

# Millah

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## Menggugat Pendidikan Nirketeladanan

Reformasi Pendidikan dalam Perspektif Pendidikan Islam  
Burhanuddin Abdullah

Transforming Islamic Values Into Civic Education  
Samsuri

Kompetensi Guru SD/MI dalam Pembelajaran Sains  
Atho' Fuadi

التربية الدينية الخاطئة لها دور كبير في شكل موقف العنف  
واوان جنيدى

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*Menjadi salah satu referensi utama dalam bidang studi agama secara akademis baik nasional maupun internasional*

#### Misi

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Abstrak

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# TRANSFORMING ISLAMIC VALUES INTO CIVIC EDUCATION

## (A Preliminary Study in the Islamic Higher Education Institutions of Indonesia)

By Samsuri\*

### Abstrak

Artikel ini menyajikan kajian pendahuluan tentang penafsiran Islam sebagai sebuah system nilai yang diperlukan dalam pengkajian Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan di perguruan tinggi Islam Indonesia. Dalam kajian ini, contoh inspirasi Islam dalam Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan di perguruan tinggi Islam mengambil kasus di Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta dan Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta sebagai pelopor pengembangan Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan di lingkungan Perguruan Tinggi Muhammadiyah. Dalam artikel ini, penulis menelusuri kerangka pembaharuan pemikiran Islam tentang gagasan-gagasan demokrasi, hak asasi manusia, dan masyarakat madani (civil society) yang juga turut mempengaruhi pengembangan Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan di kedua institusi yang dikaji. Dari kajian dokumentasi berupa buku bahan ajar Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan di kedua institusi tersebut, transformasi nilai-nilai ke-Islam-an ke dalam Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan memiliki sumbangan penting tentang pemaknaan upaya membentuk warga negara yang baik dengan identitas Islam.

### مستخلص

يسعى هذا البحث إلى تقديم تصور مبدئي عن كيفية تفسير الإسلام كنظام قيمي ضروري في إطار تدريس مادة التربية القومية في مؤسسات التعليم العالي في إندونيسيا. تتناول المقالة حالتين دراسيتين هما حالة جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية في جاكرتا، والجامعة المحمدية في جوكرتا؛ حيث يسلط الباحث الضوء على الإطار الفكري الإسلامي التجديدي فيما يخص تدريس موضوعات الديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان والمجتمع المدني في كل من الجامعتين المذكورتين.

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وعبر دراسة وثائقية للمواد المدرسة في الجامعات، ينتهي البحث إلى ان استدماج القيم الإسلامية في تدريس مادة التربية القومية من شأنه ان يعزز من بناء المواطن الصالح عبر تقديمه لإطار تفسيري ذي معنى يساهم في إرساء دعائم الهوية القومية دون مساس بالهوية الإسلامية.

*Keywords: nilai-nilai Islam, civil society, dan pendidikan kewarganegaraan*

### A. Introduction

Indonesia as biggest Muslim population country in the world has faced new challenging post-authoritarian regime, new order period under President Soeharto. After 32 years under Soeharto administration, since May 1998 the country entered the transition to democracy. This new era, most known called as *reformation order*, has opportunity for civil society movement which be pressured under New Order regime to achieve the goals of reformation.

For Islamic movements, this period opened to actualize their aspirations. As known, they have limited activity to express ideals of democracy in all fields. Robert Hefner (2000)<sup>1</sup> noted many Islamic movements, as mainstream under Soeharto, legitimized the power for their surviving. Policy to accepting *Pancasila* as sole based for non-government organizations (and all political parties too), according to Islamic civil movement like Muhammadiyah and NU, made them have to change their principles (asas) with Pancasila. As known, Indonesia constitution addressed that it is not religion or secular state. But, it recognized the freedom rights to religion adherents express their faiths. Formally the state recognized the existing of big religious around the world in Indonesia, which be followed by majority of Indonesian people. They are Buddhism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Islam, and Protestantism. Following the President Soeharto addressing (in Krissantono, 1976)<sup>2</sup> before P4 released, explicitly the government of Indonesia declared that it is nor based religion neither secular values. Another word, Indonesia is nor religion state neither secular state. These statements have been ambiguity when government then should create the Religions Affair Department in its administration. In the living public, the people must have

<sup>1</sup> Robert Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, (Princeton-Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Krissantono, (ed.) *Pandangan Presiden Soeharto tentang Pancasila*, (Jakarta: CSIS, 1976)

ID card which printed their faith religion. This condition nearly what Robert N. Bellah (1976)<sup>3</sup> mentioned on civil religion in United States of America context. Really, I looked at Pancasila similarly as *civil religion* to transcend the formal religions in Indonesia as biggest Muslim population country around the world.

Study of Faisal Ismail (1995)<sup>4</sup> explained how Indonesian Muslims respond to Pancasila in three kinds. *Firstly*, Muslims respond it when nationalist-secular group addressed Pancasila as sole based of country near Indonesian independent 1945 and sessions of Constitution Assembly (*Majelis Konstituante*) at 1956 to 1959. *Secondly*, the responding to Pancasila happened when New Order government issued the P4 to be released. Early time Muslims respond to P4 are negative, then their majority accept it. *Last*, third, when 1982 discourse of Pancasila as single sole based for NGOs and political parties has increased tensions between government and Muslims. Islamic organizations like Muhammadiyah and NU have to change their principle of mission, Islam, with Pancasila. After 1985, then most Islamic organizations accepted the law on Pancasila as single principle for them with multi-interpretation and strategic reasons.

In the educational field, regulation on religious education and Pancasila education (included civic education) released as core contents of curriculum for each educational level since kindergarten, primary school to university. Bill of national education system at 1989 has been released to amend old bill on education. For few Islamic education institutions, Pancasila education has been taught with Islamic values perspective when described the first principle of Pancasila, *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (Believe One God). Civic education as part of Pancasila education has been reduced as kind of political indoctrination to support the regime interpretation on P4 and its policy.

Hefner (2000)<sup>5</sup> noted that democratic movements by Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah have signification after 1990s. In the Soeharto period at the New Order regime, Islamic movements have accentuations to actualization of Islamic values in the broader fields, either political (structural) Islam or cultural Islam movements. The civil society organizations emerged as reaction to empowered the grassroots which be weak

<sup>3</sup> Robert N. Bellah, "Religion and the Legitimation of the American Republic", in Robert N. Bellah & Phillip E. Hammond, (eds) *Varieties of Civil Religion*, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1976)

<sup>4</sup> Faisal Ismail, *Ideologi Hegemoni dan Otoritas Agama: Wacana Ketegangan Kreatif antara Islam dan Pancasila* [Hegemonic Ideology and Religious Authority: Creative Tension Discourse between Islam and Pancasila] (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1999)

<sup>5</sup> Robert Hefner, *Civil Islam...*, *Ibid.*

Education regulation has important meaning to look for what Islamic institution particularly Islamic higher education institutions developed the democratic transition to democratic citizens through civic education formally. In this paper, there are two Islamic institution which expansive to support CE teaching and learning models. For these cases, I found UIN Jakarta and Muhammadiyah through its universities have developed the CE models as new trend of Islamic education institution to respond global and domestic issues on democratization, human rights, gender equity, and so on, which accommodated Islamic values as basic or core contents.

### B. Trends of Islamic Thought Schools in Modern Indonesia

Islamic education institutions in Indonesia has established long before proclamation of independence at August 17, 1945. Early educational models is *madrasah* which be called as *pesantren*. *Pesantrens* taught Islamic teaching more classics orientation on *fiqh*, grammatical of Arabic language, sufi teachings and practices. In the colonial period, Muhammadiyah as modernist Islamic movement has pioneered the western educational model which opened the schooling models.

After 1945, Islamic education institutions has transformed to follow Western education models by schooling models. Islamic teaching by western school model opened in the higher educational institution in 1960 such as State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN). Greg Barton (1997: 42)<sup>6</sup> mentioned that the reform of Islam has contributed to the formation of the IAIN, beginning with IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, and IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta in 1960.

In the beginning of IAIN, Islamic studies more texts-minded to study Islamic teachings. It nearest to Al-Azhar University teaching model in Egypt on Islamic studies approaches, which more scripturalistics to examine the Islamic sources. The individuals influencing and intellectual reformers, such as Harun Nasution in IAIN Jakarta and Abdul Mukti Ali in IAIN Yogyakarta, have been IAIN faced a process of liberal education and intellectual reforms (Barton, 1997: 42).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Greg Barton, "Indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as Intellectual *Ulama*: The Meeting of Islamic Traditionalism and Modernism in Neo-modernist Thought", in *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, Vol. 4. No. 1 1997, pp. 29-81.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

Budhy Munawar-Rachman (1995)<sup>8</sup> mentioned that Islamic thought in Indonesia in 25 year (1995) after 1970 has riched themes. Its issues did not political dimension only, but it entered to cultural, theological, and philosophy fields. I agree with Munawar-Rachman (1995) opinion on mapping the Islamic thought into three big groups from Islamic neo-modernism thinkers in Indonesia. He categorized them as follows: *Islam rasional* (Islamic rational), *Islam peradaban* (Civilization Islam), and *Islam transformatif* (Transformative Islam) (Munawar-Rachman, 1995).<sup>9</sup> They are Harun Nasution & Djohan Effendi, Nurcholish Madjid & Kuntowijoyo, and Adi Sasono & Muhammad Dawam Rahardjo.

Another side, some observers agreed that Harun Nasution and Mukti Ali have opened new horizons to Islamic studies in the Muslims post-1970s. The new generation post Harun and Mukti Ali at IAIN are born in the early 1970s. Zuly Qodir (2002) called two *mazhabs* for two IAIN which have influenced Islamic thoughts in Indonesia, there are *Mazhab Ciputat* (IAIN Jakarta, now UIN Jakarta) and *Mazhab Sapen* (IAIN Yogyakarta, now UIN Yogyakarta). What differentiation of both? Qodir (2002: 340)<sup>10</sup> mentioned that *Mazhab Ciputat* has efforted to reinterpretation the Islamic understanding types according to new approaches of Qur'an and hadith studies. Those approaches more contextual and sophisticated to Islamic studies. *Mazhab Ciputat* spreads the new *mazhab* that is "Mazhab Pluralis-Inklusif-Toleran" (Pluralist-Inclusive-Tolerance Schools). This *mazhab* introduced the new way to religiosity, especially Islam, in plural community. Some intellectuals who categorized as *Mazhab Ciputat* are Munawir Sjadzali, Nurcholish Madjid, Azyumardi Azra, Komaruddin Hidayat, Bahtiar Effendy and Kautsar Azhari Noer. They are active either IAIN staffs or civil society groups like Paramadina, Muhammadiyah and NU organizations.

*Mazhab Sapen* dominated Islamic thoughts either "traditionalists" or "modernists" scholars background. In the campus of IAIN Yogyakarta, *Mazhab Sapen* most dominated the intellectuals who have Muhammadiyah's background as their Islamic organizations. Those some people are M. Amin Abdullah (Rector of IAIN Yogyakarta), Abdul Munir Mul Khan (professor of sociology of religion, IAIN Yogyakarta) and Musya Asy'arie (professor of economic and Islamic philosophy, IAIN Yogyakarta). This Muhammadiyah group which be categorized as *Mazhab*

<sup>8</sup> Buddhy Munawar-Rachman, "Dari Tahapan Moral ke Periode Sejarah Pemikiran Neo-Modernisme Islam di Indonesia", dalam *Ulumul Qur'an*, Vol. VI, No. 3 1995, pp. 4-29.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Zuly Qodir, "Wajah Islam Liberal di Indonesia: Sebuah Penjajagan Awal", dalam *Al-Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2, July-Dec. 2002, pp. 325-353.

*Sapen*, according to Qodir (2002),<sup>11</sup> has called "Left-Muhammadiyah Activists" or "Muhammadiyah Liberal" because they most critical about themselves organization to interpret and search the social context for religiosity in the plural community.

Another group who categorized the *Mazhab Sapen*, according to Qodir (2002)<sup>12</sup> is the people whose *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU, Islamic scholars association)* background such as Machasin and Faisal Ismail in campuss and young intellectuals of NU who graduated from IAIN Yogyakarta and then built the critical Islamic studies in *Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial (Institution of Islam and Social Studies)* Yogyakarta. This group developed the new horizon to understand on Islamic teaching with new approaching which introduced by the Muslim intellectuals such as Muhammad 'Abid al-Jabiri, Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, Mohammed Arkoun, Hassan Hanafi, Muhammad Syahrur, Abdullahi Ahmed An-Naim and Muhammad Mahmud Thaha.

In the civil society movements, both groups has contributed to revitalized the Islamic teachings as substance of Islamic society in the Indonesian society pluralism context. The contemporary living issues in Indonesia like democratization, gender equity, religions relationship, and human rights have emerged in their movements.

### C. Developing Civic Education Based Islamic Values

*State Islamic University (UIN) of Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta*

UIN Jakarta has pioneered new paradigm of CE in the higher education institution. Difference with CE which be developed by Higher Education Directorate of Ministry of National Education, CE in UIN Jakarta accomodated the universal concepts on CE. Following the CE model which be introduced by Center for Civic Education, Calabasas, California, USA, ICCE Team at UIN Jakarta succeeded improving contents and teaching and learning model in university level. Islam as basic values for CE has meaning contribution for reforming the old paradigm of CE. Old paradigm of CE in university level has militaristic nuanced, and non participative.

At UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, contents of CE focused on three aspects those are democracy, human rights and civil society. For that, UIN has published a textbook and supplement textbook on CE. CE textbook contents the topics those are national identity, state and citizenship, constitution, democracy, regional autonomy, good governance, human rights and civil society.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*