

## Strengthening Religious Moderation through the Role of Civics Teachers

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Received: 05/12/2022

Revised: 25/02/2023

Accepted: 27/03/2023

### Abstract

MAN Model Manado was the most prominent Islamic school in North Sulawesi Province. The student body of more than 1.400 is ethnically diverse. Most of the students of this school were Muslim, and the school with proud of Muslim values and identity, as well as its increasing academic competitiveness. The role of civic education teachers in strengthening the importance of religious moderation in MAN Model Manado used the power of curriculum 13 (K-13) and the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) & Muhammadiyah religious organizations. These two strengths are carried out through an indoctrination teaching strategy, including dichotomy, internalization, and habituation. Their status as State Civil Apparatus (ASN) also influences the strengthening of religious moderation in the learning process. Our research also found that the IPNU (Nahdlatul Ulama Student Association) and the IPM (Muhammadiyah Student Association) base their perceptions on a rational-religious model. In the Manado Model MAN, the position of religious moderation in civics education is more directed to the process of forming public morality rather than class identity hegemony.

### Keywords

Civic Education; Student; Religious Moderation; MAN Model Manado

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The most severe reality educational institutions face is to fortify students from various misconceptions and mistakes related to radicalism and terrorism. Learners become vulnerable to these things due to their maturity in awakened thinking and strong external influences. The challenges of education are so real ahead that every thinker and practitioner of education must care about and participate in educating learners so that they can make preventive and constructive efforts.

Education is key in shaping civilized civic and political public ethics. Quality education is expected to produce educated human beings who are ready to respond to social problems in their environment, including thinking and acting correctly when addressing the differences between Islamic identity and civic identity (Mino, T., & Heto, 2020; Seymour, M., & Levin, 2015). The learning process in school expects students to know or memorize the subject matter and how the entire learning process can help students understand and develop what is contained in the material and develop it.

In the context of statehood, the role of education does not stop only at helping learners to know what diversity is. The broader goal is to help learners avoid physical or verbal violence in the name of a particular religion. Since the fall of the New Order regime in mid-1998, national educational institutions have entered a new atmosphere where Islamic forces and constitutional life are increasingly closely intertwined. Nevertheless, Indonesian society is increasingly polarized into religious and political struggles. The birth of faith-based identity politics movements in the region evidences this.

Some scholars still doubt the success of Indonesia's transition toward a more authentic civilized democratic order. The doubt, for example, is addressed to the management of civic education at various levels of schools (elementary, middle, high school, and equivalent). So far, civic education is still stuck on a rigid, authoritarian, and doctrinaire learning system. (Gaudelli, 2016; McCowan, 2011) This system triggered the birth of a culture of muteness and fanaticism and even stifled students' creativity. Educational activities are considered only competition for work achievements for the benefit of individuals and groups, so other groups seek to be eliminated (politics of exclusion).

The 2017 PPIM UIN Jakarta study found that 83.32% of students thought a government based on Islamic law and under the direction of religious experts was the best for Indonesia. Meanwhile, as many as 16.68% of students and college students disagree with this. The survey found that 67.78% of students refused to if the head of the area where they lived was from a non-Muslim group. Only 32.22% of students and college students can receive non-Muslim leadership in their region of residence. (Yunita, N., Laifa, A., Affianty, D., & Mubarak, 2018)

Comparatively, the crisis surrounding Indonesia's transition makes it seem challenging to consolidate democracy. But Indonesia rejects this assumption and manages to overcome various economic, political, and institutional challenges in maintaining its pluralist orientation. However, these accomplishments are questioned by the recent escalating religious strife, which also reignites an old argument about whether political Islam and liberal democracy can coexist peacefully. In the domestic context, deteriorating communal relations raise serious questions about the capacity of Indonesia's democratic institutions to manage the country's diversity. (Dwijayanto & Multazam, 2021)

In general, they discovered compelling evidence that Indonesian Muslims were influenced to identify with or support conservative Islamist organizations by social identification and economic-political concerns. Mainstream groups are increasingly giving rise to religious orthodoxy to create the idea that the main enemies of Islam in Indonesia are communists, Ahmadis, Shiites, and the JIL (Liberal Islamic Network). Ironically, Islam, which is the majority religion in Indonesia, is being used as a tool to create a narrative that the majority of Sunni Muslims are in a position of being threatened by minority groups (Dwijayanto, 2019).

On the other side, the radicalization of Islamic principles in Indonesia is evident in the educational establishments run by the Ministry of Religion, such as the Madrasah. The Madrasah Aliyah Negeri

(MAN) Manado Model is one of the Islamic educational institutions in North Sulawesi that will be the subject of this study. The population of religious adherents in MAN Model Manado, which has its headquarters in the Tuminting District, is extremely diverse; adherents of Islam (26,981), Christians (23,152), Catholics (1,156), Hindus (46), Buddhists (211), and Confucians (33). Overall, Muslims in Manado were 128,483, Christians 254,912, Catholics 20,602, Hindus 692, Buddhists 2,224, and Confucians 499. The composition of this religious diversity is not directly correlated with their understanding of democratic principles.

To reinforce this argument, we received several reports from the Vice Principal of the Curriculum Section. First, there is the doctrine of Islamism presented by some Salafist cadres in the school Mosque. They used to invite students to discuss together (*liqo'*). Second, a female honor teacher incorporates identity politics narratives in Indonesian lessons in the classroom. Third, there are excessive truth claims from students that they make religions outside Islam wrong and dangerous. Our research focuses on two main things: First, what is the teaching strategy for Civic Education (PKn) teachers in strengthening religious moderation in the MAN Model Manado? Second, what is the student's perception of the religious moderation policy in Indonesia?

Two indicators—tolerance and devotion to the country—are used in this context to gauge religious moderation. The limit of this study is on Curriculum 13 (K13) scope as a regulation of the Ministry of Education and Culture (KEMENDIKBUD) RI. (Permendiknas No. 67 Tahun 2013 Tentang Kerangka Dasar Dan Struktur Kurikulum SD/MI, 2013) This research certainly has an essential role in re-examining the extent of the success of PKn teachers in validating the Islamic identity of students in the MAN Model Manado with religious moderation policies in Indonesia. The social reality that the school has witnessed a radicalization of Islamic ideas that are at odds with the foundational tenets of democracy, as previously documented, motivates this examination endeavor.

Some academics have already performed a study on religion and democracy in educational institutions and religious organizations. The first is Civic Education in Manado: A Case Study on Promoting Respect for Religious Differences. (Larson, E. M., Pasandaran, S., & Katuuk, 2020) The study explains that students at MAN Model Manado spend significantly more time in religious education classes. It is because the learning policy of their teachers refers to the 2013 Curriculum, which defines religion as the only foundation or source of students' moral character. However, the learning does not focus too much on tolerance and diversity in aspects of social action. Instead, they learn the principles of Islam to have a strong moral foundation so as not to be easily influenced by faiths outside of Islam. Sometimes, they also learn informally to interact directly with plural communities. The teachers at MAN Model Manado have always stated that Manado is a tolerant city. It comes from the arguments of local political power structures, harmony regulation, family ties between majority minorities, and participation of religious organizations. They rely more on the formal curriculum to respect the diversity that exists.

Second, Citizenship and Citizenship Attitudes in Muslim Minority Communities in Manado. (Burdah, I., Kailani, N., & Ikhwan, 2019) Eva Lini's study found that scholars in Manado (among them some who work as teachers and have informal educational institutions) have strong national insight and are pro-citizenship principles. Their justification and attitude toward non-Muslim political leadership, women's political involvement, democracy, Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution support this. These opinions and attitudes are the outcomes of the local religious elites' awareness of the richness and diversity of Manado society. It's just that the national political climate over the past ten years has had such a profound impact on academics' attitudes that their perspectives are so heavily reliant on their political preferences. On the other hand, what needs to be watched out for is the expansion of Islamism and the incursion of international groups into major Islamic organizations like NU and Muhammadiyah. The challenge comes from inside the Muslim community, specifically from the clerics' political involvement.

Larson's research emphasizes the dimension of Islamic indoctrination while Eva L emphasizes religious authority in the public sphere. At this point, it can be said that Islamic indoctrination and religious authority are inseparable from the dynamics of Muslim society in Manado. The development of communal identity during official and informal religious education is undoubtedly inextricably linked to this relationship. In contrast to earlier studies, our study aims to delve deeper and uncover fresh interpretations of the PKn teachers' learning concepts and instructional approaches to the interplay between Islam and democracy in Indonesia. We can see this relationship in civil liberties, political rights, and government institutions. In addition, how do students perceive these indicators of democracy?

## 2. METHODS

This field research was carried out extensively on the group of teachers and students at MAN Model Manado from 11-30 July 2022 with a descriptive qualitative type of research. In contrast, the sociological approach we use focuses on symbolic interactionism. This method recognizes that people interpret and characterize one another's activities, not only the responses to their acts. In the world. In the world. In the world. In the world. In the world. In the world. In the world. Interaction is driven by symbols, interpretations, and the discovery of the meaning of other people's actions.

We conducted participatory observations, in-depth unstructured interviews, and documentation studies in the data collection process. First, we developed a close and deep familiarity with teachers and students at MAN Model Manado. We observe what is being done, listen to what they say, and participate in their activities in the classroom. Second, we conducted structured interviews with PKn teachers and distributed assessment sheets of students' opinions on religious moderation in Indonesia.

Data gathering, reduction, display, and verification are the four stages of our interactive data analysis paradigm.(Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, 2018) Data collection is collecting information related to the focus of the problem. Summarizing, selecting the essentials, concentrating on what is relevant and desired, identifying the central idea, and reducing the data that resulted from the field findings are all examples of data reduction.(Elliott, R., & Timulak, 2005; Rahardjo, 2017; Sugiyono, 2008) Researchers co-code the data generated in the field. Data categorization into classifications after the data is obtained in the field and after being coded on the data is described as data presentation (data display), which is a description of a collection of information that is arranged to draw conclusions and take analytical actions in the form of tables and graphs.(Creswell, J. W., & Poth, 2016; Lambert, V. A., & Lambert, 2012; Triangulation, 2014) Meanwhile, the data verification stage is constructed with sociological interpretation, so the focus of our study can be found. We do a procedure of examining the validity of the data, including tests of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, to ensure the accuracy of this data analysis.

## 3. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

### *Civic Education*

The main discourse developed in civic education is democracy. Democracy is a unified package or device of the system of government. It includes individual freedom (as the main fundamental principle), elections, division of power, multiparty participation, healthy and fair competition, guaranteed compromise, honest and fair law enforcement, freedom for the mass media, and the existence of transparency and accountability from the government. All the devices are a form of Recognition of rights and interests between individuals, societies, and the state. (Alkatiri, 2007; Bartelson, 2013; Gray,

2013). Civil society gets a share of the conversation when it is linked to the conception of statehood. On the contrary, the conception of statehood is incomprehensible unless it is placed about civil society. (Craven, M., & Parfitt, 2010; Scholten, 2011). The conception of civil society itself is based on a classical liberal tradition characterized by democratic principles. A democratic state is not only constrained by the constitution and parliamentary institutions, political parties, and organized forces that belong to the political world. Still, it is also limited by associations of life outside the territory of the sphere of government known as civil society, which also has the right to politics. (Castells, 2008; Douglass, 2007; Keane, 2013)

Democratic governance combines the traits of a political system that grants citizens the right to self-govern with the institutions and methods used to manage public concerns by established laws and procedures. (Brinkerhoff, D. W., & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Gerston, 2014). He described democratic administration as a system of mechanisms that provides real competition among broad participation in the choice of leaders and policies, in the allocation of social resources, and to a high degree of civil, political, and economic liberties (source). (Gerring, J., & Thacker, 2008; Gylfason, T., & Zoega, 2006; Gylfason, 2006). Santoso emphasizes the concept of democracy on accountability and transparency, the rule of law, and anti-corruption as well as participation and decentralization. (Santoso, 2021). Although Brinkerhoff emphasizes similar democratic elements, he emphasizes policy pluralism, state reform, and respect for human rights. (Brinker Jr, 2012; Richards, R., Morrell, M. E., Brinker, D., Reedy, J., & Richards Jr, 2022)

David Beetham defines democracy as popular control over public affairs based on the principle of political equality. (Beetham, 2004) Citizenship refers to political participation in a country. The people's involvement in public affairs governance is carried out jointly. Public affairs depend on citizenship because citizens recognize their common rights through deliberation and decision-making. (Hiariej, E., & Stokke, 2022; Törnquist, O., & Harriss, 2016)

### **Religious Moderation**

Moderation (Husna, U., & Thohir, 2020; Manshur, F. M., & Husni, 2020) can also be said to be the word *wasath* or *wasatiyah*, which has a meaning equivalent to the words *tawassuth* (middle), *i'tidal* (fair), and *tawazun* (balanced). The word *wasathiyah* is interpreted as the best choice. Whatever word is used, they all imply one common meaning: fair, which in this context can be meaningful as choosing a middle ground position among various extreme choices. In the RPMJN (National Medium-Term Development Plan) for 2020-2024, the government seeks to overcome the decline in the Religious Harmony index by prioritizing the principles of moderation and tolerance in religion to strengthen harmony and diversity. (Jamaludin, 2022; Saleh, A. A., & Andriyani, 2022). As well as religious values, good practice for all people, accompanied by appreciation and respect for differences, is expected to be the glue and unifier of the nation. Conceptually, religious moderation is an attitude that prioritizes balance in terms of beliefs, morals, and dispositions as an expression of the religious attitudes of a particular individual or group. (Susanto & Dwijayanto, 2022). Such religious behaviour must be consistent in acknowledging and understanding other different individuals and groups.

Thus, religious moderation has a balanced sense of understanding religious teachings, where the balanced attitude is consistently expressed in holding the principle of its religious teachings by acknowledging the existence of others. (Jackson, 2014) The behavior of a moderate person in religion is that he can show a tolerant attitude, respect any dissent, respect plurality, and not impose the will in

the name of religious understanding. (Afif & Dwijayanto, 2021). In this case, religious moderation only emphasizes how one responds to differences, both in dealing with internal and external problems, namely between religions. The most important thing here is how each other maintains good relations as fellow citizens while still practicing and believing in the teachings of the religion adopted. (MacLure, J., & Taylor, 2011; Polanyi, 2013). As well as not being able to impose their will on the truth of their religion in the form of violence.

The concept of moderation in Islam is a characteristic that is purely applied by Muslims in dealing with religious issues, both internally in Islam and with other religions. In real life, we can realize together that human beings cannot avoid opposites. (Hanapi, 2014; Kamali, 2015). Therefore, *Wasathiyah* appreciates the elements of *rabbaniyyah* (divinity) and *insaniyyah* (humanity), combining *maddiyyah* (materialism) and *ruhiyyah* (spiritualism), combining revelation and reason, between *ummat* problems (*al-jamaiyyah*) and individual problems (*al-fardiyyah*).

The theory used in this research is social. This theory will later help us read the phenomena in the field. Social phenomena in educational institutions are always related to teachers' and learners' knowledge, mentality, and behavior. The theory of indoctrination we use to analyse the teaching strategies of PKn teachers when discussing aspects of religious moderation. (Hartono, Y., Haryanto, S., & Asrowi, 2018; Raihani, 2018). The essence of indoctrination is to control the thoughts and beliefs of people obtained through the processes of culture, education, socialization, and interaction. Control beliefs govern whatever goes into the belief system and determine how we perceive everything, ourselves, others, and the world. Belief control holds two main functions. First, the adjudicative function determines whether others can accept their beliefs; Second, the conditioning function provides a condition for a person to accept other beliefs when they intend to understand, weigh, or build a new ideology. (Tan, 2012)

The technique of teaching indoctrination has several stages. First is the dichotomous stage, where the teacher begins cultivating values by separating aspects of religion and the state first to form ideological segregation; Second, the internalization stage is where the teacher instills new ideas that are considered correct and ideal. The process of internalization uses a more rational approach. If students are willing to accept those grades openly, then the core doctrine is instilled; Third, the habituation stage. At this stage, the teacher can use a family or organizational approach. Character habituation intends to militantly form the consciousness, feelings, and social actions of the human being. (Shodiq, 2017; Sonn, C. C., & Fisher, 2003).

Ideology is a view of life developed based on the interests of a particular class or social class in the economic, political, and religious spheres. This theory is based on three main theses are a) Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals with the conditions of their actual existence, b) Ideology arises from ideas that have subjective material actions, c) Ideology interpellates the individual as a subject. There is no ideology except for the subject and the subject to generate the same social functioning. (Althusser, 2006). We strongly assume that ideology is closely related to a student's perception or opinion when they have understood what it's like to be a religious citizen and a citizen.

### ***History of MAN Model Manado***

The history of the Manado Model Man began with PGAN Manado, which changed its function through the Decree (SK) of the Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia No. 42 of 1992 dated January 27, 1992, concerning the Transfer of State Religious Teacher Education (PGAN) to Madrasah

Aliyah Negeri (MAN). Then in its development, MAN Manado was elected along with 35 other MAN in Indonesia as Madrasah Aliyah Negeri Model through the Decree of the Director General of Islamic Religious Institutional Development No. IV / PP.00.6 / KEP / 17A / 98 dated February 20, 1998, concerning the Determination of 35 State Aliyah Madrasahs to Become MAN Models. MAN Model Manado is a pilot project for the development of Madrasahs in Muslim minority areas –The status of the Islamic minority in Manado is not static.

Eva L., for example, pointed out that Muslims in Manado continue to increase. In 2018, Muslims were 37.78%, Christians 54.31%, Catholics 6.91%, Hindus (0.43%), Buddhists (0.42%), and Khonghucu (0.15%).(Burdah, I., Kailani, N., & Ikhwan, 2019). The massive number of immigrants from Java and Sumatra caused this increase. After implementing its status as a special economic zone, Manado has more traction, and Bitung is included in the exclusive economic zone (EEZ). In the last ten years, it has become the center of economic activity in eastern Indonesia, the gateway to globalization, and the main gateway to Asia-Pacific. (Comtois, 2010; Ginnell, K., Smith, P., & Oberlander, 2008). The result of this phenomenon is the increasing number of Islamic religious activities and symbols in the public spaces of schools.

MAN Model Manado is the most prominent Islamic school in the provincial capital of North Sulawesi. There are about 1,400 students of diverse ethnic origins. All students in the school are Muslims, and the school prides itself on its emphasis on Muslim values and identity and its increased academic competitiveness. (Hakim-Larson, J., & Menna, 2015; Larson, E. M., Pasandaran, S., & Katuuk, 2020; Nassar-McMillan, S. C., Lambert, R. G., & Hakim-Larson, 2011). Because all students are Muslim, there is no school-specific policy regarding acts of interfaith tolerance. However, on the other hand, Muslim students within the school become a minority when they return to their neighborhoods. At this point, the position and function of PKn teachers began to work to develop teaching strategies in the context of strengthening religious moderation among Muslim students while seeing the acceptance or rejection of these students to the democratic system, especially in Indonesia.

#### ***Performance of Civic Education Teachers (PKn) in MAN Model Manado***

PKn teachers in MAN Model Manado are dominated by women who have the status of a State Civil Apparatus (ASN). The position as an ASN gives them their salary, work benefits, and old-age pensioners broad access to government facilities. This prosperity is directly proportional to their adherence to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. If there is ideological resistance, it results in mutation or dismissal. In several meetings with us, they always ensured that the existence of religion and the state was a social fact that students should accept. As teachers, they genuinely appreciate the religious moderation policies that have been implemented in Indonesia. Although on the other hand, they show a strong commitment to the basic values of the Quran and Hadith. When we began to question what kind of teaching strategies they used to reinforce the value of religious moderation in civic education subjects, Wahidah stated:

"The fundamental civil liberties are freedom of opinion and religion. This model of freedom is also in the Quran. In contrast, the citizens' freedom standards and limits have always been adjusted by me to the provisions of the law in the 1945 Constitution. So students' actions are not unconstitutional. Nonetheless, some students object if the contempt clause against the President/Vice President in the Criminal Code Bill is passed because it is inconsistent with democratic principles. All citizens have the same political rights (to vote/vote). Identity politics is unconstitutional. For me, politics and religion must be separated because they can create vertical

and horizontal conflicts. Religion is synonymous with honesty, while politics is synonymous with lies. As for government institutions, I support the concept of a Pancasila state, but the application of Islamic Sharia is also not entirely wrong."

Wahida is a PKN teacher with the title "Hj." born in Makassar, South Sulawesi in 1971. After graduating with a bachelor's degree from IKIP Manado, she managed to get a job as an ASN/PNS at MAN Model Manado in 2003. She preferred a neutral position when asked about affiliation with mainstream religious organizations. Not a member of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or Muhammadiyah. But, from a sociological point of view, man always interprets and defines his thoughts based on his interactions with people with the same system of meaning. We assume that she tends to identify with Muslim communities that have a conservative style of faith in spiritual life but are inclusive in social life. In other words, the diversity of tribes, religions, races, and groups is a social fact that she must secure so that personal and institutional interests are not subject to opposition.

Wahidah's perspective on the position of religious moderation in civic education is inseparable from the theoretical understanding that Islamic truth is usually actualized in the form of piety. Piety expressed by Indonesian Muslim society can be categorized into three types: ritual, orientation, and behavior. Rituals include obedience to the pillars of Islam. Orientation includes individual beliefs about a person's relationship to faith. Meanwhile, behavior includes practices that do not carry theological content but can reflect religious beliefs. (Pepinsky, T. B., Liddle, R. W., & Mujani, 2018; Slone, 2007; Worden, 2005).

Moreover, people with Hj title hold an essential factor in why she bluntly says that applying Islamic law can bring security and stability to a plural society. Because if most Muslims practice their religious sharia correctly and wisely, then the religious minority will not be difficult. In the context of personal beliefs, for him, the discourse of the Islamic Caliphate is not always negative. Nonetheless, she suggested that we strengthen the Pancasila State system because its content is not contrary to Islam. Privately, Wahidah agreed with the criticism of religious leaders (Islam) in the public sphere.

She also confirmed that removing the seven words in Pancasila is not a problem for Muslims. It is because the decision is to maintain peace between citizens. In the MAN Model Manado, Islam's position in Civic Education is directed more toward shaping public morality than the hegemony of class identity. The learning concept is always adapted to Curriculum 13 and the syllabus circulated by the Vice Principal of the Curriculum Section. On the other hand, Wahidah admitted that the concept or learning materials of Civic Education in K13 have not been integrated with Islamic studies at all. This is an important action for the scale of the Madrasah, so there is no misunderstanding. On this basis, she took the initiative to become an exemplary teacher in front of students. Being a moderate Islam and a Muslim democrat is not tricky in Indonesia.

Apart from Wahidah as our first informant, Erny Mohammad emphasized that the civic education learning she developed emphasized issues regarding democracy through the policies written in Curriculum 13 (K13). She further stated:

"We should not look at political leaders of their religion because Indonesia is not an Islamic country with standards. I always convey these thoughts to learners. I also intensely explain government agencies' main duties and functions at the legislative, executive, and judicial levels. All of them greatly influence the context of public policy perceived by the community. The learning process strongly emphasizes responsive, adaptive, and collaborative attitudes."



Erny Mohammad is the second PKn teacher born in Minahasa in 1968. After graduating with a bachelor's degree from the State Islamic College (STAIN) Manado specializing in Islamic civil and criminal, she continued her master's studies in educational management at Manado State University. She started actively working as an ASN/PNS in 1993 and officially moved to MAN Model Manado in 2011. When asked about affiliation with mainstream religious organizations, he said that he is now the Chairman of the Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) of Manado City. Muslimat NU is a social and religious organization and is one of the Autonomous Bodies of Jam'iyah Nahdlatul Ulama. It was founded on March 29, 1946. The Chairman is Hj. Khofifah Indar Parawansa. Nu's main Muslimat target is to strengthen the identity of Ahlusunnah Wal Jama'ah in Indonesia, thus, producing citizens who are religious but democratic. Women mostly play NU's Muslimat proselytizing moral movement.

It should be noted the Principal of MAN Model Manado, Mr. Syarif Afiat Salim Raya, a man born in Alabio in 1969, is also a member of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) of North Sulawesi and has ASN status. In a special meeting with him, Mr. Syarif expressed the attitude that the Madrasa he led had a religious, democratic, and presentative character. He showed the evidence of it all. He also tried to convince teachers and students that democratic issues, including civil liberties, political rights, and government institutions, do not conflict with Islamic values.

Mrs. Erny Mohammad's perspective on civic education is inseparable from the fact that there is a close relationship between NU citizens and the State in Indonesia. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is the most prominent Islamic organization in Indonesia. Its members are estimated at 35-40 million inhabitants. NU is seen as a group that prioritizes religious pluralism and tolerance. There are three paradigms of NU citizens in statehood. First, a national State jointly established by the whole people must be maintained its existence. Second, the legitimate government must be placed in an honorable position and obeyed if it does not contravene the laws of God. Third, if something goes wrong with the government, how to remind it through good ethics. (Van Bruinessen, 1994). In responding to democracy, NU citizens always follow jurisprudence and rule that minimize risk, and flexibility, prioritizing the principle of benefits and avoiding extremism. NU emphasizes order, stability, and the application of objective law in power structures. (Fealy, 2012). Michael Feener also saw many progressive clerics among NU who were able to combine established religious knowledge with insights into the role of Islam in Indonesian public life. (Hoesterey, 2022; Kersten, 2018). NU also has such a strong people commitment. It is because most NU people come from grassroots communities. (Ida, 2004; Saenong, 2021)

The identification as a Muslimat NU citizen automatically makes Erny Mohammad use his power as an educator and Vice Principal for Student Affairs to control the Islamist movement and form citizenship morality for students. This is evident in the "Fakar Case." He said that Fakar is an alumnus of theirs who has received serious attention because he is trying to indoctrinate the students here to join the Islamic organization he joins. The organization was detected to contain elements of constitutional radicalism, takfiri, and jihadists. MAN Model Manado also refused and stopped its activities. However, he has studied citizenship materials. This fact suggests that civic organizations have a stronger influence on students' cognitive and affective aspects than government regulation in the state curriculum. If it is not evaluated, then fanaticism will be further institutionalized.

As a government person (ASN), Erny Mohammad claims to have concerns with Islamic issues and statehood in the sense of democracy. Her husband was a soldier who had suppressed the conflict

between Manado/Minahasa civil society and Habib Bahar Bin Smith when he came to Manado. Although there is no Islamic material in the civic education curriculum, we summarize the main intentions of Erny Mohammad. He wanted to emphasize to students that the relationship between Islam and democracy poses its problems. However, this issue is not a sign of religious hostility towards the state or vice versa.

But it is more of an understanding that the state must be neutral in matters of religion. (Ladeur, K. H., & Augsberg, 2007; Madeley, 2003; Ryder, 2005). This does not mean that religious beliefs and values have no place in politics or government. The problem is how those personal religious beliefs and values are brought into public politics. In this case, no religion is privileged by the state just because they have the status of a numerical majority. When we began to question what kind of teaching strategies they used to connect Islam and democracy in civic education subjects, Wahidah (51) and Erny Mohammad explained:

"These lesson hours are inadequate for internalizing religious moderation, such as linking Islamic values with democracy. On the other hand, we also provide opportunities for students to become diverse journalists to find news about civil liberties, political rights, and government institutions in Indonesian Muslim society. The results of the task were displayed in wall magazines. We have never done a field studies teaching strategy, such as to the DPRD (legislative) office, the Governor's office (executive), or the court in Manado City (judiciary). So that students are still unable to develop their critical reasoning."

Specifically, we are trying to explore the main intentions of the explanation of the two PKN teachers above regarding the strategy of teaching civic education in strengthening religious moderation in Indonesia. We found three main things. First, civil liberties in religious moderation can be implemented if Muslim students have never been hostile to other religions and ethnicities. It is because they are numerical minorities; Second, the concept of political rights in religious moderation can be qualified if students who are Muslims act collectively with each other in a way that is voluntary and bound by a mutually agreed legal order. They can make political choices without discrimination against other religions. They also have the right to invite people of common faith to maintain a collective identity or maintain their beliefs in the political territory. Third, the concept of government institutions in religious moderation will be able to show their credibility and professionalism in the eyes of the public if they accommodate religious values such as Islam as the basis for public policy making. According to them, implementing Islamic law can bring security and stability to a plural society. The issue of the Islamic caliphate for me is not always negative, although we need to strengthen the Pancasila state only because it is embedded in its universal religious values.

Theoretically, the concept of citizenship (Lister, 2007; Ponce, A. N., & Rowe, 2018; Wood, D. J., & Logsdon, 2017) involves membership in a community that is the basis for formal status as a citizen and the right of active citizenship associated with that status. Modern citizenship can be understood as the embodiment of four interconnected dimensions: membership, legal status, rights, and participation. Membership and legal status are about cultural and juridical inclusion in the community of citizens. Meanwhile, rights and participation are about the opportunities and responsibilities that follow from such inclusion. (Brownlow, 2011; Frøyland, K., Schafft, A., & Spielkavik, 2018). The next discussion was about the perception of Muslim students in the MAN Model Manado towards the indicators of the religious moderation policy that has been implemented in Indonesia. Such indicators include civil liberties, political rights, and government institutions.

We found that the perception of Muslim students from the Nahdlatul Ulama Student Association (IPNU) organizational background towards religious moderation policies tends to be religious in style. In the context of tolerance, they reject the establishment of an Islamic State, and they prohibit anyone from criticizing *ijtihad* Ulama in the constitutional system in Indonesia. From this attitude, it is clear how the culture of cultizing clerics in the NU tradition has succeeded in shaping the character of their religiosity. Clerics must be respected and must not be harassed. For them, clerics can play a dual role in the state, namely as Islamic figures and at the same time as political figures. We refer to this phenomenon as "Dwifungsi Ulama" in contemporary Indonesian situations.

Meanwhile, in the context of national commitment, they are willing to comply with political policies decided by regional leaders (Provinces/Regencies/Cities) who are not Muslims (Christian, Hindu, Buddhist & Confucian). But they don't think the President should use Islam as a tool to seek practical political support. Meanwhile, the perception of Muslim students from the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IPM) organizational background towards religious moderation policies tends to be rational. In the tolerance context, they also reject the Islamic State establishment and abide by the *ijtihad* of the Ulama.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

MAN Model Manado is a faith-based school. Their PKn teachers try to insert Islamic understanding into the classroom even though it is not optimal due to limited insight, an excess number of students, and study time. The background of work (ASN) and religious organizations of teachers and principals from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) greatly influenced the strengthening of religious moderation's value in civic education in MAN Model Manado.

In the MAN Model Manado, the position of religious moderation in civic education is directed more towards the process of shaping public morality than the hegemony of class identity. This relationship is built by three factors. First, civil liberties in religious moderation can be exercised if Muslim students are never hostile to other religions and ethnicities because they are numerical minorities. Second, political rights in religious moderation can be qualified if students who are Muslims collaborate with each other in a way that is voluntary and bound by a mutually agreed legal order. They can make political choices without discrimination against other religions. They also have the right to invite people of common faith to maintain a collective identity or maintain their beliefs in the political sphere. Third, government institutions in religious moderation will be able to show their credibility and professionalism in the eyes of the public if they accommodate religious values such as Islam as the basis for public policy making.

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