak mulia)." Ibrahim, member of ROHIS SMAN 122, stated: "ROHIS is a medium to call Muslim students to do

[55] Similar emphasis was made by other teachers too, such as Goffar, Vice Principal of the SMAN 122, Curriculum Affairs, who is also Islamic Religious Education teacher. He said: "What he emphasized most is prayers...good conduct (akhlakul karimah)...and ability to recite Arabic Quran ..." (Interview, September 1, 2010). When the same question was raised to Husna, teacher of Islamic Religious Education of SMAN 122, she gave a similar emphasis: "First I stress akhlaqul karimah (good conduct), how students behave to teachers when teaching, to his friends...Attitude is very important, if his/her attitude is good he/she will have good life... if bad he/she will have bad life...if the student shows good behavior and attitude in the class listening to teachers he/she will have good results in the exam...Then I check whether or not the students are able to recite the Arabic Quran well...whether or not they are able to conduct daily prayer...to give sermons in Friday prayer... to handle corpse (jenazah) and to do prayers before funeral. But since the subject covers content of broad and various topics while the time is limited, I have implemented peer tutorial, asking students to help teach their fellow friends..." (Interview, September 1, 2010).

prayers and to do good deeds." (Interview, August 31, 2010). Stated in other words, to Agustin, the Head of ROHIS 2009–2010, SMAN 121, "ROHIS was established to make Muslim students benefit from the positive influence of Islam." (Interview, October 28, 2010).

Abraham, Head of ROHIS of SMAN 122, 2003–2004, noted that ROHIS organized several activities such as weekly Friday dialogue, Mesjid Study Club (Mosque study club), and Islamic mentoring by the school alumni. ROHIS members also sometimes watched Islamic movies, made trip, and played soccer (Group interview, April 30, 2003). Jagat, a student of SMAN 122 added that ROHIS also holds training on how to make Islamic magazines or leaflets published every Friday. To Jagat, ROHIS holds leadership training to ensure that new ROHIS committee members are able to organize ROHIS activities (Group interview, April 30, 2003). While activities of ROHIS SMAN 122 were confined to the school, some activities of ROHIS of SMAN 121 invited ROHISs of other public senior high school in Jakarta. For example, ROHIS of SMAN 121 held competition of Islamic religious practices (Loketa) and this involved ROHIS of other schools in Jakarta.

I wondered what experiences ROHIS members had learned from the Islamic club. They made very positive comments about it. Reza, a member of ROHIS of SMAN 122, commented on what ROHIS gave to him: "Formerly, I knew nothing about Islam. Now, I have a little knowledge about it. Mentoring has made me know about Islam and convinced that Islam is a true religion." Kadir, other ROHIS member of the same school commented: "There are many positive points of being active in ROHIS. Yet, what is most important is that ROHIS recharges our religious faith. When it is low, ROHIS helps bring it up." (Group interview, August 31, 2010) Miftah of SMAN 122 adds other interesting comments: "I come from Mayestik area where religious education gets less attention. ROHIS provides me an Islamic milieu with friends who practice prayers, recite the Quran...for religious education in classroom gives us little." (Group interview, April 30, 2003)

Similar comments were stated by Agi, student of SMAN 122. He said:

> Some may say that ROHIS activities are an addition to the formal curriculum. But, for me, it is the formal curriculum that adds to ROHIS activities, for classroom teachers only say it, not practice it. Here in ROHIS we learn not just theory, we practice it. The Prophet himself balanced theories to deeds. (Group interview, August 31, 2010)

In addition to classroom and student Islamic club, both public schools also held a number of Islamic activities that involved teachers, students, and all school personnel. For example, Muslims performed prayers in congregation twice a day (dzuhr and ashr) in school mosque. They also performed weekly Friday prayers in congregation. The schools also held activities related to big events of Islam, such as Idul Fitri (Day of Purity), Idul Adha (Day of Sacrifice), Maulid (the birth of Prophet Muhammad), Isra and Mi'raj (the Prophet Muhammad's ascension), and Nuzulul Quran (first time the Quran was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad). On these occasions, the schools held some specific activities. For Idul Adha, for example, the schools collected donations from students and all school personnel of Islamic faith to buy lamb or cow and slaughter them and distributed them to the poor near the schools, and they also cook some of the meat and eat together. In these occasions, the schools and ROHIS sometimes hold Islamic performances such as nasyid (Middle East styled song) and invite Islamic speaker to give a lecture in which principals, teachers, and students with Islamic background gather together as Muslims and as members of the umma (Muslim community). [56]

[56] Christians also made efforts to arouse a sense of Christian religious community. Petrus Jemadi, Catholic teacher in SMAN 122, said: "What I always insist on in my class is that faith must come with practice of daily life. The essence of the Bible is 'love peoples as you love yourself, and thank God with all of your mind and power." It does not mean, however, that one does not have to go to Church. He said: "It is a must. In the second week of every month, all Junior and Senior High School students of Catholic faith in South Jakarta, around 500 people, are obliged to take part in congregation (misa bersama)." He further said: "This congregation is to arouse togetherness among us who share the same faith." To Petrus, in every Christmas celebration, Protestant and Catholic hold the celebration together in order to raise togetherness among those who hold similar faith (Interview, May23, 2003).

### 5.2.4. Islamic Textbooks on Cultivating Islamic Faith

The creation of a good religious believer was also reflected in the Islamic textbooks of both schools. The following is an analysis of the textbook content of the Islamic Religious Education subject of senior high school used by SMAN 121 and SMAN 122. Textbooks of Islamic Religious Education analyzed are written by different authors, with slightly different titles, and different publishers. Textbooks of Islamic Religious Education used by SMAN 121 was written by Syamsuri entitled *Pendidikan Agama Islam untuk SMA* (Islamic Religious Education for Senior High School) published in 2007 in Jakarta by Erlangga, while the textbook used by SMAN 122 was written by Margiono, Junaidi Anwar, and Latifah titled *Pendidikan Agama Islam: Lentera Kehidupan* (Islamic Religious Education: A light for life), published in 2007 in Jakarta by Yudhistira. Yet, the content is similar. Both follow content standards and competence standards set by the Board of National Standard of Education and the Ministry of National Education.

Part of the textbook content is devoted to shaping students to become a practicing good Muslim believer. The Islamic Religious Education textbook covers five groups of Islamic areas. First, it deals with Islamic faith (aqidah). This includes discussion of the creeds of Islam: beliefs in God, Angels, God's Messengers, the Books, the Destiny, and the Day of Judgment. This subject of aqidah is intended to shape students to become man/ woman of Islamic faith. Second, it deals with Quranic studies. It is worth mentioning that the Quran is believed by Muslims to be Words of God. Thus, both the ability of reciting and understanding are religiously required. Therefore, the textbooks under study try to make students able to recite its Arabic Quranic text as well as understand its meanings. Third, the textbook deals with fiqih. Fiqih literally means understanding. But, fiqih, here, means rules of what are required, forbidden, recommended, disapproved, and mere permitted by Islamic religion. Fiqih is formulated by authoritative Islamic jurist (faqih) based on the Quran, the

Prophet's tradition, analogy, and consensus of Islamic jurists. Fiqih includes explanation and discussion of prayers, fasting in the month of Ramadan, almsgiving, pilgrimage to Mecca, marriage, inheritance, endowment, and transaction.[57] Here, the discussion is very detailed. In regard to fasting during the Ramadan month (shaum), Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007), for example, discuss the meaning of shaum, those who are obliged to do fasting, conditions of doing fasting, several things that make fasting a failure (p. 90-91). Similarly is when the textbooks discuss pilgrimage to Mecca (the hajj). They discuss the meaning of hajj, its Islamic legal basis, its qualifications and conditions. It is required, for instance, that those who perform hajj are to be physically and mentally healthy and mature. Then, the fifth section of the textbook introduces Islamic history and civilization (tarikh) starting from the life of the Prophet in Mecca and Medina, history of Islam in middle ages, history of Islam in the world and history of Islam in Indonesia so that students know what has happened before and can learn from it. So, on the first part of the Islamic textbooks, it intends to make students faithful, conscious and practicing Muslim believers. They know Islam, live by it, and they are proud of it.

The Islamic textbooks of SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 did not provide information of other faiths or encourage directly inter-religious interaction and dialogue.[58] There is no

[57] It worth mentioning that when they were in primary school (grade 1-6) and junior high school (grade 7-9), they already had Islamic Religious Education (study of the Quran, Islamic faith, good conduct, prayers, Islamic history and civilization). See Departemen Agama or Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) (2007). *Standar isi & standar kelulusan pendidikan agama Islam* (Content Standard & Competence Standard of Islamic Religious Education in Schools). Jakarta: Departemen Agama

[58] Protestant Religious Education textbooks also do not provide information of internal diversity of Christianity, although in Christianity there are some new interpretations of Christianity, such as Jehova Witness, Mormon, and Charismatics. Andar, teacher of Christian Religious Education SMAN 121, maintained that "One of the reasons for not incorporating differences in Protestant Religious education is because such differences occur only in a name…" The textbook of Protestant Religious Education deals with religious diversity when it discusses salvation. It is maintained that all religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity) are believed to be paths of salvation. Andar, a teacher of Protestant Religious education commented: "I always remind students that all religions share the same things that are to commit to do good deeds. This (topic) is to equip students to live in diversity." However, it is not interreligious education. Asked if part of the Catholic Religious education contain any teachings on how to live in multireligious society, Petrus Jemadi, a teacher of Catholic education of SMAN 122 respond by saying: "I always insist to love all fellow human beings as you love

information on Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism or Buddhism. The textbooks also do not expose Muslim students to a variety of Islamic interpretations, such as Shi'ite. Also, they do not introduce a variety of Islamic thoughts, such as Sufism, Islamic philosophy, Islamic theology, nor Islamic liberalism, Islamic radicalism nor salafism. What is taught in the text book is one single Islam, suggesting only one Islam and one single umma, although in reality, Islam is diverse in both interpretation as well as practices. There was no critical examination of religion. The textbook also excluded liberal understanding of Islam which essentially advocates liberal democratic values. For instance, in the case of inheritance, Syamsuri argues for the traditionalist view of Islam that gives the son (male) twice the inheritance that the daughter (female) receives.[59] So, textbooks by Syamsuri and Margiono, Anwar and Latifah ignore diverse interpretations of Islam. They expose students only to traditional Sunnite understanding of Islam.[60] The textbooks also ignore controversial issues, such as Islamic state, the wearing of the headscarf, polygamy, and Christmas celebration. As a result, through

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yourself and to thank God with all mind and efforts. ...all religions gear towards God...only their paths are different. And I have been in here (in the school) for 20 year. I have never met any problem with whoever I associate: teachers, students, whoever, regardless of religion. Bible teaches that we must love people, even the enemy. In the Bible, if your left cheek is punched, give your right one. This means that if we are regarded as enemy, accused (difitnah), belittled (dijelek-jekan), we must not fight back but respond with good deeds. Violence has never been solved by violence." This reaction can be interpreted to mean that exposure of basic teaching on humanity is sufficient. However, this might raise questions as to whether such an approach adequately equips learners to engage in intercultural reality, since peoples have a particular culture, tradition and values and they interact with one another.

[59] See discussion of inheritance in Syamsuri (2007) *Pendidikan Agama Islam untuk kelas xii* (Islamic religious education for senior high school grade 12). Jakarta: Erlangga, p. 149 and in Margiono, Anwar and Latifah. (2007). *Pendidikan agama Islam: Lentera kehidupan, SMA kelas xii* (Islamic religious education: Light of life, senior high school, grade 12). Jakarta: Yudhistira, p. 157

[60] Indonesian Muslims, like many other Muslim majority countries, are Sunnite who believe, beside the Quran and the Prophet Muhammd tradition, in the authority of all Prophet Muhammad companions. Yet, Indonesia has also Shi'a and Ahmadiyah Muslim groups, although their number is very tiny. Shi`ah is a Muslim who, presently, predominantly lives in Iran and Iraq. They, as other Muslims, believe in the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad. Yet, Shi'a place higher respect to family of the Prophet Muhammad (ahl al-bayt) over the other companions of the Prophet. And this standpoint leads to different interpretations of Islam compared to the Sunnites. Meanwhile, Ahmadiyah was founded in Pakistan by Mirza Guhlam Ahmad who had similar beliefs with other Muslim in the Quran and Prophet Muhammad. However, its followers believe that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is the awaited Muslim authority for contemporary Muslims. For that reason, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Council of Ulema) regarded that Ahmadiyah is non Muslim and demanded that the state ban it, but Indonesian human right activists and Muslim liberals opposed it.

Islamic Religious Education, Muslim students do not become familiar with internal Islamic diversity let alone external religious diversity. The nature of Islamic Religious Education in public schools is confessional and it provides only one option or one interpretation and lack of critical reflection.

*Rejection of Teachers and Principals on Interreligious Dialogue*

With regard to religious diversity, teachers also did not see the importance of interreligious conversation either. Husna, a teacher of Islamic Religious Education of SMAN 122, might be a case in point. She describes how she dealt with students of Christian faith who joined her Islamic Religious Education class. As Husna observes:

> I already suggested that students of non-Muslim faith go to the school library when Islamic Religious Education class takes place. But, there were students who said they would rather stay in the classroom. I reminded them that in case there were Islamic tenets contradictory to their faith, they should never raise any complaints or protest, for, in term of faith, we are different. If you dislike or disagree, please do not join this class...If they sleep or talk to others, I also warn them, for it disturbs others. But it is fine if she reads or works on her homework. (Interview, September 1, 2010) [61]

This attitude shows that there is no space for exchange or dialogue let alone a critical one. Husna, a teacher of Islamic Religious Education subject, did not take advantage of the presence of students of Christian faith to have an interreligious conversation. Didi, another Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 121 stated:

> …we do not discuss religious differences …for it may disturb the harmony of their religious life…What matters most is how to create a harmonious life, not how to expose religious differences…Why should we? Religious dialogue may lead to conflict. (Interview, April 21, 2003)

Sudadi, teacher of Citizenship Education, SMAN 122, imagined that presenting SARA (suku, agama, ras, dan antar golongan or ethnicity, religion, race, and groups) is not easy. Religion is particularly more sensitive. It requires that teachers understand it well and present it in a balanced way (Interview, August, 30, 2010).

[61] I, unfortunately, did not explore further why some Christian students stayed in Islamic Religious Education class, but probably they wanted to know Islam because there is no subject that informs religion of others or because the schools did not provide an alternative activity either.

Benyamin, the head of SMAN 121, rejected the inclusion of information of other religions. As he observed:

> We do not need to incorporate information of religions in the textbooks in order to foster mutual understanding, for the students will further read and read...Then they could convert to another religion. If we incorporate information of religion, we cannot ensure that there is no convert. That's dangerous. (Interview, August 24, 2010)

I asked him to comment on interreligious dialogue. Benyamin mentioned that "Interreligious dialogue could be ok provided that there is a teacher." But, then, he backtracked and said: "It is dangerous." Then, Benyamin said: "We do not need interreligious dialogue either... I used to teach in Christian schools...Both Christians...and...Muslims believe in their Truth and are committed to their religious faiths..." (Interview, August 24, 2010).

So, Benyamin rejected very idea of dialogue for it will threaten security of one's religious faith and, to Benyamin, dialogue was also difficult to implement, since each religious groups believes strongly in their religious faith. Fear of conversion to Christianity for Muslims as suggested by Benyamin or to Islam for Christians, seems to be a major hindrance of interreligious relations.[62] Therefore, the response of public schools under study to religious diversity is neither to engage students in critical examination of diverse beliefs in order to choose what is best for themselves as suggested by the autonomy liberalism model nor to engage them in conversation for mutual respect, reciprocity or reasonableness as promoted by supporters of political liberalism.

### 5.2.5. Protestant and Catholic Religious Education

Both schools (SMAN 121 and SMAN 122) facilitated confessional religious activities of the six major recognized religions (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism) provided the minimum of ten students requirement according to

[62] Excellent discussion on this issue could be found in Mujiburrahman (2006). *Feeling threatened: Muslim-Christian relation in the New Order.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

government regulation is met. If met, the school will provide teachers and facilities. If the number of students is less than ten, students are encouraged to find teachers themselves and the results are to be reported to the school.[63]

Both SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 provided Protestant Religious Education and Catholic Religious Education. Students of Christian Protestant faith were obliged to join Protestant class and Catholic students to attend Catholic class. Since religious education was denominational and confessional taking place in separate classes, students learned only their own religion. In SMAN 121 and SMAN 122, there was no religious education for Hindus, Buddhist, and Confucian for their number was less than ten. Students of those faiths were to find their own religious education and the schools will request them to bring their grade to them for the final school report.

The two schools under study also supported activities of student Christian clubs. Here, there are differences in both size of student populations and intensity of the activities. Since the number of students of Catholic faith is tiny (only 3 students in 2010), there were only two religious clubs in SMAN 122, the Islamic Club and Christian Club. Catholic and Protestant students in this school joined together in one Christian Club. Meanwhile, in SMAN 121 there were three student religious clubs: Islamic, Protestant and Catholic Clubs. Until 2007, SMAN 121 had only Islamic and Christian clubs. At that time, students of Catholic faiths still joined the Christian Club too. Since the number of Catholic students grew (39 students in 2010), the school accommodated their aspiration to form a Catholic Club. The school provided them with a specific room for their religious activities. While Islamic club (ROHIS) in both schools had the school mosque as their base-camp; ROHKRIS and ROHKAT of SMAN 121

[63] On implementation of religious education in public school, see Keputusan Bersama Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan dan Menteri Agama Republik Indonesia (Joint Regulation of Ministry of Education and Culture and Ministry of Religious Affairs on implementation of religious education in schools), 1985, in Weinata Sairin (1996). *Himpunan peraturan di bidang keagamaan* (Collection of regulations on religious affairs). Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, p. 316-323.

had the school auditorium and biology lab as a place for their religious activities and ROHKRIS of SMAN 122 has the room of the vocal group. Both schools also provided funding for their activities. In addition, the school provided each of them supervisor from among the school teachers.

Students of Christian faith who joined ROKRIS or ROHKAT, like their Muslim friends in the context of ROHIS, regarded that religious education in the classroom was inadequate. It was too formal; it followed strictly the formal curriculum. In addition, it was also theoretical. Alex Suradi, a ROHKRIS (Christian club) activist of SMAN 121 made comments of his religious education class: "… most I've learned is theoretical. It deals with knowledge at most, such as history of (Church) and study of the Bible. We also gained principles of social services, but we've never practiced it." (Interview, May 15, 2003). Debra, member of ROHKRIS SMAN 122, gave an example of religious education in the classroom and activity in the ROHKRIS: "We learned theory of Christmas in classroom, but we practiced it through ROHKRIS. In addition, ROHKRIS holds prayer morning every Wednesday and Christian services (kebaktian) every Friday." Those are among the reasons that made a number of Christian students joined ROHKRIS. For Alex Suradi, being a member of a Christian minority was also crucial component in leading him to join the ROHKRIS. Alex Suradi, further, said:

> When in SMP Santa Maria (Saint Maria Junior High School), I was a member of the majority. Christians and Catholics constituted 70 percent. Muslims were only six or seven students. ..I felt everything was good. But, now I must strengthen myself…for huge number of the students are Muslims…I am afraid that I'll convert to Islam…by joining ROHKRIS it makes me strong…We here (in SMA 8) as minorities have to show our quality. I am called at least to activate this club (ROHKRIS)…nothing wrong to join this too. (Interview, May 15, 2003)

Activities of the ROHKRIS and ROHKAT of SMAN 121 included daily morning and evening prayer, afternoon prayers, retreat, Bible study, ROHKRIS leadership training, vocal groups and Saturday service, Christmas celebration. Retreat was held often in three day

camps for deepening knowledge of the Bible and faith, (they involve withdrawal from the noisy surroundings into silence in order to contemplate and associate with God). Here, compared to ROHKRIS of SMAN 122, Student Christian Club of SMAN 121 are more active. For example, they hold morning and afternoon prayer every day, while ROHKRIS of SMAN 122 holds it only every Wednesday morning.[64] The differences applied also to Student Islamic Club of both schools where ROHIS of SMAN 121 holds prayer time more frequently than the ROHIS of SMAN 122.

Benyamin, the Head of the SMAN 121, acknowledged that his students are academically excellent. To ensure their academic excellence, the school provides students clinics of learning, in class, groups, as well as individual. Yet, Benyamin said, the school was worried about their religious faith (imtak) and personal character (kepribadian), for mere academic intelligence is inadequate. As Benyamin said:

> We need also to make sure that they are religiously faithful and good persons. So every day, all students of Islamic faith have 15 minutes of Quranic reading and understanding (tadarrus) before starting their class. Similarly, students of Christian faiths have Morning Prayer...Muslim students have also short Islamic training (pesantren kilat), while Christian students have a retreat. All students also take training of emotional spiritual quotient (ESQ)...and character education...In the end ...the school expects that they become a religiously faithful and good person. (Interview, August 24, 2010)

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[64] To run ROHKRIS activities, its alumnae, as it happened also to ROHIS, played a critical role as a mentor as well as a friend. Their help is also not only in regards of religious activities, but in academic matters such as university entrance preparation (Interview, May 15, 2003). Andar, Protestant education teacher said: "Relationship between alumnae which most of them are studying in University of Indonesia and ROHKRIS are very closed. The alumnae give a spiritual guidance, but they also guide them in regards of academic matters. The alumnae presence has been long time ago. When I joined this school in 1997, they have been here already. They come here voluntarily simply for the seek of guiding a younger Christian fellow…" Alex Suradi, a member of ROHKRIS of Catholic faith, made a comment: "…Catholic alumnae of ROHKRIS rarely visit us. But many of Protestant alumni join our activities, and I myself know them." Members of ROHKRIS every year go out of town for retreat to study the Bible and to build sense of community. Yet, in regards with retreat program, members of Protestant faith and those of Catholics do not go together since each had different set of rituals. Such activities as this grow their friendship and brotherhood among Christians or Catholics and made them closer when they were in public schools. To Siswo, one of the purposes of ROHKRIS is to cultivate Christian friendship. Debra added that ROHKRIS is "a mean to meet, know one another, foster sense of family, brotherhood among members as well as alumni." I notice, for example, Alex Suradi, Demos and Surono, members of ROHKRIS always go together. They know each other personally. Asked about what he experience by being in ROHKRIS, Alex Suradi commented: "I feel closer with my friends and I don't feel lonely anymore" (Interview, May 15, 2003).

So far, I have illustrated how the schools under discussion facilitated an education to foster a good practicing religious believer especially from a Muslim or Christian (Protestant and Catholic) background. It is clear that the nature of religious education is confessional or presented from religious commitment and purported to foster religious commitment. I illustrated that the teachers and administrators opposed exposure to religious diversity. Here I only illustrated Islamic, Christian Protestant and Christian Catholic religions because only those religions were facilitated by the schools during my study. I did not find any specific support from the schools for Hindus, Buddhist, and Confucians in these schools for their numbers were less than ten and this made them unqualified to gain school services. In fact, according to the school sources, in year 2010, there were only two Hindu students and two Buddhist students in SMAN 121 and two Hindu students in SMAN 122 and there were no Buddhist students let alone Confucian. For these religious minorities, a student has to find religious education herself. I talked to Made Gedong, a Hindus student in SMAN 122, about his religious education. He said he had to join Hindus Religious Education in his Hindu community every week and, then, he had to report this to school (Interview, May 23, 2003). What follow is school efforts through varied ways in creating a good citizenship for a democratic multireligious society.

### 5.3. Creating a Good Citizen for a Democratic Multireligious Society

If Indonesians from different religious backgrounds are faithful, the question is how to bind them as citizens and how to ensure public reasonableness and civic unity of a diverse Indonesia? In reply to the question, the schools carried out three things: accommodation of religions from different backgrounds, teaching for tolerance, and social interaction.

### 5.3.1. Accommodation of Religion from Different Backgrounds

Both schools do not only support provision of religious education for Muslims as a majority (88 %) of the population, but also provide it to other faiths: Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. This practice of respect for religious differences is to create national unity and to create citizens respectful of differences. When I raised questions on how the school contributed to the creation of religious harmony and to the creation of good citizens for multireligious Indonesia, Yaya, Vice Principal Student Affairs, SMAN 121, after taking a short breath, asked me rather to look at what the school had already done:

> Three years ago, when we realized that Catholics had different beliefs and worship than Christian Protestants, the school supported the establishment of ROHKAT (Catholic club). We presently have 3 Advent students that asked for exemption of Saturday extracurricular activities, for, to them, Saturday is a religious day. The school has already permitted them to be exempt. Yet, as a replacement, they take foreign language on Tuesday and Wednesday. (Interview, October 26, 2010)

So, for Yaya, the practice of accommodation of different religions is one way to create multireligious harmony and it has educational messages that peoples of different faiths have to respect one another.

I also raised similar questions to Yuliana, Head of the SMAN 122, 2010 on how the school creates religious harmony. She replied by informing me on how her public school accommodates religious activities:

> We support religious education class for all faiths. And when Muslims are doing Friday prayer, the Christians are also doing prayers. When Muslims are conducting pesantren kilat (Islamic training) in the month of Ramadan, the Christians are doing retreat. On Friday, Muslims sometimes invite a preacher (khatib), the school is also supportive if Christians would invite a preacher. (Interview, October 26, 2010)

In interviews with teachers and principals, they suggest that public schools had done their best to respect religions from different backgrounds. The social interaction and school support for religious activities from different backgrounds is a concrete case in point. When I

asked Benyamin, the head of SMAN 121, 2010, how the school created religious harmony, he responded to the question this way:

> You chose the wrong place to study citizenship education for multireligious here. We live here harmoniously... There is no specific program to create religious harmony but through daily interaction. We support Christian religious activities. We respect each other when we are praying. We are separate only in religious activities. Even different religious teachers also work together. Other than in religious activities, students are united. We never said all of these, we do not need interreligious dialogue, we just put it action. Action is more important. (Interview, August 24, 2010)

Here Benyamin not only tells us about social interaction and religious accommodation that the school has, but also he suggests that social interaction and school support for religious activities from different backgrounds are sufficient for creating religious harmony. He said there was no need for interreligious dialogue, for action is far more important than any other.

This attitude seems to reflect a mainstream attitude of teachers and principals with regard to creation of social harmony in multireligious societies. They believe that what is most important in a religiously diverse society is mutual respect, and mutual respect is best expressed through support for the need of religious activities.

Clearly support for religious activities of different faiths demonstrates not only respect for other religious believers, but also shows understanding, empathy, and sympathy of other needs and aspirations.[65]

When asked to comment on differences between SMAN 122 and her previous Catholic junior school, Natalia, a student of SMAN 122, said:

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[65] The practice of religious accommodation from different backgrounds was not found in faith schools. As faith schools, they provide only education of their own faith. When I visited two Muslim senior high school (SMA al-Ma`arif Fatmawati and SMA Muhammadiyah Jalan Limo) in Jakarta, there were no students of Protestant, Catholic, or Buddhist faith, for Muslim schools are generally academically low so that there was no reason for non Muslims to study there. It is Catholic and Protestant schools that can attract Muslims to enrol. However, as Catholic and Protestant school, they, of course, only provide their faith religious education. Dodo, Muslim student of SMAN 121 whose former junior school was Catholic, told that he in his former Catholic school had to fill and sign a form which states that he agreed to follow Catholic religious education class, although he also mentioned that his Catholic school environment was very welcoming (Interview, May 12, 2003).

> In my previous school, Christian Protestant students were the majority. In terms of number, Catholic is second. Muslim students were only a few, around two percent. But this was a Catholic school, all other faiths had to follow the Catholic. This public school is different for it accommodates Islam, Christianity...so that there is Islamic student club (ROHIS), Christian student club (ROHKRIS). They tolerate each other. My previous school is truly Catholic. (Group interview, April 29, 2003)

So, religious accommodation of different faiths was one of the responses of public schools to create religious harmony and to educate students on how to live in a religiously diverse society through practice.

On the one hand, accommodation of this confessional religious education shows that the public schools under study demonstrate respect for the rights of individuals or groups to religion and demonstrates its understanding of religious needs and aspirations. This kind of religious accommodation is important in that it makes religious believers feel recognized and, probably, creates good feelings towards public schools. Otherwise, they may feel excluded, alienated and not recognized. This could encourage religious people to build more faith schools, resulting in creating greater social division. In addition, this accommodation of religions also makes public school better reflect its diverse society.

Yet, accommodation of confessional religious education may prevent free exploration, free imagination, critical thinking and autonomy of individuals, for students may fall under the influence of dogmatism and indoctrination. Dogmatism and indoctrination is incompatible with critical thinking. However, what makes the state worry is if accommodation of confessional religious education in public schools, sociologically, creates fanaticism, hatred, exclusivism, ghetto and social division along religious lines and, as a consequence, causes discrimination and social injustice.

### 5.3.2. Islamic Textbooks on Cultivating Citizenship

As noted in the previous chapter, a critical component of the study was a textual reading of the learning materials. In this section I look at Islamic textbooks written by Syamsuri

(2007) used by SMAN 121 and Margiono, Anwar, and Latifah (2007) used by SMAN 122 and both textbooks endorse democracy, non-discrimination, tolerance, freedom, and harmony in multireligious society.

*Democracy*

One of topics discussed in Islamic textbooks is on how to solve disagreement under title "Verses of the Quran on Democracy". Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007), author of the textbook used by SMAN 122, argue for deliberation and consultation and condemn violence. They elaborate on the Quranic injunction of "musyarawah" (consultation) and equate it to democracy. In their textbook they argue that the essence of democracy in both Islam as well as Indonesia is consultation. As they state:

> Never solve differences with violence...If there is sharp and hard disagreement...always find good solution by considering good and bad points of any decision made...In Chapter 13 (Ali'Imran) of the Quran, verse 159; Chapter 42 (Asy-Syura), verse 38; Chapter 16 (An-Nahl) it is suggested that all matters related to family, communities, organizations and also nation should go through consultation and deliberation...Our purpose of life is safety (selamat), prosperity, security, and peace in here and hereafter. How can we live in harmony if there is no willingness for consultation? Disagreement that caused animosity, conflict, and destruction is forbidden by God…Yet, different views are permitted.It is God's law (sunnatullah). (p. 117-118)

It is important to note that the textbook by Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007) inserted a picture of the People's Consultative Assembly where many of its members were raising their hands. This seems to suggest that consultation and deliberation (musyawarah) are practiced in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR).[66]

The Islamic textbook of SMAN 121 by Syamsuri (2007) also argued for consultation and deliberation too. As he writes:

> It should be noted that one of the emphases made in the Chapter 3, Ali Imran, verse 159, is that injunction of consultation and deliberation (musyawarah) applies not only

[66] It is important to note that content standard and competence standard published by MORA explicitly state that the Islamic Religious Education has to discuss "Verses of the Quran on Democracy". See Direktorat Pendidikan Agama Islam pada Sekolah (Directorate of Islamic Religious Education in Schools) (2007). *Standar isi dan standar kelulusan pendidikan agama Islam sekolah menengah atas* (Content Standard and Competence Standard of Islamic Religious Education in senior high school). Jakarta: Departemen Agama

> for the Prophet Muhammad, but also to all of his followers or Muslims wherever they are. (p. 98)

Yet Syamsuri maintains that not all matters need to go to through consultation and deliberation. In the following paragraph, he states:

> One thing that has to be realized is that the result of musyawarah, adopted in the lowest level (family) until the highest level, the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), must not deviate from God's teachings and his Messenger (the Quran and the Prophet's traditions)...Another thing that needs to be noted by all Muslims is that musyawarah is confined to social issues that are not clearly guided by the Quran and the Prophet's tradition, such as how to overcome economic difficulty of the family, how to create security and order in society and on how to eliminate illiteracy (kebodohan) and poverty in national and state life. (p. 98-99)

Syamsuri does not give example of cases that cannot be deliberated. He might be worried that deliberation and consultation (musyawarah) would be applied to everything so that the result contradicts and abrogates what he regarded as a clear guideline in the Quran and the Prophet tradition. Yet, almost in anything (even prayer, pilgrimage, almsgiving) Muslims have different interpretations and views so having "clear guidelines" is problematic. Therefore, they do need consultation and deliberation.

*Non discrimination*

The Islamic textbooks of both schools also have discussions on nondiscrimination. Both Syamsuri (2007) and Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007) are against discrimination. Arguments of both are based on verses of the Quran, although they cite different Quranic verses as their basis and they also differ in how they present the issue. What is interesting is that Syamsuri in his Islamic textbook incorporated the definition of discrimination taken from the Indonesian Human Rights Act number 39, 1999. Syamsuri write:

> Referring to Indonesian Act Number 39, year 1999 on Human Rights, Chapter 1, article 1, it is explained that discrimination is all forms of limitation, harassment or exclusion that directly or indirectly due to differences of religion, ethnicity, group, social status, economic status, gender, language, beliefs, politics that result in reducing, betraying (penyimpangan) or eliminating recognition, implementation, or enforcement of human

> rights and liberty of both individual and collective life in political, economic, law, social, cultural and others. (p. 132)

Syamsuri then goes on to observe:

> God obliges Muslim men and women to enforce justice and not discriminate even to relatives (see Chapter 6 (Al-An`am) verse 152) or to those whom we dislike, for enforcing justice is the nearest to God fearing (takwa) (see Chapter 5 (Al-Maidah) verse 8…Islam teaches…to be in mutual respect and mutual recognition irrespective of ethnicity, religion, social status, and other differences…In social, national, and state life, it is discriminatory if the state protects only a certain group, ... the state must protect all without any exception. (p. 132)

Margiono, Anwar, and Latifah (2007) elaborate on several forms of discriminations: "There are different forms of discriminations, among others…gender discrimination…racial discrimination…social discrimination…due to …poor or rich, noble class or common…religion" (p. 164-165). As they maintain: "In God eyes, all human beings are equal, whoever, from wherever, any color. God distinguishes them only on the basis of their God fearing…Islam…is mercy for the universe and all human beings who live on this planet." Margiono, Anwar and Latifah, then, cited Chapter 21 (Al-Anbiya), verse 107: "We have not sent you but as a mercy to all beings" (p. 165). [67]

*Tolerance*

One other value stressed by Islamic textbooks relevant to a diverse public is tolerance. Margiono, Anwar & Latifah and Syamsuri argued that Islam opposes the mutual exchange of religious beliefs. Yet Islam endorses tolerance of other believers to practice their belief. To both Islamic textbooks, Islam teaches values of religious freedom.

Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007) stated:

> Do you know one of the proofs of Almighty God is that he created all his creatures different? And God has made those differences as a mercy, especially for human being. Differences, including differences of thinking and views, have made life more dynamic and colorful, thanks be to God. Imagine if we all are the same or identical! Our life

[67] It is interesting here how Syamsuri and Margiono, Anwar and Latifah endorsed values of non discrimination yet their presentation and Quranic basis is different. Syamsuri took Indonesian human rights law as reference in explaining non discrimination, while Margiono, Anwar and Latifah developed their own. In regards to Quranic justification, Syamsuri is based on Islamic concept of justice, while Margiono, Anwar and Latifah is based on Islamic concept of mercy for all creatures.

> must be so monotonous and boring. Tolerance is the key word that can bridge differences so that life becomes beautiful and meaningful. (p. 1)

What is the Islamic basis for tolerance? Syamsuri and Margiono, Anwar and Latifah cited the background story of the Prophet Muhammad before the Prophet received God's revelation related to the doctrine of religious tolerance. Syamsuri cited the story this way:

> There were infidel leaders in Mecca, such as Al-Walid bin al-Mugirah, Aswad bin Abdul Muthalib and Ummayah bin Khalaf, visited the Prophet Muhammad…offering compromise in regards to religious worship. They requested the Prophet Muhammad and Muslims follow their beliefs. They also would follow the Islamic religion. They said: 'Muhammad what if we worship your God in one year, yet you also worship our God in one year. If your religion is true, we are, certainly, fortunate, for we also worship your God. If our religion is true, you are also fortunate.' (p. 5)

Syamsuri writes that the Prophet rejected that calling and then the Prophet Muhammad received God's revelation that confirmed his rejection stated in Chapter (Al-Kafirun) that states: "To you your religion, to me my religion"

To Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007), learning from the story of the Prophet Muhammad and the Chapter of the Quran, Al-Kafirun, Muslims have to reject religious unity and to remind religious groups to carry out their faiths and beliefs without interfering with others. And there is no imposition in religion (p. 4). And, to Syamsuri (2007), Muslims have to reject any call to exchange of faith and worship firmly yet wisely. To him, Muslims have to strengthen their faith and practice it. However, the chapter of the Quran also teaches us to be open minded to the existence of other religions and beliefs, never scorn God and religion of others for it would cause only hatred and antipathy to Islam. Instead, Muslims should demonstrate mercy for all and never intimidate minorities or other religions (grade 12, p. 10). As Syamsuri writes:

> Although there is no compromise between Muslim and non-Muslim regarding religious faith and worship, they have to live socially with mutual respect, mutual regard, and mutual cooperation in worldly affairs to create security, order, peace, and welfare for all. (p. 5)

*Religious Freedom*

Islamic textbooks of SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 also argued for religious freedom. Syamsuri (2007) and Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007) elaborated Chapter 18 of the Quran (Al-Kahfi) verse 29 that states: "...let whoever will believe, and let whoever will disbelieve ". To Margiono, Anwar and Latifah, this means "should never be any willing, beliefs, or faiths forced to others, let alone with coercion." To Syamsuri, religious freedom is endorsed by the Quran, the United Nations, and Indonesian Act. In the Quran, to Syamsuri, freedom of religious choice is stated not only in the earlier mentioned chapter, but in others as well. Similar Islamic teaching of religious freedom could also be found in the Chapter 2 (Al-Baqarah), verse 256, Chapter 10 (Yunus), verse 99. Syamsuri relates freedom of religious choice to human rights. Syamsuri (2007) notes:

> Freedom of choosing religion is a human right, as stated in United Nation Charter called "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights", article 18, as it is also stated in Cairo Declaration on human rights, article 10. It is also stated in Act of the Republic of Indonesia number 39, year 1999 on Human Rights, Chapter III, Article 22. Islamic religion forbids using of force to convert other believers to Islam. Muslims are encouraged to be tolerant to non-Muslims so that harmony of interreligious life could be materialized. (pp. 11–12)

*Interreligious Harmony*

In Islamic Religious Education textbooks, one important discussion of Islamic history is a discussion of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina when he made mutual agreement with all groups of Medina including the Jews (called Mithaq Medina or Medinan Charter). As Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007) stated:

> In order to establish order and peace and ensure Muslims were protected, the Messenger (Muhammad), peace be upon him, made friendship and peace agreement with the Jews who lived in Medina and its surrounding.… Among of its agreement are...freedom of religion for all groups and each group are responsible for their group…all parties, Muslim and Jews, are to mutually help and assist each other in facing enemies that might fight against them. All have to protect the city if there is invasion from outside. (p. 199)

Commenting on that, Margiono, Anwar and Latifah said that there is wisdom we can learn from history of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina, among them, "…Unity and mutual respect among religious believers could be created through agreement as well as commitment to its implementation…as practiced by Muslims and the Jews in Medina" (p. 200). Margiono asserted that the Medinan Charter teaches us "To understand and to realize that we have to develop good relation to God as well as to all human beings." (p. 200). [68]

In the context of religious harmony, Syamsuri (2007) makes some important points:

> In the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia there are several religious groups that differ in faiths as well as their ways of worship. Despite these differences, they share a common aspiration that is the materialization of a social, national, and state life that is secured, peaceful, just, and prosperous both materially and spiritually. (p. 125)

Syamsuri, then, gave examples of the positive attitude shown by Prophet Muhammad to other believers:

> One of the Prophet Muhammad companions, Ka`ab bin Ajzah...told Prophet Muhammad that he worked for a Jew and was paid from it. The Prophet permitted him...The Prophet himself had given a gift to a Christian King and to the Jews and had received gifts from non-Muslim kings. (p. 125)

What is worth mentioning was that Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007) spelled out religious harmony in the form of detailed guidelines:

> Code of conduct in maintaining religiously harmonious and cohesive social life could be done, among other, by …Greeting other citizens as members of the country and nation, if they see one another, with a friendly and smiling attitude although they hold different religious beliefs in order to create social harmony; Living in mutual recognition and mutual respect and never scorning one another's way of worship, name, and understanding of each one's God; Being respectful to views and faiths of each religious believer; Muslims must commit to and enforce justice for everyone. (p. 128)

Margiono, Anwar and Latifah maintained in their Islamic textbooks that diversity is a natural fact created by God (sunatullah) and human beings, indeed, are naturally diverse. To Margiono, Anwar and Latifah, "the enemy of Indonesians is not differences of gender, groups

[68] In contemporary politics of Indonesia, Partai Keadilan Sejahtra (Welfare Justice Party), Muslim-oriented party, had made Medinan charter as a basis for their acceptance of the Pancasila and the Constitution 1945 during ammendment of the Consitution 1945 in 2002.

or parties, ethnicity, religion, or religious sects. The main enemy of Indonesians, especially Indonesian Muslims, is illiteracy, poverty, and backwardness." (p. 128-129) [69]

So here although the Islamic textbooks do not contain information of other faiths and does not encourage interreligious dialogue, it does contain teaching of civic values such as democracy, religious freedom, religious tolerance, and non-discrimination. There is no doubt that this is very important for religiously committed societies like Indonesia to have teaching of civic values grounded in religious beliefs. Yet the message is normative and abstract. The textbooks do not recognize a rich different religious interpretation and presents religious interpretation as if it is single or uniform. It also does not reflect further what it means to uphold civic values in terms of school practices and classroom implementation so that there is a gap between civic ideals and realities.

### 5.3.3. Teachers on Religious Diversity

If Islamic Education textbooks advocate for religious tolerance and harmony, what were views of teachers and principals of SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 on religious diversity? I interviewed them and I found that they advocated strongly for religious tolerance and harmony. Asked about Islamic views on social interaction in multireligious society, Goffar, an Islamic Education teacher of SMAN 122 who is also the Vice Principal of the school, said:

> Islam is mercy for all creatures. It, of course, teaches tolerance. I teach students to do good to anyone despite faith differences. In affairs of mundane life, we work together and we help each other. Yet in matters of aqidah (religious faith), we should not mix it. It is permissible for Muslims to help ensure order and security of Christians when they were doing prayers as long as do not take a part in their prayers. (Interview, September 1, 2010)

[69] Argument for compatibility of Islam to modernity, democracy and human right has increasingly appeared in contemporary scholarly writings. See Fazlur Rahman (1980 & 1982), Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina (2001), Abou El-Fadl Khaled (2004), Abd Allah Ahmad Naim (2008), John L. Esposito & John J Donohue (2007), Charles Kurzman (1998). For Indonesian context, see Robert W. Hefner (2000), Barhtiar Effendy (2009), Masykuri Abdillah (1997), Greg Barton (1999). In empirical studies, see Saiful Mujani (2007). Yet there are some scholars who shows increasing Islamist aspiration in the country, such as Noorhaidi Hasan (2006).

Amir, an Islamic Religious Education teacher of SMAN 121, stated that Islam teaches religious tolerance. He said: "Tolerance means to recognize other beliefs and faiths, yet, not to recognize their Truth. In respect to faith, we let us believe as ours and let others have their religious faith as theirs. That is only in matters of faith. In social life we have to cooperate." (Interview, September 2, 2010).

Mangkudun, another teacher of Islamic Religious Education of SMAN 121, stated:

> Islam teaches us to relate closely to God and to human beings. In our relations with other human fellows, we have to help each other in doing good deeds...we have to make one another happy. We can make compromise in everything except aqidah (religious faith) and ibadah (worship). So, in muamalah (social interaction), there is no limit. What is required for Muslims in a diverse society is, indeed, their solidarity to all fellow humans (ukhuwwah insaniyah or ukhuwwah basyariyyah). (Interview, August 31, 2010)

Asked about the meaning "lakum dinukum waly al- din" (to you your religion, to me my religion), Husna, Islamic Religious Education teacher of SMAN 122, replied:

> It means that there is no compromise in matter of aqidah (Islamic faith). For example, if a Christian student does fasting in the month of Ramadan for two days then she asks her Muslim friend to join a Retreat or to join in their prayer, Muslim students have to reject that. Islam rejects making compromises and exchanges on matters of religious faith. Islam did not teach that good acts of others in faith life must be exchanged by faith. This is in the matter of faith. But, in social affairs, Islam teaches us to make friends, to be good, never to insult others. (Interview, September 1, 2010)

Mangkudun, another Islamic Religious Education teacher, commented:

> It means that in matters of aqidah we are allowed to have differences, for God gives us freedom of choice. And we are to be responsible for what we choose and be committed to it. Islam gives freedom to believe or to disbelieve, to do good or bad deeds… What is very much stressed is to lead a religious life with consciousness. One must never have religious faith because of parents, teachers, or trends... Diversity is a natural fact that God created it (sunnatullah). If a Muslim is intolerant, she does not know and she does not understand Islam. (Interview, August 31, 2010)

The idea of a tolerant attitude was also shared by teachers of non religion subjects of both schools. In faith life, observed Widya, Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 122, "we have to be fanatics, in the sense that if Islam obliged us to prayer five times we have to

practice it. No negotiations or compromise. Yet, in social life, we have to be tolerant. If someone fell down and is badly in need of help, we have to help her right away, we do not ask her religious identity" (Interview, September 1, 2010). Sudadi, a Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 122, stated that the Prophet Muhammad himself protected and recognized the freedom of non Muslims to worship when he was in Medina so that non Muslim could live happily (Interview, August 30, 2010). Maemunah, a Citizenship Education Teacher of SMAN 121 asserted: "Diversity is destiny (takdir). We have to respect it although we have to root to our own faith." (Interview, August 27, 2010). Hayati, another Citizenship Education Teacher of SMAN 121, stated: "I live side by side with Catholic, Protestant, and Hindus, but we are good neighbors. Religious freedom is a human right. My father has boarding Islamic religious education institution, but he is respectful of the Catholic priest. He has good relations. Yet, Islamic beliefs (aqidah) are to be protected by, among others, not participating in Christian prayers. That is the meaning of tolerance." (Interview, October 26, 2010).

It is suggested from the interview that it is only religious faith (iman) needs to be non negotiable, insulated, protected and secured from any influence. However, the social life of Muslims has to be lived together with others. In order to protect religious faiths from any influence, the teachers and principals I interviewed opposed exposure to a diversity of beliefs and critical examination. For the same reason, they also ignored internal diversity of Islam and resisted interreligious dialogue. They are extremely cautious, even fearful, about the possible effect of exposure to religious diversity. Yet, as they revealed in their interviews, they respect and recognize others in diverse societies. For them, to be able to live together harmoniously in diverse societies does not need an education that exposes students to religious diversity or interreligious dialogue because religion itself has sufficiently taught civic values such as tolerance, respect for differences and harmony. Yet, it seems

questionable to assume that teaching for tolerance in abstract ways without knowledge of religious diversity and interreligious interaction and conversation can be sufficient.

### 5.3.4. Religious Diversity and Citizenship Textbooks

The Citizenship Education subject has traditionally been expected to play a role in creating civic unity within a diverse Indonesia, for this subject has the very explicit mission of creating national unity and civic unity.[70] The question is how the Citizenship Education subject responds to multireligious Indonesia.

When asked whether or not the current Citizenship Education curriculum specifically responded to the fact of religious diversity and its problems, Sugiri, Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 122, replied that there was no discussion of religions in Citizenship Education (Interview, May 23, 2003). Maemunah, Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 121, gave a similar reply: "there is no content that discusses religion..." (Interview, August27, 2010).

Sudadi, another Citizenship teacher of SMAN 122, commented:

> Since 2004, there has been no more explicit content on religious tolerance, although teachers could discuss religious tolerance in the topic of Pancasila as open ideology or citizenship equality. Ninety five percent of the content is on law, politics, and system of government. Presently, its stress is on academic knowledge and it tends to create an expert. There is no more content of Citizenship Education that intends to create attitude, for, according to the current curriculum, development of attitude is the responsibility of all teachers, not just Citizenship Education teachers. (Interview, August 30, 2010)

Abu Bakar, Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 121, notes:

> Previously, Citizenship Education put emphasis on values and highlighted religious harmony and religious tolerance. But, since 2004 Citizenship Education did not discuss religion anymore. Present Citizenship Education has dealt more with nationalism, politics, law, freedom of press and when it comes to exams it is concerned with theories of law, politics, democracy. (Interview, October 26, 2010)

[70] It worth mentioning that subjects other than Citizenship Education are also expected to contribute to creating citizenship, especially, History, Sociology and Anthropology, but Citizenship Education subject explicitly purports to promote Indonesian citizenship and national unity.

If there is nothing specific to deal with religious diversity, then, what is emphasized by teachers in current Citizenship Education? Citizenship Education teachers, such as Sudadi from SMAN 122 and Abu Bakar and Hayati from SMAN 121 asserted that they emphasized nationalism and patriotism. Sudadi stated that the purpose of present Citizenship Education subject is to create a good citizen that is nationalistic and patriotic in the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia (Interview, August 30, 2010). Abu Bakar asserted: "What is highlighted in Citizenship Education class is nationalism, patriotism, love for the home country's products... what we teach is nationalism that respects pluralism...We do not want Yugoslavia" (Interview, October 26, 2010). Hayati, similarly, asserted that she stressed love for the country, nation, and state of Indonesia, as the Japanese to their country (Interview, October 26, 2010). Students interviewed also confirmed that their teachers put much weight on nationalism and patriotism.

One of the major aims of the Citizenship Education subject is to teach students that, irrespective of their backgrounds, they should become citizens committed to national and also to international values, norms, and laws. This development of civic knowledge is extremely important in that it enables Indonesians to engage and interact in shared public life. As my discussion in this section illustrates, there is some question about whether such civic knowledge is adequately fostered in practice in actual classrooms. Although citizenship education teachers acknowledge the importance of teaching about diversity, they mostly emphasize the importance of teaching national and patriotic values. Also, they acknowledge that religious diversity and dialogue is not a significant part of the classroom experience. Thus, it remains questionable whether the national and patriotic values taught, which include respect for diversity, are really meaningful for students.

It is clear that there is no specific discussion of religious diversity and its problem in the Citizenship Education textbook. It discusses rather broad topics related to laws, government, and politics. The subject was oriented toward the creation of a democratic Indonesian citizen that is politically active, responsible, critical, and ready to positively engage in a globalized world.

With regard to the Citizenship Education subject, SMAN 121 used textbooks by Sri Jutmini and Winarno (2007) and SMAN 122 used Chotib Cs. (2007). Both followed national curriculum guidelines. In both Citizenship textbooks, students are to study what and who are Indonesians with national symbols and history: language, flag, anthem, and state symbol. The textbooks also introduced students to the nation state of Indonesia and its history, maintaining that Indonesia was created by, from, and for Indonesians of diverse backgrounds.

Students are also exposed to democratic national values by studying the national ideology of Pancasila, the Constitution and Human Rights laws that highlight rights to life, family, self development, justice, liberty, information, security, and to welfare. Under these values, students are exposed, among others, to rights to equality and justice before the law, employment, freedom of religion and beliefs, freedom of expression, freedom of association. Furthermore, students are introduced to democratic institutions: law system and court, political system (political parties, parliaments, free election of public offices from president to district level), system of government, and mass media. Finally, students were introduced to globalization that discusses economy, transportation, information and communication technology, global issues such as environment and human rights, international relations, international law and court system, and international organizations.

Once again, a question arises as to how effectively textbooks represent democratic national values as these pertain directly to the religious diversity of young citizens. In part, this is due to the fact that the textbooks do not provide examples of what it means to

deliberate as a citizen of a multireligious nor multicultural society. Religion is only mentioned in the context of religious freedom as part of human right and there is no specific or extended comment that discusses religious freedom either.[71] Citizenship Education textbooks do not expose students to religious diversity and in this respect they do nothing to stimulate dialogue among students of different faiths. Rather, they just highlight abstract values of equality, liberties and rights of individuals and groups. If the kind of citizenship desired is one that is ready to live and deliberate in religiously and culturally pluralist societies, then, what is needed is not just national values and civic knowledge, but also conversation and deliberation of multireligious and multicultural values, realities, and problems.[72]

### 5.3.5. Social Interaction

*Classroom Interaction*

Other than accommodation of religion from different backgrounds and teaching for tolerance through the Islamic Religious Education and Citizenship Education subjects, one factor considered crucial for creating national and civic unity in the public schools under study is social interaction of the school community. The diverse school setting under study

[71] I actually found in the Citizenship Education subject a topic of "Living in Diversity" for primary level. Yet, it is ethnicity, not religion, highlighted in the textbook. And discussion of "Living in Diversity" is for majority of Indonesians, probably, more appropriate for high school especially senior high school mostly located in the diverse district and sub-district cities. Primary schools are generally located in homogenous communities so there is no urgent practical need yet to citizenship learning especially their age is also still young.

[72] Actually, the Indonesian curriculum of History, Sociology, and Anthropology touches upon different religious groups. One part of the discussions in History is a depiction of how Indonesian peoples of different backgrounds in term of ethnicity, religion and region fought together against Dutch colonialism to arouse national unity of the country. Sociology, on other hand, illustrates multicultural reality that exist in the country along the lines of language, ethnicity, races, religion and social and political groups to show they interact with one another and they also compete with each other. Anthropology also studies beliefs and religion of communities. Yet, the purpose is not interreligious understanding, but comprehending religion academically as social phenomenon. See Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan (BSNP) or Board of Educational National Standard (2011) *Standar isi* (content standard). Retrieved on July10 from www.bsnp-indonsia.go.id. Some may argue that teachers could make the available curriculum for combating prejudices and increasing understanding and respect. Yet, without explicit guideline, the discussion may ignore it at all.

enabled students and school personnel of different backgrounds to interact with one another either in the classroom, during extracurricular activities or in the schools.

The best interactions could start from the classroom, because the classroom is a place where students spend the longest time in schools. Yet it depends very much on the teachers, whether they value student interaction, voices, views, questions, critical thinking, debate, deliberation, exchanges, teamwork, collaboration and interaction. If they do, classroom interaction and atmosphere could become a very powerful site of citizenship education. The more engaging the learning is for students, the more likely the student will be to learn.

National educational guidelines are supportive of classroom and school student engagement. This is also reflected in school textbooks. For example, Citizenship textbooks of both schools employed a variety of teaching methods. In relation to the Human Rights subject, for example, the textbook asked students to make newspapers clipping of human rights violation practices in the country, and make comments on it. Then the work is displayed. Students are asked to give presentations in front of the class or to give a speech that campaigns for respect for others (Jutmini & Winarno, 2007, p. 91, 101, 111). Students are also asked to do public debate. The textbook states:

> Hold public debate entitled "Peradilan International untuk Kasus Timor Timur" (International Court for East Timor Cases). Divide the class into two groups, namely, those who support …and those who reject/ disagree. Each group is to present opinion, ideas, and thought to convince public. Form also the referee to evaluate the debate. Work on it in group. The result is to be reported and displayed. (Jutmini & Winarno, 2007, p. 119)

Furthermore, the Citizenship textbook by Jutmini & Winarno asked the students to reflect on what has been studied and asked them to provide a brief summary of human rights in Indonesia and efforts to promote, respect, and protect it. Students are also to work on multiple choice questions to evaluate mastery level of the studied subject, such as: "…Indonesia has recognized human rights in…a. 1928…b. 1945…c. 1955…d. 1966…e.

1999." The textbook call this "Uji Komptensi" (competence test) albeit it tends to test only their memorization.[73]

From an illustration of teaching method employed in the context of human rights discussion, it is clear that the textbook employed varied methods. Yet, what always employed after studying the subject in Jutmini & Winarno and Chotib is multiple choices and assignments to answer the listed questions.[74] I observed that teachers remained in control in lecture mode and prioritized paper-and-pencil tests. They were unable to create interactive, democratic, deliberative, collaborative, or inquiry-based learning, even though these are mentioned officially so that there is a gap between what is intended and planned by the official curriculum and practiced by teachers and experienced and learned by students.

Abu Bakar, a Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 121, made comment on Citizenship Education teaching method. He said: "It could be exploring issues or doing an interview. Lecture supposed to be only 20 minutes. Yet, I presently, deliver the subject more in the form of lecture" (Interview, October 26, 2010).

A predominant feature of teaching was that teachers explained the subject and after that they allowed students to raise question if they had time, and, later, students would complete

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[73] In addition to memorization, questions here could be raised on whether or not multiple choice is appropriate or in what ways multiple choice questions are appropriate to be employed in areas of ideas, humanities, or even social sciences, for choices, except on dates or year, are not fixed, multi-interpretative, or subjective.

[74] The present Islamic Religious Education textbook also encourages students to be active learners by assigning students to give examples of subject under discussion, to discuss the subject with classmates, to make comparison between idealities or realities, what happened in the past and what happens today, to work on questions probed, or to work on multiple choice questions or multiple choices in the form of scales (agree, disagree, do not know). Yet, multiple choices and probing questions are dominant features of the Islamic Religious Education textbooks under discussion. The Islamic religious education subject is taught and explained by teachers following textbooks chosen precisely chapter by chapter. Teachers explain the materials and students listen to it. So, it is rather teacher-centered. It is followed up by homework where students are to work on assignments from the textbook. On a few occasions, students are asked to present what they have studied at home and invite others to give feedback and comments. Yet examination mostly takes place in form of paper and pencil test. See, for example, Syamsuri (2007). *Pendidikan agama Islam untuk SMA kelas x* (Islamic religious education for senior high school grade 10). Jakarta: Erlangga, p. 98, 99, 100, 102, 104, 168, 171; Margiono, Anwar and Latifah (2007). *Pendidikan agama Islam: Lentera kehidupan* , SMA kelas x (Islamic religious education: Light of life, senior high school grade 10). Jakarta: Yudhistira, p. 121, 124, 126-128, 2002-2005)

multiple choice questions to examine their degree of knowledge mastery. This is probably in line with the national examination that encourages rote learning. Therefore, formal classroom activities seemed to contribute little to creating social interaction, for students were not consciously encouraged to engage in collaboration or deliberation.

*Extracurricular Activities*

Most students make friends and interact during classroom break and after school hours in a variety of ways. One of the most conducive arenas of diverse public schools for social interaction among students, probably, is in extracurricular activities. Both schools under study (SMAN 121 and SMAN 122) were very supportive of extracurricular activities. These seemed to be the heart of student life. The schools gave freedom to students to join either student council, student representative or student clubs of interest. The students engaged very much in these activities. The following table shows the variety and size of student associations of SMAN 122 and SMAN 121.

Table 5.2.: *Student Associations of SMAN 122*

| No | NAME OF STUDENT ASSOCIATION | NUMBER OF ACTIVE MEMBERS |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | PK (Classroom Representatives) | 6 |
| 2 | OSIS (Executive Student Council) | 23 |
| 3 | ROHIS (Islamic Club) | 50 |
| 4 | ROHKRIS (Christian Club) | 36 |
| 5 | Saman (Traditional Dance Club) | 56 |
| 6 | Vocal Group | 50 |
| 7 | Futsal | 48 |
| 8 | English Club | 40 |
| 9 | Basketball | 36 |
| 10 | Bridge | 28 |
| 11 | Theater | 26 |
| 12 | PRAMUKA (Scout Club) | 25 |
| 13 | Karate | 23 |
| 14 | Cheerleaders | 19 |
| 15 | KIR (Scientific Club) | 19 |
| 16 | PMR (Red Cross) | 13 |
| 17 | MADING (Wall Magazine) | 13 |
| 18 | Marawis (Arabic music) | 12 |
| | **Total** | **523** |

Source: OSIS (student council) Interview, August 31, 2010

The number of students listed in table of SMAN 122 includes not only their executive committee members who had responsibilities in leading the association but also students who

joined the club. This is different from the table of SMAN 121 below that includes only executive committee members that have responsibilities in leading the student associations.

Table 5.3.: *Student Association of SMAN 121, 2010-2011*

| No | NAME OF STUDENT ASSOCIATION | NUMBER OF ORGANIZING COMMITTEE |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | PK (Classroom Representatives) | 47 |
| 2 | OSIS (Executive Student Counsel) | 16 |
| 3 | ROHIS (Islamic Club) | 25 |
| 4 | ROHKRIS (Christian Club) | 22 |
| 5 | ROHKAT (Catholic Club) | 9 |
| 6 | SIERA (Flagship Club) | 20 |
| 7 | PUAPALA (Environment Club) | 13 |
| 8 | PRAMUKA (Scout Club) | 12 |
| 9 | KESMAS (Community Service Club) | 10 |
| 10 | Media Siswa (Media Club) | 22 |
| 11 | Sains dan Perpustakaan (Science & Library Club) | 18 |
| 12 | Koperasi Siswa (Cooperative Club) | 24 |
| 13 | Teksound (Technology & Sound System) | 34 |
| 14 | Olah Raga (Sport Club) | 22 |
| 15 | PMR (Red Cross) | 8 |
| 16 | Kesenian (Art & Music Club) | 22 |
| | **Total** | **324** |

Source: Perwakilan Kelas (student representatives), 2011

Both schools set the regulation that those who take responsibility for organizing student activities must be in grade 11, for students of this grade were regarded as having, relatively speaking, time to carry out the programs. Students of grade 10 and 12 were not allowed to be organizing members. Grade 10 students should first adjust to the school learning and atmosphere including student associations, while students in grade 12 should be concentrating on their national examination and preparation for higher education, although they could, of course, take part in extracurricular activities.

The highest level in the hierarchy of student organizations is OSIS (Organisasi Siswa or student council). It is comparable to central governments that execute programs mandated by the most powerful legislative body that is PK (Perwakilan Kelas atau Classroom Representatives) that functions as school parliament elected by students in every class to control, to supervise and to plan student activities in the school. OSIS has to lead and coordinate numerous extracurricular activities listed on the table.

Activists and members of each club work together in various stages of activities: setting the programs, mobilizing resources, implementation, evaluation, and writing a report. They even have to recruit new members, to carry out training of new members, to inaugurate them, to hold election of the new organizing committee, and to hold inauguration of the new organizing committee. Each school had a big student event that involved clubs. Presently, SMAN 121 has Schoolympics, while SMAN 122 has PENSI (Pentas Seni or Art & Music Performance). Both invited other schools. But while Schoolympics of SMAN 121 invited all public senior high schools and good private schools in Jakarta, PENSI of SMAN 122 only invited some public and private surrounding schools. The activities of Schoolympics involved an interesting variety of competitions: mini soccer, basket ball (male and female), billiards, modern dance, Saman traditional dance, cheerleading, band competition, photo rally, vocal group, shoe designing, Mathematics, debate, science, graffiti, male and female beauty contest. The event was held in Bung Karno stadium, the main stadium in Jakarta.

These extracurricular activities seem to give students many opportunities for learning. Umar, Head of OSIS SMAN 121, 2003-2004, made a comparison of his OSIS to his previous junior high school, SMP Al-Izhar:

> One of the weaknesses of OSIS of Al-Izhar was that its students were not independent, while this SMAN 121 gives its OSIS freedom…Even in big event like Doro[75], the school delegated it to students fully to organize Doro and only a few teachers knew about the programs and activities of Doro particularly the vice head of school student affairs. Both success and failure would depend on us. Therefore, we were responsible for making it successful. By giving us freedom, we learnt so much, such as how to raise funds and work together with friends. (Interview, June 19, 2003)

Dodo, SMAN 121, 2003, a student who finished junior high school in a Catholic school and became a student representative (PK [Perwakilan Kelas]) made comments on the extracurricular activities of SMAN 121 as follows:

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[75] Doro is big show of SMAN 121 students which in 2003 held band festival in Bung Karno Stadium, the biggest sport studium in Jakarta. Doro invited band clubs of other SMAs in Jakarta to perform. Some Indonesian artists, particularly SMAN 121 alumni, are invited. So thousands of students gather together to enjoy band performance held on Saturday from 10 a.m. to 21 p.m. According to Teguh, member of PK SMAN 121, Doro performance in 2003 spent around 600 millions rupees (around 60 thousands US dollars).

> In my previous Catholic school, extracurricular activities are established on certain activities. Here they are more varied and more dynamic, including radio broadcasting, film, comics—so there are many choices. Here we can create a big event although money is not there yet. That's not possible in my previous school. Also, in term of its student character and socio economic status it is more varied, in this school (SMAN 121) you can find very religiously faithful (beriman sekali) students as well as non religious (badung sekali). Here is just like a miniature of diverse Indonesia. My previous school was just too peaceful. (Interview, June 19, 2003)

Rizal of SMAN 122, 2003, spoke about the free engagement of senior secondary OSIS:

> I was head of OSIS when I was in junior high school. But, my experience in being active in OSIS right now is different. In junior secondary, OSIS is still supervised by teachers. In senior secondary, students take full control of the OSIS activities. In junior secondary, students are only getting involved. Here, it is students who lead and teachers are only a name. (Interview, April 29, 2003)

## 5.4. Positive Experiences of Interreligious Relations

### 5.4.1. Democratic skills

Despite the fact that it was tiring, time consuming, and put them under a lot of pressure, students of both schools made positive comments about their extracurricular activities. Through these extracurricular activities, they said, they made more friends of different classrooms or even schools and learned so much about democratic civic skill such as argumentation, deliberation, debate, negotiation, compromise and the decision-making process especially when they planned programs which required a consensus. The students also said that they learned to be confident to talk in front of class or in large groups of school mate. Students often had to stay in the schools until night. But, to them, it did not matter, since the students chose activities that they liked most. Commenting on the positive aspects of extracurricular activities, Kasih of SMAN 122: "Previously I was shy, nervous and unable to talk in front of class or large audiences. Now I am confident." Sulistiawati of SMAN 122, added "I can make social relations." "My outlook has widened," said Astuti of SMAN 122, "for I made lots of visits to outside schools." Marhamah of SMAN 122 also commented that she knew how to organize an activity or event and how to administer it. Radiastuti of the

SMAN 122 said that in OSIS she learned how to confront differences of opinions and attitudes. Students learned to agree and to disagree. Sometimes they made compromises and sometimes they did not and had to do voting. But those who disagreed still worked together. Radiastuti said that she also became more familiar with the school bureaucracy for she met frequently with school administrators. To Radiastuti, what also was important was that the school often asked her opinion as representative of the students. Mariam of SMAN 122 notes that she felt so thrilled, when, after making tiring preparations, the program was successful. "Feeling of success is very important," she said (Group interview, April 29, 2003).

Nuni, female student, general secretary of OSIS, SMAN 121, said: "I learn a lot from OSIS relating to time management. Before I join the OSIS, I utilized spare time for nothing. I also learned how to talk in front of an audience and how to lead and coordinate friends. An unforgettable experience was when I was nominated to become the head of OSIS. In running for the Head of OSIS, I learned how to convince my friends to elect me" (Interview, May 27, 2003).

The more heterogeneous the student organization, the more often the members had discussions and debates. To Nuni, it was very common in OSIS to have different opinions, for OSIS was composed of many divisions. But, this was the strong point of being active in OSIS. In OSIS, when an argument was stated, it was usually directly responded to, even opposed, by others so that the argument of each side became stronger. When Aditia, Vice head of OSIS, was asked whether or not he had a debate with his friend in OSIS, he replied:

> Of course we had. In fact, it is debate that distinguishes OSIS from others such as ROHIS. In ROHIS there are differences, but not a debate. This may be because student background and interest in OSIS is diverse. Some of them are interested in mass media, environment, Pramuka, art and music. Still, many others might be interested in other things. (Interview, June 18, 2003)

A similar positive comment is voiced by Teguh, Vice Head of OSIS of SMAN 121, 2003-2004, responsible for sport and Red Cross affairs:

> The first time I get involved in OSIS honestly I was surprised at the differences and conflicts of opinions and beliefs, for when I joined the sport club, their goals and views are similar. But OSIS is so diverse. However, now, I am so much involved in OSIS. It is satisfying indeed. I think if you want to widen your horizon, learn to control emotions, and make yourself mature in facing problems and learn how to solve it, OSIS is the right place. Debates and arguments in relation to Doro are a case in point. (Interview, June 18, 2003)

Umar, Head of OSIS, SMAN 121, 2003-2004, has other comments on OSIS. He said:

> My best experience in OSIS relates to school politics. It's just like a micro state. We have to deal with head of the school while at the same time we have to be nice to all friends. Sometimes I have to deal with someone I dislike but it has to be done properly. That's good experience needed for my future. (Interview, June 19, 2003)

### 5.4.2. Making Friends of Different Faiths

One good thing in the two schools under study is that students enjoyed a wide range of social interactions. If a student joined ROHIS (Islamic club), his/ her friend was not limited to ROHIS. In fact, members of ROHIS, made friends with members of ROHKRIS (Christian club), although some of them interacted only in the classroom. Asked if he makes friends with ROHKRIS members, Dito (Head of ROHIS, SMAN 121, 2003) replied: "Interaction with ROHKRIS thus far is confined to the classroom. They are my friends as well" (Interview, May 15, 2003). Other members of ROHIS, however, did make friends with others in other student clubs, such as in soccer, karate, and silat (Indonesian karate). Two of ROHIS members were the heads of Karate Club and Silat (Indonesian karate) Club. Similarly, members of ROHKRIS also joined other clubs. Endang, a member of ROHKRIS SMAN 122 joined the Bridge Student Club; Siswo (Head of ROHKRIS, SMAN 122) joined the Soccer Club. When I asked if they have friends of other faiths, one of the members of ROHIS SMAN 122 interviewed, Reza said: "We do...we communicate...and interact wherever except when we are in ROHIS activities. What is most frequent is in the classroom." He also stated: "We make friends to all as if there are no religious differences. It

is only in prayer we are separate." (Group interview, August 31, 2010) When I asked if they were close friends? Ibrahim, member of ROHIS SMAN 122 noted:

> For me, it is my first time to have friends of Christian faith, for my elementary and junior high school was in madrasah (Muslim community school). In grade 10, I did not have any close friends of Christian faith. But, in grade 11, I have. Their names are Thomas and Satrio. They are members of ROHKRIS. Religious differences do not constrain us from making friends. I learned with them. I learn English from them, for their English is good. (Group interview, August 31, 2010)

Similarly Reza, member of OSIS SMAN 122 observed: "I am also from madrasah. Now I have Christian friends. We often play table tennis together." (Group interview, August 31, 2010) When Teguh asked if he had ever made friends with students from other faiths, he said: "yes." It was in Doro. He said: "In Doro, I worked together with friends of Christian faith. To my experience, he respects my faith. In working situations, when prayer time comes, I usually do prayer first, but he could understand and respect, thank God, he never questioned it." (Interview, June 18, 2003)

To Mira, Head of OSIS, SMAN 121, there was no limit to the possibilities for friendship:

> We make friends here with all, irrespective of differences. We have never seen religious differences as boundary. We do not have borders. Although members of ROHIS, ROHKRIS, and ROHKAT (Catholic Club) are religiously committed, they make friends with everyone. It is what the school has taught us. (Group interview, August 31, 2010)

Sulistiawati of OSIS SMAN 122 notes: "Our interaction has never been bothered by religion. All religion goes to similar paths. What differentiates us is our way of praying" (Group interview, April 24, 2003). Debra, a member of ROHKRIS SMAN 122, gave a similar comment: "Muslims are also my close friends. We share our concerns, our hopes. We've never seen religious differences. I also joined them when breaking fast" (Group interview, August 31, 2010). When said that I would like to take a picture that shows the interaction of ROHIS, ROHKRIS, and ROHKAT members, Agustin, the Head of ROHIS

SMAN 121, reacted saying: “That happens all the time. Yet, even if you take it, you will not be able to recognize it, for there is no specific identity that distinguishes one another” (Group interview, October 28, 2010). When I asked Agustin, Head of ROHIS, SMAN 121, and his friends if they knew the Head of ROHKRIS and ROHKAT, Agustin directly took his cellular phone and gave me their names and their phone numbers. This means they knew each other. In fact, Agustin, Dudi, and Iwan—together with Gilbert, the Head of ROHKAT—were in the Science and Library Club. Members of ROHIS, ROHKRIS, and ROHKAT interacted and communicated with one another. Zakiya, a member of ROHIS who was Vice Head of OSIS communicated and interacted a lot with ROHKRIS and ROHKAT, because Zakiya coordinated religious affairs. Sandra, a member of ROHKRIS and also Vice Head of OSIS SMAN 121, responsible for PUAPALA (Environment Club) and PRAMUKA (Scout Club) worked and made friends with her Muslim friends. Maruar, member of ROHKRIS and the Head of PUAPALA (Environment Club) did the same things, for Muslim students constitute a majority of its members.

Farha, Vice Treasurer of OSIS SMAN 122 and also member of Vocal Group observed:

> In Vocal Group, we are multireligious. Asti is Hindu. She is secretary of the group. Iren, our pianist, is Christian. And elder sister of Iren, graduated from SMAN 122, who is also Christian, often teaches us our vocal especially when we are doing preparation for competition. And all of us are so interactive regardless of religion. We all are one. (Group interview, August 31, 2010)

Agustin (Head of ROHIS, SMAN 121) maintained: “If she is a good Muslim she will be good to others...Faithful Muslims should be caring “(Group interview, October 28, 2010). Reza, a member of ROHIS, SMAN 122, stated: “If he is a good Muslim but not a good citizen, he must have misinterpreted Islam” (Group interview, August 31, 2010). Wafa, Vice Head of OSIS (Student Council) of SMAN 121 observes:

> Islamic Religious Education class teaches us tolerance. What is highlighted is that we don’t join in other religion’s prayer...Pardon me for saying this. If a Christian performs

> a prayer, Muslims should not join in. Similarly for Christians. They do not do Muslim prayer. Yet, this religious faith difference does not reduce my respect for my friends. I make friends with them not only in OSIS, but also in Technology Club (Teksound) Club and in Sport Club. I have never had problems about religious differences. We respect one another. Yet, we do not interfere in matters of religious faith. (Group interview, August 31, 2010)

Ibrahim, another member of ROHIS SMAN 122, notes:

> We've just learned in the class that Islam teaches tolerance except in aqidah (religious faith) as stated in the Quran: 'To you is your religion, to me is my religion' and 'For you what you do and for us what we do'. These are Words of God, so for Muslim, they are the basis. What is prohibited is for us to follow when our friends go the church or for them to go to the mosque when we go to the mosque. (Group interview, August 31, 2010)

I asked Endang and Debra, members of ROHKRIS SMAN 122, where they learned respect for religious differences, Religion or Citizenship class. Endang answered: "I learned from both, yet I learned first from religion. The Bible said: love human fellows as you love your self." Debra said: "What I learned from Citizenship Education is law, norms, and how to become good citizens" (Group interview, August 31, 2010).

In terms of how to deal with non Muslims, Dito (Head of ROHIS, SMAN 121) cited the story of the Companion of the Prophet, Ali ibn Abi Thalib. He said:

> Once Ali lost his army cloth, he thought that a Jew had found it and took it. So Ali claimed that the cloth was his. Ali asked the Jew to give it back to him, but the Jew refused. Then, the case was brought to the court. At that time, Ali was the caliph, like today's president. The court usually is on the side of the authority. But it did not happen here…for Ali was unable to prove his case. The judge, then, decided that the cloth belongs to the Jew. As a caliph, Ali could have used authority to win the case. Instead, he accepted the decision. (Interview, May 16, 2003)

To Dito, this story teaches us to treat all peoples equally regardless of the differences.

Dudi (member of ROHIS, member of Science Club and Head of PRAMUKA [Scout Club], all within SMAN 121) observes that his school environment had a more powerful influence on student religious tolerance than religious teaching in the classroom. When asked if there is teaching for religious tolerance in the school, he notes:

> Of course we have. We were taught, for example, that even though we believe that the Quran is the Truth, it does not mean that we could mock others' sacred Books. We have to respect other Books. We have learned tolerance since we were in primary school. Yet, it is only conceptual, not practiced. Here, in SMAN 121, education for tolerance is carried out through the school environment. We interact with non Muslims... and non Muslim here could be heads of students associations, there is no limit... I make friends with them. In this school, I used to sit together in the same class for one year with Anthony, a member of ROHKRIS, and we still maintain a good relationship. We are close friends. (Group interview, October 28, 2010)

Iwan, another member of ROHIS, SMAN 121, added by making comparison to his previous school: "My junior high school was actually a public school too, but there had not been so much interreligious interaction. Here, we are so interactive and close. We could have open discussions about religion without mocking one another." (Group interview, October 28, 2010) Natalia, a Catholic girl who was raised in a Catholic home and went to Catholic junior high school (Estrada, Jakarta), made a comment about her change of attitude from being in public school:

> The first time I was in this school (SMAN 122) I did not know how to behave for there were only a few students who are Christians. In my previous school, I often sang Church songs (lagu-lagu rohani), here I have to look at my surroundings first...Here in SMAN 122 (public school), my knowledge (about Islam) has increased a lot. It surprises me that Islam has such differences as this and that…When other Muslims celebrate Idulfitri day, Muhammadiyah hold it a day before. Previously, I did not know about that…now I know… I had never waited for my friends to pray (salat), now such things have become familiar." In this school of Islamic majority, I became religiously tolerant. My mom said: 'You've changed. When you were in SMP (Catholic Junior High School), you often refuse to go. Now, you always go with whomever.' My mom knows that I made friends only with Christians. (Group interview, April 29, 2003)

Social interaction, then, among students of different faith background in both public schools taught them values of tolerance, mutual respect, cooperation, and, to some extent, equipped them to live in religiously diverse societies. This suggests then diverse public school setting does help shape national and civic unity.

### 5.4.3. Avoidance of Talk on Religion

When I asked students if they conversed about religion with their friends, many of students in SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 said they did not. They did not have conversations about religion. Ibrahim, member of ROHIS SMAN 122, made friends of other faiths and studied together. But, he never talked about religion. He said: "It would be inconvenient to talk about religion." Farid said: "I've never touched on religion. It is better to keep it a personal matter. I am afraid if we talk about it, it ends with a quarrel of Truth claims." (Group interview, August 31, 2010) Alex Suradi, member of ROHKRIS, SMAN 121, did not do so either. What he did with his friends of other faiths is talk about subject matter that just has been discussed in the class. Dito (Head of ROHIS of SMAN 121, 2003) said: "Of course we talk about common issues with Christian friends, but we do not talk about religious faith. We must not touch on it." (Interview, May 16, 2003)

Sulistiawati, of OSIS SMAN 122, noted: "If we want to know religions, Christianity, Islam or others we can search in many sources. But this is for understanding, not debate" (Group interview, April 29, 2003). Ulya of SMAN 121 said: "If we gather, like in PK (Student Representatives) office, we only talk about PK, we do not talk about our religion" (Interview, May 27, 2003) Mariam, member of OSIS SMAN 122 said: "Interfaith dialogue is avoided. It hardly occurs…If we discuss religion, it is only our religion, and if we discuss religion other than ours, it is confined to a discussion among ourselves…" (Group interview, April 29, 2003) Radiastuti of SMAN 122 maintained that discussion of religious differences in public should be avoided. She said if religion is discussed, it should be done internally (Group interview, April 29, 2003).

### 5.4.4. Interreligious Conversation

Although students of different faith were interactive, they avoided talking about religion.[76] Yet, since religious activities were so pervasive in the schools, it was very natural if some students were eager to know other faiths. A student of Catholic faith, for example, was eager to know about Islam. Those of Islamic, Protestant, Hindus, Buddhist, Confucian, or particular faiths were curious about other religions as well. And diverse public schools as SMAN 121 and SMAN 122 are good places to converse about religious faiths.

In fact, when close friendships were established and students felt personally close to one another, they increasingly talked not only about their common interests such as science for the science club members or soccer for the soccer club members, but also personal things such as family, what they liked or what they did not like or what they believed and what they did not. There are examples that show that such exchange happened in SMAN 122 and SMAN 121. Natalia, a Catholic student of SMAN 122, told me that her friend, Kasih, had asked about Easter. However, Natalia said: "This is only conversation, it is not dialogue" (Group interview, April 29, 2003). Utamayanti, member of OSIS SMAN 122 told that he had talked informally about Christmas celebrations and he knew that his friend had explained about it (Group interview, April 29, 2003). Debra, a member of ROHKRIS (Christian Club) said: "There are friends who asked me about the differences between Protestantism, Catholic, Adventist, Pentecostal, and others. But I myself tend not to ask about Islam, for there is someone in my own family who embraced Islam and can give me information about Islam" (Group interview, August 31, 2010). Agi, ROHIS activist of SMAN 122, had an interesting experience:

> It is here (public school) that I have begun interaction with students of other faith --for I previously was in a madrasah (Islamic school). In my first year, I did not communicate

[76] This is understandable, for New Order regime from 1970s to 1990s prohibited talking about SARA that stands for suku, agama, ras, dan antar golongan or ethnicity, religion, race, and groups, for it was feared to create social conflict. And Indonesians generally hold themselves to talk about religion to others.

> with my non-Muslim friend, for we sat little bit far. But in the second year, I sat close to him so that I sometimes looked at his religious textbooks while he also started to ask about Islam. (Group interview, April 30, 2003)

I followed this up by asking students the question, "Have you ever asked your non-Muslim friends about their faith?" Puguh, PK member of SMAN 121, observed:

> Yes, I have two girl classmates. I am not very close to them. When we talk, sometimes we discuss about their faith…such as the concept of trinity… or Easter…they explained their understanding and I see it from my own. Yet, it does not go further. My reaction is 'oh, it differs from my understanding.' I consider that conversation adds to my knowledge… that's all. (Interview, May 16, 2003)

Patra, a member of ROHIS, SMAN 122, answered this way:

> I used to ask about the differences between Protestantism to Catholicism. Yet Satrio could not explain it. Then, I asked why Christians do singing in prayer. Satrio said: It is only a different way of calling. He said some others use a bell. Satrio and other Christian also asked me about jihad, at that time when there were bombings. I told them that those who commit bombing are ones who wish to destroy the image of Islam. Islam is a religion of peace. (Group interview, August 31, 2010)

Iwan, member of ROHIS SMAN 121, noted: "I made friends with Gilbert, Head of ROHKAT (Catholic Club) and we talk very often about religion." Agustin, the Head of ROHIS SMAN 121, also said: "I also talk about religion with my classmates of Christian faiths, Johanna and Teresa. But, they talk more about it. I frequently just listen." (Group interview, October 28, 2010)

Reza, a member of ROHIS, SMAN 122, offered accounts of interesting experiences: "Through conversation, I've come to know that Islam and Christianity share similar things. The names of angels are similar: Jibril for Gabriel, Mikail for Michael...the names of prophets such as Dawud for David, Ibrahim for Abraham, Junus for Johannes, Ismail for Samuel...The story of Adam is also similar." (Group interview, August 31, 2010)

Those students who conversed on religion might be the type of persons who were able to make friends and talk openly. When they were curious about something, they just asked their friends. But some students did not talk about personal and sensitive things. An example of this kind of student is Alex Suradi, an SMAN 121 Student of Catholic faith. When he was

eager to know more about Islam, he often preferred to ask his driver who was Muslim, rather than asking his Muslim friends directly, for Alex Suradi felt safe when he talked about it to his driver. It was through his driver that Alex Suradi came to realize the differences between Catholicism and Islam. For example, he came to know that pork was forbidden in Islam or that making friends with a girl or a boy too closely was forbidden by Islam. He also knew that activities of his Muslim friends would stop when adzan (call for prayer) came. Alex Suradi said, "I stay in Muara, a little bit far from mosques, so I did not know adzan." (Interview, May 15, 2003)[77]

Examples of interreligious conversation show that some students were obviously curious about other religions and dared to talk about it, although many avoided talking about it and the schools did not encourage, let alone facilitate, them in doing so.

### 5.4.5. Good Impressions

Most students interviewed from both schools had positive experiences of interreligious relations and good impressions of the diverse public schools attended. Asked to describe his Christian friend, Patra, a Muslim student of SMAN 122 said: "To my knowledge, my Christian friend respects me as a Muslim, and he is my close friend. When dzuhur (noon prayer) time comes, when I forget, he reminds me to pray: 'time to pray, aren't you praying?" Alex Suradi, a Catholic student of SMAN 121, also made a very positive comment about his schools: "The teachers are good. The school achievement is OK and the school has great concern towards success in university entrance. And we are all equally regarded, I have never been discriminated against" (Interview, May 15, 2003). When asked how the school treated students of Christian faith, Niken, a member of ROHKRIS, SMAN 122, offered: "So far, teachers have treated us well. What is most important is our interest and efforts in studying.

[77] It worth noting here, that some Jakartans lived in exclusive neighborhood where its most occupants share ethnicity, socio economic status, and sometimes religion. For these Indonesians, although they lived in multireligious Jakarta they might only know their immediate religion and culture.

Teachers see us from that, not from religion. There is no discrimination" (Group interview, August 31, 2010). These positive comments were repeatedly stated by the students.

Fatima, a Music and Arts teacher as well as ROHKRIS supervisor of SMAN 121, also offered positive comments:

> Interreligious life among students is amazing. What happened a few days ago was one of the examples. When ROHIS had a gathering to welcome the fasting month of Ramadan, some of the members came to ROHKRIS who were in gathering for prayer. ROHIS members asked a number of their ROHKRIS friends who gathered. Then, ROHIS brought food and water for their ROHKRIS friends. This was so touching. (Interview, August 26, 2010)

Sudadi, a Citizenship Education teacher of SMAN 122, made a comment of his school as well as the other public school, saying: "Interreligious life in public schools is vey harmonious. Public school is precisely a miniature of diverse Indonesia. Although they are religious, ROHIS and ROHKRIS are Indonesians. They are tolerant and respectful of differences." (Interview, August 30, 2010)

Sungkono, a supervisor of ROHKRIS and a Sociology teacher of SMAN 121, said:

> I see social interaction of the students in SMAN 121, grade 10, 11, and 12 is going well. Pardon me for mentioning this. This is not racist. There is an increasing number of Chinese students joining this school. Many of them come from Christian faith schools. The number of Christian students has increased. Catholic students have a ROHKAT (Catholic club) now. Yet students have good social interaction too. The function of the school in promoting universal values has a concrete impact on students so that ROHIS, ROHKRIS, and ROHKAT could work together without any hindrance. (Interview, August 27, 2010).

Such comments as these are indicative of how far the public schools have gone in relation to promoting tolerance.

### 5.5. Issues and Problems of Interreligious Relation

At the same time, it is important to recognize that there remain issues and problems in relation to interreligious relation.

### 5.5.1. Interreligious Misunderstanding

In both SMAN 122 and SMAN 121 there were some students who had negative experiences and impressions of other believers. Natalia, a Catholic student, for instance, said:

> This is what I know. Some Muslims (in her school, SMAN 122) are fanatics. Some are not. I've been angry at the fanatics. But, I cannot blame him because it may be his beliefs. To me, however, such fanaticism is not religion. He actually learns Citizenship, but it does not change him. (Group interview, April 29, 2003)

She further recollected her previous experience in SMP Estrada (Catholic Junior High School in Jakarta):

> In the Christmas celebration, students, as they wish, may join or not. But, to my knowledge, most Muslims join the celebration… Honestly, I like my previous school (Catholic junior high school). Although they are Muslims, they get along. None of them are fanatics. (Group interview, April 29, 2003)

Natalia here compared her experience in public school to her former Catholic school. She noticed that in her public school there were people whom she regarded as fanatics. They did not get along with others and rejected joining in celebrating Christmas. Her Muslim friends might not know what Natalia wishes concerning Christmas. So, it is important to make clear to her Muslim friends that Natalia (and also other Christian friends) would like them to get along and join Christmas celebration. Yet, her Muslim friends also have to inform Natalia (and her Christian friends) frankly that attendance and joining Christmas celebration for Muslims is a controversial issue: Some Muslim religious leader allow it and some prohibit it. Since there was no conversation about this between Muslim and Christian students in the school, this alone could create friction in interreligious relations.

Another issue related to spaces for prayer. When I asked ROHKRIS (Student Christian Club) members, SMAN 122, their perceptions on the facilities for Christian prayer, Siswo (Head of ROHKRIS, SMAN 122) said: "We do not have a fixed place yet...sometimes we pray in the vocal group room. According to my elder friend (kakak kelas), ROHKRIS had a

fixed room before." I asked the question, "Why did not you inform the head of the school, she might not yet aware about your need?" Siswo took a long breath and then answered: "Yes, maybe next month." I said to myself, if it is important, why next month. I observed that there was hesitation on the part of ROHKRIS, the Student Christian Club of SMAN 122 to raise issues concerning better provision of religious facilities. In the interview, the principal did mention that the school had provided the vocal group room for ROHKRIS prayer, but Siswo felt the room was not a fixed place. So, here also there was a problem of communication. This situation could create discomfort in interreligious relations.

Dodo, a student of SMAN 121, 2003, had received complaints from his Christian friends on their place of prayer:

> I have non-Muslim friends who knew that my previous school is Catholic. Since they think that I am more open-minded and I am also a student representative (PK), they sometimes complain that the school does not provide an adequate place of prayer for them. I myself saw that the place of Christian prayer is located in a room which used to be a storage space (gudang). But they are moved back now to their previous place. They were moved to the storage space at that time, for the school was doing construction then. (Interview, May 16, 2003)

Dodo insisted that the school had to ensure equal rights and opportunities for all students. Again this indicated a lack of open communication between the Student Christian Club of SMAN 121 and the school administrators.

### 5.5.2. Interreligious Tension

On several occasions, some students have not only had negative experiences, they also had been truly in what might be described as verbal religious tension. Jagat, ROHIS member of SMAN 122 said:

> When I was in grade 10, I discussed Christianity with my Muslim friend. Surprisingly, my Christian friend heard what I said. He was offended. He lent me the Bible to read. Then I called him, but he was angry at me. I said, Christmas celebration is identified with the Christmas tree. I said, "Why is it not identified with the soya bean flower? He was offended, but he didn't explain. I said, "If you do not know, why do you blindly follow? He was just quiet. (Group interview, April 30, 2003)

Suryadi, another ROHIS member of SMAN 122, also noted:

> I have friends of other faiths too. I have a good and bad story. It is good when my friend is tolerant, that is every time we meet we never talk about religion. What we talk about is merely matters of daily life. But I found a friend (of another faith) who talks about religion. Of course I gladly discuss it. But when I continue to ask, he cannot answer. Then, I said, "If you do not know your own religion, why do you talk about others? (Group interview, April 30, 2003)

From a positive point of view, these incidents indicate that there was curiosity and a need for conversation on religions among students, yet these incidents also showed that the way they conversed tends to be rude and this highlights the importance of education for respectful conversation and attitude. Otherwise, this kind of tension would end in misunderstanding, combat or breed violence.

Religious tension in SMAN 121 has taken place in relation to specific traditions and practices, such as in the case of Islamic calligraphy and the Christian Cross. As Sulaiman, the Islamic Religious Education teacher of SMAN 121, observed:

> High tension between Muslim and Christian students has happened here before. At that time, ROHIS members hung Islamic calligraphy of Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim (On Behalf of God the Merciful) and La Ilaha illa Allah (There is no gods but God) in the classroom (such symbols as these are usually attached to the door or wall of mosque and some Islamic schools). Then, Christian students complained: 'Is this an Islamic school or what?' In reaction to what ROHIS members did, they also put up the Christian Cross, although it does not stand out as much as the Islamic symbol had. The tension stopped when the school principal abolished all religious symbols and religious teachers explained to ROHIS members that they have to maintain religious harmony. (Interview, April 23, 2003)

It was very unfortunate that that the school did not bring together the two opposing groups involved in this incident of Islamic calligraphy and Christian Cross in order to start a conversation and to discuss on how citizens should live in a religiously diverse societies. Instead, the school principal used his power to stop the tension without any effort to have any open communication.

Dito (Head of ROHIS and Ulya and Aditia (both members of PK or student representatives), SMAN 121) also told story about the controversy of baju koko.[78] They said that, unlike in other public schools, issues of baju koko here was sensitive. Dito told the story as follows:

> In 2003, the Governor of Jakarta made a regulation that on Friday Muslim students have to wear Muslim dress: Baju Koko for male students and head cover (jilbab) for female. Students wondered if the school would implement the policy. Then, OSIS (Student Council) and PK (Student Representatives) arranged a meeting inviting ROHIS and ROHKRIS to get to the table to discuss it. Hot debate was unavoidable. ROHIS agreed to implement the regulation, while ROHKRIS opposed it. ROHIS argues that SMAN 121 must implement the governor's decrees, even though SMAN 121 is not an Islamic school. ROHKRIS, on contrary, asserted that Muslim uniform on Friday only exacerbates Muslim and non-Muslim differences. ROHIS disagreed and replied that differences can be seen as a reminder that we have to continuously consolidate our unity. The debate took around one hour and half and happened several times. But they finally made agreement that white color of Baju Koko will be endorsed for Muslim male students and jilbab for Muslim female students, while non-Muslim male students will wear a long shirt and long dress for non-Muslim female students instead. (Interview, May 16, 2003)

Ulya noted that the agreement was reported to the school principal. Unfortunately, the principal did not sign it and it was said that the letter was lost (Interview, May 27, 2007). Dito observed that the agreement, unfortunately, was not put into practice, for there was no punishment enforced for those who broke the agreement. (Interview, May 16, 2003). So, in regard to the baju koko issue, the school also ignored interreligious issues as if they did not happen at all. The administrators also did not bring the controversy to conversation and dialogue. Aditia, Vice Head of OSIS, reflected on the baju koko controversy and said: "I am thankful that I knew and experienced that debate. Other friends may not be aware of that. It is important for us as educated people to go through this kind of thing." (Interview, June 18, 2003)

[78] Baju koko is a shirt with long sleeves, paired with long pants in similar color, usually white, and popularly worn by Muslims on Friday.

Another tension related to cultural identity occurred in regards to OSIS election. It is not between Muslim and Christian students, but between students of a conservative orientation represented by ROHIS and those of a moderate one. As Dito said:

> The group rivalry started from different views about Doro and permeated the OSIS leadership election. Doro is the biggest yearly event of SMAN 121, but this event is always controversial, since a significant number of students question if Doro is morally good. This critique of Doro comes in particular from ROHIS. ROHIS perceives that Doro facilitates consumerism, hedonism, drugs, alcohol, Western-style girls-and-boys relationships, and neglects religious duties. On the other hand, the proponents of Doro argued that the Doro event contributes to cultivating civic values such as cooperation, teamwork, collective deliberation, leadership and fund-raising. So, Doro is educationally good. When it comes to OSIS leadership election, which candidate supports Doro and which one opposes it is very important. Umar who won the OSIS election in 2003 over Aditia from ROHIS is the one who endorsed the Doro event. ROHIS, then, created a counter culture opposing the Doro Festival, regarded as too Western-oriented, by holding a Nasyid Festival, which is Islamic. Nasyid is middle eastern music that contains Islamic advice such as be good, patient, and faithful. In the Nasyid Festival, unlike in Doro, male and female attendants are separated by a curtain and when prayer time comes, the show also stops for praying. (Interview, May 16, 2003)

Discussion of controversial issues such as the Doro event is actually one that the diverse schools need to foster. Unfortunately, the schools did not see its importance. The case of Jagat and Suryadi's interreligious tension actually sheds light on the central importance of education for respectful intercultural conversation. If not, this kind of attitude could create interreligious violent conflict. With respect to the incidents involving Islamic calligraphy and baju koko, these are a reminder of the necessity of a forum for dialogue on controversial issues, either through the student council (OSIS) or through student representatives (PK). It cannot be solved by the school principal's authority, for then, students do not learn how to solve differences through deliberation, negotiation, and compromise. The approach taken by OSIS and PK in overcoming the controversy over baju koko was an excellent example of how students should deal with differences. Unfortunately, the schools, unfortunately, did not take it as an exercise in deliberative democracy. Reading through the story told by these

students, the schools are not concerned about fostering deliberative skills among students. The schools, unfortunately, seemed to think that accommodation of religious activities, teaching for tolerance, and social interactions are sufficient for multireligious society.

### 5.5.3. Issues of Teacher Interaction

What is surprising is that interreligious misunderstanding and tension also occurred among teachers as central actors in the classroom as well as in the schools. Generally, interactions between teachers of different faiths in both schools go well. They chatted and made fun one another in Teachers Room, Computer Room, cafeteria, and in the security office. When they were on break from teaching, they interacted with one another in the Teacher Room and Computer Room. Maemunah mentioned that there are occasions in SMAN 121 which allow teachers of different faiths to get along and even sing together – that is when the school has its yearly meeting (rapat kerja) to plan a yearly plan for the school (Interview, April 23, 2003).

Asked about interreligious life among teachers in the schools, Abu Bakar, Citizenship Education Teacher of SMAN 121 answered: “Of course, we interact. They are my colleagues. We are close.” (Interview, October 26, 2010) Husna, teacher of Islamic Religious Education of SMAN 122 said: “We are very close. They also come when we have breaking of fast during Ramadan. The English teacher who is Christian even sometime asked us to talk what kind of Muslim celebration the school would like to have.” (Interview, September 1, 2010)

Sungkono, the Sociology teacher and supervisor of ROHKRIS, SMAN 121, observed:

> Since I joined the school in 1984, what I like from the school is its sense of family. For that reason, I only teach in this school. Sense of family here is strong. After the school was able to let 10 teachers perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, the Christian teacher also had a chance to go to Palestine. In fact, I myself went there. (Interview, August 27, 2010).

Mangkudun, teacher of Islamic Religious Education, SMAN 122, commented:

> Interreligious life goes well…All teachers have equal opportunities to teach or to do other job according to consideration of professionalism. It does not take account of religion. Non-Muslim could be head of the school as long as she meets professional requirements. (Interview, August 31, 2010)

*Fewer Friendships*

Yet, some teachers of Christian faith in both schools had a different view in looking at the schools. Marianne, an English teacher and supervisor of ROHKRIS (Christian Student Club), SMAN 122, noted that there has been decreasing teacher friendship between Muslims and Christians. As a teacher who has served since 1982, she felt and experienced big differences between the 1980s and 1990s and after:

> In the 1980s and 1990s, we were very close and respectful of one another. Recently, such an attitude is decreasing. My faith teaches me to love others. Yet, values of love are now deteriorating. For example, in time of Muslim celebration day (Idulfitri), some Muslims reject our greeting. And when we celebrate our Christmas, they do not give us greetings either. If we bring cakes, even we bought it from market, they do not eat it. It never happened before, for we were very close. To me, teachers are examples. Their cloth, standing, speaking will be emulated by students. (Interview, September 1, 2010)

I asked if it happened to Marianne personally or if it occurred also to other Christian teachers. She said: "Of course, it happened to all of us. If it occurred only to me, I wouldn't care."

As stated earlier, in Indonesia, whether Muslims are allowed to greet "Selamat Hari Natal" (Happy Christmas) to Christians is one of the controversial issues of Muslim-Christian relation. At least, there are two groups of views on this issue. The first, are those who reject uttering greetings, for greeting implies confirmation of Christian faith, and to confirm Christian faith means to confirm its Truth, and this means to disconfirm the Truth of Islam. In this view, Christmas greeting is prohibited. Second are those who regard that greeting is allowed for saying "Happy Christmas" to Christian believers is to express respect for their

faiths, not to confirm the Christian Truth, and greeting is also good for maintaining social relations. Mainstream Muslim Indonesians hold the second views. Indeed, the President, Minister of Religious Affairs, governor, and mayors have made Christmas greetings publicly and annually and broadcasted them through radio, TV and newspapers. Yet, it is an increasingly controversial issue. In 2004, MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia or Indonesian Council of Ulema) issued a fatwa (religious opinion) asserted that Christmas greeting is forbidden and many Muslims follow this.

Benyamin, Head of SMAN 121, was among those who opposed greeting Christians during Christmas celebrations. During the interview, he emphasized that he would rather live sincerely, not hypocritically. In the context of sincerity, he gave the example that he did not greet those who celebrated Christmas. He tells this frankly to the Christian teachers who come to his house during Islamic Idulfitri celebration. Nor did he give national greetings (national greeting) with "Selamat Pagi" (Good Morning) or "Selamat Siang" (Good Afternoon). Instead, he greets everyone with the Islamic greeting (Assalamu alaikum or Peace be upon you). Despite that, he maintained, he respects other faiths and, he said, if the teachers of Christian faith perform well, he will involve them in the management of the school (Interview, August 24, 2010). Yet, Benyamin seems to ignore that his attitude could be seen as unfriendly and intolerant to other religious believers as it was expressed by Marianne in SMAN 122. This situation makes interreligious relation in the public school complicated especially when there is no conversation among different groups to develop mutual understanding.

*Different Treatments*

There were also teachers of Christian faiths who were unhappy with the way the school treated them. As Fatima, a Geography Teacher of SMAN 121 observed:

> When I converted to Christianity in 1993, my teaching loads were reduced from 12 hours to 6 hours. I did not hold any more the position as OSIS supervisor nor as supervisor of the Environment Student Club...I had only a six-hour teaching load. Only in 2000 when Sugiarto was head of the school...might be he was secular...then he appointed me as supervisor of Art Student Club...but God is bigger. (Interview, August 26, 2010)

This showed that there was no communication between school principals and teachers and showed that school policy needs to be transparently crafted and communicated publicly so that those affected know its reasonable justification. Otherwise, the teachers perceive it as discrimination and this means that public schools may create interreligious hostility.

I asked teachers of Christian faith about religious life in the school. Marianne, an English teacher of Christian faith, SMAN 122, reacted and said:

> Didn't you see the place of prayer? Didn't you take a picture of it? It is very inadequate. Of course, we thank the school for giving us a place to pray so that when Muslim students on Wednesday have tadarrus (Quranic studies), the Christian students can have prayers; when Muslim students on Friday have Friday prayer, Christian student can have prayers. Although, according to the Constitution 1945, we are equal citizens, we are usually ignored. (Interview, September 1, 2010)

I asked why she did not propose that the computer class become a place of prayer and she responded:

> Of course I did. I realize that the school does not have anymore room. But, at least, the current room of prayer is renovated. I used to say what if I renovated it myself –of course not because I am rich--, but the school said no. Yet, they have not done any renovation. I also had asked that the school give equal funding for all students irrespective of their faiths. And the school has met this request. On this matter, the school response is very good. (Interview, September 1, 2010)

*Nomination of Becoming Vice Principal*

Marianne also told her story of nominating herself as a candidate for vice principal of the school. She said that she was surprised when one of her colleagues said in the teacher room that non-Muslims were not allowed to be leaders although they are competent:

> I had become assistant of the vice school principal three times. So, I nominated myself to be vice school principal. But one of the teachers said to the others: 'Don't choose her, even though she is capable, for Muslims are not allowed to be led by non-Muslims.' I had heard that rumor before. Now, I heard it for myself...I was also there in teacher room. So, although the Constitution of 1945 recognizes citizen equality, it does not happen in practice. Diversity is a reality of the country. Yet, we do not value it. Leadership is about competence, why is it related to religion? I dislike it when something is connected to SARA (ethnicity, religion, race, and groups). That is not fair. This is a public institution...state institution. It should only be based on competence…Now, religion becomes a constraint. If I were Muslim, I would surely be elected, for I am also among one of the high achieving teachers. I won the English teachers' competitions such as the writing contest held by City Bank several times. This happens due to national politics. This is exactly what happens in the government as well. Although they are competent, Christians rarely become leaders. I experience this as minority and I am always excluded. The school atmosphere is not conducive anymore. I always pray, "Oh my God, give wisdom to the leaders of other faiths in running their leadership so that they do not bring SARA into consideration. (Interview, September 1, 2010)

I reacted to her by saying that democracy including school democracy, often fails to elect the most competent candidate. Marianne said: "I realize that. Our Christian fellows in the school are only seven people including one person in administration out of seventy teachers. So we are only around 10 percent. We are always defeated in elections." (Interview, September 1, 2010)

Goffar, the Vice Principal of SMAN 122 knew that in the previous election of vice principal of the school there was an issue:

> As long as they are a minority, never expect that a Christian will be vice principal. It is true that Christians rarely have a chance to become vice principal. First, it is because it goes through election by teachers. Their chances become little...We used to have vice principals of Christian faith when they were appointed by the principal...In elections, issues of minority and majority appear. Yet, it happens also in other schools. (Interview, September 1, 2010)

When I asked if professional competence is disregarded, Goffar replied: "Of course not, but there are other considerations, such as whether or not someone is able to work well with the principal. I am an Islamic Religious Education teacher. I might be elected as vice principal because I am a patient man...personality...But it is not absolute." I asked, "Would

you get support from non-Muslim teachers?" He replied: "Yes, I would, for they are my close friends. I make friends with all." (Interview, September 1, 2010)

### 5.6. Limitations of the Approaches of the Two Schools

Based on discussion of theories in Chapter 3 and then drawing on the interviews and textbook analysis, there is a great deal to consider. Learning about the aforementioned issues (interreligious misunderstanding, interreligious/ intercultural tension, Christmas greeting, complaints of prayer room, school treatment of teacher after converting to Christianity, and vice school election), it is clear here that school accommodation of religions from different backgrounds, teaching for tolerance, and social interaction are not enough for creating religious harmony nor for creating citizens for a democratic multireligious society. If public school is discriminatory, the approach could even contribute to making interreligious relation worse. To make public school conducive to creating religious harmony and creating good citizens for a multireligious Indonesia, it is necessary for schools to practice democracy and open deliberation so that members of the schools can address misunderstanding, overcome tension and oppose discrimination.

Issues of different treatment and discrimination experienced by teachers of Christian background, for instance, are very highly sensitive. In order to be fair and just, members of the schools have to have guaranteed basic rights and be able to ask for clarification on school policy and schools are obliged to provide public justification and find conflict resolution. With regard to school accommodation of religious programs from different faiths, it should not be top down where the school administrators determine the content of the religious accommodation. Religious accommodation has to go through open conversation of parties concerned in order to meet the expectations of each group. Otherwise, the school

administrators may feel that they already provided the best support to religious activities that the schools could offer, while the Christians feel may that the schools has discriminated against them. Equally important are issues surrounding Christmas greetings and sharing in its celebration. Both Muslims and Christians need to communicate about it openly to develop mutual understanding. Student controversies such as Islamic calligraphy, baju koko and Doro need to be brought to a forum for dialogue and students need to learn to practice using dialogue in a respectful manner particularly in sensitive areas such as religion. This approach will help reduce issues and problems arising out of intercultural relations; reduce misunderstanding and prejudices and create mutual understanding and collaboration; and equip students to be able to live, to deliberate, to work together in an interactive, multicultural society.

## 5.7. Summary

This chapter has highlighted how both public schools gave central importance to the issue of religious faith and how they supported religious education class, student religious club, and school religious activities for the purpose of creating a man and woman of good religious faith. Even though religious education was confessional, non-critical, non-scientific and non-comparative, it did teach values related to living together in diverse societies respectfully and harmoniously. These civic religious values reinforce the schools' efforts in creating good citizenship education for multireligious societies carried out through three activities: accommodation of religion from diverse backgrounds, fostering social interaction and development of shared civic knowledge. However, there was no presentation of rich and diverse understandings of Islam in the Islamic textbooks. There was also no presentation of religious diversity in Citizenship textbooks. What is also surprising is that teachers and principals opposed strongly to the introduction of other religious faiths and interreligious

dialogue to students, although they stated that they respect religious differences and can live harmoniously in diverse societies.

What I found very positive in the public schools under study in the context of citizenship education is that the schools are religiously, relatively, diverse schools and they support student activities that allow students of different beliefs to intermingle and to communicate with one another especially in extracurricular activities. Yet, I found that the interreligious experience of the school members was mixed. On the one hand, members of the school from different faiths did make friendship, cooperate and tolerate one another, yet, on other hand, there were instances of discrimination, tension, and misunderstanding. It seems that the root of the interreligious problems is that the schools lacks democracy and open communication, so they did not talk about issues such as discrimination, tension and misunderstanding openly. Thus, I argue, creation of good citizens for a democratic multireligious society cannot rely on mere accommodation of religious diversity, teaching for tolerance and social interaction, it also needs conversation and deliberation to ensure fair treatment for all, good governance, knowledge of other faiths, the development of public reasonableness and mutual understanding.

# Chapter 6:

# Contributions, Findings, Conclusions, and Future Research

## 6.1. Contributions to Knowledge

This study of citizenship creation for multireligious Indonesia contributes to current scholarly research in a number of ways. First, this study presents empirical data on how Indonesian public schools, particularly how two public schools in Jakarta, shape their future citizens. That this data is drawn from a democratic country with a Muslim majority definitely adds to current debates on citizenship education taking place in liberal democratic countries like US, UK and Canada. But this study's contribution to knowledge is not only in its provision of empirical data of the country, but also in how this empirical data helps raise a critical question and complicate assumption taken for granted by liberal theorists concerning citizenship education. In order to gain this critical perspective, this dissertation develops and applies the critical insights drawn from recent debates among liberal philosophers in the West to issues of citizenship education in Indonesia. Herein lies the most important contribution of my study.

Different theories of democratic citizenship employ different values and criteria for assessing the success and flourishing of democratic citizenship education. They also have differing criteria for assessing various policy options related to the design of public school systems. For example, some theories of democratic citizenship emphasize the fundamental importance of respect for diversity itself. Such theories challenge traditional assumptions about the necessity and desirability of common schools as the privileged institution within which to foster virtues and capacities of democratic citizenship. Other theories emphasize the importance of exposing children to diverse and conflicting religious traditions and the diverse and conflicting views about 'the good life' that arise from these traditions.

According to these views, democratic education is not solely about respecting and recognizing diversity, but also about teaching children to critically evaluate their own inherited religious views (or those of their parents) so as to be able to reflectively choose their own way of life, and to work collectively to forge a shared 'public' moral vision that cuts across and overlays the diverse religious views of citizens. For these theorists, the presence of diverse forms of publicly supported religious schools may be a threat rather than a boon to democratic citizenship education. Instead, they argue, the state should provide support only or at least primarily to common schools that welcome students from a variety of religious traditions and backgrounds in a shared educational setting, while perhaps (somewhat reluctantly) allowing, but not supporting, private religious schools on the grounds of respect for freedom of conscience. However, even in cases where freedom of conscience demands that the state allow private religious schools, the state also has an interest in ensuring that children have some substantial exposure to religious diversity, so that they can gain critical distance from parental and communal pressure to conform to traditional religious doctrine. Thus, part of my study engaged in examining these diverse critical and philosophical theories of citizenship with a view to evaluating their adequacy for democratically addressing issues of religious conflict and diversity in Indonesia.

My study sought, first, to understand different theories of democratic citizenship and to explain their different implications for democratic civic education. However, the concerns of my dissertation are practical as well as philosophical. While different theories of democratic civic education imply different normative conclusions, they cannot be applied without a clear understanding of how religious diversity influences particular societies – in this case Indonesia. They also cannot be applied without an understanding of how religious diversity is accommodated and incorporated into existing Indonesian schools. The theories in question have largely been developed according to assumptions that apply mainly to Western

liberal-democratic societies such as the UK, United States, and Canada. These secular liberal states require that government, and hence democratic citizenship, is defined by principles like freedom of religion, state neutrality towards religious belief, and Church/State separation (Bouchard-Taylor Report, 2008). However, Indonesian religious diversity cannot be characterized in such thoroughly secular terms. Indonesia is not defined in terms of religious neutrality, even though its constitution promises acceptance and tolerance of religious diversity. There is no clear cut separation of church and state in Indonesia as there is in most Western liberal democracies. Nevertheless, Western secular theories of democratic civic education seek to provide a normative basis for accommodating diverse religious traditions within a common conception of citizenship. In doing so, I argue, they provide a basis for articulating principles of democratic citizenship that can be applied, with a sensitivity to particular features of the local context, to Indonesian politics and schooling. Importantly, I show that they also provide a useful basis for critically evaluating current Indonesian educational practice, with a view to reshaping and improving the fit between democratic civic education as it is currently practiced in Indonesia, and the sort of democratic civic education that might help to enrich and strengthen the sort of citizens required for Indonesia's multireligious democracy to grow and flourish.

Furthermore, this study will not only benefit Indonesia, a country of religiously committed people, but also those secular liberal democratic countries that have to cope with problems of religion and citizenship. Those liberal countries will benefit from this study on how public schools should develop citizenship education for communities with a strong attachment to religion, because even liberal countries still have cases of communities committed deeply to religion. As in Indonesia, unaddressed and unresolved differences in these countries could create social division, hatreds and violence among religious groups and larger society as well.

In term of practical purposes, the empirical study of the types of citizenship creation taking place in two high schools of Jakarta will help researchers and educators to have a better understanding of the issues and problems of citizenship creation and help them find ways to better go about it. With regard to policymakers and administrators, this study can be extended to include more public schools, and even involve faith schools so that the result can be a starting point for reflection and debate on the existing policy of citizenship education in a religiously pluralistic society. From my point of view, a country like Indonesia has only two choices: to cope with religion seriously through citizenship education or to let differences among religious groups create ever deeper divisions within the nation.

### 6.2. Why Search for a Citizenship Education Model?

In relation to the fact the Indonesia is a religiously, ethnically, and culturally diverse country, issues concerning the nation state, national unity, and citizenship education have always been of concern to Indonesian leaders of different backgrounds. Even though national leaders of secular and Islamic orientation have always competed in influencing the state and public life, they have increasingly reached political consensus. In early independence, both groups competed over the nature of the state whether it should be a secular nation state or Islamic state, but secular and Muslim leaders, finally, have come to a consensus that the Indonesian state is neither a secular nor Islamic state but a Pancasila state, that is, a nation state that recognizes religions from different backgrounds. They also argued over whether or not religious education should be a fundamental part of national education. Currently, the national political leaders have accepted the idea that national education should support religious education and religious schools from different backgrounds, for the state also makes sure that the religious education curriculum is compatible to nation state and national values. The state has made the objective of faith schools and Religious Education subject not only

the creation of men and women of religious faith but also good citizens for a democratic society and this reinforces school efforts to create good citizens through other subjects, such as Citizenship Education subject. So, currently, the state does not only provide funding for public schools, but also faith schools, such as madrasah.

Yet mutual accommodation of national political elites of secular and Islamic orientation does not necessarily improve social relations and interreligious issues. These, in particular, need closer attention. It is recognized, on the one hand, that religious faith is very important for Indonesians and religion in Indonesian contexts has contributed to integrating multiethnic groups. At the same time, religion also, either through its religious communities or its institutions –including educational institutions—tends to create unwelcoming or exclusive social relations, barriers, and divisions along religious lines. This issue was brought to the fore particularly when a violent religious conflict erupted in Poso, Ambon, and North Maluku from 1998 to 2002, raising questions as to what went wrong with citizenship education. The conflict raises questions of how adequate (or inadequate) national education has been in playing a role in shaping civic unity of its multireligious society, although communal conflict is admittedly complex, and related to many other factors, such as economic inequality and political elite competition. Although, currently, there is no bloody violent religious conflict, interreligious relations are still vulnerable to conflict and it could erupt anytime and civic unity is not fully stable. Thus, civic unity cannot be taken for granted. It has to be continuously created and recreated. And the state and public school in particular has to play a role in consolidating democracy in a multicultural society such as Indonesia.

### 6.3. To What Extent does the Current School Practice of Citizenship Education Reflect Ideals of Citizenship Education for a Democratic Multireligious Society?

The situation of the public schools under study is somewhat conducive to citizenship education for a democratic multireligious society as their students were religiously diverse and the schools supported social interaction. Unfortunately the teachers and principals opposed student exposure to religious diversity as well as to interreligious dialogue. Similarly, the textbooks of Islamic Religious Education and Citizenship Education lack information of religious diversity purported for development of mutual understanding. The teachers and principals fear that exposure to religious diversity and interreligious dialogue would corrode student religious commitment and would exacerbate social division and cause conflict.

I have discussed in Chapter 3 three theoretical models of citizenship and citizenship education: autonomy liberalism, diversity liberalism, and political liberalism. Autonomy liberalism is essentially one that intends to shape students to become autonomous individual, capable of critical reflection of one's values and beliefs and those of others and able to consciously and critically choose or make choices for her/ himself. The supporters of autonomy liberalism believe that children have rights and liberties to a life they wish and this, to supporters of autonomy liberalism, requires students to be exposed to alternative philosophies and stories of life of diverse peoples across cultures, philosophies, religions, or traditions in order to be able to choose and to make decisions about what is best for her/him. The supporters of autonomy believe that a flourishing life occurs in examined life when it come from the inside, from the choice of the mind, and this requires all of us to be critical to all values and traditions including those inherited from parents and communities. As a consequence, autonomy liberalism demands three requirements in respect to schooling: diversity, critical reflection, and the capacity to create an autonomous individual. Therefore,

the adherents of autonomy liberalism favor diverse public schools and are critical of religious schools and confessional religious education, as religion inclines to homogeneity and rejects diversity and employs indoctrination and creates congregants. To adherents of autonomy liberalism, the state can provide public funding to religious school only if there is significant diversity, intra openness, fairness, the right to life outside the community. Similarly, religious education is supported only if the approach is scientific, critical, comparative, and intended to enlarge the mind. The public schools under research clearly contradict these ideals of the autonomy liberalism model: they accommodate religious education for fostering religious commitment and they opposed the critical approach, exposure of diverse ways of life and interreligious dialogue. Even though the autonomy liberalism model is critical to combat fundamentalism, extremism, and radicalism, teachers and school principals regarded that the cultivation of a critical attitude towards all values, including those that some might see as belonging to the private sphere, is not needed. To them, as expressed in the interviews, the autonomy model threatened their beliefs and way of life and it could uproot religious faith, make youths convert to other religion, and infuse relativism of values. Autonomy liberalism would be too controversial and create strong opposition in Indonesia.

I argued that it seems the second model (diversity liberalism), that upholds principles of non-interference and respects rights and liberties of peoples to live as they wish, would be appropriate for diverse Indonesia. Here, secular liberal, atheist, or religious life would be equally protected, for every individual or group would have the right to lead an examined as well as unexamined life. In the educational sphere, public schools, faith schools, identity schools, charter schools, and vouchers would have equal footing and the state would have to respect liberty of choice. In the context of school programs, diversity liberalism would be flexible and there would be adjustment, exemptions, and accommodation to different values and cultures. To some extent, as discussed in Chapter 2, the politics of Indonesian national

education has applied a diversity liberalism model as shown by the state's accommodative and supportive policies to differing types of schooling (public schools, homogenous faith schools, homeschools, and national schools) and lack of exposure requirement to religious or ethical diversity.

Yet a model of citizenship needs to be judged in light of its ability to deliver justice, and its ability to maintain civic unity. It is here that I object to diversity liberalism, because diversity liberalism would result in a diversity of individuals and groups in many spheres of life (religion, ethnicity, culture, life style, sexual orientation) and these allow communalism, ghettoes, social division, prejudices and stereotypes which in turn lead to discrimination and injustices. My fieldwork in the public schools showed that there were cases of interreligious discrimination, conflict, tension and misunderstanding involving students, teachers as well administrators. If the schools uphold the principles of non-interference, as suggested by this diversity liberalism, in the sense that the schools avoid doing anything –including the development of programs for intercultural communication-- the schools play a very small (or none at all) in improving interreligious relations. In fact, this means that the schools preserve the potential "fire" of interreligious conflict rather than working to overcome it.

For a country that has religious people of diverse backgrounds, public reasonableness and civic unity are of paramount importance. Yet, civic unity has to be created not by force or imposition, but dialogue, deliberation, and communication; this is not possible when each group lives in its own closed-off sphere (Strike, 1994). For that reason, I defend the third model—that is, political liberalism—one that balances acceptance of the fact of pluralism and the necessity of civic unity. Being aware of the fact of pluralism means we would refrain any imposition on others, yet since we are aware of the necessity of civic unity we must have public shared values or common ground that allow people of different backgrounds to live together. The supporters of political liberalism object to autonomy liberalism, for its potential

imposition within the private sphere. Yet, both autonomy and political liberalism share the importance of exposure to the fact of multicultural reality. The difference is that political liberalism does not have shaping personal autonomy as an explicit and intended target. It aims rather to develop public reasonableness, reciprocity, mutual understanding, and mutual respect. Political liberalism also shares certain features of diversity liberalism in that both of them respect pluralism. Yet, political liberalism is greatly concerned with how to ensure civic unity and social justice within a multicultural society and this implies stressing the importance of intercultural interaction, conversation, communication, deliberation and dialogue.

In the context of a religiously committed and diverse country such as Indonesia, I argue that Indonesian education needs to develop public reasonableness or citizen knowledge, civic attitudes, and the capacity to think, to respond, and to act reasonably in all its citizens. Public reasonableness refers to the capacity of citizens to live in a diverse society with the spirit of reciprocity, mutual respect, compromise and mutual understanding. And this, for the context of multireligious Indonesia, demands an educational institution that meets four requirements: diverse school settings, deliberative democratic practices, development of shared civic knowledge and knowledge of religious diversity. So, all schools should support the diversity of their members. They should also engage members of different backgrounds in interaction, deliberation, and democracy. In addition, the state also needs to make sure that the school implements adequate development of shared civic knowledge and development of knowledge of other faiths to create a common ground within its multicultural society.

### 6.4. To What Extents does the Current Public School Practice of Citizenship Education Reflect Political Liberalism Model?

The public schools in the study show that they have some positive and negative elements of a political liberalism model of citizenship education for a democratic multireligious society. This conclusion is based on case studies of two public schools (SMAN 121 and SMAN 122) in Jakarta, Indonesia, that represent high and medium quality schools as measured by the national examination score. I did not study the specific schools in the areas of religious conflict which triggered this study in the first place. Rather I conducted my study in public schools in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia because this city is religiously very diverse. It is true that Jakarta is different from the areas of religious conflict, but public schools have similarities with one another for they follow the same curriculum guideline, that is, national curriculum.

I found four positive elements of the public schools under study that are conducive for citizenship education for a democratic multireligious Indonesia: 1) diverse school setting, 2) accommodation of religion from different backgrounds, 3) social interaction, and 4) development of a shared civic knowledge. The students in the public schools in the study were composed of Muslims, Christian Protestants, Christian Catholics, Hindus, and Buddhists. Even though students of Hindu and Buddhist backgrounds were insignificant in terms of numbers, the schools could be regarded as diverse schools. This religious diversity is extremely important for citizenship education in religiously diverse societies for it implies openness, a welcoming attitude to a diversity of values and readiness to live together in diverse societies. In addition, direct encounter with people of other faiths is more powerful than just talk about them (Lahnemman, 1993; Spinner-Halev, 2000; Vogt, 1997). The presence of other religious faiths, even if represented by just one person, is able to change the

atmosphere from one of ‘congregation’ and exclusiveness to one of public openness because students can be reasonable, open people.

The recognition of religious diversity is probably regarded more positively by parents of religious faith when the schools also facilitate and support the aspirations and needs of religious communities from different backgrounds by providing them with religious education classes and opportunities for prayers, the establishment of student religious clubs and school religious activities for each religion. For the teachers and principals interviewed, the schools’ accommodation of students’ religion from different backgrounds (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism) is an expression of true respect for different faiths. Respect is expressed in concrete action, not in talk. School religious accommodation also delivers the message to students that a good citizen in multireligious societies is one who respects, supports and facilitates the ability of others to practice their faiths.

What is very crucial is that the public schools under study also supported interactions between and amongst students of diverse backgrounds, such as through extracurricular activities of their interest (dance club, basketball club, soccer club, scout [Pramuka] club, band club, vocal group, and science club). Although it was not consciously designed for the development of intercultural interaction, this social interaction was definitely crucial in that it allowed students of diverse backgrounds to actively intermingle, communicate and interact with one another. It was through this interaction in a diverse setting that students of different faiths learned tolerance, democracy, mutual understanding, respect, and cooperation from one another. This social interaction appears to have reduced the fear of religious differences and negative views about the other faiths and seems to have helped to relax interreligious relations.

In order to have a civic disposition and skills grounded in religious and national values, what is also important is that the schools develop shared civic knowledge through Religious Education and Citizenship Education subjects. I showed in Chapter 5 how Islamic Religious Education and Citizenship Education textbooks are very much supportive of the values of tolerance, harmony, equality, freedom, and justice. This grounding is important in that it helps enlighten young people so that civic and intercultural interaction is not seen as just a practical and pragmatic necessity of social life but also that it is well-grounded in terms of historical, philosophical, cultural and legal considerations (March, 2006).

The principals and teachers suggested that what the schools did (accommodation of religion from different backgrounds, teaching for tolerance, and social interaction) were sufficient for creating social cohesion within the religiously diverse Indonesian society. I found that the school community did have good interreligious experiences: friendship, cooperation, mutual understanding, and mutual respect. Yet, in social interaction, there were also cases of misunderstanding, tension, conflict, disappointment and discrimination. One of the students, Natalia, for instance, felt that her Muslim friends were not respectful nor friendly for they did not join her during Christmas celebrations. Natalia felt this was different from her previous Catholic school experience where Muslims also joined their Christian friends during Christmas celebrations. Her Muslim friends, on other hand, regarded it as religiously unlawful to participate in Christmas celebration. But this misunderstanding was not channeled through open communication.

Muslim and Christian students experienced emotional conversations about religious faith on Christmas. Still, Islamic clubs had conflicting views and heated debates with Christian clubs on putting on baju koko as a school uniform every Friday. The Student Islamic Club (ROHIS) supported baju koko, while the Christian Student Club (ROHKRIS) rejected it because they felt that overt religious displays were inappropriate for public schools. Members

of ROHIS were also in conflict with members of ROHKRIS on putting up Islamic calligraphy in a classroom. ROHIS also had different opinions on proper programs and activities for Doro band festivals in 2003. So, there were some instances of conflict and tension in student interaction, yet these were ignored by the school administrators.

In fact, teachers of Christian backgrounds had the feeling that the schools discriminated against them because of their religious faith. The school reduced the number of teaching hours allotted to a teacher, Fatima, after she converted to Christianity. One other Christian teacher felt that she was prevented from becoming vice principal because she was Christian. These misunderstandings, tension, conflict and feelings of discrimination occurred in a diverse public school. The schools, however, did not respond to them, for they felt that accommodation of different faiths, teaching for tolerance and social interaction were sufficient.

Ultimately the results of this study show that public schools in Indonesia do not provide a strong preparation for democratic citizenship in a religiously diverse Indonesia. Diversity, social interaction, religious accommodation from different backgrounds, and teaching for tolerance are important features present in these schools, but they are inadequate for the task, for the textbooks, teachers and administrators neglect the central importance of dialogue and ignore religious diversity.

The nature of religious education carried out is confessional, there was no exposure to a diversity of views and no interreligious dialogue. Even though Islamic Religious Education and Citizenship Education textbooks teach respect for differences, they do not encourage interreligious conversation and dialogue. In fact, the teachers and the principals themselves, as revealed in their interviews, opposed presenting a diversity of religious views to students and encouraging interreligious dialogue among them because, as I observed, teachers and school administrators feared that knowledge of religious diversity and interreligious dialogue

would cause conflict or it would erode students' religious commitment to their faith. Thus, they did encourage religious diversity. They did not address or attempt to resolve interreligious disappointment, misunderstanding, tension, and conflict. Neither did they equip students to have the knowledge, dispositions and skills to be able to communicate, to dialogue and to overcome differences and disagreement.

What is lacking in the public schools under study is an awareness about the central importance of deliberation and democratic exchanges concerning differences in values and perspectives. There was no open conversation or communication among different groups to make sure that the school did satisfy school communities of different backgrounds. On the contrary, they avoided conversation, communication and dialogue on interreligious issues. As a consequence, even though the school administrators felt had served the best interest of different faiths, the Christians in particular felt the school discriminated against them.

Thus, based on results from my fieldwork, I argue that, in order to be conducive to the creation of citizenship for a democratic multireligious society, the schools should be made more conscious about the elementary requirement of being a diverse and democratic school, that is, fair treatment to all groups of different faiths. This is in action, not talk. If a public school allows discriminatory practices, this undermines its fundamental citizenship mission - members of the school would the regard the accommodation of religious diversity, social interaction and teaching for tolerance as superficial actions or empty rhetoric. To be able to treat all groups fairly, it requires that the school practice dialogue and democracy that consciously invites feedback, conversation, communication, and exchanges of ideas among teachers, principals, students, and among all of them. Included in dialogue and conversation are religious issues and questions. This will help correct school policy and practice, and reduce misunderstanding, prejudices and stereotypes. It will also prevent violence and cultivate a deliberative attitude towards overcoming differences. In addition, conversation

and deliberation in schools can be monitored and made to serve the diverse interests of students, teachers, and the school community.

In order to fulfill its citizenship mission, a school needs to develop a more comprehensive base of shared civic knowledge among its students. This can be done through the study of the Pancasila, the Constitution of 1945, the Human Rights Acts, and others in order to shape a strong, common shared civic ground on which to build social continuity. Last, but not least, the schools have to provide knowledge of religious diversity because understanding of other religious faith is a basis for healthy interreligious relation and engagement and religious ignorance and illiteracy is a source of prejudices and this, in turn, hinders social relations.

### 6.5. Democratic Citizenship and Religious Diversity: What can Indonesia learn from the experience of other countries?

Being aware of the crucial importance of interreligious dialogue and presentation of religious diversity to students as well as the teachers' and administrators' resistance to addressing religious differences, as I found in my fieldwork, I will provide some examples of curricular models that fit the political liberalism model. I will discuss them only in brief. There are several models that fit model of political liberalism for the context of multireligious society, such as " Ethical dialogue" that constitutes "imaginative engagement" and "civic deliberation" and they stress centrality of understanding, empathy, respect as proposed by Kunzman (2006, p. 59); "Religious literacy" that emphasizes knowledge of multiplicity, complexity and diversity of religious traditions as developed by Moore (2007); *Ethics and Religious Culture* that underscore recognition of Others and pursuit for the common goods as implemented by the province of Quebec, Canada (McDonough, 2011;

Morris, 2011; MELS, 2005).[79] They have addressed similar resistance in Western societies. Perhaps there is something here that Indonesia could draw on.

Kunzman (2006) raises the concerns: "How can we learn to talk and make decisions about living together in the face of our divergent convictions about the best ways to live?" He observes that present ethical discourse in the US context presumes detachment of religious identity. Kunzman argues that avoidance of engaging divergent creeds and traditions has hindered capacities in just civic deliberation. One of the reasons is because mutual respect which is central in civic deliberation requires understanding, not avoiding, of those differ from us (p. 8-9). Thus, he argues for engagement through dialogue for mutual understanding and respect necessary to securing stable social cooperation. He states that a public school in a religiously plural society can and should actively help students (in K-12 setting) discuss diversity of religious beliefs and vision of life, and their controversies in order to create informed and respectful citizens. Instead of moral, civic, or character education, Kunzman prefers to call it "ethical education" so that it encourages students to explore broader conceptions of the good life and human flourishing. The ethical dialogue that he describes constitutes "imaginative engagement" and "civic deliberation". The former relates to how students are encouraged to understand ethical difference with empathy; the latter relates to how students are to learn to make decisions so that they can live together. This requires understanding, evaluation, spirit of compromise, and reasonableness. The pedagogy involves "head" and "heart". Imaginative engagement involves not only intellectual exercises, but also role-plays, field experiences, and art and stories and civic deliberation requires imaginative engagement, mutual goodwill and humility.

[79] There are some other works on pedagogies: Robert Jackson (2003) stresses an interpretative approach in religious education and this allows personal reflection, interaction and criticism among students; Robert J. Nash (1997 & 1999) offers a postmodernist dialogical and corversational approach of teaching about religion and ethics.

Moore (2007) perceives that although the US is a religiously diverse society, it is a country that is ignorant about religion. As consequence, it creates a "culture war", historical and cultural misunderstanding, religious and racial bigotry and hinder to function as engaged, informed and responsible citizens of a democratic society. Therefore, she argues for the necessity of inclusion of study of religion and world religious traditions (history, beliefs, symbols, literature, and practices), for, to her, religion is not only personal but also an historical and social phenomenon. The goals are to better understand history and culture which are otherwise incomprehensible, to enhance critical thinking and cultural imagination, to deepen understanding of multiculturalism, to enhance ability to embrace rather to fear differences. In terms of pedagogy, Moore (2007) employs what she calls a cultural studies approach that sees knowledge as situated, perspectival, and political. The approach she offered includes inquiry, multidisciplinary and student-centered pedagogy that welcomed multi perspectives and multi interpretations of student voices, yet it does not suggest that all views are valid and all have to respect differences. Moore argues that this is the best approach to promote religious literacy, for it can depict complexity of religion and its influence in society. The approach also should show diversity within religious traditions. The pedagogy is inquiry based, learner-centered, recognizing multiple perspectives and interpretations, self-criticism, and open scrutiny of all perspectives and the voice of the students is emphasized in an overt fashion. Yet the approach does not promote relativism. Students are to be respectful and nondiscriminatory and education for respect at the outset is important. The objective is not to gain comprehensive understandings, objective truth, but rather to learn how to discern, identify and interpret relevant multiple perspectives.

The ideas of religious literacy and religious dialogue articulated by theorists like Moore and Kunzman have had some influence on actual educational policies in Western contexts. A recent and practical example of interreligious and intercultural dialogue is a Canadian one,

implemented by Quebec Provincial Government. I would like to briefly discuss this policy and its possible relevance to Indonesia in part because it has recently gained interest internationally as a possible model of citizenship education (Maxwell et al. forthcoming; also see the forthcoming special issue of the journal Religion and Education, Fall 2011), and also because it originates in the Province where I carried out my doctoral research. In Quebec, the provincial government has changed its approach to religious education from previously providing separate Catholic Religious Education, Protestant Religious Education and Moral Education to an integrated subject called Ethics and Religious Culture (ERC) (MELS, 2005). While formerly students were obliged to choose one of the three options (Catholic Religious Education, Protestant religious Education or Moral Education), currently, students are obliged to follow ERC where they learn ethical and religious values and traditions from different backgrounds: secular, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Inuit and others. ERC is a compulsory school subject for all types of schools including religious schools and if the schools follow Quebec Education Program of which ERC is a part the Quebec provincial government provides public funding to religious schools.

These changes occurred due to the demographic changes of population, secularization, and democratization of Quebec society. Currently, Quebec society is composed of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds (secular, Catholics, Protestant, Jewish, Inuit, and others). Yet what is most crucial is that the government regards the development of ERC as a way to ensure equal treatment of all peoples and groups and this is in line with the demand of Canadian and Quebec Charters of Rights and Freedom (MELS, 2005)

ERC has different educational goals. While the former system purported primarily to cultivate a particular religious or moral tradition, the new one aims at fostering recognition of Others, mutual respect, tolerance, and social interaction for the common goods (McDonough, 2011; MELS, 2005; Morris, 2011). In ERC, students, regardless their backgrounds, are

encouraged to engage in critical reflection on ethical questions. They learn to compare, synthesize, explain, and justify points of view, such as on themes of "freedom, autonomy, justice, social order, tolerance" (Morris, 2011, p. 57). They are also to understand various religious values, tradition and cultures from different backgrounds: Christian Protestantism, Christian Catholicism, Judaism, Native spirituality, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, other religious and cultural values. At the secondary level, for example, ERC covers themes such as the following: Quebec religious heritage, key elements of religious traditions, representations of the divine, of the mythical and supernatural beings, religion down through time, existential questions, religious experiences, and religious reference in art and culture (MELS, 2007). It is expected that students gain three competencies: an ethics competency that related to the ability to formulate, identify, examine conflicting values and to evaluate possible action; a dialogue competency that includes "attentive listening, openness, respect for others, attention to nuances " and to avoid "hasty generalizations, personal attack, straw man arguments, false analogies, appeal to the crowd, appeals to prejudice and stereotypes; and a religion competency that aims at a capacity to understand main component of other religion (sacred texts, beliefs, teachings, rituals, ceremonies, rules of conduct, places of worship, works of art, practices, institutions) and to work with peoples of other faiths. In terms of pedagogy, ERC urges the teachers to be academic, neutral, objective, and impartial and should not promote their own beliefs and points of view (Morris, 2011, p. 56-57).

The lessons learned from ERC in Quebec could be very important for Indonesia, because although Indonesia is religiously committed and diverse and has interreligious issues and problems, there is no national education to seriously make students understand religious diversity and engage in interreligious and intercultural communication. ERC fits the Indonesian context, for although the ERC curriculum exposes ethical, religious differences and critical reflection and dialogue, the purpose is civic that is to develop mutual

understanding, recognition, respect, and common spirit for the common goods. Although ERC, to some, might implicate critical questions of allegiance and commitment to upheld beliefs, the emphasis of ERC is not to foster autonomy or to engage in ethical conflict and disagreement but rather to promote democratic civic virtues such as mutual understanding, mutual recognition and work for the common good (McDonough, 2011). As found in my fieldwork, teachers and school principals opposed ideas of introducing students to knowledge of religious diversity and interreligious dialogue for fear of conversion to other faiths and of causing religious conflict. Thus, Kunzman's notes on the central importance of mutual understanding, empathy and mutual respect as goals for introducing knowledge of religious diversity and interreligious dialogue are very important, as they will help determine curriculum content and pedagogy. (2006).

Although I am not able in this dissertation to explore this question in detail, I believe there are reasons to think that this ERC model is promising in relation to Indonesian schools. The results from my fieldwork show that the public schools under discussion that support Confessional Religious Education from different faiths were still be able to create friendship, mutual understanding, tolerance, and cooperation among students of different faiths because the school setting is religiously diverse and students of differing backgrounds interact one another in classroom, extracurricular activities and outside the schools. However, there are cases of misunderstanding, tension and conflict and this happens due to lack of knowledge of other faiths and lack of open talk or dialogue over differences. So if the ERC model were applied, the schools could be expected to be better able to contribute to consolidating civic values and social cohesion. The implementation of the ERC model means that classroom pedagogy will employ student-centered, constructivist, and collaborative approaches that encourage student voices and collaborative engagement. At school level, there would be students of diverse faiths, diverse student clubs, inter-student club activity, student council,

and school council that encourage student voices, dialogue, exchanges of ideas, interaction and collaboration. The approach is not only textbook-centered or classroom-based, but the whole school approach involving consciously all components and elements of the schools (Battistoni, 2008; Raihani, 2011).

In the Indonesian context, the public schools that support confessional Religious Education as well as employ the political liberalism model would have several advantages. First, it ensures that parents of religious faiths send their children to public school without fearing that their religious faith will not be recognized because the schools do facilitate or support religious education. Second, public schools of this type could balance the growth of faith schools because both of them provide confessional religious education. What is most important is that the schools with different faith backgrounds ensure that members of the schools from different faiths intermingle, interact, and talk one another. This definitely will help promote public reasonableness, as these schools are also guided by national values or public shared values.

### 6.6. Challenges to Making Diverse Public School for a Democratic Citizenship Education

Fundamental questions, particularly, would be on how accommodation of religion can be reconcilable to diversity and deliberative democracy which opposes the indoctrination and dogmatism inherent to religions. I admit that there is potential tension here between deliberation and dogmatism. Yet, deliberation needs not be comprehensive, for it respects private life and freedom of conscience. Neither would it need to shape an autonomous individual (as in the case of autonomy model). Rather, the purpose would be to create public reasonableness in citizens who have knowledge, commitment and skills to interact, converse, to deliberate, to dialogue for social justice regardless of their differences. So, although it is

important that religious education classes be interpretative by discussing internal diversity of religious interpretations, it need not necessarily be critical nor scientific in confessional religious education classroom provided it promotes common shared public or national values such as tolerance, mutual respect, social justice and equality. What matters is that the Indonesian schools shape reciprocity, fairness, mutual respect, spirit of compromise, and cooperation.

The idea of having a school with diversity, deliberative democracy and development of civic knowledge and knowledge of religious diversity, might be rejected, for some might think that the root of interreligious violence is economic and political injustice. So, to them, the ideas are not relevant. Others might think that what we have is already sufficient. Teachers of Religious Education subject and faith schools might claim that they have taught tolerance to students. Current public schools also claim that what they have done are the best things that could be carried out by public schools. But this study has shown that even public schools are inadequate. The public schools under study meet the diversity requirement, for they were diverse schools, and they also fulfilled the requirement of social interaction: in fact, they supported it. The schools also developed shared civic knowledge. Yet, religious minorities felt that the schools discriminated against them and perceived that the school community was unfriendly to them. In addition, there were cases of interreligious tension and misunderstanding. Thus, we need to improve what is being done in public schools so that the schools become examples of how to live in a religiously diverse and democratic society. What is promising is that even some private schools built by Islamic foundations have started to establish schools open to students of diverse religious background. A good example is the Madania School, whose student backgrounds are Muslims, Christian Catholics, Christian Protestant, and Buddhists. This is because mainstream Indonesian Muslims increasingly accept the compatibility of Islam to national values such as unity in diversity, democracy,

equality, human rights and the supremacy of law (Assyaukanie, 2009; Hefner, 2000; Mujani, 2007).

One other challenges to present day public schools is that in term of faiths, some public schools, especially low quality ones, tend to be homogenously Muslim, for parents of students from other faiths prefer to send their children to schools of higher quality.[80] In the meantime, the number of private schools (Islamic, Christian Protestant, and Christian Catholic) seem to be growing. Currently, according to the Ministry of National Education (2011) public schools serve only 58.72 % of the student population at junior secondary level and 44. 57 % at senior secondary level. This is because parents perceive faith schools as performing academically and morally better than public schools, and are more inclined to enroll their children there. As a result, public schools are increasingly becoming religiously and often economically homogenous. If the homogenous public school becomes the trend, it will be more difficult to shape intercultural citizenship in public schools. It is the responsibility of the government to improve public schools so that they can attract students of diverse faiths and play a role in creating an intercultural, democratic, deliberative citizenship.

Another challenge is related to teacher education and training. In my fieldwork, I found teachers and principals generally opposed to ideas of exposure to knowledge of religious diversity and interreligious dialogue albeit they socially respect religious differences. This is probably because they have never been exposed to religious diversity in their education including when they were in higher education. Thus, it is necessary that faculties of education or teachers' colleges introduce a course on religious diversity and interreligious dialogue or multicultural realities that places religion as one of very important subjects. They could invite scholars of religious studies from different backgrounds to teach and participate in regular

[80] It is worth mentioning that in term of education, according to Statistical Bureau 2000, Buddhists were the most educated faith group in Indonesia followed by Christian Protestant, Christian Catholics, Hindus, and Muslims. It is very natural that they wish to send their children only to good schools. Unfortunately, there are only very few public schools considered high quality ones.

discussion forums or conferences for interreligious conversation among prospective teachers (and especially for prospective teachers of Religious Education and Citizenship Education subjects to help them relaxed in dealing with religious diversity).

The question may arise as whether or not the implementation of the political liberalism model is feasible. It will not be easy, and it will take long debates and controversies because this is a religious issue (Siroji, 2004a & 2004b). But I am optimistic that the political liberalism model is feasible for several reasons. First, the ideals of deliberative democracy are found in the Constitution of 1945 and its derivative laws. The state also, to some extent, has endorsed political liberalism ideals, such as human rights, democracy, unity in diversity and social justice. In addition, in order to consolidate democracy, the state has issued Educational Act 2003 which identifies democratic citizenship as one of central national educational goals. Furthermore, formal Indonesian politics also practices political liberalism as seen in parliament, mass media, and professional associations. In fact, the government has set up a forum for interreligious dialogue at district, provincial, and national level and prepared multiculturalism-based Islamic Religious Education for developing mutual understanding and social harmony (Basyuni, 2006 & MORA, 2009 b). National religious leaders from diverse backgrounds frequently sit together and deliberate over public concerns such as poverty and corruption. Mainstream Muslims, as represented by Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah also endorse the Pancasila-based state and the Constitution of 1945 that highlight freedom, equality, human right and unity in diversity. So, in term of macro politics, the current Indonesian situation is conducive to the political liberalism model of education. Yet, I realize that there will be strong opposition to a political liberalism model of citizenship education from individuals as well as religious-based organizations especially to proposals of interreligious dialogue and to the introduction of religious diversity. The challenge is how to develop curriculum content and pedagogy in such a way that the Indonesian public are

convinced that the purpose of the program is to develop mutual recognition, mutual respect, reciprocity and pursuit of the common good.

### 6.7. Future Research

What struck me very much in this study was the gap between ideals of public school expressed by teachers of Christian faiths and the reality of their lived experiences in the public schools. Public schools are supposed to embody equality, nondiscrimination and friendliness to all citizens regardless of their beliefs and cultures. Yet these teachers perceived that the public schools discriminated against them because they were the religious minority. If this is the predominant feeling of the teachers of Christian faith---and it seems to be so—such feelings somehow must directly or indirectly percolate down to students. If this is the case, rather than making civic and national unity, public schools are breeding interreligious hatred and animosity. It is very challenging to explore the expectations of teachers of different faiths toward ideals of public schools, to examine where they overlap and where they are opposed and how to solve their disagreement. This is very critical to explore because teachers are key actors in the classroom as well as in schools. Their views, attitudes, and actions will influence students. If teachers are negative in words and action towards those of other beliefs, then other citizenship education components become futile.

It is interesting to find that although the two public schools under study have a different academic performance and socio economic backgrounds, their citizenship education and their response on how to create good citizens for a multireligious society were similar. Both schools view that accommodation of religions from different backgrounds, teaching for tolerance and interaction were the most appropriate ways to respond to religious diversity. Similar studies certainly need to be done in public schools of poor academic performance in

Jakarta as well as outside Jakarta and the studies could be done also by making comparisons between public school and faith schools or private schools.

Currently, there were some private schools, including faith schools, experimenting with innovative education in order to create good citizens for democratic multicultural societies. For example, some Islamic and Catholic schools have implemented interreligious education (not confessional one). Other schools have implemented religious and ethical education. It is very important to take a close, case by case look at the model of citizenship education implemented and how much each innovative effort has contributed to creating good citizenship in religiously diverse societies. It will be more interesting if we study them in comparison to other countries efforts at dealing with diversity within society via education, such the Ethics and Religious Culture program in Quebec (Morris, 2011), Dialogical Religious Education in Hamburg, or non-confessional Religious Education in England (Jackson, 2003) or Study of Ethics in Turkey (Leirvik, 2004).

### 6.8. Final Reflection

As a country of people committed to the flourishing of religion, it is reasonable that Indonesian public schools recognize religious values and accommodate confessional religious education, as an expression of respect to those values cherished by the present Indonesian majority. Yet at the same time, since Indonesia is a religiously and culturally diverse nation, the state has to make sure that diversity becomes a fundamental element of schooling. This means that the schools are, in principle, to welcome people of different backgrounds in terms of religion, ethnicity, and culture so there are no more homogenous schools or schools that deny interaction in diversity. Based on my fieldwork, teachers and the school principals did not object to school diversity although they might not make efforts to make the schools

religiously diverse. Being aware of the powerful impact of diverse school setting, it is extremely crucial that the schools are religiously diverse.

Once the schools are composed of diverse students and school personnel, one of the essential requirements for the schools is that they have to accommodate and treat people of different faiths **fairly**. It starts from school services, teachers attitude and behaviors, and from school administrators and staff, in action (not talk), for fair and respectful school action speaks louder than talk on respect.

In Indonesia, the Citizenship Education approach has been confined to teaching, preaching and indoctrination. There is no doubt that state ideology of Pancasila, the Constitution of 1945, the Educational Acts and other laws already support values of fairness, democracy, freedom, unity in diversity, equality and justice. But the problem with these references of national values is that they are placed as entities to be taught or to transmit or to inculcate. The references of national values are simply treated as a subject matter. They are not built into nor integrated nor embodied in the school system and school practices so that there is gap between the *das sollen* and *das sein* (Raihani, 2011) and this creates cynicism and leads to accusations of hypocrisy.

Fair accommodation and treatment of different groups are not the same as same treatment. It is rather a form of meeting expectations and aspirations, and fairness can only be determined through conversation, deliberation, and negotiation of parties concerned. Fair treatment was a major demand of different religious groups in the public schools under study. If public schools could meet this fairness requirement, it would mean that these schools would have met the very elementary condition of making schools agents for social cohesion. If the school is discriminatory, it means that the schools have bred or implanted seeds for creating religious conflict and discrimination. Fair school treatment of different individuals or groups expresses a very powerful message of respect to diversity and has a far greater

influence on developing respectful attitude to diversity among students. Fair treatment of diversity is also a precondition of citizenship education in diverse societies, for any teaching, discussion or call for citizenship education will be hard to take if school practices and policy are discriminatory.

Diverse schools also have to intensify social interactions, for example, through classroom projects, student clubs, student council, inter-student club activity and school council to allow students to get to know each other and to relate personally to one another. These will create civic friendship and a sense of togetherness. A diverse school setting is meaningless if school community members get along only with groups of the same backgrounds. My fieldwork shows that the teachers and school administrators did not object to student social interaction. Through interaction, students may explore and develop common interests, concerns, plans, or topics to discuss, deliberate, and work together. Here what is also critical for schools is to increase opportunities for students of diverse backgrounds to reason together, deliberate, to dialogue, and to debate issues and problems arising out of interactions or issues of public concern. Included in this type of conversation are matters related to religion. In so doing, the students will know each other and learn how to respect different opinions, how to adjust to mutual expectation, how to negotiate, how to make compromises and reach consensus, and how to make informed and deliberative decisions. The student will learn values of tolerance, respect, reciprocity, and public reasonableness. These democratic practices and values will create social cohesion in that these help create mutual understanding and identify common concerns. And these practices also will create social justice in that they allow them to accommodate different views and interests.

To enable students of different backgrounds to sit and work together in religiously diverse society, the schools have to develop shared civic knowledge and understanding of religious diversity. In the Indonesian context, Citizenship Education and Religious Education

subjects that emphasize civic values are very important. These are to be taken seriously in that these values are necessary to continuously renew commitment to national values and this has to go with development of knowledge of religious diversity that assists the young to be able to interact with people of different religious backgrounds confidently. Yet the approach needs to avoid imparting a list of values. Instead it needs to employ approaches and strategies that are lively and dynamic.

In conclusion, Indonesian education has to have the following characteristics: 1) diverse school setting, 2) fair accommodation of diversity, 3) intense social interaction and practice of democracy and dialogue, 4) development of deep shared civic knowledge, and 5) development of interreligious conversation and knowledge of religious diversity. It is important to start talking about this or otherwise as Indonesians we will continue to combat one another, with all Indonesian citizens being the losers in the end.

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