COUNTERING CONSERVATIVE-RADICAL UNDERSTANDING BY MAINSTREAMING MODERAT ISLAM AND THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION IN INDONESIA

Amin Maghfuri

State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

maghfuri7393@gmail.com

Abstract: In recent years, the landscape showing a conservative tendency in religion has significantly increased. The Islamic Conservatives in Indonesia experienced unexpected and quite surprising growth and development, and perhaps reached its peak in the last 3-5 years. The negative excesses of this conservative tendency are quite worrying and have the potential to disrupt the sustainability of democracy and the integrity of the nation. This research seeks to elaborate efforts to mainstream moderate Islam which is the main agenda of the government (Ministry of Religion) as a step to counter conservative understanding and see how the role of educational institutions there. This research is a qualitative research focusing on the literature study and using a descriptive-analysis approach. The results of this study indicate that in an effort to mainstream moderate Islam, educational institutions play a significant role although not the only determinant. This role can be realized through several aspects such as curriculum and learning processes in educational institutions, supervision and guidance of programs or activities outside the curriculum of educational institutions starting from elementary to high levels, as well as through educational institutions policies.

Keywords: Conservative, Moderat Islam, Moderation, Educational Institution

INTRODUCTION

During the last few decades, especially after the fall of the New Order regime in 1998, Indonesia has experienced various national dynamics, especially those relating to socio-political conditions. The fall of the New Order regime led by Suharto and followed by the reform movement radically changed the socio-political order in Indonesia. The reformasi era became a breath of fresh air for

people to get out of the confines they experienced during the Soeharto's authoritarian. So it is not surprising that since then, various expressions of freedom are displayed by all people longing for their democratic rights. The reformasi era is considered as the right moment to restore the spirit and practice of democracy in Indonesia after being disoriented. Efforts to display a more tangible form of democracy after the New Order can be said to have only begun at reformasi era. This effort, called democratization, continues to the present in order to find a format that is relevant and compatible with Indonesian concessions.

The wide-open freedom since reformasi allowed the formation of new waves in society as an expression of their freedom. One of the new waves that emerged is a wave of strengthening the spirit of religious display shown by some Muslim groups by introducing various new Islamic-based organizations and institutions. Some of these new organizations are the Tarbiyah movement, Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and others.[1] The massive emergence of new Islamic-based organizations forms a new wave of Islamization[2] which is quite large to accompany the democratization process. In turn, these two big waves often experience complementary and even tension dialectics between each other. The fact that Indonesia is a country with a Muslim majority population has a role in the dynamics and upheaval associated with democratization and islamization in Indonesia. This dynamic can even be said to be a characteristic of the democratization process in Indonesia that does not occur in other countries.

Democratization is constitutional efforts made by the government and citizens with the aim of creating a more democratic social-political life. This effort has been running since the reformation era began, as evidenced by strong application of the elements that strengthen democracy. While Islamization here is understood not as an effort to Islamize or the like, but rather efforts to apply Islamic sharia as a state formal law or formalize Islamic Sharia by forcing to show everything in an Islamic appearance. The struggle for democratization and islamization in the socio-political discourse in Indonesia at first was no striking contradiction, but the wave indirectly and at certain points resulted in quite striking polarization among citizens, especially Muslim domination of others.

The consequence of the Islamization process shows that there are currents contrary to spirit of democratization. On the one hand the aim of

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[1] M. Imdadun Rahmat, *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia,* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005), 75-76.

[2] Sri Yunanto, *Islam Moderat vs Islam Radikal; Dinamika Politik Islam Kontemporer,* (Yogyakarta: Media Pressiondo, 2018), 97.

democratization is creating a democratic national and state life so that must guarantee the process of Islamization. But on the other hand, the Islamization at certain level shows the opposite and sometimes even damages the democratic spirit itself. Oftentimes, the ways used in the Islamization process are coercion or even violence that is contrary to democratic principles.[3]

The emergence of anti-mainstream Islamic organizations carrying out fundamentalist and conservative understandings has proven to bring a negative precedent for the continuation of a harmonious and democratic life among citizens. The seeds of fundamentalism and conservatism, although they cannot be concluded directly, lead to extremism and intolerant actions such as terror. Some intolerant actions and violence have been proven to be carried out by groups affiliated to fundamentalist or conservative organizations, either just for applying Islamic law more rigorously (formalizing Islamic law) or even for establishing Khilafah Islamiyah which means replacing the ideology of Pancasila.

With the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia is predicted as a model for the development of moderate Islam that can harmoniously coexist with other religious adherents, can accommodate cultural richness and be compatible with democratic systems. Problably, based on these reasons and also the development of democracy in Indonesia so far, Islam in Indonesia can be used as a role model for the implementation of democracy in other Muslim countries.[4] However, the journey of democracy and Islam in Indonesia continues to experience dynamics from the beginning of the reformation until now. Later on, challenges that tried to hamper the pace of democratization in Indonesia became increasingly strong. The increasing challenges can be seen from the rise of fundamental and conservative understandings that lead to radicalism and even efforts to replace Pancasila with Khilafah. It become a stumbling block that must be passed, and certainly it's not something easy to pass on the agenda of democratization in Indonesia.

FIND AND DISCUSSION

Religious Conservatism and the Challenges of Democracy

The final consensus related to the form and basis of the state among the founding fathers wanted Indonesia not to be an Islamic state or a secular state,

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[3] Sumanto Al Qurtuby, "Pacifying The Radicals: Religiuos Radicalism, Islamist Militancy and Peacebuilding Approaches in Contemporary Indonesia" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* Volume 24(1), 2019, 4.

[4] Muhammad Zuhdi, "Challenging Moderate Muslim: Indonesia's Muslim School in the Midst of Religious Conservatism" *Journal Religions,* 2018, 12.

but a democratic state based on Pansasila. Pancasila are five basic principles that must accompany every national development as its spirit. Pancasila is a differentiator for the implementation of democracy in other countries so that it does not fall into secular democracy, which is separate from religious values. Pancasila contain democratic values that not only didn't contradict with Islamic values, but also showed the same spirit and were compatible with Islamic values.[5] The values of democracy such as equality, freedom, human rights and deliberation are the spirit taught by the Prophet Muhammad when leading Medina. This in particular can be seen and observed from the Medina Charter (*al-Shahifat al-Madinah*) which contains the basics of living together with the people of Madinah.[6]

Lately, there are some groups that questioned the established system in Indonesia and tried to replace it with what they considered as Islamic system. The emergence of these groups began to show their threat to democracy on various occasions, starting from religious acts that smelled of politics to violence. The new wave of Islam in Indonesian shows a conservative tendency that likely lead to fundamentalism and even radicalism.

Conservatism as an understanding and practice is religious understanding that holds strictly to the scriptures or doctrine, orthodoxy and considered as the better traditions.[7] This understanding generally follows with their rejection of modern, liberal or progressive interpretations regarding to Islamic doctrine. This extreme spectrum of conservatism often arises in the form of religious fundamentalism which is often used to realize religio-political agendas. A new and hight spirit of Islam is expressed by the strick obedience of Islamic worship and is shown by more islamic lifestyle. Some of them then study and get more rigid teaching about Islam so that they called the conservatives.[8]

According to Van Bruinessen, there are three reasons that allowed the growth of conservative Islam in Indonesia, as stated by Zuhdi,[9] that basically most Muslim in Indonesia already have a conservative view, proponet of moderate Islam turning their agendas into political agendas that weaken the promotion of moderate Islam itself, and the continuing influence of Middle Eastern Islam which carries conservative ideology.

Actually, categorization in islamic discourse which includes conservative, fundamentalist, extremist, radicalist, salafist and several others has overlapping

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[5] Sri Yunanto, *Islam Moderat...*, 37-38.
[6] Ayang Utriza Yakin, *Islam Moderat dan Isu-Isu Kontemporar,* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2016), 12-17.
[7] Azyumardi Azra, "Konservatisme Islam", *Republika.co.id,* accessed on 30 September 2019.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] Muhammad Zuhdi, "Challenging...", 4.

meaning and often has same purpose. To make it clear, the use of the word here will be clarified so as not confusing. Conservatives, fundamentalists and salafists showed the same meaning, or at least were on the same path, the difference is just a level. These three words are used as categorization based on understanding doctrine. Whereas extremists or radicals are intended as categorization based on actions carried out using violence. Both of them are actually often used with overlapping. In this discussion, the term "conservative" used shows an understanding that is believed by a person or group that not only stops in the realm of literal understanding and is reluctant to accept differences in interpretation, but also encourages a person or group to demonstrate it into behavior or action which leads to the radical category. This is to provide clear limits on the intended conservative coverage. Because it cannot be denied, religious organizations imaged as the main supporters of moderate understanding, NU and Muhammadiyah, also have conservative sides. [10] However, the conservative understanding of the these organizations does not lead to formalize Sharia by using force or violence and does not lead to a spirit for establishing an Islamic state (caliphate) that means replacing the Pancasila as country basic.

The conservative tendency affecting the diversity of Indonesian Muslim communities has become a serious study among scholar. Although the thesis proposed by Hefner states that Indonesian Islam is an inclusive and tolerant Islam –he used term "civil Islam"[11]– but lately, the thesis is completed by recognizing the existence or even the development of conservative Islamic groups, which to some extent contrast with a previous thesis[12]. This may also indicate that the existence of conservative Islamic groups has experienced significant development since the fall of Soeharto. Their movement are quiet so that it is not so clearly seen by many people and it be a surefire strategy so that they have a large mass and begin to openly reveal their presence in public sphere.

As time goes by, the fact is increasingly showing the truth. Indications of the strengthening of this group can be seen in various forms, including the increased desire to apply Islamic law strictly. Based on a survey conducted in 2013 to 39 countries with a majority Muslim population (out of 48 countries) shows

[10] Martin Van Bruinessen (ed), *Contemporary Development in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the Conservative Turn,* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2013), 3-4.

[11] See Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and democratization in Indonesia*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[12] See Robert W. Hefner, "Whatever Happened to Civil Islam? Islam and Democratisation in Indonesia, 20 Years on", *Asian Studies Review,* 2019, DOI: 10.1080/10357823.2019.1625865.

different levels in supporting the implementation of sharia as the country's official law. In Indonesia, 72% indicated the desire to apply sharia as the official law of the country.[13] Although this survey may not be entirely correct due to the fact that majority of Indonesian Muslims is well known as tolerant, the results should be used as material for reflection or warning for the sustainability of tolerant Islam in Indonesia. The Indication can also be seen from several cases involving political elements, for example in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election as well as in the 2019 presidential general election. Repeated mass mobilization with the use of attributes characterized as Islam in these actions clearly show the success of conservatives group in gaining sympathy and expand its influence. It also shows that this group is getting better and better in terms of organization, funding and involvement in the political agenda.[14] The success of the mass mobilization followed by their candidates victory in the Jakarta Governor election had a big influence and became a strarting point in the appearing conservatives in other regions.

After finding its momentum in the 2017 DKI elections –may have begun in the 2014 general elections–, intensity of the concervatives emergence in public sphere has become more frequent. They also become louder in voicing their claim as an interpretation of Indonesian muslim. Whether accidental or not, these action gain a lot of sympathy from various regions indicating they have same understanding. This can be tough challenge to the proponent of the operation and implementation moderate Islam in Indonesia, and may surprise them although not entirely new. Domination claims of moderate Muslim were suddenly replaced by the loud voices of conservatives as if they were the majority.

It cannot be denied that the effect of democratization strarted from reformasi era has had a great impact of the success of conservative groups in mobilizing power, attracting sympathy and expanding its influence among Muslims. Freedom of expression guaranteed by law provides way for the survival and development of conservative groups. The development of conservative groups in Indonesia was actually fruitful, that can be seen from their success in entering various lines of life and various types of work, and for sure a wave of successive mass actions. In addition, the presence of the Islamic transnational has a profound influence in changing Indonesian Islamic landscape and is able to

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[13] Alex. P Schmid, "Moderat Muslim and Islamist Terrorism: between Denial and Resistance" *ICCT Research Paper,* 2017, DOI: 10.19165/2017.1.09.

[14] Charlotte Setijadi, "Ahok's Downfall and the Rise of Islamist Populism in Indonesia" *ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute,* No. 38 Issue : 2017, 1

reduce the enormous influence of NU and Muhammadiyah.[15] This movement was born and developed especially in campuses and reached maturity after a long dynamic. Alumni of the campus then campaign their religious understandings supported by the return of several graduates from the Middle East who have same ideology, so as to attract many followers. The massive spread of conservative understanding by this movement has proven to be able to compete the influence of NU and Muhammadiyah on the Muslim community in Indonesia.

Starting point of the danger of conservative understanding, especially that's accompanied by radical actions, is its view that does not accept differences, whether understanding, beliefs and so forth. At certain limits, the understanding has great potential to disturb the existed harmonious relations from various differences in Indonesia. The existence of various actions that lead to violence ignite the rift of relations between individuals, groups or different understandings. In fact, these differences are a certainty that can not be avoided. Efforts made to eradicate differences, moreover done in provocative and abusive ways, will make these differences a time bomb that has the potential to be devastating. If so, then democracy and even the existence of the state will become fragile and ultimately will collapse.

Mainstreaming Moderate Islam and the Role of Educational Institution

The government, especially through the Ministry of Religion, responded to the increasing understanding of conservative and fundamental Islam by considering the mainstreaming of moderate Islam. Indonesia as majority Muslim country is well known as a tolerant Muslim country that can coexist with various types of differences. But after various violent incidents that dragged the name of Islam, image as tolerant Muslim country began to be doubted, or at least questioned. The series of violence acts up to suicide bombings indicates that moderate Islam, which has long been a hallmark of Indonesian Islam, is slowly facing serious challenges.

Although Azyumardi Azra stated that moderate Islam in Indonesia is too big to fail,[16] yet real action is needed to strengthen it and to deal with the opposite Islamic understanding. This concrete action is also to confirm that moderate Islam is truly and will continue to be the character of Indonesian Islam. Without

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[15] Martin Van Bruinnesen, "What Happened to the Smiling Face of Indonesian Islam? Muslim Intellectualism and the Conservative Turn in Post-Suharto Indonesia" *RSIS Working Paper,* 2011, 6.

[16] Azyumardi Azra, "Politik Islam Indonesia Kontemporer" on Sri Yunanto, *Islam Moderat...,* x.

concrete actions, it is likely that the existence of moderate Islam in Indonesia will be displaced and replaced by other Islamic understandings that tend to be conservative and exclusive. What is worrying is when conservative and even extreme understandings begin to spread, the mainstream of moderate and tolerant understanding is fading and becoming more and more "silent" until it seems as if only conservatives and extremists representing Islam in their attitudes and actions. A tolerant and moderate understanding is necessary and important to be echoed and disseminated over the other understanding. However, by just declaring that Islam is not a religion of violence, radicalism or an angry religion or saying that Islam is a religion of peace is not enough. We must take responsibility and play a role in demonstrating how to express peaceful Islam in daily life.[17]

Given the diversity in Indonesia, especially in religion, moderation is considered to be vital instrument for the survival of nation integrity in Indonesia. Moderation is important because diversity in religion, including differences in views in one religion, is definite and impossible to be eliminated.[18] Efforts to uniform and eliminate diversity are futile and will only waste energy. Even so, the conservative-radical understanding generally demonstrates this action, or at least leads there. Moderation provides direction so that understanding and behavior leading to one extreme point become more balanced and centered. Differences and diversity in the context of balance must be seen as a gift of God so as not to cause disunity.[19]

Moderation is not the same as syncretism or partiality towards a liberal attitude that ignores the basic norms of religion. Moderation can be understood as a perspective, attitude and behavior always taking a position in the middle, always acting justly and not being extreme in religion.[20] Misunderstanding the meaning of moderation often makes a person reluctant to behave moderately. Assumption that moderate behavior is tantamount to mortgaging one's religion opens up opportunities for someone to hold a conservative and closed understanding, and at a certain level wants something using intolerant ways. Whereas with moderation, they will be able to interact, dialogue and be open with various parties both from different religions, understandings and cultures so that they can display a fair and balanced attitude. Because without openness and

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[17] Alex. P Schmid, "Moderat..., 5.
[18] Kementerian Agama RI, *Moderasi Beragama,* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kemenag RI, 2019), 8.
[19] Muhlis M. Hanafi, *Islamic Moderatism and Its Role in Empowering Harmony within Society,* (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al Qur'an Balitbang dan Diklat Kemenag RI, 2016), 1.
[20] Kementerian Agama RI, *Moderasi...,* 17.

choosing to close themselves with other people and the environment, they will not be able to understand others so that it is impossible to be fair among each other.[21]

To be able to make and strengthen moderate attitude as a foundation for the religiousity of Indonesian Muslims, efforts to mainstream religious moderation are absolutely needed. Mainstreaming religious moderation is a strategy carried out rationally and systematically to make moderate religious views, attitudes, and behaviors as perspectives and platforms of thought that are accepted for building Indonesian human resources.[22] The Government through the Ministry of Religion has carried out several strategies in order to strengthen this religious moderation, including: 1) socialization and desimentation of the idea of religious moderation; 2) institutionalization of religious moderation into binding programs and policies; and 3) integrating the moderation perspective into the national medium-term development plan 2020-2024.[23]

However, these efforts will not be successful if only carried out individually, carelessly and not systematically. Massive, systematic and institutionally planned efforts must be the basic foundation of mainstreaming moderate Islam in Indonesia, including through education. Education has become one of the decisive means for the development or decline of the spread of conservative-radical ideas. Based on several survey and research, education or educational institutions become one of the comfortable places for the development of conservative-radical ideas. The tendency for acceptance of conservative-radical understandings thrives in educational institutions, especially at the high school and university level.[24] This is certainly quite worrying, given the education sector is a medium that plays a key role in determining the social conditions of society, both present and future.

Considering the central position and vital role that education has, efforts to mainstream moderate Islam have an equal opportunity to be developed and disseminated massively like others. It requires educational institutions to be active in disseminating understandings and instilling the values moderate views in their students. Efforts in mainstreaming moderate Islam through educational institutions can be realized through several elements, including:

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[21] Muhlis M. Hanafi, *Islamic...*, 92.

[22] Kementerian Agama RI, *Moderasi...*, . 104.

[23] *Ibid.,* 110.

[24] See PPIM UIN Jakarta, "Ancaman Radikalisme di Sekolah", *Policy Brief Series,* Issue 4, Vol. 1 2018; LPPM UNUSIA, "Islam Eksklusif Transnasional Merebak di Kampus-Kampus Negeri", *Ringkasan Laporan Penelitian*, 2019; dan Setara Institute, "Wacana dan Gerakan Keagamaan di Kalangan Mahasiswa", *Ringkasan Eksekutif,* Mei 2019.

1. Curriculum and Learning Process

Acces obtained by conservative-radical groups to spread influence and infiltrate their understandings trhough education is one reason for the succesful development of conservative-radical understanding in Indonesia.[25] One of the crucial elements for the succesful infiltration of some ideology are curriculum and learning process in educational institutions. Curriculum and learning process are elements directing students to an understanding as well as particular form. It's because in the forming of curriculum, there is a very complex dynamics that involves compromise, negotiation, political decisions and ideologies around the world.[26] Therefore, to see where education lead their student views of Islam can be observed from its curriculum and learning process.

Mainstreaming moderate Islam can be started from the most basic stage in education, namely curriculum. Islamic education curriculum must be filled with content that promotes a friendly, open and tolerant attitude. This must be continued in the learning process that involves the instructor, so that it demands a teacher who has a broad understanding and prioritizes moderate principles. This effort requires great attention and support, especially because of various educational institutions types and the vast territory of Indonesia. The firts step has been initiated by the Ministry of Religion by implementing standardization of pesantren curriculum as an effort to mainstream moderate Islam.[27] This step must be supported and followed by other educational institutions such as schools, madrasas or universities so that the mainstreaming effort can run optimally.

2. Supervision and Assistance to Activities Outside the Educational Curriculum

Besides through curriculum and learning process, infiltration of conservative-radical understanding in schools also occur through activities outside of curricular activities. *Rohani Islam* (Rohis) activities at the junior and senior high schools and *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus* (LDK) at universities are generally dominated by conservative groups.[28] Rohis and LDK activities are arenas used as a means of organizations recruitment such as the tarbiyah, HTI and salafi

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[25] International NGO Forum on Indonesia Development, *Urgensi dan Strategi Efektif Pencegahan Ekstremisme di Indonesia,* (Jakarta: Infid, 2018), 4.

[26] Kathleen E. Woodward, "Indonesian School: Shaping the Future of Islam and Democracy in a Democratic Muslim Country" *Journal of International Education and Leadership,* Vol. 5 Issue 1 2015, 2.

[27] Anonim, "Standardization of Pesantren aimed at Mainstreaming Moderate Islam", *The Jakarta Post,* accessed on 30 September 2019.

[28] LPPM UNUSIA, "Islam Eksklusif Transnasional Merebak di Kampus-Kampus Negeri", *Ringkasan Laporan Penelitian,* 2019, 7.

movements. So it is not surprising that various studies conclude that schools and campuses are the fertile ground for exclusive views.

To show concern and efforts to mainstream moderate Islam, educational institutions are required to oversee and accompany the running of organizations used as a means to infiltrate conservative understanding such as Rohis or LDK. This can be done for example by periodically monitoring the activities carried out by the organization, getting involved in activities or encouraging moderate-leaning organizations to be more active. In addition, educational institutions in both schools and universities need to facilitate individuals doing "hijrah" trend so as not to fall into a narrow understanding. This is important because based on research conducted by Aziz, performer of hijrah generally have a textual understanding and attitude in relation to religious issues.[29] Limited insight and knowledge to a particular problem, either because of reluctance to explore a particular theme or because it is still in the process of learning, generally encourages individuals to follow normative or literalist views if they are confronted with sensitive issues such as tolerance, gender equality, human rights and others. High spirit of religiosity coupled with reluctance to continue to expand religious insight is a gap that lead to a narrow, exclusive and intolerant understanding.[30] At that point, the possibility of leading to fundamental or even radical understanding is very wide-open.

3. Institutional Policies

The rapid growth of exclusive transnational understanding in schools and universities indicates the institution weakness in blocking the spreading process of such ideology. According to Halili as quoted by Candra, educational institutions seem not to care about the existence and growth of organizations bringing exclusive understanding so that they are free to develop, especially on campus.[31] Perhaps this has become the reason why conservative-leaning organizations are able to recruit many members and are able to dominate in the campus.

In an effort to mainstream moderate Islam, authority owned by leader of an educational institution must be directed to encourage the realization of moderate understandings and attitudes. Institutional leaders are required to

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[29] Aziz asy'arie, "Studi Fenomenologi Pengalaman Hijrah Mahasiswa Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Implikasinya Terhadap Ketahanan Pribadi" *Master Thesis,* Pascasarjana UGM, 2019, 81.

[30] Abu Hafsin, dalam kata pengantar Kamdani (ed), *Islam dan Humanisme: Aktualisasi Humanisme Islam di Tengah Krisis Humanisme Universal,* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007) vii.

[31] Candra Yuri Nuralam, "Kelompok Islam eksklusif Leluasa Bergerak di Kampus" *medcom.com,* accessed on 30 September 2019.

participate in efforts to campaign for a moderate understanding through policies they made. This can be realized in various forms such as policies issued by UGM in removing Islamic religious assistance which in practice is used by exclusive Islamic groups to disseminate their views, or deradicalization programs by filling important positions with pluralist and moderate figures carried out by UI.[32] At certain level, institutional policies can be used as a means to impose sanctions or even revoke permits of an organization that violates or is not in accordance with the principles of the Indonesian state. For example, permission revocation of organization campaigning Khilafah carried out by the HATI (Harmoni Amal dan Titian Ilmu) which was another form of HTI after it was dissolved.[33]

Efforts involving the authority or policies holder in order to stem and counter conservative understandings are very necessary, both at school or university level. Policies supporting an efforts to campaign moderate Islam will give much power and depicted participation of educational institutions in realizing moderate Islam in Indonesia. This effort is also expected to not stop there, but must continue to be encouraged and improved in order to be able to overcome the problem of conservatism at its root.

CONCLUSION

The increasing conservatism in Indonesian can be seen as a result of the sosio-political dynamics since the reformasi era. The freedom guaranteed by the constitution allows various groups, including those based on transnational, to develop in Indonesia. Educational institutions as a medium for spreading understanding and ideology play an important role in the development and expansion of various ideologies, both conservative and moderate. Therefore, in the effort to mainstream moderate Islam, education has a significant role, especially related to its function to instill the values of moderation and tolerance. This can be realized through curriculum and learning process, supervision and assistance of activities outside the curricular as well as through institutional policies.

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[32] International NGO Forum on Indonesia Development, *Urgensi...*, 8.

[33] Mukhlis Dinillah, "ITB Bekukan Organisasi Mahasiswa yang Syiarkan Negara Khilafah", *news.detik.com,* accessed on 30 September 2019.

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