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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION FOR TOLERANCE

An exploratory study of the policies and practises of religious education in Public, Christian and Islamic secondary schools in the Netherlands and Indonesia

ABSTRACT

This study focusses on analysing the field of religious education in the Netherlands and Indonesia on a macro-, meso-, and micro-level. We have applied a qualitative, descriptive research design that contains of a review study of legal documents, policy statements and exploratory interviews with scholars, administrators and teachers in the educational field. By mapping the status quo of religious education in public and religiously-affiliated secondary schools, this study aims to provide insights in possibilities and different ways to further stimulate the development of education that contributes to the elimination of negative stereotypes and the dissemination of religious literacy. The value of this exploratory research lies in the fact that it sheds light on similarities and differences between the two countries and contributes to a higher degree of understanding of the social reality in the different national contexts. We conclude that while the link between religious education and religious tolerance in educational practises in both countries is seldom utilized, opportunities and possibilities to effectuate religious tolerance trough religious education are not fully seized.

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Declaration of own work

Hereby I, Theodora Marieke Aukje van Boven, declare and assure that I have composed the present thesis with the title '*Religious Education for Tolerance: An exploratory study of the policies and practises of religious education in public, Christian and Islamic secondary schools in the Netherlands and Indonesia* ', independently, that I did not use any other sources or tools other than indicated and that I marked those parts of the text derived from the literal content or meaning of other Works – digital media included – by making them known as such by indicating their source(s).

Utrecht, November 29, 2016

Acknowledgements

"One of the truths of our time is this hunger deep in people all over the planet for coming into relationship with each other".
-M.C. Richards (1916-1999)-

This research project has literally brought me to the other side of the world and back. It was an unforgettable experience to discover the unfamiliar. I want to thank Kerk in Actie and the Netherlands-Indonesia Consortium for Muslim-Christian Relations for this wonderful opportunity and CRCS for their incredible hospitality. I am truly thankful to all the people I have met in both Utrecht, Yogyakarta and Ambon for making this a captivating, unforgettable, and thought provoking experience.

I would like to express my gratitude to professor Frans Wijsen, Corrie van der Ven and Suhadi for introducing me to all the right people, for guiding me during the initial stages of this research, and for providing the incredible opportunity of presenting my research at the international conference in Ambon. I also like to thank all the people I have interviewed. I am sincerely grateful to them for sharing their knowledge and illuminating views on religious education and tolerance in both the Netherlands and Indonesia.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents for their unceasing support, for believing in me and making my journey to Indonesia possible.

Thank you,

Theodora

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I   Introduction

"The Highest Result of Education is Tolerance"
-Helen Keller (1880-1968) -

1.1   PROJECT FRAMEWORK

For many years, both the Dutch and the Indonesian people have taken considerable pride in their historical legacy of religious tolerance. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic became the first country in which freedom of conscience was enshrined in the law, making the Republic home to victims of religious persecution and a country where free-thinking intellectual dissidents like Baruch Spinoza and John Locke thrived (Geoffrey, 2011, p. 4). Indonesia's reputation for tolerance stems from her long history of religious diversity. Hundreds of local religions and six or seven world religions have co-existed in this Southeast Asian archipelago of 17.000 islands for thousands of years (Adeney-Risakotta, 2014, p. 71).

However, in recent years, tensions have risen between religious and ethnic groups in Indonesia, resulting in conflict and cases of faith-based violence. Simultaneously, the Dutch narrative of tolerance seems to be declining. Negative attitudes towards the Muslim population and signs of the rise in Islamophobia are evident from the increase in racial profiling, job discrimination to inequity in financial services (Report ECRI, 2008, p. 38). This development raises the question how we can combat the decline of religious tolerance.

Recent studies have shown that in general, education is one of the most effective means of preventing intolerance (UNESCO, 2014, p. 174). The transmission of knowledge is key to combatting intolerance and stereotypes (Scheiner, 2015, p. 142). Furthermore, there is an increasing awareness that 'religious literacy' could contribute to fostering understanding and religious tolerance (Moore, 2007). Religious literacy is defined as *'the ability to discern and analyse the fundamental intersections of religion and social/political/cultural life through multiple lenses'* (Harvard Religious Literacy Project). More and more people observe a widespread illiteracy about religion that spans the globe. In the words of Indonesian professor Ali Asani: *"there is a worldwide "clash of ignorances" as people of different faiths and cultural traditions fail to understand and engage positively with their differences and, instead, seek to destroy the other"* (Harvard Gazette, 5 Nov. 2015). Harvard professor Diane L. Moore argues that the consequences of religious illiteracy are profound and include *'fuelling the culture wars, curtailing historical and cultural understanding, and promoting religious and racial bigotry'* (Moore, 2007, p.3). While schools are located in the social or intermediate domain between the public and the private domain, schools play a fundamental role in preparing young citizens for the reality of life in a pluralistic society and the inevitable encounter with cultural and religious 'others' (Miedema & Bertram-Troost, 2008, p. 2).

With the premise that religious education can play a role in fostering religious literacy and promoting a positive view of diversity, the Netherlands-Indonesia Consortium for Muslim-Christian Relations -a non-governmental network of universities and civil society organizations in the Netherlands and Indonesia- recently organized a conference titled: 'Towards Inclusive Religious Education in the Netherlands and Indonesia' (24-26 August 2016). The Conference was aimed at sharing best and new practices, academic reflections and identifying strategies for working together on tolerance and peace through religious education.

In preparation for this conference, my research partner Senne Joustra and I were asked to examine the status quo of religious education in both the Netherlands and Indonesia. How is religious education currently positioned within the educational field? What is the content of religious teachings at schools and (how) do religion teachers accommodate religious diversity?

A comparison between these two countries arises from the organizational context of this project. The Netherlands-Indonesia Consortium is to a large extent founded on the common history that both countries share. The participants in the Consortium, consisting of Muslim and Christian scholars, religious leaders and practitioners from Indonesia and the Netherlands, partner to generate practice-oriented knowledge using dialogical methods. In this context, the question whether and what both countries can learn from each other is paramount.

1.2   CONCEPTUAL DESIGN

The conceptual canvas of this study is coloured by the research objective (1.2.1), research questions (1.2.2), the theoretical framework (1.2.3) and research concepts (1.2.4).

1.2.1   Research Objective

The starting point of this exploratory research is the assumption that religious education can provide a breeding ground for religious tolerance. The research objective is to contribute to the ongoing debate concerning religion in school education and to lay the initial groundwork for future research into ways to disseminate religious tolerance through religious education. An overview of the current state of affairs regarding religious education in both countries allows for a better understanding of contemporary challenges in the educational field and helps to identify context-based limitations and possibilities of teaching for tolerance. By mapping the status quo of religious education in secondary schools and analysing the relationship between policy and practice of religious education in both the Netherlands and Indonesia, this study lays the groundwork for a further investigation into a more detailed understanding of opportunities and different ways to foster religious tolerance in Dutch and Indonesian society, using the system of religious education as a vehicle.

1.2.2 Research Question

This study analyses the legal framework, government policy, school policies and educational practices regarding religious education in public and religiously-affiliated secondary schools in both the Netherlands and Indonesia. The overarching question this study aims to answer reads;

What is the current state of affairs regarding religious education in public and religiously-affiliated secondary schools in the Netherlands and Indonesia and what can both countries learn from each other with regard to policies and practises of religious education as a means of promoting religious tolerance?

In order to adequately address this main research question, the following sub-questions were formulated:

1) *Which educative goals regarding religious education and tolerance have been formulated in the Dutch and Indonesian government policies?*
2) *How and to what extent are nationally formulated educational goals concerning religious education and tolerance implemented in school policies of public and religiously-affiliated secondary schools?*
3) *How do teachers in public resp. religiously-affiliated secondary schools relate to religion and religious diversity in the society and the classroom?*
4) *Which possibilities and restrictions are provided by the legal framework, government policies, educational institutes and teachers' attitudes in both countries with regard to the implementation of a model of religious education which takes the religious other into account and fosters religious literacy?*

1.2.3 Theoretical Framework

Over the years, several studies regarding the effect of diversity on social interactions have been conducted and theories evolved. In the following, I will discuss both the intergroup contact theory and the ethnic competition theory. These theories constitute the basis for the conceptualization of the problem of (religious) intolerance and provide theoretical perspectives on effective ways to reduce prejudice (1.2.3.1). Furthermore, I will briefly elaborate on the important role of the teacher in moral education (1.2.3.2). These insights will be used as background theory when reflecting on contemporary policy and educational practises of religious education in both Indonesia and the Netherlands.

1.2.3.1 The ethnic competition- and the Inter-group contact theory

The *ethnic competition theory* integrates the social identity theory and the realistic group conflict theory (Savelkoul et al, 2010, p.1). The social identity theory assumes that the process of (social) categorization leads to group identification, resulting in positive in-group and negative out-group attitudes (Savelkoul et al, 2010, p.2). The realistic group conflict theory assumes that competition over scarce resources and values between social groups, induces conflict of interest between those groups

and eventually antagonistic inter-group attitudes (Savelkoul et al, 2010, p.2). Perceived threat seems to be the most direct determinant of unfavourable attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Bobo, 1988). Ethnic competition theory argues that the process of social identification and social contra-identification intensifies under conditions of actual inter-group competition and/or perceived threat, resulting in increased negative attitudes towards outgroups (Savelkoul et al, 2010, p.2).

The *inter-group contact theory* of Gordon Allport is based on the assumption that inter-group contact will reduce prejudices against certain groups (Hewtone&Swart, 2011, p.375). Face-to-face encounters between members from different groups reduces in-group/out-group distinctions and negative associations such as anxiety, and induces out-group solidarity, resulting in positive associations, such as empathy (Pettigrew&Tropp, 2008, p.923). According to Allport, direct inter-group contact would be more likely to reduce prejudice if it involved equal status among the participants, cooperation on common goals between groups, and institutional support. In addition, while contact is associated with reduced anxiety, Tausch et al. (2007) found anxiety mediated the relationship between inter-group contact and prejudice. There is less evidence for Allport's favoured mediator, increased knowledge about the out-group.

1.2.3.2 The role of the teacher in moral education

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the role of teachers in transmitting attitudes and values. A survey on moral themes, carried out in Finland, England and Sweden, demonstrated that for the effectiveness of moral education, overall school culture is as important as the transfer of factual knowledge: *'by encouraging young people to express their inner thoughts and feelings and facilitate dialogue, their competences and interest in the world are stimulated. (..) In contrast: if teachers in their everyday practice do not respect or listen to the ideas and opinions of their pupils but instrumentally superimpose values onto them, the prospect – via education – of developing morally aware, politically active and democratic citizens seems more difficult, if not utopian'* (Sandström et al, 2010, p.215). Another review study points in that same direction: an indirect approach to value education appears to be more effective than a direct approach aimed at directly transferring values (Solomon et al, 2001, p.571). With indirect approaches, the emphasis is on the launching of a value-forming dialogue between the teacher and students and between students. Consciously and unconsciously, teachers continually transfer values to their students. Therefore, teachers appear to play a crucial role in moral education. As important socialisation agents, schoolteachers' attitudes and actions are key vehicles in 'moral education' (Sandström et al, 2010, p.205). Teachers need to be aware that they are handling *both* potentials for dialogue and understanding, as well as those for conflict, simultaneously (Bakker et al., 2008, p.349).

1.2.4   Research concepts

In this study, policies and practises of religious education are analysed and their potential contribution to fostering religious tolerance will be examined. In the context of this study, three concepts are essential, namely (the meaning of the words) 'tolerance' (1.2.4.1), 'religious education' (1.2.4.2) and 'religious literacy' (1.2.4.3).

1.2.4.1 The meaning of the word 'tolerance' in the context of this study

The concept of tolerance encloses a broad spectrum of underlying ideas and a variety of different meanings. The Oxford English dictionary defines tolerance as: '*The ability or willingness to tolerate the existence of opinions or behaviour that one dislikes or disagrees with*'. 'To tolerate' is in turn defined as: *'[to] allow the existence, occurrence, or practice of (something that one dislikes or disagrees with) without interference*'. Other definitions include '*interest in and concern for ideas, opinions, practices, etc., foreign to one's own*', '*a liberal, undogmatic viewpoint*' and '*the act or capacity of enduring'*.

In ethics, tolerance is typically conceived as *'an individual virtue, issuing from and respecting the value of moral autonomy, and acting as a sharp rein on the impulse to legislate against morally or religiously repugnant beliefs and behaviours'* (Brown, 2009, p.9). Robinson, Witenberg and Sanson (2001) have studied how tolerance as an individual virtue can be learned. The authors describe four levels of tolerance:

1) Individual endurance – to put up with the differences;

2) To be fair and objective – ignoring the relevance of difference;

3) Conscious rejection of prejudice;

4) Full acceptance – celebration of difference.

These differentiations illustrate the many different attitudes covered under the heading of 'tolerance'. Therefore it is important to specify the meaning of the word *tolerance* in the context of this study. When using the word tolerance, I refer to the definition of tolerance as enshrined in UNESCO's Declaration of Principles on Tolerance. This Declaration adopts a definition of tolerance in line with the 'fourth level' of tolerance. The Declaration affirms that tolerance is neither concession nor indulgence or condescension, it is an active attitude promoted by recognition of the universal rights and freedoms of others: *"Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication, and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty, it is also a political and legal requirement. (…) It means accepting the fact that human beings, naturally diverse in their appearance, situation, speech, behaviour and values, have the right to live in peace and to be as they are. It also means that one's views are not to be imposed on others"* (Article 1, UDPT).

1.2.4.2 (Models of) Religious Education

Religious education encompasses a variety of different forms and practises. Based on differences in pedagogical aspects (cognitive-, affective-, attitudinal goal and teaching methods), normative basis and societal context, we can distinguish between three models of religious education, namely: the mono-religious model, the multi-religious model and the inter-religious model.

The *mono-religious model* is characterised by the dominance of a specific religious tradition, the pedagogical aim of internalisation of that tradition, and the claim of a particular religion to absolute truth as a normative basis (Sterkens, 2001, p. 49). The aim of mono-religious education is to construct a religious identity in line with one's own religious tradition and to increase pupils' interest and involvement in that particular religion. Other religions might be discussed, albeit from the perspective of one's own tradition and with the aim of affirming that tradition (Sterkens, 2001, pp. 50-54).

While the mono-religious model can viewed as a model for 'learning *in* religion', the multi-religious model focusses on 'learning *about* religion'. The aim of the *multi-religious model* is to compare different religious traditions in order to increase knowledge and tolerance of other religions and immanent world-views. The normative basis of this model is religious relativism; all religions are considered equally valuable and evaluated according to 'objective' criteria (Sterkens, 2001, pp.55-59). It focusses on the accumulation of information about beliefs, rituals and values of different religious traditions.

The *inter-religious model* focusses on religious identity formation through the development of competence in dialogue. The normative basis for this model is 'pluralism'. Within this model, plurality is viewed as an opportunity for mutual enrichment. It aims at fostering respect for both other religious traditions as well as one's own religion by teaching effective communication between the adherents of different religions (Sterkens, 2001, pp. 63-66). Interreligious learning is ideally characterized by three main aspects, namely (1) the formation of identity, (2) openness to others, and (3) the willingness to learn with and from each other (Miedema, 2006, p. 170).

1.2.4.2 Definition of 'Religious Literacy'

Harvard professor Diane L. Moore articulates the following definition of religious literacy: *"Religious literacy entails the ability to discern and analyse the fundamental intersections of religion and social/political/cultural life through multiple lenses"*. She specified that a religiously literate person will possess "*1) a basic understanding of the history, central texts (where applicable), beliefs, practices and contemporary manifestations of several of the world's religious traditions as they arose out of and continue to be shaped by particular social, historical and cultural contexts; and 2) the ability to discern and explore the religious dimensions of political, social and cultural expressions across time and place"* (Harvard Religious Literacy Project)*.*

Moore furthermore emphasizes that critical to this definition is 'the importance of understanding religions and religious influences *in context* and as *inextricably woven into all dimensions of human experience'* (Harvard Religious Literacy Project).

1.3   TECHNICAL DESIGN

As above-mentioned studies show, teaching for tolerance is not just a matter of State or school policy, but in practise appears to be highly influenced by preferences and attitudes of individual teachers. Therefore, I will not only analyse current State policy and evaluate (the development of) existing curricula, but I will also assess preferred pedagogical approaches and attitudes of present day teachers.

In order to adequately study this phenomenon, I have applied a qualitative, descriptive research design. A cross-national, multiple case study that contains a literature review and document analysis as well as exploratory interviews with several key figures in the educational field to complement existing data. The major strength of the case study design is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence (Evers & Van Staa, 2010). By combining these different methodologies, I hope to realize a methodological synergy that allows me to gather rich, complex data in a systematic and holistic manner. It is commonly thought that the interdependency and interaction between the different methods will amount to a diligent and firm research process (Vennix, 2011, p.100). Triangulation is used to 'partially overcome or counterbalance the deficiencies and biases that flow from single methodologies' (Evers & Van Staa, 2010).

1.3.1   Data collection

The specific research data on Indonesia and the Netherlands were obtained from a review study of legal documents, policy statements and national and international literature concerning religious education. The *World Values Survey* database was used to provide data concerning general attitudes and values in Dutch and Indonesian society with regard to religion and education. The *World Values Survey* studies changing values and their impact on social and political life. It is the largest non-commercial, cross-national, time series investigation of human beliefs and values ever executed.

In addition, between February and April 2016, Senne Joustra and I conducted a total of nine exploratory interviews with scholars, administrators and teachers in the (religious) educational field, supplemented with one e-mail interview. The interviews were recorded using a handheld recording device. The audio files were transcribed verbatim in Word documents to facilitate subsequent data analysis.

The participants have been carefully selected to represent different types and orientations of public and religiously-affiliated secondary schools. The structure of the Dutch educational field created the opportunity to contact umbrella organisations in order to provide a more general overview of

educational practises in different secondary schools. Therefore, participants in the Netherlands were administrators at education umbrella organisations (one public: VOS/ABB, one Christian: Verus, and one Islamic: ISBO) while in Indonesia, three religion teachers from different secondary schools in Yogyakarta participated (one public: SMAN 7, one Christian: SMA Bopkri 1, and one Islamic: SMA Piri 1). Furthermore, we complemented our findings by conducting interviews with scholars specialized in religious education (two in Indonesia: M. Yusuf (UGM), Tabita Kartika Christiani (UKDW), one in the Netherlands: Elza Kuijk (VU)). An overview of the respondents can be found in appendix A.

Participants' experiences were captured and interviewees were invited to provide feedback on the usefulness, impact as well as barriers of religious education as a means to foster religious tolerance. To ensure that the same general areas of information were collected from each interviewee, we have used the 'General Interview Guide Approach'. This technique provides more focus than the conversational approach, but still allows a degree of freedom and adaptability in getting the information from the participant (Turner, 2010, p.755). While wording used slightly varied based on whether administrators, scholars or teachers were being interviewed, questions particularly aimed at providing insights on the *school policy* of religious education and teachers attitudes towards *religion* and *religious diversity.* See appendix B for the interview guide.

Due to time limitations, language barriers and reservations of teachers to participate, we have used convenience sampling to select participants in the Indonesian educational field. We are aware that this sampling technique can cause systematic bias and limitations in generalization. However, given the nature of this research, in which the interviews serve a merely exploratory purpose supplementary to existing literature, it is not my intention to make inferences about the entire population based exclusively on this sample. Furthermore, we included two Indonesian scholars, both specialists in religious education in Indonesia, in order to create a more general overview.

1.3.2 Analysis
After conducting the interviews, the recorded data were transcribed. This provided a good opportunity to familiarize myself with the data in order to list key ideas and recurrent themes. The corpus of this study consists of all the interview transcripts and all data collected from the literature review and the *World Values Survey*.

During the process of data analysis, I have used a deductive (scissor and sort) technique. The scissor-and-sort technique is a quick and cost-effective method for analysing a transcript (Stewart& Shamdasani, 2015, p.123). Raw data was selected and ordered along the line of three sensitizing concepts, which derived from the research questions (deductive) (Van Thiel, 2014, p.143). The following concepts were used as a guideline and starting point for analysing the interviews and literature: 1) State policy; 2) school policy; 3) teachers attitudes towards religion and religious diversity,

allowing for an analysis of the educational field on a macro-, meso- and micro-level. Additional material was stored in the same systematic manner. Once the interpretative process was finished, each topic was provided with a brief summary of research insights, elaborated with direct quotes derived from the interviews. The data from different sources were compared and contrasted with each other to search for patterns, cause and effect relations and other forms of interconnection (Van Thiel, 2014, p.148).

In the last phase, I compared the results of the two case studies. Shining light on the similarities and differences between the two countries contributes to a higher degree of understanding for the social reality in the different national contexts and might help to identify context-based limitations and possibilities of teaching for tolerance.

1.3.3   Reliability and Validity

Opponents of qualitative research often argue that this form of research is rather subjective. Even though it is true that most qualitative data analysis is subjective (Van Thiel, 2014, p.150), measures have been taken to ensure validity and reliability of this study. As mentioned earlier, triangulation of research methods was used in order to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases related to single method studies.

Nevertheless, I am aware of the limitations of this research. The small amount of interviewees and the clustering of the approached institutions, will make a generalization based on the interviews alone unreliable and rather useless. For this reason, I sought to note patterned regularities in the ways interviewees account for their experiences with religious education and teaching for tolerance in the classroom, as well as paying attention to alternative viewpoints and counter-evidence. I interpreted the results using a comparison with existing literature regarding religious educational practises in both the Netherlands and Indonesia.

Moreover, it is recognised that in a cross-national study, analytical interpretations may be obscured by ethnocentrism and insufficient familiarity with conditions and culture of other countries, in this case Indonesia. To compensate for this, attention is paid to general national values, using the results of the *World Value Survey.*

1.3.4   Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into five chapters. In the first two chapters, I will present the results of the analysis of the educational field of religious education in both countries on a macro-, meso- and micro-level. In the first chapter I will present the findings of the Dutch case study (Chapter II) and in the second chapter, the results of the Indonesian case study (Chapter III). The next chapters sheds light on similarities and differences between the two countries which contributes to a higher degree of

understanding of the social reality in the different national contexts. The similarities and difference chapter (IV) is followed by a discussion (V) identifying possibilities and restrictions provided by the legal framework, government policies, educational institutes and teachers' attitudes in both countries with regard to the implementation of a model of religious education which takes the religious other into account and fosters religious literacy. In the two last chapters, I will present the conclusions (VI) and recommendations (VII) in which I will make some suggestions for future research.

II   Results: Dutch Case Study

"If liberalism has a future, it is in giving up the search for a rational consensus on the best way of life. Nearly all societies today contain several ways of life, with many people belonging to more than one".
-Gray (2009)-

This part of the thesis presents the results of the content analysis of the Dutch case study. Presenting the results, I tried to find vivid examples that capture the essence of the points made by participants (interviews) and authors (literature). This chapter is divided into two parts. In the first section, I will present a brief overview of the political and social context of the Dutch society (2.1). These contextual remarks will allow for a better understanding and contextualisation of the results and conclusions of this research. In the second part, I will discuss the results of the data analysis of the case study of religious education in the Netherlands on a macro-, meso- and micro-level (2.2). The aim is to obtain insights in how the three domains influencing religious education (State policy, school policy and teachers (attitudes)) in the Netherlands intertwine and interact. Furthermore, which relevant concepts and underlying ideas influence this process?

Figure 1: Interaction and interconnextions
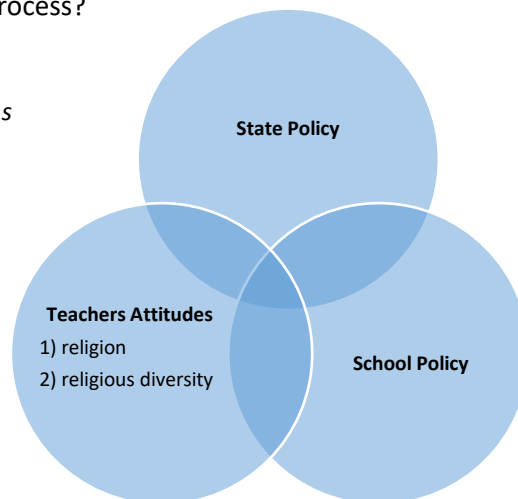
2.1   A Brief Overview of the Political, Social and Cultural Context

The history of religion in the Netherlands has been characterized by diversity of religious beliefs and practices. As a means of dealing with religious diversity in Dutch society, a system of so called 'pillarization' was invented. Between 1880 and 1960, the Dutch society was 'solidified' and oriented vertically to religious and ideological pillars (Vellenga, 2015).

In the 1950's, over 80% of the Dutch population belonged to a church. However, since 1960 onwards, the Netherlands has become one of the most secularized countries in the western world. In 2014, a survey by the VU University Amsterdam concluded that for the first time in the history of the Netherlands, atheists (25%) outnumber the theists (17%). The majority of the population being

agnostic (31%) or 'ietsist' (27%) (Ipsos/VU 2015). However, despite the progress of secularisation and the decline of church membership, religion remains a central aspect of Dutch society (Vellenga, 2015).

The constitutional context of the relationship between religion and the secular state in the Netherlands is embedded in the concepts of the separation between church and state, neutrality of the state with regard to religion and belief (art.6 jo. Art.1 GW), and the freedom of religion and belief (art.6 GW) (Van Bijsterveld, 2015, p. 524). Separation between church and state is considered an important feature of the Dutch secular state and entails that the state respects the internal organization of the church and that the churches have no formal say in public decision-making (Van Bijsterveld, 2015, p.529).

The Dutch church-state relationship can be characterized as a model of cooperation between state and religious institutions, based on the 'inclusive neutrality' of the state. Neutrality means that the state allows all religions and denominations to have equal footing (Vermeulen & Bader, 2012, p.3). The system of education is exemplary of the Dutch way of dealing with organizations based on a religion or belief (Van Bijsterveld, p. 525). It is a dual system which consist of public-authority schools (*openbare)* and private (*bijzondere* - mostly religiously affiliated) schools, equally funded by the state. Denominational schools form an integral part of the public educational system (J. Sturm et al., 1998, p.2). The majority of 2/3 of all schools in the Netherlands are religiously-affiliated schools whereas 1/3 have a "neutral status" according to religion and worldviews (CBS, 2009).

2.2   Religious Education in the Netherlands

In this result section, I will analyse the educational field of religious education in the Netherlands on a macro-, meso- and micro-level. On a macro-level, I will present an overview of state's laws regarding religious education and tolerance (A), on a meso-level, I will discuss school policies of religious education (B) and on a micro-level, I will analyse the attitudes of religion teachers towards religion and religious diversity (C).

A.   MACRO-LEVEL: STATE POLICY

For a proper understanding of religious education in the Netherlands, knowledge about the Dutch educational system is imperative. Article 23 of the Dutch Constitution can be considered one of the key features of the Dutch education system. This article governs the relationship between educational institutes and the State (Onderwijsraad, 2016).

The Dutch "dual" educational system of equal treatment of both state and denominational schools has existed in the Netherlands since 1920. It is rooted in the historical legacy of the Dutch 'pillarization' system. Until 1806, education in the Netherlands consisted only of private (elite) schools and church-based education. Following the Education Law of 1806, public schools were founded. These

schools were predominantly based on a liberal Christian (protestant) worldview. As a result, some religious minorities started illegal schools in order to provide their children with education in line with their values and world views. In 1848, the Dutch Constitution guaranteed the freedom of education which allowed churches or religious groups to establish schools and granted parents the right to send their children to those private schools instead of public (Vermeer, 2013, p.85). However, only state schools received government funding. The system of completely equal treatment of both state and denominational schools has existed in the Netherlands since 1920 and is enshrined in article 23 of the Dutch Constitution (Freedom of Education).

The freedom of education, guaranteed under article 23, entails the freedom of establishment (*vrijheid van oprichting*), the freedom of organization (*vrijheid van inrichting*) and the freedom of 'persuasion' (*vrijheid van richting*). The freedom of establishment means that everyone (churches, parents) has the right to found schools to provide teaching based on religious, ideological or educational beliefs and apply for (equal) state funding. The freedom of organization means that both public and private schools are free to determine – within legal boundaries and quality standards set by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science - what is taught and how. The freedom of persuasion encompasses the freedom to express the fundamental orientation of the school in the selection of staff, pupils and teaching material (Mentink et al, 2016). Like the state, public schools are strictly *neutral* with regard to religion and worldview.

As a result of these *historical developments*, the position of religious education is closely linked to the unique features of the Dutch educational system. Within this legal structure, the *autonomic realization of religious education* is part of the freedom that non-public schools enjoy. It is considered a part of a school's (religious) identity, an expression of the right to *freedom of persuasion*. Religious education is not supervised by the state, as it would violate the separation between church and state and the state's neutrality with regard to religion (Vermeer, 2013, p.87).

National Curriculum/ Core Objectives

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science is responsible for defining the general education policy. The potent role that education can play in creating knowledgeable, involved and tolerant citizens, has not remained unnoticed by government officials and policy makers. In 2005, the Dutch parliament adopted the *Law on the Enhancement of Active Citizenship and Social Integration* which obligates primary and secondary schools to promote active citizenship and social integration. According to the Dutch Education Inspectorate (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2012) the transmission of key values (sense of respect, tolerance, solidarity, etc.) and the formation of informed and involved citizens are important benefits of education. Since then, article 17 of the Law on Secondary Education (WVO) stipulates that education (among other things) is aimed at *'ensuring that students have knowledge of, and*

are acquainted with the different backgrounds and cultures of their peers'. The introduction of citizenship education in 2006 is a manifestation of efforts made by the government to overcome challenges posed by the increasingly plural nature of Dutch society. Citizenship education is supposed to ensure social cohesion by focusing on active citizenship and social participation.

In addition to the general educational objective articulated in article 17 WVO, core objectives of secondary education are formulated in additional regulations (Kerndoelen). There is no detailed national curriculum. Instead, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science formulated 58 core objectives to be taught (article 11 WVO). These core objectives provide the basis for the national exams at the end of secondary school and the reviews and quality inspections by the Dutch Inspectorate of Education. Core objectives describe what the school must offer, but not how it should be done. The curriculum is interpreted according to the *evocative nature of education* (SLO, 2008, p.5). Schools define their own policies within this global, national framework. However, all schools are obliged to account for their educational practice, programs and evaluations vis-à-vis the Inspectorate of Education (Ruiter & Vermeulen, 2007, p.194).

Education in religion does not belong to the list of core objectives, as it would violate the *separation of church and state* (Ruiter & Vermeulen, 2006, p.6). Nonetheless, one of the core objectives relates to the issue under concern. Under the heading "people and society" core objective number 43 of the list reads: *Students learn about similarities, differences and changes in culture and beliefs in The Netherlands; learn about their own ways of life and how to connect these to the ways of life of others; and learn to understand the meaning for society of respect for one's convictions and beliefs (..)"*. Schools are free to interpret this in their own ways when implementing this core objective into their educational practises.

To ensure that there is always an option for Protestant, Islamic or any other religious/ ideological education, all public secondary schools are obligated by law to provide a classroom to facilitate optional education by religious communities (article 46 WVO). The school authorities do not take any responsibility for the content of this education. Furthermore, it should be noted that *public* secondary schools are obligated by law to *'contribute to the development of students with attention to religious, ideological and social values as they are present in Dutch society, and acknowledging the meaning of the diversity of these values'* (art. 42 WVO). However, this article, defining the character of public education, does not apply to private (mostly religiously-affiliated) schools. The freedom of education guarantees autonomy for schools concerning educational and pedagogic-didactic approaches. Private schools decide independently on issues concerning their identity, like religious education and citizenship education (Onderwijsraad, 2016). Whether religious education is compulsory or optional is part of the school policy.

In Dutch education, promoting tolerance of sexual diversity and ethnic-religious tolerance are accepted, compulsory goals. Educational objectives related to religion are shaped within the framework of citizenship education. However, the autonomic realization of religious, moral and citizenship education is part of the freedom of education that schools enjoy, guaranteed under article 23 of the Dutch Constitution. Confessional religious education is regarded an expression of the (religious) identity of the school whereas (equal) attention to different religions in public schools is prescribed in order to reflect the neutral character of public education. We can distinguish several key elements, some of which are interrelated: 'Separation of Church and State', 'Inclusive neutrality of the state', 'Freedom of education', 'Dual system', 'Autonomy of schools', 'Core objectives', and the 'Evocative nature of education'.

Table 1: Overview of the Dutch educational system+ RE and educational goals aiming for tolerance

Context	-Separation between church and state -Neutrality of the state with regard to religion and belief (art.6 jo. art.1 GW) -Freedom of religion and belief (art.6 GW)	Inclusive neutrality of the state No supervision of RE by the state
Dutch Constitution	Art.23: Freedom of Education - freedom to found schools - freedom of organisation - freedom of conviction/persuasion	Dual system: equally funded public and non-public schools Autonomy of schools RE as expression of schools identity
Law on Secondary Education (WVO)	Art. 17: enhancement of active citizenship and social integration (ALL SCHOOLS)	Education aimed *'ensuring that students have knowledge of, and are acquainted with the different backgrounds and cultures of their peers'.*
	Art. 42: Character of PUBLIC education	Public schools should *'contribute to the development of students with attention to religious, ideological and social values as they are present in Dutch society, and acknowledging the meaning of the diversity of these values'*
	Art. 46+47: GVO/HVO (PUBLIC schools) school authorities not responsible for content	Public schools obligated to provide a classroom to facilitate optional religious education by religious communities (confessional)
Core objectives *Besluit Kerndoelen*	Number 43: all schools are obligated to teach their students about cultures and beliefs in order to generate respect and tolerance.	*Students learn about similarities, differences and changes in culture and beliefs in The Netherlands; learn about their own ways of life and how to connect these to the ways of life of others; and learn to understand the meaning for society of respect for one's convictions and beliefs (..)*

B.   MESO-LEVEL: SCHOOL POLICY

As mentioned above, the freedom of education and the associated 'evocative nature of education' allows for an interpretation of core objectives. Schools can define their own policies within the global framework of national formulated objectives. This means that schoolboards can choose the methods for the subjects to be taught and construct a specific program planning. Analysing the educational field and contemporary educational practises of religious and worldview education, we can make several observations.

Religious education in public secondary schools

Interviews: Religious education in public secondary schools is rarely taught. Marleen Lammers (VOS/ABB) stated that: '*The legal obligation of public secondary schools to contribute to the development of students with attention to religious, ideological and social values is generally met by incorporating religion into other subjects like history or sociology'.* One of our other the interviewees, Paul Boersma, clarified this situation when he pointed out that: *"Generally, public education is not familiar with the domain of religious or worldview formation due to the fact that this discipline is traditionally exclusively taught in a confessional setting."* Consequentially, we observe a lack of consideration for religion in educational practises in public schools.

Literature: These findings are consistent with observations made in secondary literature regarding (the absence of) religious educational practises in public secondary schools in the Netherlands (Kuyk, 2007, p.139). Due to the 'neutral character' of public schools, public schools cannot provide confessional religious education in which subjectivity plays a part, but they can address religious and social values (Leeman, 2008, p.52). VOS/ABB, the Association for Public and General Education, recently published a brochure (2016) with the aim of stimulating religious and worldview education in secondary public schools. The vision expressed reads '*Worldview education provides solidarity and connection, it touches the hearts of pupils and staff (..) Identity development is paramount [therefore] VOS/ABB recommends that all students of public secondary schools should have the opportunity to develop themselves within the religious sphere.* And also '*It is considered a human right that children have the opportunity to develop their own identity. Worldview is an essential part of this identity. Teachers can make a significant contribution to the development of students to become actively tolerant citizens*'. Therefore, they urge public schools to consider worldview education as an integrated part of citizenship education.

Religious education in Christian-affiliated secondary schools

Interviews: According to one of our interviewees, religious scholar Elza Kuyk, the way religious education is shaped '*predominantly depends on the attitude of the religious teacher and the way schools formulate their religious identity'.* Because of this diversity, it is not possible to provide a general description of the content of religious education at religiously affiliated schools. Elza Kuyk provided some indicators of the status of religious education in confessional schools. She states that: 'barometers of the status of religious education and the importance given to the subject include the question whether or not religious education is included in the official final exams and the school's appreciation of the grades.'

Literature: Most religiously-affiliated schools do provide religious education, as it is considered an important expression of the schools' identity (*richting*). Whether or not religious education is an

integrated part of the school's curriculum, predominantly depends on the particular *identity of the school*. In 2008, Regiecentrum 'Religious Education as a subject of examination', conducted a study regarding the status of religious education as an examination subject. Results indicate that 85% of approached Orthodox schools, 57 % of Protestant-Christian schools and 48% of Catholic schools offer religious education as a small exam (Regiecentrum, 2008, p.2).

Within Christian-affiliated secondary schools, religious education can either be confessional or non-confessional (Kuyk, 2007, p.137). External (religious) organisations are sometimes involved in school's policies and the content of religious education. Officially, all Catholic schools are supposed to integrate a confessional approach of religious education. The Bishops Conference approves standards for religious education. However, practice might be different (Kuyk, 2007, p.138). The protestant churches do not have any formal relation with the protestant schools.

Religious education in Islamic secondary schools

Interviews: Within the Islamic secondary school, religious education plays a significant role in the daily educational practises. According to Rasit Bal (ISBO), religious education in Islamic schools is aimed at '*transferring Islamic teachings and getting pupils acquainted with Islamic religious practises*'. This approach can be characterized as religious socialisation/ learning *in* religion.

Literature: Since 1988, several Islamic schools in the Netherlands were established with the purpose of providing education which contributed to a cultural-religious personality development in an Islamic spirit (Shadid & Van Koningsveld, 1992, p.110). In 2014, 'Avicenna college' was founded, currently the only Islamic-affiliated secondary school in the Netherlands. Recently, the director of Avicenna College Richard Troost, published a document regarding the school's current state of affairs (Troost, 2016) in which he proclaimed that: *'The Islamic identity of the school has been shaped. You can see and feel that we are an Islamic school: dress codes, prayer room, call to prayer, Ramadan grid etc. But also the values of faith referring to respectful treatment and decent behaviour. Meanwhile, there is a lot of contact with the mosques on how to shape education in the triangular relationship between parents, mosque and school."*

General observations

With regard to educational objectives related to religion which are shaped within the framework of citizenship education, a report of the Dutch Education Council, an independent governmental advisory body, presents some interesting insights. In this report, the Council expressed her concern about the poor implementation of the core objectives regarding citizenship education in secondary schools (OnderwijsRaad, 2012). In many schools, there is no coherent curriculum to meet the core objectives concerning citizenship education such as the above-mentioned core objective number 43, which

instructs schools to teach students about similarities, differences and changes in culture and beliefs. The Council notes that legislation regarding citizenship education is unclear. They furthermore observe an absence of available methods and tools to effectively stimulate civic competences (OnderwijsRaad, 2012, p.7).

With regard to religious education as a subject expressing the religious identity of a school, several observations can be made. Throughout the educational field, one can find a wide range of available methods, modules and detailed programs for teaching worldview and religious education developed by specialized institutes. Depending on the pedagogical approach, the identity of the school and the preference of religion teachers, methods and hours used to teach religious education widely differ.

As a provision typical of religiously affiliated schools, religious education initially served the general purpose of religious socialisation (Vermeer, 2013, p.88). As a result of both secularisation and increasing diversity in society i.e. the classroom, efforts have been made to derive the subject from its confessional basis. This resulted in the transformation of religious education into 'worldview formation', more suitable to accommodate the increasingly diverse backgrounds of students (Kuyk & Schreiner, 2010, p.6).

In an exploratory study, Wiel Veugelers (2008, p.28) distinguishes four pedagogical approaches to religious education: 1) education in a religion *(text-oriented theological approach)*; 2) learning about different religions *(phenomenological approach)*; 3) religious development within a religious tradition *(existentialistic philosophical approach)* and; 4) personal religious development within a democratic framework *(social ethical approach)*. His research shows that most secondary schools that offer religious education nowadays have adopted the third or fourth pedagogical approach. One can observe a general shift in the goals of religious education; from the emphasis on the transfer of knowledge (approach 1 and 2) to an approach were the personal development of the student is paramount (3, 4).

Heid Leganger-Krogstad (2001, p.61) provides some additional insights. She argues that approach 1 and 2 give priority to *human understanding on the basis of common cultural history* and makes use of a mainly *substantial view of religion*. In the first approach, focus is on the individual formation of identity, while the phenomenological approach puts emphasis on the understanding of religion as a phenomenon in a broader context. Approaches 3 and 4 give priority to *human understanding on common ground* and make use of a mainly *functional view of religion*. In the third approach, the individualistic perspective (development of child) is dominant, while the collective (society) perspective dominates the fourth approach (p.63).

Integrating all above-mentioned insights, I have created the following figure that provides a general overview of current positions of different schools in the Netherlands.

Figure 3: Main approaches to Religious Education+ current positions of different secondary schools
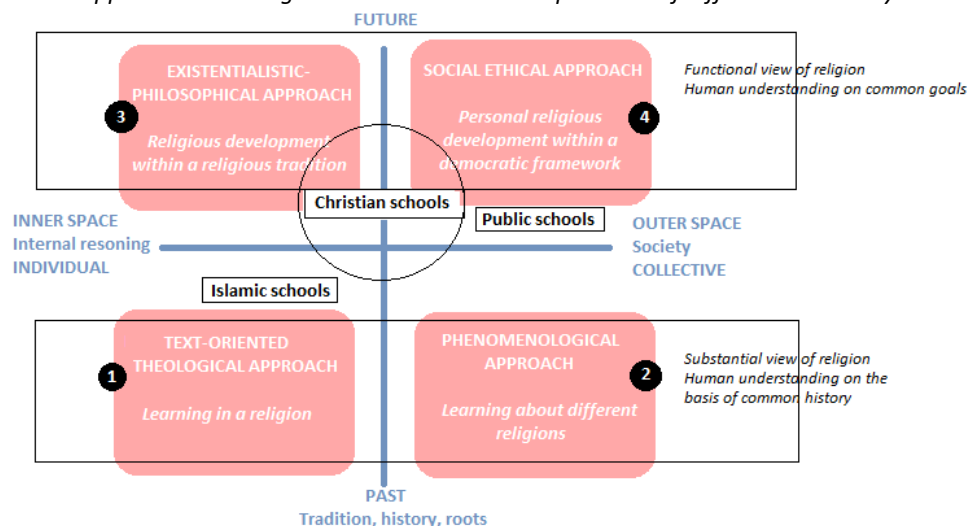
Analysing contemporary school policies regarding religious and worldview education, one can identify a number of topics influencing school policy: 'freedom of education', 'external (religious) organisations', 'historical confessional basis of RE', 'student population', 'identity of the school', 'pedagogical approach', 'social developments' and the 'preference of religion teachers'.

Additionally, we can observe a relationship between the identity of the school and the different approaches to religious education. Public schools express an interest in religious education as a way to stimulate 'identity development' of their students. In Islamic schools, 'religious socialisation' is paramount whereas most Christian-affiliated secondary schools have adopted an approach of either 'religious development within a religious tradition' or 'personal religious development within a democratic framework'.

C.   MICRO-LEVEL: ATTITUDES TOWARDS RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN SCHOOLS

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, several studies have revealed the eminent importance of the attitude and role of the teacher in moral education (Sandström et al, 2010, Solomon et al, 2001). In practise, the effectiveness of teaching for tolerance appears to be highly influenced by preferences and attitudes of individual teachers. Teachers continually transfer values to their students. In the following, teachers' attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in schools will be analysed.

In Dutch society in general, attitudes towards religion vary from positive to extremely negative. Results of the World Values Survey 2010-2014, indicated that 10.7% of the Dutch population view religion as 'very important' and 14.5% as 'rather important' in life, whereas the majority of people regarded religion as 'not very important' (28.9%) and 'not important at all' (43.8%). Overall, religious persons seem to be more positive about the public role of religion than non-religious persons (Bernts & Berghuijs, 2016).

Many Dutch regard diversity as seemingly unproblematic in their daily lives. Only 2.7% of the 1902 respondents reveal that they do not like to have people from a different religion as their direct neighbour. On the other hand, a majority of 46.3% of the respondents indicate that they do not trust people from a different religion to 39.5% of people who 'somewhat trust' (38.6%) or 'completely trust' (0.9%) the religious other. Furthermore, 13.3% of the respondents agrees (9.4%) or strongly agrees (3.9%) with the statement that the only acceptable religion is their own religion while a majority of 72.1 percent disagrees (27.4%) or strongly disagrees (44.7%). These results indicate an overall compliance with prevailing notions of basic human rights like the freedom of religion, but illustrate a certain scepticism towards the 'religious other' on a personal level.

Teachers' attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in Public secondary schools

Interviews: From our interview with Marleen Lammers (VOS/ABB) it became apparent that not all teachers in public schools endorse the earlier mentioned vision of the Association for Public and General Education regarding the stimulation of religious education in public schools. Lammers stated that '*within the domain of public schools, discussions about the place of religion in schools are often heated.*' She identifies two prominent positions: a) those who interpret the neutrality of the public school in a strict manner: the state school is a "neutral" space and must therefore be kept free of religious insignia of all kinds (active neutrality) and b) those who view neutrality of the public schools as an opportunity for meeting and encounter between all members of society, regardless of their (religious) backgrounds (active pluralism). She furthermore raises the idea that the *age* of the teachers might be a factor in the preferred notion of religion in schools: "*I recently heard that current students of the Pabo (Dutch teacher-training institutes) are much more open to the idea of facilitating (religious) encounters. It might also be a generational difference. (..) younger generations are perhaps more open towards the notion of religion in the public domain and more focused on the question whether and how students can learn from each other.*' Although this might indeed indicate a correlation between age and teachers' attitudes towards religion in schools, additional data are necessary in order to provide confirmation of this hypothesis.

Literature: Results from the *World Values Survey 2010-2014* indicate that in general, 38.6% of the Dutch population strongly agrees (6.3%) or agrees (32.3%) with the statement that all religions should be taught in public schools whereas 48.5% of the respondents disagreed (23.8%) or strongly disagreed (24.7%). A cross-reference of this data with the variable 'age', confirms some influence of *age* on the level of compliance with the statement that public schools should

	TOTAL	Age		
		Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
Strongly agree	6.3%	7.9%	5.3%	6.5%
Agree	32.3%	25.3%	31.3%	34.0%
Disagree	23.8%	19.5%	22.0%	25.5%
Strongly disagree	24.7%	28.9%	27.8%	22.4%
No answer	0.7%	3.2%	0.7%	0.3%
Don´t know	12.3%	15.3%	13.0%	11.4%
(N)	(1,902)	(190)	(569)	(1,143)

Selected samples: Netherlands 2012

Figure 4: World Values Survey 2010-2014

provide teaching in all religions. However, in contrast to above-mentioned hypotheses, results indicate that younger people (<29) are less inclined to agree with the statement (33.2%) than other age groups: 36.6% (age group 30-49 years) and 40.5% of people with an age of 50 and more. In the level of disagreement, we can only observe a slightly elevated level of disagreement in the age-group of 30-49: 49.8% to a total of 48.5 %. Of course, these findings only account for the attitudes of the general public towards teaching religion in public schools and do not necessarily reflect the specific attitudes of educators/teachers in public schools.

Teachers' attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in Christian-affiliated secondary schools

Interviews: Present day religion teachers experience a lot of diversity of religion and believe in their classroom. This brings about new challenges for religion teachers. As one of our interviewees Paul Boersma explained *'As a teacher, you will need to develop a certain sensitivity to students who express a different perspective on things you consider 'the truth'.* He argues that teachers nowadays cannot be too normative. Teachers should create an open, safe teaching environment with room for discussion and critical thinking "*Of course, you have your own life views, but let others question those. I think most present-day religion teachers have learned to do that, or should learn to…. They function in a diverse society and hope that that diversity enables them to facilitate an encounter.* The concept of 'encounter' appears to play a prominent role in contemporary teaching practises. *'Not interfaith learning, but an encounter… that's a word we're going to be using a lot.'* The context of 'encounter' opens opportunities for an exchange of ideas and values, a forum where students from different backgrounds share and develop their worldviews in an equal setting, using dialogical methods.

Literature: Research shows that in the Netherlands, proximity to the school tends to be the main reason for selecting a particular school. The denomination of the school appears to play a minor role. Denomination is only mentioned by 3% of all respondents as a reason for choosing a high school. (MARE, 2004, p.8). Consequentially, the student population at religiously-affiliated schools is often quite diverse. As a subject predominantly present in religiously-affiliated schools, religion teachers in denominational schools have experienced significant changes in the approach to religious education over the years. These changes required teachers with '*(often powerful) personal experiences of religion and (strong) beliefs and/or views on religious, spiritual and ethical issues to develop the skills to present these matters empathetically and impartially to pupils who have their own personal experiences, beliefs and views'* (Everington, 2016, p. 178). This presents distinctive professional challenges. In their professional role, teachers need to be aware of and develop the relationship between their personal and professional lives.

Teachers' attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in Islamic secondary schools

Interviews: As became apparent from the before mentioned proclamation of the director of the Avicenna College (Troost, 2016), religion plays a significant role in daily school practises in the Islamic secondary school: dress-codes, prayer rooms, call for player etc. However, specific data regarding teachers' attitudes towards religion in the Islamic school, are not (yet) present. According to our interviewee Rasit Bal, teachers' attitudes towards religious diversity in Islamic secondary schools differ. How diversity in the classroom is perceived '*predominantly depends on the attitude of the specific teacher, ranging from teachers who embrace religious pluralism to teachers who reject diversity. Most teachers try to find a middle ground, searching for ways to integrate the reality of diversity with the Islamic religious tradition'*.

Literature: In Islamic secondary schools, the approach to religious education is mainly aimed at religious socialisation in the Islamic tradition. As a result, above-mentioned tensions between the religious background of the religion teacher and present-day pedagogical approaches to religious education are less evident. The student population of the Islamic school is quite homogenous. Ethnic diversity in Islamic schools is generally limited to two to three groups: Turkish, Moroccan and Indian-Surinamese (Dronkers, 2015). However, this does not mean that the Islamic school is religiously homogenous. Within Islam, one can differentiate different branches (Sunni, Shia, Sufi etc.) which account for a religiously divers student population. Within the Islamic school, 80% of teachers are Muslim and 20% non-Muslims. With regard to the teacher population, the director of the Islamic school states: *"We would like to keep this division as it offers diversity and potential for debate within the school"* (Troost, 2016)*.*

General observations

Research on the perceptions of teachers regarding religious and cultural diversity in secondary schools, indicates that many teachers regard ethnic diversity in the classroom as an enrichment, as it prepares students for life in the multicultural society (Renkema et al., 2000, p.30). However, teachers experience a lack of structural support and programs on how to deal with diversity in the classroom (Renkema et al., 2000, p.37). They often struggle to implement intercultural education -dealing with cultural differences in the classroom- as an integrated part of the regular teaching practises. Moreover, it often shows low priority (SLO, 2008, p.38).

In addition to above-mentioned attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in society and schools in particular, our research has raised the question whether ground for inter-faith education in contemporary Dutch society still exists. According to one of our participants (Paul Boersma), '*there is little space for inter-religious meeting in a society where religion plays an increasingly smaller role in the*

perception of students'. This observation is shared by different scholars. They observe a growing tension between the aims pursued in religious education in school and the predominantly secular outlook on life of present-day youths. According to scholar of religion Paul Vermeer (2013), most students in contemporary Dutch society are not particularly interested in reflecting upon their own lives from a religious perspective: '*Even if the aim of religious education is no longer to socialise students in a religious tradition, but to help them develop a religious or secular worldview of their own, this tension will not be resolved as it still assumes a personal interest in religion and worldview among the young'*.

Furthermore, the context of 'encounter' appears to be a key concept in contemporary educational practises. Throughout the interviews, participants of public and Christian-affiliated schools both frequently referred to this concept. In contrast to interreligious education, the context of encounter does not presume a religious affiliation of the students. It derives its directive from the assumption that meetings with the religious or ethnic 'other', i.e. 'out-group', will allow for the further development of students' identity.

When analysing the attitudes of teachers towards religion and religious diversity in secondary schools, we can conclude that it is impossible to formulate a general point of view. However, several tensions can be identified: a) RE as a confessional tradition vs. neutrality of public schools; b) active neutrality vs. active plurality; c) own religious background of RE teachers vs. present-day pedagogical approaches to RE; d) aims of RE vs. personal interests of present-day students and; e) diversity in the classroom vs. lack of structural support.

III   Results: Indonesian Case Study

This chapter presents the results of the Indonesian case study. The structure is similar to the previous chapter. The chapter is divided into two parts: 1) an overview of the political and social context of the Indonesian society (3.1) which allows for a better understanding and contextualisation of the results, and 2) the results of the data analysis of the Indonesian case study on religious education and teaching for tolerance (3.2).

3.1   A Brief Overview of the Political and Social Context

Indonesia, officially the Republic of Indonesia, is the most populous Muslim-majority country in the world. With a population of over 242 million, linguistic, religious and cultural differences are significant (EP-Nuffic, 2015, p.5). Religion plays an important role in Indonesian society. Results from the World Values Survey (2005-2009), indicate that 98% of the people in Indonesia regard religion as very important (94%) and important (4%) in their lives.

Indonesia's 1945 Constitution defined the state as neither a secular nor Islamic. Instead, founders formulated a national doctrine aimed at accommodating all of Indonesia's religious and cultural traditions: the pancasila ('five principles'). Even though Freedom of Religion is guaranteed in the Indonesian Constitution, freedom is only partially granted. The Indonesian government has recognized six official religions, namely Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Every Indonesian is required to embrace one of these religions. In a recent Population Census (2010), 87.18% of Indonesians identified themselves as Muslim, 6.96% Protestant, 2.91% Catholic, 1.69% Hindu, 0.72% Buddhist and 0.05% Confucianism.

With regard to the state-religion relationship, it could be stated that Indonesia incorporated a model in which the state embraces more than one official religion, whereas the first principle of Pancasila, the state ideology, is the belief in one God. Under Suharto, the government made strenuous efforts to construct a homogeneous national culture, most notably through the education system (Yusuf, 2015, p.29). However, since the end of the New-Order regime (1966-1997), the post-New Order regime can be characterized as 'preferred treatment for some religions, or support for a particular traditional model' (Yusuf, 2015, p.29). The post New-Order regime seems more inclined to support the Islamic majority, whereas the New Order regime treated all official religions equally.

The Indonesian education system is governed by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Educational institutes in Indonesia can be divided into two main categories: Formal and Non-Formal education. Formal schools follow the state's official curriculum. Public formal schools are financed by the state (Department of National Education (Depdiknas)), while private formal schools are partly state-funded (by the Department of Religious Affairs) and partly privately financed. Private education plays a prominent role, particularly in secondary education. 66% of all secondary education institutions are privately owned (EP-Nuffic, 2015, p.5).

3.2 Religious Education in Indonesia

In compliance with chapter II, I will present the results of the Indonesian case study of religious education, focussing on state policy (A); school policy (B) and attitudes of teachers towards religion and religious diversity in schools (C). This will allow for an analysis of the educational field on a macro-, meso-, and micro-level.

A.   MACRO-LEVEL: STATE POLICY

In this part, I will address the first sub-question of this study. This section focusses on the question whether and which educative goals aiming for (religious) education for tolerance have been formulated in Indonesian educational policies.

After the independence of Indonesia, the construction of a national educational system became one of the key challenges faced by the young state. The first Education Law was introduced in 1950 (Law No. 4/1950). The Educational objective of the 1950 Education Law was "*to foster decent competent human beings and democratic citizens who have good morals and take responsibility for the welfare of society and the homeland*" (art.3). Following the example of the Dutch educational system, the 1950 Education Law stipulated religious instruction as an optional school subject in public schools, with the right of the parents to decide whether children ought to be enrolled. In 1966, religious education became compulsory in both public and private schools, from elementary school to university. The Educational Objective of the 1966 Education Law was to *'develop true followers of Pancasila based on the provisions required by the Preamble and contents of the Constitution of 1945'* (Suhadi et al, 2015, p.17).

After the democratic transition in 1998, the Indonesian government issued a new education law (Law No. 20/2003). The educational objective of this law is to '*develop students' potential in order to become persons imbued with human values who are faithful and pious to the one and only God Almighty, noble, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative independent, who will become democratic and accountable citizens'* (art.3). The Education Law regards formal, non-formal and informal religious education as a national responsibility – shared by the government and the religious communities. The law No. 20/2003 particularly stipulates the aim of religious education: '*Religious education has the function to prepare*

students to become community members who understand and practise religious values and/or acquire expertise in his or her own religion' (art.30.2). Religious education is part of the mandatory national curriculum (art.37). The law requires all schools to provide teaching about any particular religion for the students who hold that religion by teachers of the same religion (art.12). During the religious teaching hours, students should be separated in different classrooms in accordance with their own religion.

In 2007, the government released Government Regulation No. 55/2007 concerning (the implementation of) religious education in schools. Article 1.2 of this Peraturan Pemerintab explains the objective of religious education in further detail: *'Religious education is aimed at developing students' abilities to comprehending, embracing and practising religious values (..)'*. Furthermore, article 5.3 of Regulation No. 55/2007 articulates that: *'Religious education encourages students to obey their religious teachings in daily life and utilise religion as the foundation of ethics and morality in their personal lives, families, society, and national life'* (Yusuf & Sterkens, 2015, p.116).

National curriculum

The curriculum contents of religious education are developed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which provides guidance on the management of religious education in schools, in accordance with Law No. 20/2003 and Government Regulation No. 55/2007. For each officially recognized religion, a specific curriculum is developed. Article 6 of Ministry of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 16/2010 states that the formulation of the curriculum content of religious education should aim to (a) deepen and widen students' knowledge of and insight into their own religion, (b) encourage students to practise their owns teachings in daily life, and (c) to position religion as the foundation of noble character in personal life, family, society and national life (Yusuf, 2016, p.56).

In 2013, a new national curriculum was developed and implemented. In the 2013 Curriculum, 'Spiritual attitude' became a Core Competency in all school subjects. Religion and civic education are prevailing aspects in the new curriculum. According to some Indonesian scholars, this can only be understood in the context of strengthening religious ideology in the Reform Era. Historically, one can observe a close link between political situations and ideologies adopted by the government towards education, and religious education in particular (Suhadi et al, 2015, p.13). Dominant ideas in the Reform Era are 'noble character' and 'faith and piety'. Since the 2013 Curriculum, religious values are considered the standard for morals and character building (Suhadi et al, 2015, p.49).

Teaching for tolerance does not receive much attention in any of the curricula of religious classes (Parker, 2010). In the 2013 curriculum for Islamic Religious Education at secondary school level, the word tolerance gets mentioned once. Furthermore, the overall approach of the curriculum tends to be rather exclusive as it stresses the mastery of religious teachings and marginalizes the aspects of reflection (Suhadi et al., 2015, p.54). In the 2013 curriculum of Christian Religious Education

(Protestant Christianity), the word tolerance does not appear. However, the curriculum emphasizes the approach of 'ethics over dogma', affirming that one of the purposes of Christian Religious and Character Education is '*to nurture Indonesian citizens who are able to live their faith in a responsible manner with noble characters in a pluralistic society*' (Suhadi et al., 2015, p.50).

Like religious education, Civic education is a compulsory subject in the national curriculum (art.37 of Law No. 20/2003). Explanatory notes to the article explain: '*Religious education shall be intended to mould learners to become a human being who is faithful and pious to the One and Only God, and who has morals and noble character. Civic education shall be intended to mould learner to become a human being who has a sense of nationalism and patriotism*' (MNE, 2002a). The curriculum for Civic Education articulates the importance of the value of equality and diversity '*without distinguishing race, religion, gender, group, culture and ethnicity*' (Parker, 2010). At the same time, it does not mention religion in the remaining content of the subject's curriculum, providing limited opportunities to teach about other religions in a way that promotes understanding and religious tolerance.

When comparing the educational objective of the 2003 Education Law to the objectives formulated in previous Education Laws, one can observe a general shift towards a more religiously engaged purpose of education. Religion is considered the foundation of ethics and morality. Religious education in Indonesia is mandatory and supervised by the Government. The Indonesian government demonstrates a strong preference for mono-religious education, predominantly meant to internalize one's own religion.

Figure 5: Overview of the Indonesian educational system+ RE and educational goals aiming for tolerance

Context	-Pancasila -Selected/partial freedom of religion	Preferred treatment for some religions Six officially recognized religions
Education Law No. 20/2003	Art.3: general educational objective	*develop students' potential in order to become persons imbued with human values who are faithful and pious to the one and only God Almighty, noble, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative independent, who will become democratic and accountable citizens'*
	Art.12+37: RE mandatory + part of curriculum: preference of mono-religious model	*Every student is entitled to receive religious education in accordance with his/her religion, imparted by an educator who has the same religion;*
	Article 30.2: aim of RE.	'*Religious education has the function to prepare students to become community members who understand and practise religious values and/or acquire expertise in his or her own religion'*
Government Regulation No. 55/2007	Article 1.2: objective of religious education in further detail	'*Religious education is aimed at developing students' abilities to comprehending, embracing and practising religious values (..)'*
	article 5.3: religion as foundation of ethics and morality	'*Religious education encourages students to obey their religious teachings in daily life and utilise religion as the foundation of ethics and morality in their personal lives, families, society, and national life'*

Ministry of Religious Education Regulation No. 16/2010	Article 6: curriculum content of RE: cognitive (a) and attitudinal aspects (b/c)	curriculum content of religious education should aim to (a) deepen and widen students' knowledge of and insight into their own religion, (b) encourage students to practise their owns teachings in daily life, and (c) to position religion as the foundation of noble character in personal life, family, society and national life.
2013 Curriculum	-Spiritual attitude as Core Competence -Religion as foundation of morality and character building	Mono-religious education Stresses the mastery of religious teachings and marginalizes the aspects of reflection

B.   MESO-LEVEL: SCHOOL POLICY

In Indonesia, each school is obligated to provide a course of religion according to the religion their students believe and adhere to. Schools can format their religious education within these requirements of the national curriculum. Analysing the educational field and contemporary educational practises of religious education in Indonesia, we can make several observations.

Religious education in the public secondary school

Interviews: In accordance with the state policy, the public secondary school facilitates religious education for every student based on their religious background. Students are separated during religious classes. The public school stated that, as a school, they support multiculturalism and religious dialogue. In every religious subject, material based on multiculturalism is used: '*We implement multiculturalism in every subject*'. The method used to teach the content of the curriculum focusses on the experience of the student as foundation for discussion, study-cases and research. '*We also teach about universal values like empathy, tolerance, love. So we put these universal values in all the material*'. In this public school, religious education focusses not merely on religious socialization. Regarding the purpose of religious education, the religion teacher at the public school stated that the aim of religious education is '*to improve life quality based on religion, to gain universal knowledge of humanity and of the world and to learn to treat each other equally and with respect. For example, if humans are all created by God, we are all equal*'.

Literature: In contrast to the inclusive, multiculturalist approach to religious education in above-mentioned public secondary school, most public schools tend to embrace a rather exclusive mono-religious approach. One can observe a trend towards Islamisation of school culture in public schools (Kwok, 2014). Parents expect public schools to be neutral and reflect the multicultural heritage of a country that recognized six religions. However, over the past decade, public schools have increasingly adopted policies that favour Islam, the majority religion. This trend becomes apparent from mandatory Muslim-styled dress codes to reciting verses from the Koran before morning lessons.

Religious education in the Christian-affiliated school

Interviews: The Christian school indicated that they build their school around education in 'unity in diversity'. '*Although the founder is Christian, this school is not build with the purpose of Christianisation. The purpose is to facilitate proper education*'. At the Christian school, the method used to teach religion is very unique; '*we do not separate the students based on religion, but we teach interreligious class. So faith communication between students*'. The school policy is to make the school a 'multiculturalism laboratory'. The school still uses the state curriculum, but adjusts the content towards a more general subject-matter. '*For example, in the content for Christian teaching, the curriculum instructs to learn students about democracy based on the bible, we change it to democracy based on God's word. So it's not just democracy in Christian perspective, but interreligious perspective*'. According to the religious teacher at the Christian school, the purpose of religious education is to educate students so '*in the future, they can use the multicultural perspective in the multicultural society*'.

From our interview with scholar of religoon Tabita Kartika Christiani, it became apparent that most Christian schools in Indonesia only provide one form of religious education. In contradiction with the obligations of the 2003 Education Law, all students, regardless of their religious background, receive Christian religious education. Tabita explains: *"In Indonesia there are so many laws that are not implemented well, and nobody knows, nobody cares."* Furthermore, scholar of religion Mohamad Yusuf pointed out the influence of the social context of the schools. He found a correlation between the content of religious education at Christian schools and their geographical location. Schools located in areas with a Christian majority*, 'provide Christianity which focuses merely on theology. The student will only learn about Scripture, memorising scriptures and practising religious rituals'.* In contrast, schools located in Christian minority areas not only focus on the cognitive aspects of religious teachings, but are more inclined to teach about ethics and attitudinal aspects of Christianity: *"Within Christian religious education in the minority context, students not only learn Christian teachings but also ethics, for instance, how to deal with society? How do religious teachings respond to societal issues?*'

Literature: In Christian schools, religious education is predominantly mono-religious (Yusuf, 2016, p.95). However, Christian religious education emphasises both ethical and doctrinal aspects of Christianity. Findings from a recent empirical study of religious education models in Islamic, Christian and Hindu affiliated schools in Indonesia (Yusuf, 2016) indicate that Christian schools tend to integrate non-theological aspects such as democracy, human rights and other societal problems into their religious teachings. Students are encouraged to reflect their theological Christian teachings in their daily lives (Yusuf, 2016, p.97). Religious communities seem to influence school policy at Christian-affiliated schools. Christian schools often receive teaching materials and financial support from religious communities and are all led by an active member of the Christian community (Yusuf, 2016,

p.99). However, almost all Christian schools participate in the centralised State examination for religious education, demonstrating the acknowledgement of both the power of the state and religious communities.

Religious education at the Islamic school

Interviews: At the Islamic school, students are separated during religious classes. The teacher combines the government curriculum with the institutions' curriculum. She teaches religious education based on experience. In her view, religion is not about knowledge, but about '*practising religious values and how we live the religion in daily life*'. She teaches about other religions, creates religious dialogues by inviting teachers from other faiths during religious classes and organises fieldtrips to minority communities. Her methods are quite unique; '*My methods here are different from the other Islamic schools here, they focus on theory. I try to teach students not to be exclusive*'. She states that the aim of religious education is '*to teach how to be a good person, with good behaviour in the context of society. How to be tolerant, how to be good to the other, despite our differences. It's about learning universal values(…). Eliminating prejudice is the goal of my teachings*'.

Literature: Results from recent empirical studies (e.g. Yusuf, 2016) indicate that Islamic schools tend to emphasise the creation of religious identity in Islamic religious education. Almost all students at Islamic-affiliated schools are Muslim. Schools usually do not teach about other religious traditions (Yusuf, 2016, p.96). Policies of religious education in Islamic schools are usually strongly influenced by both the state and religious communities. Islamic schools use the state curriculum and textbooks together with additional curricula and teaching materials developed by their religious communities (Yusuf, 2016, p.98). Some scholars like Kathleen Woodward (2015) detect a general trend within Islamic schools regarding the teaching of democratic values and pluralism. She observes that civic education in Islamic schools is often taught with specific Islamic interpretations that change the meaning of concepts, particularly pluralism: "*The pluralism aspect is addressed in the sense that the Constitution of Medina is used as evidence that Muhamad allowed non-Muslims to live in a Muslim society, but it is not addressed in the manner Westerners may assume when they hear the word pluralism*" (Woodward, 2015, p.19). Consequentially, while Islam and democracy's compatibility are stressed in Islamic civic education, tolerance for pluralism is generally limited (Woodward, 2015, p.1). She argues that the mainstream Islamic schools are important actors in the increasing Islamization of Indonesian society: '*Islamic schools are homogenizing Islam in Indonesia and shaping the public discourse and democracy in ways that are infused with modernist Islamic values*' (p.20).

In line with the state's policy, the approach to teaching religion in public schools is mono-religious/confessional. Public schools seem to be more inclined to follow state policy when it comes to providing separate religion classes to students from different religious backgrounds. Even though most religiously-affiliated schools seem to favour mono-religious education, statements from our interviewees indicate that the social context of the educational institutions might influence the preferred approach to religious education. Moreover, local religious communities and institutes appear to play a significant role in shaping the content of religious education in religiously-affiliated schools. Furthermore, studies show that Islamic schools tend to emphasize the creation of religious identity in Islamic teachings whereas Christian schools are more inclined to focus on ethical, as well as doctrinal aspects of their religion. In general, we can observe a shift towards a more religiously engaged (school) culture, reflecting the state policy and according to some, the Islamization of Indonesian society in general.

C.   MICRO-LEVEL: ATTITUDES TOWARDS RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN SCHOOLS

As the effectiveness of teaching for tolerance appears to be highly influenced by preferences and attitudes of individual teachers, this section focusses on the teachers' attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in schools. Conducting our own exploratory interviews in Yogyakarta, we have made several observations regarding the attitudes of religion teachers towards religion and religious diversity in society and schools.

In general, the Indonesian people regard religion as (very) important in their life. Results of the World Values Survey 2005-2009 indicate that only 1.2 percent of the respondents regard religion as not very important (0.9%) or not important at all (0.3%). 91% of the respondents regard religious faith as one of the five most important qualities that children should be encouraged to learn. Over 85% of the respondents agree (26.6%) or strongly agree (58.7%) with the statement that politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for public office.

With regard to general attitudes towards (religious) diversity in Indonesian society, the database of the World Value Survey provides some indicators. 41% of the general population regards ethnic diversity as enrichment. When asked which people they do not like to have as their neighbour, 31% mentioned people from a different race whereas 33% mentioned people from a different religion.

Teachers' attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in Public secondary schools

Interviews: The director of the public school, pak Budi articulated that in his school, all students are equal. _"Discrimination based on religion does not exist in this school"_. He explained that the school facilitates a program for all religion teachers to visit different places of worship, in order to create a more

multiculturalist view. *"[This way] we also built this multicultural perspective on all the teachers"*. Budi furthermore states that "*In this school, we try to implement the highest level of tolerance*". He explains that the highest level of tolerance means understanding, accepting and celebrating differences.

Religious scholar Mohamad Yusuf suggested that teachers in public schools are generally more tolerant towards other religions then religion teachers at religiously-affiliated schools. However, his premise is primarily based on the theoretical assumption that intergroup contact would eliminate prejudice (Allport) and does not necessarily reflect the reality. He argued that *"If they work in the public school, they are able to interact with students or with teachers from different religious backgrounds. And then they become more tolerant. But in private schools, where the school only hires teachers from the same religious backgrounds, they have no opportunity to interact with teachers from different religious backgrounds, and they tend to be more exclusive and more intolerant."*

Literature: In 2008, the Centre for Islamic and Social Studies of the State University of Jakarta, conducted a survey which focused on the socio-religious attitude and behaviour of religious teachers in Java (UIN, 2008). A total of 500 religion teachers from different public secondary schools in Java were asked to participate. The results indicate that only 18.5 percent of the teachers agree with the statement that children need to learn about another religion, apart from their own. 10.4 percent of the respondents report that their Muslim students learn about non-Islamic religions, whereas 26 percent state that their schools conduct inter-religious dialogues. Furthermore, teachers were asked to indicate the most important goal of their teachings. 3 percent agreed that the value of tolerance is the most important goal or second most important goal (11 percent). The majority of the teachers regarded 'noble virtue' and 'obedient in worshipping' as their top goals (Tan, 2011, p. 117). According to Dr. Burhanuddin, the director of CISS, this 'anti-pluralist view' of most religion teachers is likely to reflect in their school lessons (Tan, 2011, p. 117).

Teachers' attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in Christian-affiliated secondary schools
Interviews: When asked about teachers attitudes towards religion in Christian-affiliated schools, religious scholar Tabitha explained that teachers often view that it is their responsibility to provide confessional religious education to students in compliance with students' religious backgrounds: *"They say they have to teach their students their own faith to make sure that they go to heaven".* Teachers are often afraid that teaching about other religions will confuse the students and make them question their own religious affiliation. *"[They think that] if students know about other religions, they can change their* religion. Something like that, a kind of fear about that. Their students only have to know Christianity, and they will go to heaven."

Literature: In 2014, scholar of religion Tabita Kartika Christiani studied the ways *Religiosity Education* -as an alternative to Catholic religious education- was implemented in some Catholic schools in Yogyakarta (Christiani, 2014). Religiosity Education aims at teaching students to appreciate different religions. Between October and December 2012, she interviewed Catholic religious education teachers from 10 different Catholic schools in Yogyakarta. Some respondents indicated that they don't feel the need to teach students about other religions, because most students are Catholic. They argue that Catholic parents send their children to a Catholic school so they will learn about Catholic teachings and be educated in a Catholic manner. Learning about other religions might lead to less understanding of their own Catholic teachings (p.535). Furthermore, there are practical issues to consider: if almost all students are Catholic, it is hard to conduct an inter-faith dialogue in the classroom. Moreover, some Catholic religious education teachers indicate that they are not confident enough to teach religiosity education, as they feel they do not possess adequate knowledge of other religions (p.535). Christiani furthermore indicates that nationally formulated government regulations do not stimulate schools to implement other forms of religious education. She argues that there are two substantive reasons for teachers' worries and fears regarding the implementation of religiosity education: "*First, if they do not obtain approval from the Office of Education for their syllabus, the school will not be accredited and the teachers will not be certified. Secondly, the implementation of Catholic religious education anticipated a plan for a national exam on religious education. Nationally and formally, the subject is Catholic religious education, not religiosity education. If a school does not implement Catholic religious education' the students may not be able to answer the questions in the national exam*" (p.536).

Teachers' attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in Islamic secondary schools

Interviews: The Islamic school is an Ahmaddiyah school, a repressed minority within Indonesian Islam. The school has experienced oppression and violence from Islamic fundamentalist groups. This experience shaped the teacher's view on religious education; *'it made me more inclusive and me more eager to learn students not to be exclusive'.* In her experience, exclusivism is a product of truth claims and *dawa* (proselytizing Islam). She argues that religious education plays an important role in teaching tolerance: *"in Indonesia the situation now is about conflict and violence. This conflict and violence is always based on the prejudices and stereotypes. So I try to eliminate the prejudice by meeting, by dialogue, with the people who have different identities".* Statements from the teacher furthermore indicate that not all Islamic school teachers share the same tolerant attitude towards other religions: *'Teachers from other schools regard me as a liberalist, judge me because I am a pluralist [=haram].* Not all Islamic school teachers embrace the same inclusive approach. *"There are different perspective on how to teach Islam, there are many people who want to teach exclusive way, but also a pluralist way".* She observes a growing tendency towards exclusive Islamic teaching since the 1998 Reformation: "*I taught for 30 years: before the reformation I didn't*

see exclusive teachings, but after that massive". The teacher furthermore explains that this tendency towards exclusivism goes beyond school walls: "*My school was attacked by some groups. And the local government asked us to stop the activities, if we want to be safe we had to stop. So they take the side for exclusive groups, not to protect inclusive groups. So indirectly the government, and also the police, support the exclusive groups."*

Literature: Results from a recent study on the perceptions of teachers and students towards religious diversity in Islamic secondary schools in Solo (Baidhawy, 2014) indicate that nearly one-third of the Islamic school teachers in Solo express intolerant views towards socio-religious differences. Baidhawy specifies that tolerant teachers believe that God considers Islam as the only true religion, and consequently that all religions other than Islam are rejected by God. However, this group also believes that the existence of other religions must be recognized and respected, as they are all protected under the Indonesian Constitution (Act 1945). Tolerant teachers view religious freedom as an human right, and therefore believe that Muslims must respect all religions and beliefs of others, while remaining faithful to Islam. Tolerant teachers encourage mutual respect and building good relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims in the realm of social interaction among human beings (Baidhawy, 2014, p.300). Similar to the tolerant teachers, intolerant teachers also believe that God considers Islam as the only true religion, and that religions other than Islam - though accepted by the Government - are rejected by God. The difference is that intolerant teachers believe that the duty of Muslims is to convert non-Muslims. Muslims should spread the message and the mission of Islam (da'wah). Choosing a religion other than Islam in the end would risk being cursed by God and put in hell. According to this group, it is necessary to convince others that Islam is the only true religion. Therefore any religion other than Islam is false. Participating in celebrating Christmas and holy days of other religions is forbidden (haram). They avoid friendship with non-Muslims for fear of being converted into non-Muslim (Baidhawy, 2014, p.300).

Most Indonesian religion teachers (82%) at public schools do not agree with the statement that children need to learn about another religion, apart from their own. This view is likely to reflect in their lessons. Furthermore, our findings indicate that most religiously-affiliated religion teachers predominantly favour a mono-religious model of religious education. This view appears to be motivated by a fear of converting and/or confusing the student. However, participants in our own exploratory research in Yogyakarta, all express a strong willingness to implement a multireligious perspective within religious education. These findings illustrate possibilities and commendable efforts at teaching for tolerance that rely on the good will and spirit of individual teachers.

IV   Differences and similarities

*"The opposite of a correct statement is a false statement. But the opposite
of a profound truth may well be another profound truth."*
- Niels Bohr (1885-1962)-

In the following, I will compare the findings of the exploratory research in both countries, allowing for a context-based interpretation of the results and contributing to a higher degree of understanding of the social reality in the different national contexts. The chapter is divided into three sections where I will discuss the most significant similarities and differences between the two countries on a macro- (4.1), meso- (4.2), and micro-level (4.3).

4.1   Differences and Similarities on a Macro-Level

Public policies regarding religious education cannot be understood in a vacuum. Policies are generally influenced by a variety of factors including public opinion, economic conditions, new scientific findings, interest groups, NGOs, lobbyists and political activity (Gittell et al, 2012, p.110). Aside from the fact that both countries share a common history and both struggle with the question of how to accommodate (religious) diversity, societal differences between the two countries are manifold.

One of the most prominent differences between the Dutch and Indonesian society is (the public opinion about) the role of religion in the public domain. Although Indonesia it is not an Islamic state, Islam is very much a part of the public domain and policy making. Religions and faiths are significant and powerful elements in the hearts of the Indonesian people. Consequentially, religion is considered the foundation for national ethics and morality. In contrast, many people in the Netherlands seem to marginalize the role of religion in contemporary 'secular' Dutch society. The separation between Church and State characterizes the secularity and religious neutrality of the state. Even though this separation between Church and State does not mean a separation between religion and the public domain, many Dutch seem to articulate this point of view. These views are reflected in the position of religious education in the educational policies of both countries.

DIFFERENCES: Engagement and supervision of the state

In the Netherlands, confessional religious education is not an obligatory school subject. Whether religious education is compulsory or optional is part of the school policy. Moreover, the content of religious education is not supervised by the state. Such measures would violate the separation between church and state and the state's neutrality with regard to religion.

In Indonesia, religious education is an important pillar of the official education system. It is compulsory on all levels and the Ministry of Religious Affairs is actively involved in the development of

the different religious education curricula. The 2003 Education Law has been publicly criticized, mainly with regard to the incorporation of religious values in the national educational system and the state's intervention regarding the practise of religious education in private schools (Yusuf, 2016, p.1).

SIMILARITIES: Religious education and citizenship

In the Netherlands, references to education in/about religion are predominantly shaped in the context of citizenship education. The introduction of citizenship education in 2006 (article 17 WVO and core objective number 43), is a manifestation of efforts made by the government to overcome current challenges posed by the increasingly plural nature of Dutch society. In this context, teaching about religions is perceived as a way to stimulate certain citizenship competences such as understanding (worldviews of) fellow citizens.

In Indonesia, religious education is seen as an important factor in identity formation. Religious education in Indonesia is primarily meant to internalize one's own religion and to create 'piety and faithful persons'. However, whereas religious values are perceived as the foundation for national ethics and morality, one can argue that the realm of religious education in Indonesia is regarded instrumental in fostering and promoting civic values (M. Künkler and H. Lerner, 2016, p.18). Thereby indirectly making religious education an important part of citizenship education.

4.2   Differences and Similarities on a Meso-Level

In both countries, schools can format their religious education within the requirements of the national curriculum. However, the national curriculum regarding religious education in Indonesia is exceedingly more extensive and, contrary to the Netherlands, Indonesian educational policies do not allow for a 'free interpretation' of prescribed objectives. In both countries, school policies regarding religious education appear to be (highly) influenced by the 'identity of the school', the 'student population', the 'preference of the teacher' and, at some schools more than others, 'external (religious) organisations'. One obvious difference between the two countries is the fact that confessional religious education is not taught by teachers working at public schools in the Netherlands. More specifically, following article 46/47 of the Law on Secondary Education (WVO), confessional religious education might be taught *in* public schools, but school authorities do not take responsibility for the content of religious teachings. This is a direct result of the neutrality of the state and by extension, the neutral character of public schools in the Netherlands.

DIFFERENCES: The approach to religious education

In the Netherlands, one can distinguish between four main approaches to religious education. These approaches are distinctly described by both Wiel Veugelers (2008) and Heid Leganger-Krogstad (2001).

Nowadays, religious education at secondary schools in the Netherlands is rarely confessional. Due to secularisation and an increasingly diverse student population, most schools have embraced a more sociological/historical approach to the phenomenon of religion in the form of 'worldview formation'. In this study, the text-oriented theological approach is only found in the Islamic secondary school.

In the Indonesian context, the approaches to religious education are clearly less diverse. Religious education is almost always mono-religious/confessional. Religious teachings are predominantly theological, text-oriented and dogmatic. Such an approach is possible because religious affiliation of all students is presumed and students are separated during religious classes. Within religious teachings one can observe a distinction between an inclusive and exclusive approach to religious education. Exclusive religious teachings derive from an exclusive truth claim: one's own religion is the only religion that can claim truth. Other religions will only be positively evaluated insofar they show similarities to one's own religion (Sterkens, 2001, p.50; Yusuf, 2016, p.14). Inclusive mono-religious education derives from an inclusive truth claim. Other religions are evaluated positively inasmuch as they display signs of divine revelation: other religions mediate salvation through general grace (Sterkens, 2001, p.51). Findings from this exploratory study indicate a growing tendency towards an exclusive approach to (Islamic) religious education.

SIMILARITIES: Insufficient attention to the 'religious other'
In the Netherlands and Indonesia, children and youth attending secondary schools seldom learn about the diversity of the religious and world-view traditions that surround them. In Indonesia, this situation is a direct result of the state's preference for mono-religious education. There is limited attempt to endorse teaching across religions, nor to teach about other religions in a way that promotes understanding and religious tolerance. The emphasis is on religious socialization in one's own religion.

As a direct result of the legal structure of the Dutch educational system, national formulated core objectives concerning moral/value education are generally vague by their nature. Consequentially, core objectives like number 43, obligating schools to teach students about differences in cultures and beliefs, are often poorly implemented in secondary schools (Onderwijsraad, 2012). In public secondary schools, religion is seldom part of the curriculum. If religion is being taught at all, it is teaching *about* religion in which religion is addressed as a social/historical phenomenon rather than something relevant to students' personal lives.

4.3   Differences and Similarities on a Micro-Level
The findings of this exploratory research reaffirm the importance of teachers' attitudes towards religion and religious diversity in shaping the content of religious education at secondary schools. Overall, we can observe that in Indonesia, teachers and religious scholars struggle with the question

of how to make religious education more inclusive, whereas in the Netherlands, current discussions among teachers and religious scholars often concern the position of religion in education in general. One interesting observation is the difference in the conceptualization of (religious) pluralism between the two countries.

DIFFERENCE: The concept of (religious) pluralism

In the Netherlands, the acceptance of differences in religion and beliefs derives from the idea of universalism of human rights, freedom and equality. In Indonesia, the concept of pluralism is often addressed from within religious thought itself. Religious scriptures and values constitute the basis for the acceptance of pluralism. For example, "people of the book" (Muslims, Jews, and Christians) should be respected, as did Muhammad, for worshiping the same God and many prophets the same as Muslims (Woodward, 2015, p.19). Consequentially, the acceptance of religious pluralism in Indonesia is often restricted to accepting 'variations of the same religious thought', as long as they do not threaten the credibility of one's own beliefs. In a way, this point of view is similar to popular opinions among the Dutch, where different worldviews are deemed acceptable as long as they are considered compatible with democratic values and liberal thought.

Table 3: Overview of similarities and differences (RE=religious education, CE=citizenship education)

	INDONESIA	THE NETHERLANDS
MACRO LEVEL		
CONTEXT	Pancasila Preferred treatment of some religions Religiously engaged citizens Pluralism	Separation between Church-State Inclusive neutrality of (secular) state Secularized society Pluralism
STATE POLICY RE	Confessional RE: compulsory Religious values = national values (CE) Extensive RE curriculum developed by ministry Content of RE supervised by state	Confessional RE: optional Learning about religions in context of CE: compulsory No national developed curriculum regarding RE or CE RE not supervised by state (separation Church-state)
MESO LEVEL		
PUBLIC	Mono-religious/confessional RE	Absence of RE in general
CHRISTIAN	Mono-religious/confessional RE. In minority context: more attention to ethical aspects	Varies: general shift from 'transfer of knowledge' → 'personal development of student'
ISLAMIC	Mono-religious/confessional RE	Mono-religious/confessional RE
GENERAL OBSERVATION	Absence of teaching across religions	Poor implementation of CE + Insufficient attention to (other) religion(s) as relevant to students personal lives.
MICRO LEVEL		
GENERAL ISSUES	How to make RE more inclusive?	Position of religion within education?
CONCEPT OF PLURALISM	Acceptance of pluralism derives from religious scriptures and thoughts	Acceptance of pluralism derives from human rights and liberal thoughts

V   Discussion

"There is a worldwide 'clash of ignorances' as people of different faiths and cultural traditions fail to understand and engage positively with their differences and, instead, seek to destroy the other."
- Ali Asani, 2015 -

Now we have analysed both educational policies as well as educational practises of religious education in both countries, we will address the fourth sub-question: identifying possibilities and restrictions provided by the legal framework, government policies, educational institutes and teachers' attitudes in the Netherlands (5.2) and Indonesia (5.3) with regard to the implementation of a model of religious education which takes the religious other into account and fosters religious tolerance. First, I will briefly highlight some theories and present-day initiatives that demonstrate potential for fostering religious tolerance between religious groups in contemporary society (5.1).

5.1   Present-day Initiatives and theories on fostering religious tolerance

In Indonesia as well as in the Netherlands, various social organisations have developed activities for promoting religious pluralism among adherents of different faiths. In both counties, numerous NGO's work on facilitating ongoing intercultural and interreligious dialogue as a means of fostering knowledge and mutual understanding in a pluralistic context. An example of such an organisation in the Netherlands is the foundation '*Veelkleurige Religies Rotterdam'* (VVR). This initiative focuses on appreciating diversity by establishing dialogue between participants from different religious and cultural backgrounds. They organise lectures, symposia and trips to places of worship such as mosques, mandirs, synagogues and churches.

In Indonesia, the institute for interfaith dialogue (*Interfidei)*, provides a rich source of information concerning interfaith activities. Established in 1991, Interfidei was the first interfaith organization in the country. They offer short courses, exchange programmes, conferences, workshops, publications and visits to religious centres. By using the word 'interfaith' rather than 'inter-religious', Interfidei aims to 'go beyond the institutional baggage of religion to focus on the faith of individuals' (Tan, 2011, p. 142). In this new margin, bridges can be built through intellectual and emotional connections. Most activities have proven to be fruitful for creating more understanding between religiously affiliated participants.

The theoretical foundation for the idea that establishing encounters and dialogue will contribute to building greater understanding between students of different religions and cultural backgrounds, can be found in the earlier mentioned *inter-group contact theory*. According to this theory, face-to-face encounters between members from different groups are likely to reduce prejudice

as contact would weaken in-group/out-group distinctions and related feelings of anxiety which fuel negative attitudes.

Aside from applying dialogical methods in religious education as a way of stimulating understanding of religious diversity and reducing negative associations between different (religious) groups, some general criteria should be considered when and wherever teaching about religions and beliefs takes place. In a recent UN-report (UN, 2010) of the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, Heiner Bielefeldt focuses on the theme of freedom of religion or belief and school education. In his report he expressed the following view: '(…) *what is relevant is that education on religious trends, traditions and movements as well as convictions, be provided in a fair and objective way, stimulating the curiosity of the audience, encouraging it to question their bias and stereotypes about cultures, religions and views other than the one which they see as being part of their own identity'* (UN, 2010, par.26).

To accomplish such education, the Special Rapporteur recommends that states should favourably consider a number of principles. He explicitly refers to the final document adopted at the *International Consultative Conference on School Education in relation to Freedom of Religion or Belief, Tolerance and Non-discrimination* (UN, 2001) and to the *Toledo Guiding Principles on Teaching about Religions and Beliefs in Public Schools* (OSCE/ODIHR, 2007). The latter is prepared by the ODIHR Advisory Council of experts on freedom of religion or belief with the aim of offering '*practical guidance for preparing curricula for teaching about religions and beliefs, preferred procedures for assuring fairness in the development of curricula, and standards for how they could be implemented'* (OSCE/ODIHR, 2007, p.10). According to these guidelines, school curricula that touch upon teaching about religions and beliefs should '*promote respect for freedom of religion or belief*' and should be '*impartial, balanced, inclusive, age appropriate, free of bias and meet professional standards'* (UN, 2010, par.61). Among other things, the Special Rapporteur urges states to favourably consider evaluating existing curricula in order to determine whether they meet these standards.

Additionally, more and more scholars propose that including 'religious literacy' as an aspect of education would improve social cohesion as it provides students with the necessary skills, tools, and knowledge to function in a religiously diverse society (Rosenblith & Bailey, 2007, p.93; Moore, 2007). Religious literacy means having knowledge of, and the ability to understand, various religions in context. It means being aware of the roles religions play in human agency and understanding (Harvard Religious Literacy Project). Diane Moore argues that the common approaches to religious education are often insufficient when it comes to fostering religious literacy; "Such an understanding highlights the inadequacy of understanding religions through common means such as learning about ritual practices or exploring "what scriptures say" about topics or questions. Unfortunately, these are some of the most common approaches to learning about religion and lead to simplistic and inaccurate representations of the roles religions

play in human agency and understanding"(Harvard Religious Literacy Project). Moore proposes incorporating a method that recognizes that; 1) religions are not uniform but internally diverse; 2) religions are not ahistorical and static but evolve and change over time; and 3) religious influences are embedded in all dimensions of culture as opposed to the assumption that religions function in isolated "private" contexts (Harvard Religious Literacy Project).

Integrating above mentioned insights, theories and suggestions, one can deduce that religious tolerance will most likely be stimulated when: 1) teachers use dialogical methods; 2) the curriculum content promotes respect for human rights (i.e. the freedom of religion and beliefs) and takes an impartial, balanced, inclusive and non-discriminatory approach to teaching about religions and beliefs and; 3) religious literacy among students is stimulated by incorporating an academic, refectory study of religion throughout the curriculum.

5.2 Limitations and possibilities in the Netherlands

One can argue that the structure of the Dutch educational system provides limitations for the top-down implementation of a specific model of religious education. The separation between Church and State prevents the government from prescribing the content of (confessional) religious educational practises. Furthermore, article 23 of the Dutch constitution guarantees the freedom of education. Within this legal structure, the autonomic realization of religious education is part of the freedom that schools enjoy.

Because of this legal structure, the Dutch government can –in principle- not interfere in the practises of confessional religious education in schools. Therefore, one might ask in how far the state can consider taking responsibility for '*evaluating existing school curricula that touch upon teaching about religions and beliefs in order to determine whether they promote respect for freedom of religion or belief and whether they are impartial, balanced, inclusive, age appropriate, free of bias and meet professional standards*', as proposed by the Special Rapporteur (UN, 2010, par.61). One might consider such measures to be an unlawful interference of the State in 'religious affairs'. On the other hand, under international human rights law, states are expected to promote an atmosphere of tolerance and appreciation of religious diversity (*Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*, art. 5, para. 3). Furthermore, one might wonder if providing certain (quality) standards would directly affect, or unduly compromise the religious integrity of religiously-affiliated schools. Even though it would be interesting and relevant to further explore these questions, such a detailed examination goes beyond the scope of this research.

The situation would be less controversial when it does not concern confessional religious education, but involves teaching about religions and beliefs in the context of citizenship education.

Since the introduction of citizenship education in the Netherlands, some religious educationalists have seized the opportunity to reaffirm the importance of religious education as a means of promoting religious tolerance among students. In the European context, religious education is often considered to be an agent for orientation and dialogue in an increasing plural society with a manifold variety of religions and cultures (Scheiner, 2015, p. 145). Consequently, Miedema & Bertram-Troost (2008, p.131) argue that religious education should be considered as an integral part of citizenship education: *'a broad concept of citizenship education implies that religious education and development is part and parcel of citizenship education and should not form an optional or facultative element, but instead a structural and necessary element of all citizenship education'.* They stress that from a societal as well as pedagogical point of view, all schools should be obliged to foster a religious dimension to citizenship. Such a measure would involve a responsibility of the government to *'stimulate the policy of and practice in schools to foster religious edification as part of an integral citizenship education, without any preference at the side of the government itself for a particular world view or religion'* (Miedema & Bertram-Troost, 2008, 131)*.*

The current debate about the future of education in the Netherlands illustrates the divergent opinions about the role and position of religious education within the educational field. Early 2015, the State Secretary of Education, Culture and Science appointed an advisory commission, Platform Onderwijs2032, which was instructed to produce an advisory report on the form and content of future education and to make recommendations for reform. In their preliminary report, no references were made to religious education or religion in general (PlatformOnderwijs2032, 2015). It appeared that the commission deemed religious education as insignificant, given the decline of 'traditional support systems such as religion' (Davidsen et al, 2015). In the process of public consultation, many scholars of religion emphasized the need for knowledge about -and understanding of- religion as an important skill that young people must acquire if they are to function effectively in a rapidly changing multicultural society. Their plea for the acknowledgement of the importance of religious education proved to be successful. In its final document, published January 2016, the commission included several references to teaching about religion, among which: '*Education must also help to develop social skills, an open attitude, and knowledge and understanding of other cultures and religions. This will help students to appreciate the major societal challenges of today, and to think about viable solutions'* (PlatformOnderwijs2032, 2016, p.22) and '*Students will also learn about the cultural expressions of other nations. This domain includes an exploration of religion as a manifestation of culture'* (p.39).

The value of the final document lies in the fact that it recognizes the relevance of religion in the public domain and that it should be taught accordingly. However, the government cannot prohibit schools from organizing their teachings in line with their own ideological principles. As a result of the freedom of education, the ownership of religious and citizenship education rests with the school (Onderwijsraad, 2012, p.12).

5.3   Limitations and possibilities in Indonesia

In Indonesia, religious education is understood as being about one's own religion; it is mono-religious education, predominantly meant to internalize one's own religion. Integrating earlier mentioned *inter-group contact theory* and the *ethnic competition theory*, it could be reasonably contended that mono-religious education has the least potential for minimalizing prejudice and religious intolerance. As the normative foundation for the mono-religious model is the absolute truth claim of one's own religion, it could be argued that theoretically, an exclusive mono-religious approach is even likely to induce conflict of interest between religious groups. An absolute truth claim makes the truth by definition a scarce resource, while according to the ethnic competition theory, competition over scarce resources will lead to negative out-group attitudes.

Furthermore, article 12 of the 2003 Education Law prescribes that *'every student is entitled to receive religious education in accordance with his/her religion, imparted by an educator who has the same religion'*. Consequentially, students are separated in different classrooms during religious teaching hours. Therefore, one can argue that the 2003 Education Law constitutes a limiting factor for the implementation of religious dialogue among students from different religious backgrounds during religious classes.

In 2009, Tabita Kartika Christiani (UKDW) analysed the curriculum of Christian education in Indonesia. She concluded that '*in the pluralistic Indonesian context, Christian education needs to change from learning only Christian teachings to learning about and appreciating other religions, having interreligious dialogue with people of other faiths, as well as working with al people for peace and justice and reflecting on it religiously'* (Christiani, 2009, p.192). Since then, efforts have been made towards a less dogmatic curriculum content, affirming an approach of 'ethics over dogma' in the latest 2013 Christian Religious Education curriculum. In the 2015 edition of the Annual Report on Religious Life in Indonesia, which analyses the content of religious education in the 2013 Curriculum, authors also advocate a more 'inclusive' approach to religious education: '*considering the diversity of Indonesian society, it is essential for religious education to cultivate an attitude of appreciation for differences without marginalizing the strengthening of each believer's commitment to his or her own religion'* (Suhadi et al., 2015, p.50). They argue that religious education should be reflective and emphasize the transfer of values rooted in religion, rather than memorizing dogma. While learning about ritual practices or exploring 'what scriptures say' does not contribute to a deeper understanding religion(s) in context (i.e. do not stimulate religious literacy), it can be concluded that the contemporary religious education curriculum in Indonesia offers significant possibilities for improvement.

When reflecting on the possibilities and restrictions of the implementation of a model of religious education which takes the religious other into account, dispels stereotypes and fosters religious tolerance, it is paramount to recognize the role and the importance of (the attitudes of) the

teacher. As mentioned before, previous research has shown that 82% of Indonesian religion teachers do not agree with the statement that children need to learn about another religion, apart from their own. It is unlikely that teachers who demonstrate such an anti-pluralist view are willing to teach about other religions in an inclusive, impartial, balanced and non-discriminatory way. In order to effectuate a structural change, the perspective of teachers must be addressed.

When analysing contemporary policies and practises of religious education and evaluating their potential for stimulating religious tolerance among students, we can conclude that in the Netherlands and Indonesia, children and youth attending schools do not learn enough about the diversity of the religious and world-view traditions that surround them. In the Netherlands, this situation is a direct result of the marginalization of the role of religion in the public domain, which prevents schools from fully appreciating and implementing government policies related to teaching about different religions and changes in cultures and beliefs. In Indonesia, the insufficient attention to the 'religious other', appears to be directly related to the preference of the government, schools and religion teachers for a mono-religious model. Teaching about other religions is discouraged. Other religions might be discussed, but only from the perspective of one's own religion.

VI   Conclusions

"'Freedom of religion and school education is a multifaceted issue that entails significant opportunities as well as far-reaching challenges."
- Heiner Bielefeldt, 2010 -

This study focussed on analysing the field of religious education in the Netherlands and Indonesia on a macro-, meso-, and micro-level. By mapping the status quo of religious education in public and religiously-affiliated secondary schools, this study aimed to provide insights in possibilities and different ways to further stimulate the development of education that contributes to the elimination of negative stereotypes and the stimulation of religious literacy among students. We have applied a qualitative, descriptive research design that contains of a review study of legal documents, policy statements and exploratory interviews with scholars, administrators and teachers in the educational field. The overarching question this study aimed to answer was: *What is the current state of affairs regarding religious education in public and religiously-affiliated secondary schools in the Netherlands and Indonesia and what can both countries learn from each other with regard to policies and practises of religious education as a means of promoting religious tolerance?*

We can conclude that in the Netherlands and Indonesia, children and youth attending schools do not learn enough about the diversity of the religious and world-view traditions that surround them. Contemporary policies and practises in both countries are insufficient when it comes to stimulating religious literacy among the young. In Indonesia, teachers and religious scholars struggle with the question of how to make confessional religious education more inclusive. In the Netherlands, current discussions among teachers and religious scholars often concern the position of religion in education in general.

Religions and faiths are significant and powerful elements in the hearts of the Indonesian people. In contrast, many people in the Netherlands seem to marginalize the role of religion in contemporary 'secular' Dutch society. These views are reflected in the importance given to religious education in government policies and educational practises in both countries. Even though religious education can be considered an agent for orientation and dialogue in a pluralistic society, the link between religious education and religious tolerance in educational practises in both countries is seldom utilized. In a pluralistic society, a one-sided emphasis on one's own religion during religious classes is far more likely to divide than to unite students. Likewise, not teaching about religion at all will not provide students with the acquired religious and world view literacy needed to fully understand their fellow citizens. Consequentially, one can conclude that in both the Netherlands and Indonesia, opportunities and possibilities to effectuate religious tolerance through religious education are not fully seized. Therefore, I have formulated the following recommendations.

VII   Recommendations

"Succeeding in portraying the others so that they can recognize themselves provides not only a valuable and inspiring educational experience; it also help create understanding and mutual respect between different communities or world-views."
- Abdelfattah Amor, 2002-

In general, contemporary educational policies should prepare students for the reality of life in a pluralistic society. Policies should intent to strengthen accurate understanding of others, ensuring respect and acceptance of diversity, eliminate stereotypes and foster (religious) tolerance. Drawing on the findings of this research and conforming to suggestions of the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief (UN, 2010), I have formulated the following recommendations;

a) Realize that religious education is relevant to the public domain and that it should be taught accordingly;

b) Disseminate the importance of teaching for tolerance and be aware of the key role that religious education and teachers can play in moral education. Religion teachers are handling both potentials for dialogue and understanding as well as those for conflict;

c) Religious education should be taught in accordance with general education criteria (educational quality). Encourage an impartial, balanced, non-discriminatory, inclusive and unbiased approach to teaching about religions and beliefs;

d) Review to what extent existing teacher-training institutes are proficient in providing teachers with the necessary tools, expertise and knowhow for teaching about religion in a way that promotes respect for the religious other;

e) Subsidise retraining for religion teachers. Religion teachers should be education professionals who all possess sufficient self-awareness and derive their professional reflection on academic study that allows for a critical appropriation of their own religious background and biography;

f) Provide opportunities for students and teachers for meetings and exchanges with their counterparts of different religions;

g) Evaluate existing school curricula, teaching methods and textbooks in order to eliminate all forms of discrimination and religious intolerance;

h) Establish advisory bodies that take an impartial, balanced and inclusive approach to involving various stakeholders in the development of curricula and teaching methods for schools and teacher-training institutions.

i) Orientate on present-day initiatives like *Interfidei* (Indonesia) and *Veelkleurige Religies* (the Netherlands) for sharing experience, insights and knowledge about interfaith dialogue.

Suggestions for future research

During my research, I observed an absence of comprehensive information about how religion is taught in schools and how teacher-training institutes prepare present-day teachers for challenges and opportunities related to teaching about religion in a multi-religious society. Therefore, suggestions for future research include further analysing how religion is taught in public and religiously-affiliated schools and, analysing how teacher-training institutes address content related to religion and religious diversity. Additionally, it would be fruitful to further explore the integration of scientific knowledge and educational practises. Therefore I urge States and research institutes to facilitate systematic accumulation of knowledge regarding criteria for high-quality religious education and the development of effective educational programs that foster religious tolerance.

Limitations

It must be emphasised that, due to time constrains, language barriers and the exploratory nature of the research, this study has its limitations. Nevertheless, the results from this study seem relevant and indicate that the matter needs to be studied more closely. The value of this exploratory research lies in the fact that it sheds light on similarities and differences between the two countries and contributes to a higher degree of understanding of the social reality in the different national contexts. The study's value is furthermore that it identifies gaps in available empirical data and provides suggestions for future research.

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APPENDIX A   PARTICIPANTS

NEDERLAND		
Openbaar onderwijs	Marleen Lammers, beleidsmedewerker/ onderwijsadviseur	VOS/ABB, de vereniging voor bestuur, management en medezeggenschap in het openbaar en algemeen toegankelijk onderwijs; VOS/ABB behartigt de belangen van bijna 300 besturen met in totaal ruim 2200 scholen met in totaal circa 700.000 leerlingen.
Christelijk onderwijs	Paul Boersma Gepensioneerd, voorheen leraar, onderwijskundige en adviseur bij Verus	Verus, de vereniging voor katholiek en christelijk onderwijs in Nederland. Ruim 4000 scholen in het basisonderwijs, voortgezet onderwijs, middelbaar beroepsonderwijs en hoger onderwijs zijn aangesloten. Vanuit het hart inspireert, begeleidt en ondersteunt Verus bestuurders, toezichthouders, schoolleiders, docenten en ouders.
Islamitisch onderwijs	Rasit Bal, voormalig directeur van de Islamitische Scholen Besturen Organisatie (ISBO)	De Islamitische Schoolbesturen organisatie, ISBO, verenigt scholen op islamitische grondslag en is een geïntegreerde organisatie voor bestuur en management van de scholen. Bij de ISBO zijn op dit moment 41 van de 50 totaal islamitische scholen aangesloten.
Specialist	Elza Kuyk, Wetenschappelijk coördinator Remonstrants Seminarium	Gespecialiseerd in onderwijs en godsdienst. Belangrijkste publicatie: "Religious Education in Europe. Situation and Current Trends in Schools", 2007, IKO/ICCS, Noorwegen. Elza Kuyk, Roger Jensen e.a. (eds).
Overig:		
Hindoeïstisch onderwijs	*SHON*	*Niet gebruikt want basisonderwijs*
Cultuureducatie	*MOCCA*	*Niet gebruikt want geen religieuze educatie*
Interculturele dialoog	*Platform IENS, Alper Alasag*	*Gebruikt als achtergrond informatie over (effecten van) interculturele dialoog.*

INDONESIE		
Openbaar onderwijs	Pak Budi, directeur &godsdienstleraar	SMAN 7, een openbare middelbare school in Yogyakarta
Christelijk onderwijs	Pak Sartana, godsdienstleraar	SMA Bopkri 1, een christelijke middelbare school in Yogyakarta
Islamitisch onderwijs	Ibu Anis, godsdienstlerares	SMA Piri 1, een Islamitische middelbare school. Let op: Geen mainstream Islam maar Ahmaddiyah school, een onderdrukte minderheid binnen de Indonesische Islam.
Specialist	Pak Mohamad Yusuf (UGM)	Gepromoveerd op onderzoek naar modellen van religieuze educatie binnen Islamitische, Christelijke en Hindoeïstische scholen in Indonesië.
Specialist	Ibu Tabita Kartika Christiani (UKDW)	Gepromoveerd op onderzoek naar godsdienstonderwijs in Christelijke en Katholieke scholen in Indonesië.
Overig		
Kyai	*Gus Reza, religieus leider Islamitische boardingschool*	*Niet opgenomen gesprek + e-mail vragen, achtergrond informatie*
Interreligieuze dialoog	*Interfidei (NGO)*	*Niet opgenomen gesprek achtergrond informatie*
Specialist	*Suhadi*	*Niet opgenomen gesprekken, achtergrond informatie*

APPENDIX B   **INTERVIEWGUIDE**

School policy

1. In which ways are you involved in the subject of religion and tolerance in education? Are you involved in school policies or are there other ways in which you gain insight in the link between government policy and the educational curriculum?
2. What are the characteristics of the relation between religion and education according to your own experiences?
3. Does the (religious) background of the school influences the preference given to certain models of religious education? **(social context)**
4. How do you implement the curriculum (Indonesia) or educational goals (the Netherlands) into your everyday teaching practises? **(teaching methods)**

Teaching practises/ attitudes
1. **How do teachers in public resp. private secondary education relate to religion/ideology?**
   a. Do you consider religion to be part of education and upbringing and if so, what is the aim of religious education? **(pedagogical aspects/ general goal of religious education)**
   b. What kind of definition of religion is practised?
   c. Does the notion of neutrality (inclusive/exclusive) play a role in the choice of a position towards religion and education?
   d. If so, are there demonstrable differences in positions?
   e. How do teachers relate to interreligious education?

2. **How do (teachers in) public resp. private secondary education relate to religious or ideological diversity in the society?**
   a. (How) do you pay attention to religious or ideological identity?
   b. In what ways is this diversity visible inside schools?
   c. Which factors play a role in the specific way a school deals with religious or ideological diversity?
   d. (How) does the school's own identity play a role, when dealing with and formulating a vision on religious or ideological diversity?

3. **How do (teachers in) public resp. private secondary education relate to religious tolerance as religious-pedagogical/didactic goal?**
   a. How is tolerance defined?
   b. What is your opinion about religious tolerance as an educational goal and what (if any) are your strategies in teaching religious tolerance in this school? **(religious tolerance)**
   c. What are the possibilities and barriers to implement a model of (religious) education aimed at increasing (religious) tolerance? (**limitations & possibilities)**
   d. Are there possibilities to pay attention to tolerance either within or outside religious education?
   e. In how far do you have experience with education in citizenship and tolerance?
   f. Broader perspective of citizenship education: is there also space for other religions/interreligious understanding? Would there also be an opportunity to meet the (religious) other within the frame of citizenship education?
   g. In what ways are interreligious and social connections between students addressed?