The failure of Islamic education in promoting tolerance: a case study in senior high school

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Abstract. This study seeks to explain the important factors that cause the ineffectiveness of religious education in carrying out its function as a tool to promote the value of religious tolerance. This research is a case study at one of the State Senior High Schools in Bogor City. Policy analysis was carried out on three fundamental aspects, namely religious education policy analysis, curriculum and textbook analysis, and analysis of teachers' perceptions of religious tolerance. The results of the study show that the discrepancy between the goals of religious education policies and the high potential for intolerance among students is driven by three things, namely; 1). Islamic education policies inacted indirectly encourage the application of the mono-religious education model, 2). the existence of teaching materials that contain elements of judgment against certain religious groups, 3). the teacher's understanding of religious tolerance stops at the level of passive tolerance.

Keywords: *Islamic Education Policy, Religious Tolerance*

Abstrak. Penelitian ini berupaya menjelaskan faktor-faktor penting yang menjadi penyebab tidak efektifnya pendidikan agama dalam menjalankan fungsinya sebagai alat untuk mengedepankan nilai toleransi beragama. Penelitian ini merupakan studi kasus di salah satu Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri di Kota Bogor. Analisis kebijakan dilakukan terhadap tiga aspek fundamental, yaitu analisis kebijakan pendidikan agama, analisis kurikulum dan buku teks, serta analisis persepsi guru terhadap toleransi beragama. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ketidaksesuaian tujuan kebijakan pendidikan agama dengan tingginya potensi intoleransi di kalangan siswa didorong oleh tiga hal, yaitu; 1). kebijakan pendidikan Islam yang berlaku secara tidak langsung mendorong penerapan model pendidikan mono-religious, 2). adanya bahan ajar yang mengandung unsur menghakimi terhadap kelompok agama tertentu, 3). pemahaman guru tentang toleransi beragama berhenti pada tingkat toleransi pasif.

Kata Kunci: *Kebijakan, Pendidikan Agama Islam, Toleransi Beragama*

Introduction

Religious intolerance becomes a problem affecting the harmony of religious life in Indonesia (Farid, 2016). The annual report on freedom of religion and belief released by the Wahid Foundation revealed that, during 2018 there were 192 incidents and 276 acts of violations of the right to belief and religion. Some forms of violations that often occur are condemnation based on religion / belief, claims of heresy against certain religious groups, prohibition of religious activities, hate speech, religious discrimination, and religious coercion (Wahid Foundation, 2018).

The high number of cases related to the right to freedom of belief and religion is a collection of reactions to symptoms of intolerance that have been studied previously. A survey conducted by the Center for Islamic and Community Studies (hereinafter PPIM) UIN Jakarta in collaboration with the Convey agency and UNDP Indonesia reveals that at the attitudes / opinions level, muslim students have religious views that tend to be radical (58.5%) and intolerant (51.1% internal intolerance, and 34.3% external intolerance). Internal intolerance is an intolerant attitude or opinion towards followers of the same religion but from different groups. External intolerance is an intolerant attitude or opinion towards followers of other religions. Meanwhile, at the behavior / action level, most of them had moderate behavior (74.2%)(PPIM, 2018).

However, there are significant differences in tolerance behavior. Generation Z tends to be more tolerant externally (62.9%) than internally (33.2%). This means that generation Z behaves more tolerantly towards followers of other religions than towards fellow Muslims who come from groups, sects, or ideologies that are considered deviant or heretical. As for the intolerant opinion towards adherents of other religions, it was triggered by hatred towards Jews. As many as 53.74% of students agree that Jews are enemies of Islam and 52.9% agree that Jews hate Islam (PPIM, 2018).

As for the practical level, a study that aims to measure the readiness of students to commit acts of violence based on religion, gave unexpected results. A study conducted by the Institute of Peace and Islamic Studies (LAKIP) in major urban cities (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi) discovered that almost 50% of 993 students agree to do violence under the name of religion. Damaging and closing places of worship is one such example (Kurniawan, 2018b).

The national survey by PPIM also revealed a relationship between the proliferation of religious intolerance opinions among high school students and religious education carried out in schools. Students admit that Islamic Religious Education (hereinafter IRE) subjects have a big effect on them not to associate with other religions (48.9%). They also disagree if the purpose of religious education is to instill a tolerant attitude and to do good deeds to Ahmadis (13.18%) and Shia (14.47%) (PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2018).

The revealing of the relationship between the high opinion of religious intolerance and the implementation of IRE policy is the focus of this study. This is relevant to be analyzed because IRE as stated in the national education law should be the main medium to instill multicultural values, as well as democratic values which are actually important to strengthen students' understanding of religious tolerance (Kurniawan, 2018b).

Religious Education (hereinafter RE) in Indonesia is institutionalized through state policies to be implemented in schools for each religious group. State policy which specifically regulates RE in Indonesia is Government Regulation No. 55 of 2007.

The regulation explicitly emphasizes that religious education in Indonesia is oriented towards strengthening the character of students to become human beings who believe in God and are able to maintain harmony between religious communities. However, the research results that have been presented show the opposite direction. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the implementation of RE policies, in this case specifically for IRE as religious education for the majority of Indonesia's population, to find the root cause of this discrepancy.

In order to adequately particularize the implementation of RE policy, I applied a case study using qualitative research design. This case study took place in the city of Bogor with special considerations. Based on a research to measure tolerant city index published in 2018 by Setara

Institute, the city of Bogor was reportedly ranked 7th in the bottom among 94 other cities in Indonesia. In the same research in 2015 and 2017, Bogor City was also categorized as a city with low level of religious tolerance. In 3 consecutive periods, the city of Bogor did not show any improvement to increase the level of religious tolerance (Halili, 2018).

This study deliberately chooses a public school in the city of Bogor as the research sample. Public schools are schools managed by the state. Public schools follow the educational management set by the state. In terms of state service, public schools represent the state in providing educational services for the community. Thus, researching public schools can provide an objective picture of how the state regulates religious and tolerance education and the extent to which the state is involved in the education process.

Many researches related to the role of religious education as a medium for strengthening tolerance have been carried out. However, research that combines and highlights 3 formal aspects of education namely policy analysis, curriculum analysis and analysis of teacher perspective as the main input that contributes to the ability of religious education to foster the value of tolerance in students has never been done before. At this point, this research fills that gap.

In particular, to analyze the teacher's perspective on religious tolerance, this study refers to the concepts of passive tolerance and active tolerance. This theoretical reference refers to the notion of tolerance by Peter Balint as he presents two different interpretations on the concept of tolerance; a thick, rich conception of tolerance as respect for and appreciation of difference (active tolerance), and a thin model of tolerance as forbearance (passive tolerance). Analysis of the realm of policies, curriculum and teacher perspectives can provide an in-depth and comprehensive explanation of the discrepancies that occur between the aims of religious education and the portrait of their implementation. By applying this analytical framework, I hope to realize a rigid research design that allows me to obtain rich, reliable and valid data in a systematic and holistic manner.

Methods

This study used a qualitative approach with descriptive methods. The type of this research is a case study. This study involved only one site. Therefore, this study is classified as a single case study. The research site in this study is a public high school in the city of Bogor. To maintain the confidentiality of the school's identity, in this study the name of the school is further referred to as the Public Senior High School X.

There are two qualitative data collection techniques used in this study, namely document reviews and in-depth interviews. Interviews were conducted with two Islamic religious education teachers using the semi-structured interview method. The two of them are Mr. K as a class XI Islamic religion teacher and Mrs. N as a class XII Islamic religion teacher.

All interviews were conducted using the online video conferencing method with the consideration that the research was carried out during the Covid19 pandemic. The interview process with the Islamic Religious Education teacher was carried out in a span of 2 weeks, from September 1 2020 to September 18, 2020.

The document review was carried out as a data source for analysis of religious education policies and analysis of curricula and textbooks of Islamic religious education teaching materials for high school students. The analysis of policy documents in this study includes the documents of the National Education Law Number 20 of 2003 and the government regulations number 55 of 2007 concerning religious education. The analysis of curriculum documents is carried out by reviewing the syllabus, lesson plans and textbooks of Islamic religious education teaching materials released by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the form of Electronic School Books.

The interview data validation was done by submitting the interview transcripts to the informants. The interview data analyzed have obtained validation and approval from the two interview sources.

The data analysis techniques used in this research are thematic analysis and grounded theory, which are equipped with secondary data analysis. Thematic analysis was performed to categorize the data result in the form of in-depth interviews with informants with the research analytical framework.

Several key questions in the interview can be used as a framework for thematic analysis. Qualitative data that cannot yet be assembled in a thematic analysis framework categorized in the process of managing the results of in-depth interviews using a coding system.

The analytical framework in this study involves three formal aspects that play big roles in the effectiveness of Islamic religious education in promoting the value of religious tolerance.

The first is an analysis of the realm of Islamic religious education policy, the second is an analysis of the curriculum and the third is an analysis of teachers' perceptions of religious tolerance.

The analysis of the main policies aims to see how the government regulates religious education and how it functions towards religious tolerance education. To answer this question, this study examined education policies at the macro level, namely the National Education Law No. 20 of 2003, and then reviewed its derivative policies related to religious education policies, namely Government Regulation no. 55 of 2007 regarding religious education.

Curriculum analysis in this study was carried out by uncovering two main aspects of the religious education curriculum, namely the syllabus of Islamic religious education subjects and the teaching materials.

The third aspect to be analyzed is the teacher's perception of understanding tolerance. At the practical level, the teacher's understanding of the value of tolerance has a direct significant effect on students. The role of the teacher as the main implementer of religious education policies, becomes the spearhead in determining whether religious education policies are implemented in accordance with the mandate of the policy proportionally, no more or no less.

Results and Discussion

Profile of Public High School "X"

Public High School "X" is one of the leading public schools in Bogor City. Public High School "X" has good service standards, both in terms of learning facilities and infrastructure as well as in terms of the quality of teaching staff. The ratio of students per study group is in accordance with the standards, and the ratio of students to teachers is less than 20. This is in accordance with the national standard ratio stipulated in Government Regulation Number 74 of 2008 Article 17 implemented by schools in the 2016/2017 academic year. Government regulations attached to school institutions require senior high school teachers to teach at least 20 students, up to a maximum of 40 students in one class (Kurniawan, 2018a).

In terms of academic and non-academic achievements, Public High School "X" has also made many proud nicks both at the local and national and even international levels. In 2019, students of Public High School "X" won 8 international competitions, 14 national competitions, 12 provincial competitions, 7 Jabodetabek competitions, 22 city competitions, and 14 Bogor Raya competitions.

Islamic Activities in Public High School "X"

As a public school, Public High School "X" also holds religious activities especially for Muslim students. According to Mr. N, the vice head of the curriculum section, in building and developing student character, the school has prepared routine activity programs, both periodic and daily routines. For example, new students are required to take part in character building and motivation training which is held at the beginning of each year. There is also an activity called "*pesantren kilat (sanlat)*" which is routinely held every year organized by class XII students for class XI students. This "*sanlat*" activity is themed. One example of the themes is "*Hijrah*", which aims to invite children to get closer to God.

These activities, although managed by students, are always under the supervision of the teacher with the support of the school committee. The same information was also given by the Islamic religion teacher, Mr. K, *"What is unique about this public high school "X" is that there is also an Islamic boarding school for class XI students, and it is not done in the month of Ramadan. We call it the "hijrah" activity. The aim is to instill "aqeedah"."*

The school provides big support for the implementation of Islamic religious education to their students both in formal school hours and in the form of periodic additional programs such as *"sanlat"*. The last *"sanlat"* activity was held in 2018 with the theme *"Kaffah 2018"* and was held in Cisarua, Bogor. The activity invited two resource persons namely ANK and SFK, both of whom are public figures who are known to be religious and quite influential on social media. The aim of this school program, as conveyed by the religious teacher Mr. K and the vice head of the curriculum section Mr. N, is to educate students to be closer to Allah and to instill Islamic *aqeedah*.

In Islam, aqeedah signifies the firm creed in one's heart. *Aqeedah*, together with *syaria* and *akhlaq* are important foundations and the three are interlinked to each other. *Aqeedah* forms the basis of faith (firm belief), hence if one of the components is missing, one's faith is lost or later becomes unbalanced.It is, therefore, necessary to be strengthened with *akhlaq* and the way to attaining it is through knowledge and understanding. *Aqeedah* and *akhlaq* are the basis for the building of Islam as a whole, specifically in the development of Islamic morality (Alwi et al., 2017).

Strengthening aqeedah must be accompanied by strengthening the morale of students. At this level, religious tolerance enters the moral realm. Alwi et al. state that moral *(akhlaq)* is the utmost important mechanism as it is an indicator of Muslim's strong faith *(aqeedah)* and a positive outcome of belief in the unity of Allah (Alwi et al., 2017). From these two premises, a straight line can be drawn that the attitude of religious tolerance which is one of the praiseworthy morals in Islam is an indicator of a Muslim's faith in the oneness of Allah Almighty.

Referring to the concept of belief in Islam which emphasizes the importance of *aqeedah* and morals as a unity, I argue that the purpose of the *"sanlat"* program which emphasizes the aspects of strengthening students *aqeedah* and bringing students closer to God will have an impact on students' incomplete understanding of religion if not accompanied by strengthening the *akhlaq* of students as a form of maintaining harmony between fellow humans and all of God's creation. Weak knowledge about the synergy of *aqeedah* and morality has the potential to lead to students' imbalanced understanding about the substance of religion.

Islamic religious education activities are also exhaled in daily activities at school. During school hours at 6:45 a.m., students of the school simultaneously perform Quranic reciting in their respective classes, supervised by their teachers. Then it proceeds with listening to a cult (seven-minute lecture) centrally through loudspeakers. After that, the students sing "Indonesia Raya" simultaneously commanded through a loudspeaker, continued with a culture of reading books other than textbooks for 10-15 minutes before starting the first lesson to broaden horizons and get additional knowledge. Students can read any book, either a book borrowed from the library, or even an e-book. The teacher then directs students to make a resume of what they have read. These activities are routinely carried out every day at the school. Meanwhile, the flag ceremony is held every two weeks due to the limited space for the ceremony.

The religious atmosphere in the school environment is built through daily religious activities. In this school, congregational prayer is one of the habits carried out on the basis of the awareness of each student. Teachers no longer need to lead students to pray in congregation. Every dhuhur prayer or dhuha prayer time, the musalla is always full. Teacher and students perform congregational prayers alternately. *"Even students also initiate a habit among students called tahajud call, which is to remind each other, for example of the time for midnight prayer through telecommunication devices,"* said Mr. N.

Based on the narrative above, it can be seen that the public senior high school "X" expresses its institution as an educational institution with a strong Islamic religious nuance. This is based on the fact that Muslim students are the majority in Senior High School "X". According to data from

Dapodik, the number of Muslim students in senior high school X reaches 92% of the total 999 students. This majority number can be used as school legitimacy to incorporate Islamic religious rituals into daily formal activities as part of Islamic religious learning. Based on the literature study, a similar style of religious activity also occurs in other public schools such as a school in Depok (Kurniawan, 2018b). Raihani (2011) in his research also states that the value of Islam is a culture that colors the face of public-school education in Indonesia (Raihani, 2011). Meanwhile, Ayse Demirel Ucan also says that confessional Islamic learning also colors education in Turkey, the goal of which is to instill in the minds of students that all knowledge comes from God, while human beings are only expected to receive and interpret the knowledge (Ucan, 2019).

Regarding Islamic religious rituals that color education in public schools which should be neutral towards certain religious styles, Schubert (2002) as quoted by Kurniawan (2018) says that this dominance indicates the need for spiritual intelligence of the majority Muslim group which is considered more important than non-Muslim minority groups. This is also known as symbolic violence, which is a form of violence implicitly regulated by the formal school structure through the domination of certain cultural values (Kurniawan, 2018a).

In terms of Islamic religious rituals that dominate school spaces as public spaces, this can be seen indirectly as a paradox. For minorities, this provides a suitable ground for practicing tolerance, training oneself to accept a different value that one believes. However, for the majority group, as explained above, this opens up opportunities for symbolic violence. This contradicts the spirit of national education which emphasizes the principle of maintaining harmony in the midst of a multicultural Indonesian society. Therefore, Raihani (2011) argues that the value of religious tolerance can only be socialized if school autonomy is neutral towards the religious values of each religious group (Raihani, 2011).

Analysis of Islamic Education Policies

a. Macro Level: National Education Law No.20/2003

Education in Indonesia is under the responsibility of both the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. This is because there are many Islamic educational institutions that provide not only education for general subjects but also religious education. The education system in Indonesia is generally regulated in the National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003.

According to this law, education is defined in article 1 paragraph 1 and 2 as follow:

1. *Education is a conscious and planned effort to actualize a learning environment and a learning process in order for students to actively develop their potential to gain spiritual and religious strength, self-control, personality, intelligence, noble character and creative skills which are needed by themselves, the society and the nation.*
2. *National education is education based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which is rooted in religious values, and Indonesian national culture, and is responsive to the demands of changing times (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2003, 2003).*

In this definition, the term 'spiritual and religious strength' is the first character mentioned as the idealization of the goals of Indonesia's national education. This statement shows just how closely religious education is embedded in the education system and the development of the "good" citizens (Laksana, 2014).

This implies the meaning that education in Indonesia is formulated to adhere to spiritual and religious values. This is not off the mark, considering that Indonesia itself through Pancasila has declared itself a religious country, truly believes in God. The foundation of Indonesian education regarding religious values is not restrictive. Education in Indonesia is also designed to be dynamic and can change to adapt to different demands as the time changes, as stipulated in paragraph 2 above.

The national education system law also encourages the implementation of multicultural-based education as the main spirit of education in the field. One of the elements in this multicultural education is the value of tolerance and harmony in the Indonesian pluralistic society.

In article 3 concerning the objectives of national education it is written that: *"National education has the function of developing capabilities and shaping the character and civilization of a nation with dignity in the framework of educating the nation's life, aiming at developing the potential of students to become human beings who believe and fear God Almighty, have morals. noble, are healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, and independent, and become democratic and responsible citizens ".*

The phrase 'democratic and responsible citizens' indicates an educational process that upholds the values of democracy, which encourages power sharing among groups of people. Democratic citizenship guarantees the rights of individuals while also expecting them to respect the nation's and society's interests. In order to produce democratic and responsible citizens, multicultural and tolerance education is necessary (Raihani, 2018).

In substance, the Indonesian education system has mandated tolerance education as a breath of character that must be cultivated in each student. In the definition, the objectives and principles of education, religious values, tolerance and multiculturalism are aimed at realizing a just and democratic life of a nation and state.

Religious education is regulated in article 12 concerning the rights of students. Paragraph 1 of this article states that: *Every student in every education unit has the right to receive religious education in accordance with his / her religion and is taught by educators of the same religion.*

As for the religious education curriculum, it is stated in article 37 that in the primary, secondary and higher education curricula, religious education is a compulsory subject and is a must for every education unit to provide for students.

Article 12 regulates that religious education for students is compulsory and taught by teachers of the same religion. This shows that religious education in Indonesia follows the principle of mono-religious education. Cognitively, the mono-religious model provides knowledge of and insight into one's own religion. The mono-religious model is taught through internalization of beliefs, values and rituals of one's own religious traditions, without critical thinking (methods) (Yusuf & Sterkens, 2015).

The mono religious education model has advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that this model is suitable to be applied for the purpose of developing knowledge of one's own religion, to instill commitment to the religious rituals of one's own religion, and to engage with the beliefs and values of one's own religion.

The drawback is that this educational model has the potential to weaken the reasoning and critical power of students in understanding religious values. This educational model can also slow down the rate of development of student education which in turn contradicts the goals of national education.

The religious education policy is further regulated in more detail in a derivative policy in the form of Government Regulation no. 55 of 2007. The analysis is described in the following subsections.

b. Meso Level: Government Regulation No.55/2007

Government Regulation Number 55/2007 explains that *"Religious education is education that provides knowledge and forms the attitudes, personalities, and skills of students in practicing their religious teachings, which are carried out at least through subjects / courses in all paths, levels and types of education".*

Article 2 verses 1 and 2 explain the purpose of religious education which states that: *a. Religious education is to form Indonesian people who believe in and fear God and have a noble character and are able to maintain peace and harmony in internal relations between religious communities. b. Religious education aims to develop the abilities of students in order to understand, live, and practice religious values that harmonize their rulership in science, art and technology.*

The aim of religious education implies the spirit of caring for peace in Indonesia's pluralistic society. This is in line with the national education goals as stated in the National Education Law

No.20 / 2003. It can be said that the spirit of tolerance has been emphasized in religious education policies.

Article 4 of Government Regulation No.55/2007 reads: *b. Every student in an educational unit at all levels and types of education is entitled to get religious education according to the religion he or she believes in and is taught by teachers / educators of the same faith.* This article strengthens the mono-religious education model.

As discussed in the previous section, the mono-religious education model leads to the construction of religious identity in accordance with one's own religious tradition. Dialogue may be conducted only for the purpose of conversion, rather than to promote mutual understanding (Yusuf & Sterkens, 2015). Meanwhile, tolerance education requires a meeting space between entities that hold different beliefs and present a dialogue that aims to bring mutual respect and recognition to life. This is where a contradiction is found between the objectives of religious education and the educational model applied. The mono-religious education model is less relevant to be applied considering that the purpose of religious education is to educate people who uphold the value of tolerance, respect and recognition among religious communities so that a harmonious life between plural communities can be guaranteed.

c.   Micro Level: Public High School "X" Policy

Public Senior High School "X" provides religious education for each student at each level with teachers according to the religion of each student. Based on the list of teachers on the school website, Public Senior High School "X" provides 3 Islamic religion teachers, 1 Protestant Christian religion teacher, 1 Catholic Christian religion teacher and 1 Buddhist religion teacher. The provision of religious teachers is in accordance with the National Education Law article 12 paragraph 1 and also Government Regulation No.55 / 2007 article 4.b which states that every student at all levels of education has the right to receive religious education from teachers of the same religion.

Religious education is given for 3 hours in one week with one hour of lessons lasting 45 minutes. As stated by Mrs. N in an interview: "*Before the pandemic, 1 lesson hour was 45 minutes long, and that was multiplied by 3. But in this pandemic, we only teach for 1 hour or 60 minutes, because this also involves many things including, quotas. So that's in terms of time difference; before the pandemic 45 minutes times 3. Now it's only 60 minutes. That's for one week per class. So, each class has 3 hours of Islamic religious education per week. So, I teach 30 hours a week (10 study groups in class XII). During this pandemic, it is also the same as 30 hours, only the duration is 60 minutes per week per class*".

Because the majority of high school "X" students are Muslim, a special policy is made during Islamic religious education lessons for students who are non-Muslim. In an interview, class XI religion teacher, Mr. K, explained: "*According to the existing regulations, they are given freedom. In the sense that you can be in class or you can leave the classroom. But when you follow along, you don't play any kind of noise (make a scene). If you want to learn another lesson, you are allowed but don't make a lot of noise. Usually, they choose to go to the library. There are also those who choose to take lessons in class*".

School regulations provide freedom for non-Muslim students to leave class or remain in the classroom during Islamic religious education. This policy indirectly provides opportunities for non-Muslim students who choose to remain in the classroom to learn more about Islam. In my opinion, this opportunity is an inter-religious education practice for non-Muslim students.

In all probability, non-Muslim students who are open-minded and able to take the same values between Islam and their religious values can foster respect, understanding and recognition and strengthen the spirit of religious tolerance. On the contrary, Muslim students cannot experience the same opportunity. Religious lessons other than Islam are carried out on Fridays when Muslim students perform Friday prayers.

Religious education in high school "X" is not only manifested in the form of subjects, but also in the form of extracurricular activities.

The school facilitates religious organizations for students, both Muslim and Christian, because they are the 2 religions most followed by students. In the interview, informant Mr. K explained: *"There is a religious student organization. It is under the auspices of the extracurricular organization of the Mosque Prosperity Council (DKM). The nomenclature is not Islamic Spirituality, but DKM. This is because they are happy to go to the mosque. At SMA N X Dhuha prayers are not compulsory but on their own basis. Without prompt, when it is time to rest, almost 80% of the perform Dhuha prayer".*

The same thing was conveyed by Mrs. N, an Islamic religion teacher of class XII: *"And the school also facilitates religious learning for all students. This means, in SMA N "X" there are Islamic spiritual organizations and Christian spiritual organizations. On one occasion they can mingle in socialization as ordinary people and walk together".*

Based on this information, it can be concluded that school policies accommodate religious learning for all students both in the form of formal lessons and in the form of extracurricular activities. Related to this, Mrs. N also added that several portraits of school policies contain elements of character building for tolerance and mutual cooperation, as she explained: *"For their social nature, students work together. For example, visiting people who are sick, Muslim or not, is the same. During the Eid al-Adha celebration if they (non-Muslim students) want, they can get some qurban meat because qurban is not only for Muslims; yes, non-Muslims can also adhere to qurban meat. They (the non-Muslim students) can also take some".*

From the data presentation as explained above, it can be concluded that the school structure has implemented a religious education policy in accordance with the mandate of the law. In addition, school policies have also accommodated the needs of students to study religion in the form of subjects and in the form of activities or extra organizations for both Muslim and non-Muslim students. School policy also encourages the formation of mutual cooperation and mutual respect and tolerance between students of different religions.

Analysis of Islamic Religious Education (IRE) Curriculum

In this section, curriculum analysis is divided into 2 parts. The first is the analysis of the curriculum as a document represented by the syllabus of Islamic religious education (IRE) textbook for Senior High Schools. The second is a pedagogical analysis of Islamic religious education which is implemented in Senior High School "X". The purpose of this analysis is to see the suitability of the religious education curriculum with the spirit of religious tolerance education.

a.   Syllabus of Islamic Religious Education for High School

The education curriculum applied in the Public Senior High School "X" is the 2013 curriculum. The special characteristic of the 2013 curriculum is the application of competency standards which are broken down into two types, namely core competencies and basic competencies. Core competencies are the standard of graduate competencies that a student must have in each class or program. Core competencies contain competences for spiritual attitudes, social attitudes (affective), knowledge (cognitive), and skills (psychomotor) which are developed into basic competencies.

In the case of Islamic religious education for senior high school level, the Ministry of National Education sets four core competencies.

The first core competency requires students to become religious followers who adhere to the values of their religion. The second core competency focuses on developing student attitudes with universal values to form student personalities who can provide solutions and a reflection of the nation in the global community. Some of the attitudes that are emphasized are caring, polite, mutually cooperative, cooperative, and loving peace. The realization of all these universal attitudes requires a mechanism of mutual respect and tolerance. Thus, it can be said that in this core competency, tolerance education is a necessity.

The core competencies of Islamic religious education as described above are then broken down into basic competencies of each teaching material. In basic competencies, the development

of religious tolerance in student character is stated in two basic competencies, number 1.2 and 2.2. as written: 1.2 Believing that religion teaches tolerance and harmony, and avoids violence. 2.2 Being tolerant and harmonious, and avoiding violence are implementation of Q.S. Yunus / 10: 40-41 and Q.S. Al-Maidah / 5: 32, and of related hadith(Mustakim & Mustahdi, 2017).

The real form of tolerance education in Islamic religious education is the presence of chapter 11 of the Islamic Religious Education subject for class XI with the title "Tolerance as a Tool to Unite the Nation".

Up to this level, the setting of competency standards is considered sufficient to accommodate religious tolerance education. For further analysis, I conducted a study on the contents of chapter 11 of the XI grade of Islamic religious education in the form of an electronic school book published by the Ministry of Education and Culture which specifically contains tolerance education.

Before discussing chapter 11 on " Tolerance as a Tool to Unite the Nation ", I feel compelled to discuss chapter 10, which I believe has a connection with cultivating religious tolerance towards students. Chapter 10 of the XI grade Islamic religious education book is entitled "Wake Up and Rise, O Islamic Fighters".

The material in this chapter contains a promotion of "salafi" teachings which is called Islamic reform as a breakthrough in the thinking of a Muslim intellectual Taqiyudin Ibn Taymiyyah. In this material, it is stated that polytheism, khurafat, bid'ah, taqlid, and tawasul deviate from *aqeedah*; therefore, those who follow them deserve to be fought. In addition, there are also utterances which say that Sufism is a wrong understanding.

The delivery of material, which in my opinion is tendentious, can make students think narrowly. Seeing facts as black or white, true or false, ultimately invites them to easily blame others on the basis of religion. This finding could be the answer to the results of a survey conducted by Convey in 2018 which stated that 51% of teenage students have an intolerant opinion internally, namely intolerance towards fellow Muslims who are considered deviant.

Material which contains elements of justification and a heretical acknowledgment of other Islamic understandings would possibly be easily absorbed by students if it is delivered using the indoctrination method by teachers who also have intolerant opinions. If this happens, I argue that herein lies the abuse of Islamic religious education, which must be held to foster tolerance, respect and recognition among religious communities.

Further analysis on the electronic school book of Islamic religious education chapter 11 found that the value of tolerance in religion was not conveyed proportionally.

The verses of the Koran that are used as the basis for tolerance in chapter 11 are Surah Yunus verses 40 and 41. The verses have the following translation: "*Human beings who live after the Prophet Muhammad (saw) are divided into 2 groups; there are people who believe in the truth of the apostolate and the holy books it conveys and there are also groups of people who deny the apostleship of Prophet Muhammad and do not believe in Al-Qur'ān*".

I argue that the use of this verse as a basis for tolerance among religious communities is not sufficiently relevant. The verses contain the words of Allah which explain the existence of believers and non-believers. The use of the verses as an encouragement for tolerance is inappropriate because it sharpens differences in belief between human beings. In addition, it is also written in the textbook that one way of appreciating differences and tolerance is not to interfere with the religious activities of others.

Conceptually, this way of tolerating is a manifestation of passive tolerance. Meanwhile, as a teaching material, the concept of tolerance should be taught not only limited to "not disturbing" but it must be further conveyed that the tolerance developed in students must achieve active tolerance, namely an attitude of respect for differences and a willingness to care for and recognize the differences.

Research by Noorhaidi Hasan et al., (2018) also presents a similar analysis that the material of chapter 11 in the Islamic religious education textbook class XI instead of calling for a spirit of

tolerance, the material contains many calls for vigilance and restrictions on relationships in interfaith interactions (Noorhaidi et al., 2018).

To this extent, it can be concluded that the teaching material in Islamic religious textbooks is not in accordance with the mandate of the national education system law, namely religious education aims to educate students to become individuals who uphold good morals and character, one of which is religious tolerance.

b. Pedagogy of Islamic Religious Education (IRE) in Public High School "X"

The interview with Mr. K as the class XI Islamic religious education teacher regarding the learning process of Islamic religious education implemented by him is transcribed as follows.: "*Related to that, it is usually adjusted according to need. According to the context. Because one method cannot stand alone, there are links with other learning. That's why I collaborate. Combining one method with another. The model is the same. Including discussion. Sometimes I even collaborate with other teachers. For example, learn about the Qibla direction. It also has to do with Mathematics, with Geography, so we combine reviews from various disciplines. Because the geographical location varies from one area to another. Then the climate problem is also different. In this pandemic condition, what is dominant is in this form, assignment. I also invited them to a dialogue. What do they think, to find out how far they understand the material? When it's good, oh you develop it again. So, adjust to the needs and what problems they are facing*".

Mr. K explained that the learning methodology applied in Islamic religious education lessons was adapted to the needs of students and the material context. Mr. K often holds discussions with students to measure the extent to which students understand the lesson. As for material that intersects with other disciplines, Mr. K offers a collaborative method. As in the material for determining Qibla direction related to Geography and Mathematics lessons. The existence of collaboration in learning can help students understand the concept comprehensively.

As for other teaching materials, Mr. K gives freedom to students to learn by whatever method is deemed appropriate to their needs. Mr. K also urges students to learn from other sources or textbooks that are in line with the 2013 curriculum. This is to encourage students to be open-minded and to explore Islam widely. In the interview he stated: "*Therefore, I often say when delivering materials, you must not be satisfied. It is haram that you feel satisfied only from my explanation. Not in the sense of Sharia. So, you have to search, and have to ask other sources. Because above the sky there is still another sky*".

However, for matters of *aqeedah*, Mr. K emphasized that he could not let his students learn freely. He stated: "*But from the point of view of aqeedah and Al-Qur'an, we cannot just let go (let students learn by themselves)*". The reason behind the restriction is so that students do not misunderstand about aqeedah and in reading the Al-Qur'an, because, he explained that errors in reading the verses of the Qur'an can be fatal because they can change the meaning. Likewise, with matters relating to aqeedah, Mr. K is of the view that saying "Happy holiday" to other religions' believers violate Allah's rules. Mr. K said: "*If there is material that has the potential to offend, we convey that this is our belief and this is an order from Allah SWT, for example, that means we do not convey happy holidays to other religions. It's not us who don't want to, but Allah forbids. Once they receive such an explanation, they (non-Moslems) usually understand and can accept*".

Another Islamic religious teacher I interviewed had her own teaching methods. Mrs. N has the responsibility of teaching Islamic religious education in class XII. She has been teaching at Public Senior High School "X" for 25 years.

In interviews with other source, Mrs N, she explained that the learning model she applied, begins and ends with reading the verses of the Qur'an related to the material being studied. Mrs. N applies the presentation method followed by a question-and-answer session. This method opens a space for discussion, which is good for deepening students' understanding of the material being studied.

However, what is of note is that if the discussion that takes place is not oriented towards mutual respect for each point of view, the discussion in question is no longer a learning process

that stimulates students' critical and reflective reasoning, but rather the imposition of one argument against another.

The discussion method used by Mrs. N is called the "expert group". In this discussion, students are divided into several groups and one of the students who is considered to master the material the most is appointed as an "expert". This method can improve students' skills in reasoning and understanding the material. However, I would argue that the same method can open students' horizons and help students to be open and understand the material in depth and accurately if the designated "expert" is actually an expert in the related field and the discussion takes place with the aim of understanding each other and in a spirit of mutual respect each other's perspectives. The result may not be so if the discussion takes place with the aim of affirming one view as the ultimate truth, in which a discussion like this is very likely to occur in a mono-religious education model.

In the mono-religious model of religious education, discussions that are doctrinal have a great chance to occur. Starkens (2001) states that apart from its strengths as an educational model capable of increasing students' faith and devotion to their beliefs, the mono-religious education model has a weakness in responding to the challenges of a plural society. As quoted by Yusuf (2020), one of the weaknesses of the mono-religious model is its lack of recognition of religious plurality.

A mono-religious society is a segmented society, which is not yet characterized by religious plurality. This model is found in places in which there is social uniformity and unquestionable acceptance of the exclusive truth claims of a certain religion (Yusuf, 2020). Consequently, is this education model suitable to be applied in public schools where students are a pluralistic society? I think that this is where the government needs to make regulatory adjustments.

In one question, I asked Mrs. N about how to accommodate differences of opinion about religion among students. Mrs. N replied: "*In learning, for example, it is different from the viewpoint of Fiqh, for example, yes. In Fiqh there must be a difference. There are many opinions on prayer matters. But when we finish by saying that" this is the hadith, this is the dalil ", then what is important is that every difference has a reason, yes, it has no argument*".

In discussing religion, Mrs. N emphasized on students to stick to the *dalil* (proof) of Al-Qur'an and hadith. In learning Islam, the words of God and the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad are the main guidelines. Everything concerning human life rests on these two authoritative sources.

In practice, relying on the verses of Al-Qur'an and hadith of the Prophet Muhammad cannot be done literally. Ayse Demirel Ucan in his dissertation emphasizes that interpreting the words of God and the hadith of the Prophet requires a contextual interpretation that takes into account the reasons for the presence of the verses of the Al-Qur'an or the hadith of the Prophet and the intent and purpose of each of these *dalil* (proof) both implicitly and explicitly (Ucan, 2019). Therefore, the discussion regarding religious values should not stop at the textual level, but it should dig deeper into the contextual meaning, so that students can understand the meaning of the religious arguments they believe substantively, not only on the surface.

In this regard, Muqoyyidin (2013) criticizes religious education which only justifies its own values, without accepting the truth of other beliefs as it needs to be criticized for further improvement and reorientation (Muqoyyidin, 2013).

Ideally, it is important to provide students with differences and diversity in opinions and values, like the differences they encounter in daily life. Students are then required to seek universal values across religions and to make these values a common ground, or resource, which they can use to interact positively with other people of different faiths and to live in peace and harmony (Raihani, 2011).

Relying on and upholding the *dalil* (proof) of Al-Qur'an and hadith is a necessity for every Muslim as a life guide. However, relying on the dalil that is interpreted literally can shift the substance from the absolute values. The literal meaning for understanding religious propositions is called Scripturalism. Scripturalism is an understanding that makes the argument (proof) of the

holy book interpreted literally as the main source in understanding and living a religious life. The development of scripturalism in religious understanding also contributes to the strengthening of conservatism (Abubakar & Nabil, 2018).

From this analysis I can conclude that the process of implementing the Islamic religious education curriculum is carried out by promoting an open attitude and opening up wide opportunities for discussion for students. However, I note that Islamic religious education policies that adopt a mono-religious model have implications for the learning process applied in schools, where I notice a symptom of religious conservatism through literal interpretations of religious propositions/ dalil especially when it comes to aqeedah.

Relying on religious propositions textually as emphasized by Mrs. N when serving discussions about different views in Fiqh, and textual interpretation of Mr. K in relation to the law of saying happy holidays to people of other religions which is called scripturalism (literal interpretations) certainly hinder students from thinking critically and reflectively and in the end religious education cannot optimally function as education that leads students to transform their morals as tolerant and wise individuals in responding to differences.

Analysis of Teachers' Perception of Religious Tolerance

Any discussion about ideologies necessarily involve the values and beliefs of the teachers themselves (Ghosh et al., 2017). Teachers are models of tolerant individuals, and their behaviors affect the way children treat each other (Raihani, 2011).

Analysis of the perceptions of Islamic teachers on religious tolerance is useful for analyzing how the principles of religious tolerance are conveyed to students. The following is a transcript of teachers' answers in the interviews when asked "what is tolerance in your view?"

Mr. K: "When talking about tolerance, there are those who say "may" and "not allow". We can see that from the language side, from the literal side. On the other hand, we also tell the children, tolerance is what we let. In the sense that we allow other people who have different views or beliefs, we should not blame. Well, for that in everyday life. In tolerance there is firmness. So, for example, children often ask questions. "Why can't we wish Christians a merry Christmas when they celebrate?" I replied, "it is not the Prophet Muhammad, not me, but Allah SWT that does not allow it." If Allah SWT forbids like that, that is the best for us.

Mrs. N: "Tolerance is actually an application of learning. Because there is a social attitude. For example, in Al-Qur'an, there is material that applies well, namely in Surat Ar-Rahman. In its implementation, it does not only apply to Muslims and non-Muslims. But it is applied between Muslims and all humans. By still maintaining that there is a limit "lakum diinukum wa liya diin". However, still for the limitations that are formal rituals, we are not allowed to tolerate it. Not tolerant, it means working together, tolerant actually means letting it go, as long as it doesn't interfere then go ahead".

Some important points that can be drawn from the two answers above are that both teachers understand tolerance as an attitude of allowing differences in beliefs. Both also agree that religious tolerance means not blaming other people's different religious beliefs. Both of them juxtapose tolerance as a religious teaching as stated by Allah SWT in Al-Qur'an. Mr. K specifically mentioned Surat Al-Kahfi as the basis for his argument, while Mrs. N rests on Surat Ar- Rahman. Mrs. N even said that tolerance is a social attitude that applies not only to Muslims but also to all human beings in the world.

Forbearance or permitting with a certain limit is the key word in the definition of tolerance as expressed by Mr. K and Mrs. N. The limits determined by both are when it comes to religious beliefs and rituals. Both Mr. K and Mrs. N agree that there is no tolerance when it comes to these two important things. However, in terms of social activities and humanitarian cooperation that are not related to religious beliefs, both agree that tolerance must be practiced. A practical translation related to the limits of tolerance for Mr. K and Mrs. N is not to say happy holidays for followers of religions other than Islam. In particular, Mr. K explained that saying merry Christmas violates the rules of Allah SWT.

The discourse on whether it is permissible to say happy holidays to followers of other religions in Islam has not yet come to the same conclusion. The scholars differed on this matter. Islamic scholars have different opinions in determining the jurisprudence law in terms of saying Merry Christmas, between those who support the congratulations and those who oppose it. Both groups rely on a number of propositions. In order to understand the context of this discourse, I am of the opinion that it is important to describe the different views of Islamic scholars.

The majority of scholars who are experts at Fiqh, tafseer and hadith allow Christmas greetings. It is permissible to congratulate other religious holidays as long as they are kind and do not fight against the community. Sheikh Wahbah Al Zuhaili said *"There is no obstacle in being polite with Christians according to the opinion of some fiqh experts regarding their holidays as long as it does not mean it is an acknowledgment of (the truth) of their ideology."* Meanwhile, scholars who forbid generally reasoned because there are hadiths that forbid resembling people who do not believe in Allah SWT. Among the scholars who prohibit it are Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibnul Qoyyim, Sheikh Ibn Baaz, Sheikh Ibn Uthaimin, Syeikh Ibrahim bin Muhammad al Huqoil (Arib, 2016).

In terms of saying happy holidays to people of religions other than Islam, different attitudes in this matter are often used as an indicator of a Muslim's tolerance. There is an assumption that a Muslim is said to be tolerant if he or she is willing to say happy holidays to followers of other religions. Thus, the opposite attitude is interpreted as an indication of intolerance. This assumption needs to be examined more deeply, in my opinion. If it departs from the definition of tolerance according to David Little, who proposes that tolerance is a form of forbearance against physical and verbal violence (Kurniawan, 2018b), then the attitude of not saying happy holidays as long as it is accompanied by the attitude of allowing followers of other religions to express their religious attitudes, then in my interpretation, can be categorized as tolerant behavior.

However, I need to emphasize that tolerance is grouped into 2 classes, active tolerance and passive tolerance. Passive tolerance stops at the level of forbearance to difference. Meanwhile, active tolerance involves recognition and appreciation of differences (Coleman & Eds, 2011).

 If I draw this concept in the context of religious tolerance, then the attitude of tolerance which stops at the attitude of letting it go without showing a caring attitude is included in the passive tolerant classification. The practice of saying happy holidays to people of religions other than Islam, based on the argument of the majority of scholars who state that this attitude is a form of courtesy without involving the realm of faith, is a manifestation of recognizing and appreciating religious differences in a pluralistic society and therefore can be categorized as active tolerant.

Passive tolerance is one of the characteristics of religious conservatism. This relationship is explained by Abu Bakar and Nabil (2018) that the main marker of their conservative attitudes is the emphasis on Islamic identity when they are asked to respond to issues that put Islamic culture and non-Islamic culture face to face. The most obvious example of conservatism is their attitudes on Christmas greetings; many of them refuse to extend Christmas greetings even though previously it was not an issue (Abubakar & Nabil, 2018).

The conservative tendency in religion is also said to be one of the characteristics of Islamization. Bassam Tibi, as quoted by Wildan et.al., (2019), explains that Islamism is a movement that has a vision of a world order based on a politicized religion and is committed to using violence. Furthermore, Tibi defines Islamism in six categories: 1) Islamic purification, 2) Formalization of Islamic Sharia, 3) Anti-democracy, 4) Anti-other religions, 5) Anti-Western, and 6) Use of violence. At the lowest level, Islamism may be more accurately described as conservative and at the highest level (using violence) it is called radicalism or terrorism (Wildan et al., 2019). By using this reference, the attitude of religious teachers who emphasize religious teachings in the spirit of purification of aqeedah is classified as Islamization at the lowest level.

In terms of teachers' perceptions regarding tolerance, both Mr. K and Mrs. N showed a tolerant attitude in dealing with differences in religious beliefs and views. However, this tolerant attitude is passive because it is limited to allowing (differences). At this point, Muqoyyidin has a point of view that might explain why the level of understanding of religious teachers regarding

tolerance develops only up to that level. He argues that religious teachers in schools, as the spearhead of religious education for students, have hardly been touched by the wave of developments in contemporary thought and the discourse of religious thought around the issue of pluralism and dialogue between religious communities (Muqoyyidin, 2013).

In fact, the world of education is a dynamic world. An educator must be responsive to the changing times in order to facilitate and help students be ready to face the challenges of the time. Also, religious education needs to emphasize how to teach religion (teaching about religion) which involves a historical approach and a comparative approach. This is useful for fostering the awareness of students about universal and particular aspects of their religious teachings. In addition, this approach is also useful for overcoming the lack of attention so far towards studying other religions and the lack of inculcating moral values that support inter-religious harmony.

This analysis led me to draw connections between the findings in each aspect. At the level of the curriculum and teachers' perspectives, the model that is developing is conservative Islam. Is this then related to the mono religious education model proclaimed by the government through the religious education policy? This question can serve as a basis for research development at a later stage.

Conclusion

This study aims to trace the root of the problem that contributes to the shift in the orientation of Islamic religious education, which should be the right medium for tolerance education, which in fact plays a role in inhibiting the growth of tolerance as a characteristic of students.

In order to adequately answer these objectives, this study employs analysis on three aspects. The first aspect that is examined is the aspect of policy; the second is the aspect of the curriculum and; the third is the aspect of teacher's perceptions of religious tolerance. A critical study of the 3 domains has resulted in several conclusions:

1. There is a mismatch between the objectives of Islamic religious education and the religious education model applied in the policy. The religious education policy is explicitly oriented to educate the character of students who are able to create and maintain harmony between religious communities. However, the Islamic religious education model that follows the principles of mono-religious education is in fact considered insufficient as a vehicle to achieve this goal.

2. The application of the mono-religious education model has an impact on the learning process of religious education in schools. Religious education in schools emphasizes students to practice piety ritually and neglects social piety. The Islamic religious education policy does not accommodate students to enrich their knowledge of different beliefs and religions. As a result, religious education is monotonous, indoctrinal and does not empower students' critical thinking and reflective power to consciously and deeply transform religious values into their standard character.

3. The teaching materials in electronic school books for Islamic religious education contain calls for judgment and labeling of Islamic groups that are considered deviant. This finding is important to get attention and response from the government to immediately conduct an audit and revise the content of teaching materials. This labeling, apart from being contrary to the value of tolerance and respect for differences, also collides with the substance of Islam as a religion of peace and has the potential to provoke students to be judgmental and intolerant.

4. The material on tolerance in the Islamic religious education curriculum is limited to the meaning of passive tolerance. Likewise, the understanding of tolerance that is believed by religious teachers also stops at the level of passive tolerance. In fact, in maintaining the order of national and state life in a super heterogeneous society, tolerance education is not sufficient only to equip students to be passive in responding to differences. Tolerance education must be able to equip students with an active awareness of tolerance, namely tolerance that not only

respects differences, but also recognizes, appreciates and cares for diversity as a form of faith and devotion to God Almighty.

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