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Countering Radicalization in Indonesian Schools: Responses and Efforts of Teachers of Religious Education

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Abstract

This article aims to examine how, why and to what extent teachers of religious education in Indonesian senior high schools define and respond to the issue of radicalization in schools. Based on interviews, documentary analysis, and observation this paper provides an analysis of deradicalization efforts in education. The study found that the prevention of Islamic radical views has been done by the teachers through civic education and moral-religious education with the emphasis on shaping both their critical thinking and their respect to humanity, diversity, and multiculturalism. The article concludes by highlighting those Muslim teachers in minority context in Bali are more likely having stronger perception and preventive strategies dealing with radicalization, compared to majority Muslim contexts in both Yogyakarta and Jakarta. For Balinese Muslim teachers, radicalism is not only about violence but also the lack or loss of respect to the differences of beliefs/ideas/actions, ethnicities, and cultures and not obey to the agreed state system. This perception is shaped by their day-to-day living experiences as the minority amongst their multicultural society.

Keywords: Countering Radicalism, Education, Senior High School students, Religious-based Educators, Indonesia.

A. Introduction

Countering religion-based radicalism and violent extremism through educational institutions appears to be one of the main global and national discourses. Schools and other institutional forms of educations are regarded as the places where students are easily influenced by radical ideologies or actions (Mogra, 2016). Therefore those institutions are required to monitor and to save their students from this ideology (Jerome & Elwick, 2020). According to Durodie (2016) various countries have taken policies that schools and universities have a responsibility in preventing radicalism. This preventive measure is widely referred to as counter of radicalisation (Davies, 2014; Sjøen & Mattsson, 2019). Counter-radicalization in various countries has become the focus and diverse strategies continue to be pursued through the

education sector. However, the practice of counter-radicalisation efforts in schools is underdeveloped (Sjøen & Jore, 2019). The impact and implications of these various counter-radicalization efforts are also still incomplete studies (Gielen, 2018; Davies, 2014; Aly et al., 2014). According to Sjøen & Jore (2019), this is because counter-radicalization efforts are not based on in-depth research but are more policy-oriented.

Including in Indonesia, efforts to prevent radicalization are still dominated by government policies. The programs of countering radicalism in Indonesia have also been long considered as government-heavy (Agastia et al., 2020). For example, the existing Laws and Regulations (PP) of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia number 8 of 2016 regarding textbooks used by the Education Unit, article 1 paragraph 2, states that the books used by the Education Unit as referred to in paragraph 1 must fulfill positive values or norms that apply in society, among others; do not contain elements of pornography, extremism, radicalism, violence, racial violence, gender bias, and do not contain any other deviant values. This regulation is indeed including the duty for the teachers in the classrooms to actively promote positive values and prevent their students from being drawn into negative values such as radicalism, violence, and extremism. In recent developments, the view has strengthened that this preventive efforts must be carried out by educators. Teachers are now placed at the forefront of counter radicalisation and terrorism efforts. In the literature, Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) and Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) are two alternative approaches that form the basis of all policy initiatives in preventing radicalization in all sectors (Sjøen & Mattsson, 2019; Durodie, 2016; Østby & Urdal, 2011), including those that can be used by the teachers in school environment.

There have been several efforts involving educational units, but these efforts have not been fully integrated into the learning process in the classroom and have not been based on research (Agastia et al., 2020 ; Borum, 2011). It is included the practice of Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) and Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) among teachers of religious education in Indonesian senior high schools that still need in-depth studies. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out in-depth research on radicalization prevention efforts in schools.

This article reveals how teachers' perceptions and their responses on Islamic radicalism, as well as their efforts in preventing and countering the appeal of Islamic radicalism in the schools. The article is based on a research employing a qualitative methods by investigating teachers of religious education at six Indonesian senior high schools in Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Bali. Jakarta and Yogyakarta are considered as Muslim-majority cities, whereas Bali is regarded as Muslim-minority city. The fieldwork was conducted in March to October 2021.[1] Senior high schools were selected to analyse the educational environment of young generation. Based on a study conducted by Silke (2008), radicalism and violent actions are considered as a youth phenomenon. Youth are at risk according to many literatures (Mattsson et al., 2016). PPIM's research also found that young generation involved in intolerance, extremism or terrorism acts is at the ages of 16 years upwards (PPIM-UNDP, 2017). Those studies show that students of senior high schools are in vulnerable age and at risk of being radicalised.

Senior high schools selected in this study are the educational institutions managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) called *Madrasah Aliyah* (MA), the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) named *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (SMA) or *Sekolah Menengah Umum* (SMU), and the private sectors/communities/non-governmental agencies such as Sekolah Islam Al-Azhar

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[1] Ethics approval for this research was from the research institution at the University of Muhammadiyah Prof. Dr. HAMKA, received in February 2021. All names of research participants in this article are pseudonyms.

or Pesantren. As alredy been known widely, these two Ministries develop different types of education such as religious education and general education. The *Madrasah Aliyah* (MA) is a religious education or Islam-based education. This type of educational institution teaches more on Islamic subjects such as Islamic Theology, the Study of Quran, and Islamic morality *(Akhlaq)*. Unlike the previous type, the SMA or SMU are general education that studies more on "secular" subjects such as Sociology, Mathematics, Biology, and Economy. It is called 'secular' because the schools has less curriculum devoted to religious teachings or religious instructions.

B. Radicalization, Youths, and Education

There has been an upsurge in the number of young people being connected with violent extremist networks around the world, particularly in Indonesia, over the previous two decades. Youth who are still figuring out who they are are particularly vulnerable, posing a serious dilemma for educational institutions across the country. In Western and European contexts, research frequently shows that the increase activity of violent extremists has also demonstrated the rise in the number of young people engaged in these activities (Gielen, 2018; Busher et al., 2017; Sjøen & Jore, 2019; Harris-Hogan et al., 2019; Sieckelinck et al., 2015). In Indonesian context, the discovery that the majority of radical activists and terrorists are young Indonesian Muslims is causing concern in Indonesia (Afrianty, 2012). Afrianty (2012) explained further that the Serpong bomb attack, for instance, was created and designed by a group of young Indonesian Muslims suspected of having ties to the Negara Islam Indonesia (Indonesia's Islamic State, NII). The NII is thought to be a continuation of the Darul Islam movement, which sought to convert Indonesia into an Islamic state. Thus, because youth are frequently mentioned as the most vulnerable group to radicalization, ongoing efforts have been made to engage with youth as part of international counter-terrorism strategies.

However, the reasons behind this increase are varied from one country to another. In Indonesia, previous studies highlighted the key reasons behind this increase. Terrorists and hardliners will continue to haunt Indonesia's democracy, despite the fact that radicalism and terrorism have always represented only a small minority vastly outnumbered by the majority of moderate Indonesian Muslims (Lindsey, 2011). Indonesia, as a nation in the process of transition to democracy and with no restrictions on the expression of religious beliefs, will continue to face challenges from radicalism or violent actions (Afrianty, 2012). Other study as shown by the research conducted by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta found the indications of high intolerance among Indonesian senior high school and university students. The survey found that around 58 percent of high school students and college students tend to have radical views, about 51 percent are intolerant of those of the same religion, and about 34 percent are intolerant to the followers of other religions (PPIM-UNDP, 2017). In line with this data, other studies conducted by Maarif Institute and Wahid Institute have also shown that extracurricular activities of young students have become a vehicle to spread radical opinions on religious issues (Darraz & Qodir, 2018; Alamsyah (ed), 2016). The easy recruitment of the youth for radicalization in schools can be attributed to the high regard and respect of the students to their teacher being the role-model among them. It is a common knowledge that in the classroom, the words of the teachers are laws in themselves (De Silva, 2017).

Along with this rise has come a debate about the role of education and educational institutions in combating violent extremism (CVE). From policy makers to researchers now

repeatedly highlights the importance and its integration of CVE efforts within the education sector. An in-depth and comprehensive study about variety of approaches in involving educational institutions in CVE initiatives is urgently needed. The extent to which the education sector has been involved in CVE programs is a question across the country. A study has shown that religious education in Indonesia has not involved in countering or preventing violent extremism (Abdallah, 2019). Whereas, educational institutions is required to play a role in combating radicalism, which is viewed as the precursor to terrorism. The role of educational institutions could instil a sense of morality, a desire for peace, mutual respect for differences, and tolerance of students. Education is a powerful tool for instilling these positive and inclusive values. Religious education in particular is a crucial component of Indonesian's history. The first president Soekarno has highlighted the importance of religious education in Indonesia is not only both shaping a religious people but also for creating a good citizen (Abdallah, 2016). Thus, religiosity and nationality of Indonesian people can be achieved through religious education.

However, research in Indonesia and elsewhere worldwide is still trying to find out how the contribution of education can protect young lives from radicalisation and violent extremism (Afrianty, 2012; Lindsey, 2011; Davies, 2014; Gielen, 2018; Pels & de Ruyter, 2012; Sjøen & Jore, 2019). Scholars have struggled to find clear evidence that education can be a counterweight to political violence and terrorism, perhaps contradicting the conventional view of schools as societal peacebuilders (Krueger & Malečková, 2003; Østby & Urdal, 2011). In counter-radicalisation efforts, education is commonly referred to as a primary preventer (Harris-Hogan et al., 2019). This means that schools' primary role is to foster resilience against extremist beliefs by assisting students in developing political and social orientations that support human rights and peace (Sjøen & Mattsson, 2019).

In addition to that, educators are now more aware, and they are responsible and accountable for identifying and safeguarding individuals suspected of being vulnerable to radicalization (Sjøen & Jore, 2019). This usually entails identifying and eliminating permissive factors or root causes that can lead to extreme behaviour. The causal factors according to the USAID report (2011) can be classified as push and pull factors. The former includes: individual marginalization, lack of self-efficacy, social isolation, community marginalization and discrimination, general feeling that Islam is under attack, perceptions of employment prospects, human rights abuse, lack of land rights, low satisfaction and trust in government, corruption, insecurity, satisfaction with public services, poverty, revenge, gun culture, social conflict, lack of living wage, and lack of opportunity. While, the latter involves education opportunity, income or livelihood, protect religion or community, social connection, personal status, purpose and respect.

In comparing the two types of factors, the USAID (2011) identifies push factors as "important in creating the conditions that favour the rise or spread in appeal of violent extremism or insurgency" and pull factors as "associated with the personal rewards which membership in a group or movement, and participation in its activities may confer". It postulated that "pull factors can be contrasted by education through awareness raising, generating respect for others, and creating and maintaining cultures of peace and dialogue" (Agastia et al., 2020). The most difficult task of combating radicalization by re-educating the radicalized segment of the youth population is referred to as a deradicalization program (Kulidtod, 2019). Deradicalization is often defined as a process in which a radical group reverses its ideology and de-legitimizes the use of violent methods to achieve political goals while transitioning to acceptance of gradual, political, and economic changes within a pluralistic context.

The concept of de-radicalisation, however, remains contested (Schmid, 2013). There is little disagreement about the ultimate goal of de-radicalization, which can be broadly defined as the complete rejection of an extremist ideology. According to Agastia et al. (2020:6), 'the concept of 'radical pathways' implies that there are also routes out of radicalisation. If an individual can be radicalised, then theoretically, they can be de-radicalised'. Instead, the core debate about the term revolves around the scope of processes involved in the overall de-radicalisation process, which is divided into 'minimalist' and 'maximalist' processes (Agastia et al., 2020:6). In a 'minimalist' sense, the process simply entails converting an extremist's beliefs from extremist to non-extremist (Rabasa et al., 2010). In a 'maximalist' sense, de-radicalisation involves disangegement and de-ideologisation that concern on social relations and conditions (Agastia et al., 2020).

There are two processes that an individual must go through in order to de-radicalize: disengagement and de-ideologization. Disengagement is the process by which an individual changes roles or functions, which is usually associated with a decrease in violent participation (Horgan & Braddock, 2010). De-ideologization is the more complex process of convincing an extremist to abandon their ideology, or at the very least to replace it with a more moderate ideology (Agastia et al., 2020). Counter-radicalization is a radicalization prevention strategy. Prevention strategies are required to prevent the development of radical ideas and actions. Counter-radicalization is a policy program aimed at people who may be involved in radicalism and terrorism, with the goal of preventing individuals from engaging in radicalism, terrorism, and other forms of violence against the law. The primary goal of counter-radicalization is to reach out to the broader society, not just terrorists. In combating radicalism or countering radicalization, society becomes both the object and subject of empowerment (Schmid, 2013). Study on the prevention of radicalism through empowering the society has been conducted. For instance, the study has been focused to the contribution of female ulama in Cirebon in combating religious intolerance and radicalism in this city (Gumiandari & Nafi'a, 2020). Other study has also been conducted in Kudus regency which focused on the power of local cultures that preserved by their society can contributed to the prevention of radicalism in this regency (Suciati & Erzad, 2020).

C. Teachers' Perspectives and Experiences

1. Reflections on radicalism

The meaning and understanding of the term radicalism is still debatable among various background of people including people in the field of education. There are variety of understanding about radicalism such as whether it is related to violent actions or radical changes of a political system. While radicalisation is commonly understood as a process causing people to be radical, any views, values and ideologies are called radicalism. Thus, the teachers of religious education were asked about their understanding of radicalism and radicalisation. There are various definitions among the teachers about these terms. The wide spectrum of definitions from those who believe radicalism as actions or opinions entails violence to those who believe that radicalism includes intolerance and disrespect to variety of differences in society were influenced by their daily interaction with multicultural society. However, there is a basic consensus among them that this term entails a contradictory attitude with both religious and national values and entails violence and a form of change.

Firstly, most participants strongly felt that radicalization was incompatible with Islamic values, as expressed by participants below:

Violence and radicalism is inherently opposed with Islamic teachings. (CI, male, Jakarta, MoNE, 24 years)

Islam is the religion of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (blessing for all universe). Islam never teaches his people of doing violence. On the contrary, Islam teaches its people to respect and love all creatures. Thus, radicalism must be faced through an *ukhuwah* (brotherhood/sisterhood) approach with full of wisdom. (ASW, female, Jakarta, NSI, 25 years)

Radicalism are actions that are very contrary to the main source of Islam, namely the Qur'an. (H, male, Bali, MoNE, 46 years)

Radicalism is not part of Islamic teachings because the prophet teach us about loving and caring to other people and preach with tenderness and the Prophet never thought us about violence. (MN, male, Bali, MoNE, 54 years)

Radicalism and extremism that uses violence is an act that is prohibited by Islam, because Islam is a religion that brings perfection as the meaning of Islam itself which is taken from the term "*salam*" which means peace. Islam is a religion that brings mercy to all creatures on earth. (JS, male, Bali, MoNE, 39 years)

In my opinion, radicalism or extremism is an attitude that is not commendable because this attitude can be categorized as violating the rules of law and religion, as it can invite harm (*mudharat*). Meanwhile, Islamic rules themselves teach us to avoid harm. (JA, male, Bali, MoNE, 42 years)

Secondly, there was an agreed sense among majority of participants that radicalisation was contradictive to national values such as Pancasila, human rights and Indonesian laws, as highlighted in the quotes below:

Radicalism that causes damage is certainly not in accordance with just and civilized human values [the value of Pancasila] and also contradictive to Indonesian values. (NS, male, Jakarta, MoNE, 50 years)

This [radicalism] is very worrying because it violating human rights, especially their rights to live safely. It is also terrorize human being both physically and mentally. Their life becoming under the shadow of terror. For this reason, all forms of radicalism, especially those accompanied by violence become common enemies. (WH, female, Bali, MoNE, 40 years)

Radicalism with violence actions is certainly very detrimental our society, It is strongly opposed to human rights. (HM, female, Bali, MoNE, 47 years)

The last, nearly all participants described radicalisation as inherently about change, and some of these participants linked this change to the loss of trust to the government.

Radicalisation can simply means a view or 'ism' that wants a change and a reform of social and political aspects of society (KR, male, Jakarta, NSI, 24 years)

Radicalism is an "ism" or opinion that wanted to change the whole or part of the society through violence. This understanding is indeed the opposite to the basic values of religion and nation state (MM, male, Bali, MoNE, 54 years).

Radical action emerges because lack of trust to the leader or government. For example, certain group of people have particular intentions to make the leader aware about what they want. Those who hold such views want to change and to reform the society, possibly because they are exposed to the wrong education (AM, male, Jakarta, NSI, 29 years)

Thus from the teachers' narratives, radicalism is not only related to religion, but also includes all understandings that request a change in the economic, political, and social through extreme paths. Although some participants defined "radicalisation" as inherently being about "change", while "violent extremism" relates to various forms of anti-democratic and illegal behaviours, it shown that these terms are increasingly being conflated (Borum, 2011).

It is also found strong indications that there were also among participants from Bali who frequently linked radicalisation to intolerance in both actions and non-actions that to certain extent would led to violence. They also emphasized that violent as well as non-violent radicalisation can endanger the integration and peaceful coexistence of various cultural groups within society. This point has been emphasized by the Balinese participants below:

> Radicalism that indicated by intolerant attitudes and not respect to other ideas and beliefs is contradictory to Islam. (HM, female, Bali, MoNE, 25 years)

> Radicalism is very dangerous for the sustainability and the survival of the state harmony. (NU, female, Bali, MoNE, 52 years)

> Radicalism using violent actions is not lawful and considered as dangerous to social harmony and the existing system. (SS, male, Bali, MoRA, 48 years)

From the narrative expressed by the teachers above, it can be seen that the teachers from both religious and general (non-religious) schools under the umbrellas of MoRA, MoNE and NSI in three different regions are not agree with any radical views or actions and they committed to the view that Islam is religion of peace, harmony and tolerant. Their agreement on their responses that radicalism opposes Islamic values is indeed contrast with the survey result conducted by PPIM-UNDP (2018) which is concluded that 50% of the teachers teach radicalism and 63,07% religious view of the teachers is intolerant (including to other religions).

2. Perceptions on the roots of radicalism

Extending on the issue on their understanding about radicalism, we polled the participants to find out what they thought might led to radicalisation. Some of the major prevalence factors of radicalization according to them are ideological factors, societal factors and political factors. Firstly, adherence to extreme ideologies, movements or beliefs and distorted as well as literal religious understanding, as expressed by the educators below:

> The ideology of radicalism departs from a distorted ideological understanding. They have no proper and comprehensive (*kaafah*) understanding of Islamic teachings. (CIW, male, Jakarta, MoNE, 25 years)

> Lack of Islamic worldview in understanding its teachings and there is religious sentiment factor as well as religious beliefs that are too extreme. (ASW, female, Jakarta, MoRA, 26 years)

> Lack of experience in implementing the true Islamic teachings and linking these Islamic teachings with multidiscipline [social, political, economic and other discipline]. (HW, male, Yogyakarta, MoRA, 46 years)

> Only looking at one kind of perspective or interpretation and not paying attention to priority or emergency of *fiqh* [Islamic Law]. (FF, male, Jakarta, MoNE, 31 years)

> Distorted and Wrong understanding of particular concept in Islam such as the concept of Jihad. (HZ, male, Bali, MoNE, 54 years)

> There are several causes of radicalism including *literal* religious understanding as well as economics, politics and social conflicts. (FI, male, Yogyakarta, NSI, 38 years)

> The phenomenon of radicalism or extremism towards a rigid religious understanding has occurred for a long time in the minds of teachers in senior and junior high schools, elementary or private schools. A rigid religious understanding is not recommended and as much as possible a teacher should neutralize and modify what is considered as radical before delivering to their students. (ST, female, Jakarta, MoRA, 24 years)

In this narrative, many participants highlighted that distorted understanding and interpretation of Islamic values can foster radicalisation. Thus, they argued that it is important to have a comprehensive and complete understanding of Islamic teachings so people and especially youngsters can grasp the positive values to share the love, harmony, and peace. The participants argument about extremist and distorted ideologies is in line with the view that extreme ideology is perceived as a route to terrorism and therefore must be countered (Kundnani, 2014). Radicalism is also said to be a process that takes place before violence or acts of extremism occur (Ahmad, 2016). Some radical actions justify violence against innocent people, commit murder, and some take nonviolent paths (Karell & Freedman, 2019). In other words, some thoughts of radicalism are the entrance or initial gate to extremism or terrorism.

Many studies on radicalism also confirm that religion-based ideology is not only the cause of radicalism, but also the driving force can be social conditions (Ahmad, 2016), globalization factors (Doosje et al., 2016), and other factors. Social injustice in both local and global levels is also mentioned by our participants as the social factor causing radicalisation, their perceptions are below:

> It is not religious factor that usually shape a form of solidarity and make a particular community feel of being oppressed by certain groups or government, it is often led by social injustice. (KR, male, Jakarta, NSI, 24 years)

> Phenomenon of an individual or group of radicals or extremists who use extreme means and violence is influenced by many things including international factors such as global injustice, arrogant foreign policy, and colonialism. In addition, it is also influenced by domestic factors such as injustice, issues of welfare and access to education, and disappointment to the government. (HZ, male, Bali, MoNE, 53 years)

> It is because of loss of trust to the government and weak of law enforcement so there are conflicts that make certain groups feel disappointed. (AM, male, Jakarta, NSI, 29 years)

Lastly, Political factor. The factor is linked by the participants to other factors such as religious, cultural and economic. Here are the perceptions from our participants:

> Factors of religious sentiment, including religious solidarity for friends who are oppressed by certain forces. This is more precisely the religious emotional factor, not the religion itself. The factor of religious sentiment is exhaled by parties who have political interests (MM, male, Bali, MNE, 54 years)

> Factors of permissive culture of society and weak prevention or law enforcement (S, female, Bali, MoNE, 47 years)

> Economic factors and dissatisfied with the policies issued by the government (TN, female, Bali, MoNE, 45 years)

The first reason is the economic factor. Poverty encourages someone to take action outside the law. Second, the cultural factors, namely because of shallow religious understanding, narrow and textual interpretations of religion, and indoctrination of wrong religious teachings, including misinterpreting the word jihad. Thirdly, it may also be due to the slow handling of the law in dealing with harassment of religious symbols that are believed to be sacred. These three factors led to the emergence of political instability that driven radicalism (HZ, male, Bali, MoNE, 53 years)

Indonesian Muslim leaders as well as thinkers have divided the root cause of this radicalism phenomenon into two: The first group holds that young Muslims' willingness to join terror groups is primarily motivated by theological considerations. The ideology of martyrdom, which teaches them that dying in the name of Islam guarantees their entry into heaven. The last group sees youth radicalisation as the result of a confluence of social, political, and economic factors that make these young people fearful for their future (Afrianty, 2012). The last view is in line with other study conducted by Muzakki (2014) that highlights the two main root of Islamic radicalism in Indonesia, namely national and transnational roots. The national root is the combination of the regime's repression and socio-economic deprivation, while transnational roots consist of globalisation and Arabia support. The investigation by (Sjøen & Mattsson, 2019) points out that youngsters who have various personal difficulties and have poor social networks and feelings of social isolation and frustration were the most vulnerable of being drawn into radicalisation. Furthermore, many scholars highlights that it is critical to distinguish between people who radicalise ideologically and those who radicalise as a result of social interaction dynamics and other political factors.

3. Preventive efforts of countering radicalism

Nearly all participants from three different cities recognise that educators have a professional responsibility to protect their students from radicalisation. When we asked them about their opinion on having a responsibility to keep young students from being radicalised, they said that they have various strategies and approaches to do so and all participants described their responsibilities and concerns as follows:

The majority of teachers highlight the importance of education as part of their efforts for countering radicalism, as expressed below:

Doing preventive actions through educating the society and conducting trainings, workshops, and dialogs in schools, boarding schools, and religious small circles within the society. (KR, male, Jakarta, NSI, 24 years)

Emphasize the teaching to deepen the understanding of comprehensive religion and to provide many existing examples in social life both positive and negative impacts associated with radicalism (AG, male, Yogyakarta, NSI, 37 years)

Need an early education and socialization among students on the dangerous of radicalisms and extremism to both individual and society. Through education, educators are also play important roles in protecting, supervising and guiding children, as well as role models and references in religious matters. (PO, female, Bali, MoNE, 38 years)

Giving accurate information and true knowledge so that students able to understand what they need to avoid radical and violence in both actions and thoughts. (RD, female, Bali, MoNE, 36 years)

The teachers must continuously refresh their teaching skills. For example, implementing the process of character building among students through arguments and dialogue. (MM, male, Yogyakarta, NSI, 54 years)

Extending on the issue on the crucial role that educators can play in mitigating radicalisation of students in their schools is vary. It is include the question of what kind of pedagogy is needed to counter radicalization. Several educators responded the issue as follows:

One of them is by providing learning and understanding about the complete *sirah nabawiyah* (prophet's history) in order to understand how complicated it was when the Prophet Muhammad preaching to the people at that time. Regardless that complexity, the Prophet is always preaching people through wise method. (A, male, Bali, MoNE, 49 years)

Always provide explanations as well as understanding for students to always get along, tolerant and respect each other's differences, whether in large or small scope of society. (J, female, Bali, MoNE, 50 years)

We must try to provide education correctly, from the right sources of books, as well as a supportive environment and correct strategies, it means that apart from giving knowledge, teachers should always monitor the progress of their students). (S, male, Bali, MoNE, 53 years)

Secondly, the teachers also expressed below the need to strengthening multicultural ideology of nationhood as a prevention of radicalism. One of the primary responsibilities and duties of teachers is to actively promote fundamental Indonesian values of UUD 1945 and Pancasila namely the significance of mutual respect and tolerance for different faiths and beliefs in all Indonesian schools both private or independent schools and state-maintained schools. According to many participants such duty will gradually effective to deter student from radicalisation, as expressed below:

Apart from giving understanding on the principles of Islam, it is also required to understand multicultural aspect of the society that has been existed very long in our nation. (FF, male, Jakarta, MoNE, 31 years)

Students must be trained not only on comprehensive values of the Qur'an but also the fundamental principles of the nation: Pancasila and UUD 1945. (S, female, Jakarta, MoRA, 36 years)

Provide moderate understanding of religious insight to students and internalize the values of the four pillars of nationality into the daily activities of students. (MMA, male, Bali, MoNE, 39 years)

My effort as a teacher so that students are not exposed to radicalism/extremism is to instil an attitude of tolerance over differences in ethnicity, race and religion as well as skin colour as an implementation of the treasures of Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (blessing for all humankind). This is in accordance with the philosophy and ideology of the Indonesian state, namely Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. If necessary, revive P4 namely the Guidelines for the Practice and Appreciation of Pancasila which contains 36 points. (P, female, Bali, MoNE, 49 years).

Student exchange programs really help students' basic understanding of heterogeneity or multiculturalism and pluralism in the society. With a diverse understanding of life and basic rights to live in diversity, the emergence of radicalism can be suppressed/minimize. Then the second: the inter-religious student activity program that was created to solve problems in the community related to the potential triggers for inter-religious disputes. This has a high impact on student nationalism, that living a quiet comfortable safe and upholding nationality is the main goal of life together. Third: reactivate basic leadership training where 80% of the main material is about nationalism and the history of the founding fathers of Indonesia, especially religious leaders. So that the younger generation can emulate the mentality and spirit of

patriotism from their ancestors and also they can continue the legacy of their ancestors, namely the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. (WH, female, Bali, MoNE, 40 years)

Provide an understanding from a religious and cultural point of view that is accurately in accordance with the characteristics of the Indonesian nation-state. (K, female, Yogyakarta, NSI,53 years)

Giving an example to students how we live and make friends with students of other religions, we help each other, should not be hostile, because if we are not instilled religious tolerance from childhood, of course with the religious norms that we adhere to, students will not understand. (A, female, Yogyakarta, NSI, 51 years)

It can be seen that Balinese participants above have more advance understanding on the necessity to internalise their students on nationhood and the principles of the nations as well as to educate students to follow the state systems. Understanding multicultural aspects of the society includes the understanding of local cultures belong to certain place or community. Researches have been shown the importance of Kudus local culture in both countering the negative impact of globalisation and preventing the community/society from radicalism (Suciati & Erzad, 2020) and the efforts to live in harmony and respect the religious plurality can reduce the religious-based intolerance in Cirebon (Gumiandari & Nafi'a, 2020).

The third is embracing inclusive, tolerant and moderate religious views, as mentioned below by many participants:

The first and foremost is to educate on true faith (*aqidah*) to students, that Islam never teach violence and Islam is a religion of peace. (CIW, male, Jakarta, MoRA, 40 years)

Teach them on the true religious values that differentiate between jihad and radicalism. (SM, female, Jakarta, MoNE, 34 years)

The importance of dialog and offer many approaches and views in understanding the Qur'an. (ASM, male, Yogyakarta, MRA, 42 years)

Instilling a sense of tolerance, meaning carrying out something that is believed to be in accordance with the Islamic teachings and without insulting other teachings. (S, male, Yogyakarta, NSI, 56 years)

Develop tolerance and instil plural life. (PO, female, Bali, MoNE, 38 years)

Socialization of moderate Religious Learning Programs and provide contextual understanding of religious life in broader society. (M, male, Bali, MoRA, 42 years)

Inclusive and tolerant views must be developed through educational policy and are incorporated into the curriculum of both state and private schools in either religious and non-religious schools. Teachers have to teach student to practice Islamic teachings on pluralism, multiculturalism and inclusivism within their day-to-day lives and activities. (SS, male, Bali, MoRA, 48 years)

From the teachers' perspectives above, we can see that Muslim teachers in Bali are not in the position of theorizing and debating pluralism and tolerant values but in the scale of implementing these values within their wider society. Their perspectives are in line with the study that pointed out even the Islamic boarding schools in Bali they have stronger sense, concern and daily habit of how to maintain their Islamic identity and at the same time to respect the plurality and multiculturality of their society (Fahmi et al., 2020).

The last perception from the participants is the need of embracing and implementing the importance of moral education as a way of mitigating radicalism in Indonesian schools.

> Teach the students on the meaning and bad impact of radicalism that involves violence and teach on the important of ethics/moral in daily life so that they cannot easily influenced by radical ideas or actions. (RAA, female, Yogyakarta, MoRA, 38 years)

> Bringing students closer to deepening the teachings of Islam in the application of Islamic values in daily life, parents and the environment are also very influential on the formation of student character to become students who have good morals. To achieve this goal, students are expected to be more active in the religion in their environment, for example by mosque youth activities. (HM, female, Bali, MoNE, 47 years)

> Our effort to keep students from being exposed is to provide a charge of noble character in every lesson. Linking the use of media for *da'wa* (preaching) of noble character. It can also be with the assignment of making videos of noble morality. (NU, female, Bali, MoNE, 52 years)

> We teach the subject *Aqidah* (faith) for the main aim to love Allah and His Messenger, so that good morals will follow, including the others, God willing, it will go well and correctly. (IH, female, Bali, MoNE, 51 years)

According to the participants' narratives, counter-radicalisation efforts are part of their professional educational responsibilities and tasks and they see that building resilience among students are the key, it can be through school subjects of religious education, character education, moral education or civic education. These subjects are regarded as very relevant to prevent their students from being radicalised.

D. Conclusion

The importance of developing strategies and efforts in preventing radicalisation have become agreed concern among educators in Indonesia. Most participants of this research expressed that these efforts must be integrated into all types of Indonesian schools under the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA), the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) or Non-State Institutions (NSI). Having seen the participants' narratives above, we argue that Muslim educators in minority context in Bali, regardless of their type of schools, are having advance and impactful perception not only on defining radicalism and its causal factors but also on preventive strategies dealing with radicalisation, compared to the teachers in the majority Muslim context in both Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Their daily experiences as Muslim minority in interacting with multicultural society and various differences have significantly influenced their understanding and attitudes on radicalism. Although the teachers under the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA), have stronger deradicalization programs through the ideas of religious moderation and such programs and ideas are rarely heard from the teachers under the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and the teachers of the private schools or Non-State Institutions(NSI), all teachers from these three major cities in Indonesia argued that it is their responsibility to prevent their students from becoming radicalised or involved in any violence actions or groups.

This prevention according to them must be started primarily from and within the schools. The first, they have concern to explore and elaborate about the meaning of radicalism among their students. They agree that they have responsibility to clarify what is means by radicalism so students cannot easily follow and believe what they heard from non-authoritative sources outside the schools. The teachers have a strong sense to share to their students firstly and foremost that

radicalism was contradictive to Islamic values and national values. The teachers also emphasized that radicalism is an intolerant action from those who wanted a fast change in political and social dynamics in Indonesia. They also agreed to clarify that the meaning of *Jihad* in Islam is not about radicalism and it is not related to any form of radicalism, extremism or violence actions. Secondly, the teachers also concerned with the causal factors of radicalism among students. They eagerly wanted their students to know these factors from both national and global factors and to avoid them with the guidance from the teachers. The teachers believed that one of the key prevalence factors of radicalization is adherence to extreme ideologies, movements or beliefs and distorted as well as literal religious understanding. Thus, the teachers highlighted the importance of teaching inside the classroom about correct religious values as well as humanity values. Other factors such as social injustice in both local and global levels is also mentioned by the teachers as the social factor causing radicalisation. However, they believed that distorted and extreme religious belief is the major factor that can be anticipated and minimized through daily teaching processes with the emphasis on developing critical thinking among students.

The last, the teachers also highlighted the urgency of preventive strategies for countering radicalism among students. They emphasized the importance of education and certain form of pedagogy as part of their efforts for effectively countering radicalism. The pedagogy according to the teachers includes the need to teach student religious values and moral values and to teach students from authoritative learning sources on the field of Islam. It also includes to remind the students about the importance of tolerant attitudes and the need of embracing inclusive and moderate religious views and respecting different faiths and beliefs in all schools in Indonesia both private schools and state-maintained schools. The teachers also point out the need to actively promote fundamental Indonesian values of UUD 1945 and Pancasila and to strengthen multicultural ideology of nationhood as a prevention of radicalism from the classroom. For nearly all the participants, religious education as well as citizenship education are key for guiding students into the correct religious way which fully respect humanity and broader society.

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INTERVIEWEES:

1. CI, male, Jakarta, MoNE, 24 years
2. ASW, female, Jakarta, NSI, 25 years
3. MKF, male, Bali, MoNE, 43 years
4. H, male, Bali, MoNE, 46 years
5. MN, male, Bali, MoNE, 54 years
6. JS, male, Bali, MoNE, 39 years
7. JA, male, Bali, MoNE, 42 years
8. NS, male, Jakarta, MoNE, 50 years
9. HM, female, Bali, MoNE, 47 years
10. WH, female, Bali, MoNE, 40 years
11. FF, male, Jakarta, MoNE, 31 years
12. ST, female, Jakarta, MoRA, 24 years
13. KR, male, Jakarta, NSI, 24 years
14. MM, male, Bali, MoNE, 54 years
15. AM, male, Jakarta, NSI, 29 years
16. CIW, male, Jakarta, MoNE, 25 years
17. HW, male, Yogyakarta, MoRA, 46 years
18. HZ, male, Bali, MoNE, 54 years

19. FI, male, Yogyakarta, NSI, 38 years
20. KR, male, Jakarta, NSI, 24 years
21. S, female, Bali, MoNE, 47 years
22. TN, female, Bali, MoNE, 45 years
23. AG, male, Yogyakarta, NSI, 37 years
24. PO, female, Bali, MoNE, 38 years
25. RD, female, Bali, MoNE, 36 years
26. MM, male, Yogyakarta, NSI, 54 years
27. A, male, Bali, MoNE, 49 years
28. J, female, Bali, MoNE, 50 years
29. S, male, Bali, MoNE, 53 years
30. S, female, Jakarta, MoRA, 36 years
31. MMA, male, Bali, MoNE, 39 years
32. P, female, Bali, MoNE, 49 years
33. K, female, Yogyakarta, NSI,53 years
34. A, female, Yogyakarta, NSI, 51 years
35. CIW, male, Jakarta, MoRA, 40 years
36. SM, female, Jakarta, MoNE, 34 years
37. ASM, male, Yogyakarta, MRA, 42 years
38. S, male, Yogyakarta, NSI, 56 years
39. M, male, Bali, MoRA, 42 years
40. SS, male, Bali, MoRA, 48 years
41. RAA, female, Yogyakarta, MoRA, 38 years
42. NU, female, Bali, MoNE, 52 years
43. IH, female, Bali, MoNE, 51 years