

Human Rights Education in Indonesia: The Muhammadiyah Schools Experience

Agus Miswanto*

The United Nations (UN) has been emphasizing human rights education through a series of measures such as the Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004), the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005 onward), and the adoption in December 2011 by the UN General Assembly of the Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training.

In this article, I present the results of a research on a human rights education model in Indonesia, particularly the curriculum used in Muhammadiyah schools. This human rights education curriculum led to strained debate between the progressive and conservative groups within the Muhammadiyah community, due mainly to the different perspectives on introducing human rights education. I analyze the human rights education textbook employed by the Muhammadiyah schools under that curriculum. I discuss the issues involved in the debate on human rights education between the two groups. Finally, I present the strategies used in the negotiations toward the introduction of human rights education, and which constitute an interesting process showing the ability of the organized progressive sector of the Muhammadiyah community (Mulkhan, 2007) during the 2005-2010 period to overcome the resistance from the conservative sector.

Background of the Research Issue

The relationship between human rights and religion has a long been debated, similar to the situation within Muslim organizations inside Indonesia. Appleby (2003:197) noted that the debate and dialogue among religious leaders were initiated in the 1980s and 1990s. It was perhaps a consequence of the ending of the Cold War that affected the shifting global constellation

*Agus Miswanto is the secretary of the Center of Islamic Studies, Muhammadiyah University of Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia.

relating to socio-economics, politics and strategies at that time. In Islam, according to Appleby (209-210), internal debate occurred between the proponents of an Islam compatible with democracy and human rights, and those who oppose this view, arguing that the two are incompatible in some relative or absolute sense. Furthermore, he said, “[R]eligious institution and actors who serve as agents of human rights face considerable opposition, not least from their own co-religionists” (Appleby, 2003: 198). Therefore, tensions and even conflicts are inevitably part of the process of reforming education, and of the discourses and negotiating processes involved. This situation also describes what took place within the Muhammadiyah community in Indonesia during the 2005-2010 period, when human rights education was first introduced in Muhammadiyah schools.

Muhammadiyah is an Islamic organization in Indonesia that has concern for human rights. But the efforts of many Muhammadiyah leaders in introducing human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools were neither easy nor fast. Dynamic processes in terms of protracted and complicated negotiations about the pros and cons of introducing human rights education took place within the organization. This is understandable in view of many variants of thoughts and beliefs within Muhammadiyah. To generalize, two broad groups have emerged who are relatively in opposition to each other, namely, the progressive and the conservative groups. The progressive group is the main supporter of the introduction of human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools. The conservative group, on the other hand, tends to oppose whatever the progressive group supports, thus the opposition to human rights education. The leaders and followers of the two groups engaged in debates on introducing human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools during the 2005-2010 period. Introducing human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools was thus similar to entering a battleground, where the proposal sometimes appeared in danger of getting lost in the skirmishes between the two sides. During the 2005-2010 period, the conservative group was very dominant in controlling the leadership of Muhammadiyah. This was mainly due to the defeat of the progressive group following the 2005 Muhammadiyah Congress in Malang (Boy ZTF, 2009, 1).

The debate between the conservative and progressive groups mainly focuses on translating human rights as a universal value or standard for human beings and their compatibility with Islamic values. Although this debate has started many years before, it is still going on within the Muslim

community in general. At the international level, the debate focused on the clash between maintaining international standard of human rights and respecting local cultures including Islam. The universalist view sees human rights as applicable to all cultures while the relativist view considers the tolerance of cultural difference (Merry, 2006: 8; Donnelly, 2007: 281-306). In Muhammadiyah, the debate focuses on the compatibility of human rights with Islamic and the Indonesian Muslim community values. The progressive group believes that human rights as life values are compatible with Islam, while the conservative group considers the reconciliation of Islamic teachings with human rights as spoiling the Islamic belief. The progressive group views human rights from the perspective of Islamic values.

Research Methodology

This research fortunately benefits from the author's knowledge of "who's who" inside and around Muhammadiyah. The research mainly used in-depth interviews with key individuals, combined with literature-based research in order to compile a range of data for analysis. The field research involved interviewing some prominent figures, including Muhammadiyah leaders, especially those involved either in supporting or opposing the introduction of human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools. The interviews focused mainly on policies relating to issues that have arisen during the 2005-2010 period. Curriculum development, including efforts to maintain continuity in the curriculum, was the central focus of the interviews. The literature study prominently focused on the textbooks used in Muhammadiyah schools.

For the analysis, the research uses one of the discourse analysis methods, the value-critical policy analysis approach. According to Schmidt, this concept comes from Martin Rein's book entitled *Social Science and Public Policy* (Schmidt, 2006:302). According to Rein, value critical analysis is "one that subject(s) goals and values to critical review, that is, values themselves become objects of analysis; they are not accepted as a voluntary choice of the will, unamenable to further debate" (Schmidt, 2006:302). This method is used to deepen the analysis and to enable a deeper understanding of the dynamic process of developing the human rights education policy in Muhammadiyah schools in Indonesia.

Since human rights education was initially promoted in 2005 and introduced to Muhammadiyah schools in 2008, its implementation has caused discussions on a number of pros and cons among Muhammadiyah leaders.

The value-critical policy analysis approach deepened the discussion on policy conflicts among Muhammadiyah leaders by seriously analyzing their (usually hidden) negotiations on policy goals, output and outcome.

Data Source

The research mainly collected primary and secondary data from two channels, in-depth interview and bibliography study. Primary data came from in-depth interview with Muhammadiyah leaders and the human rights education textbooks used in Muhammadiyah schools, while secondary data came from the publications published either by Muhammadiyah and its activists or from related researchers.

In-depth interview was done with prominent figures of Muhammadiyah who represented the two sides of the debate. The opposing figures were mostly from the two institutions within Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah Tarjih Board and the Muhammadiyah Tabligh Board. The Muhammadiyah Tarjih Board is like a religious body with authority and responsibility over issuance of Islamic decree (*fatwa*) within Muhammadiyah. Syamsul Anwar, the chairperson of this Board, and Muhammad Ihsan, a member of the Board, were interviewed in Yogyakarta on 22 July 2010. The Muhammadiyah Tabligh Board is an authoritative body with authority and responsibility on handling and organizing the promotion and socialization of Islamic values within the community. Adian Husaini, a member of this Board and a prominent voice in opposing and criticizing human rights education, was interviewed in Jakarta on 29 July 2010.

For the proponent of human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools, the interview was done with people from the two institutions that handled and organized the introduction of human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools directly, namely, Muhammadiyah Primary and Secondary Schools Education Board (later called Muhammadiyah Education Board) and the Maarif Institute for Culture and Humanity. The Muhammadiyah Education Board is an authoritative body of the Muhammadiyah community that handles, organizes, and monitors educational policies covering Muhammadiyah primary and secondary schools in

Indonesia. Husni Thoyyar, the second chairperson of the board, was interviewed on 30 July 2010 in the Muhammadiyah head office in Jakarta. The Maarif Institute for Culture and Humanity, although ideologically affiliated with Muhammadiyah, is an autonomous and independent institution. Officially, Maarif Institute was founded in February 2003 by prominent Muhammadiyah leaders inspired by the idea, vision, and activities of Syafii Maarif, a former general chairperson of Muhammadiyah in 1999-2004. The Institute was thus named after his last name, Maarif. Fajar Rezaulhaq, the Executive Director of the Institute, was interviewed in his office in Jakarta on 28 July 2010.

Two books, written by Husni Thoyyar in 2008 and used in Muhammadiyah schools, are the primary data sources. The first is a guidebook for teachers entitled *Buku Panduan Guru: Al-Islam dan Kemuhammadiyah Berwawasan HAM* (Guidebook for Teachers: Al-Islam and Muhammadiyahism with Human Rights Insights), and the second is a textbook for students entitled *Pendidikan Al-Islam Berwawasan HAM* (Islamic Education with Human Rights Insights).

Muhammadiyah Education System

Muhammadiyah is the largest modern Muslim organization in Indonesia, founded by Ahmad Dahlan in Yogyakarta in 1912. Historical evidence appears to show that Dahlan wanted reform within the Muslim community, to prevent it from becoming more traditional in outlook. He looked for 'progressive' solutions to future religious questions. The proposed solution was the introduction of a modernization process within the Muslim communities to prevent them from becoming remnants of the past, traditional societies. In line with this proposed reform, Dahlan, in his enthusiasm, "copied Christian missionaries in terms of the approach to education, orphanages, health clinics, and homes for the needy". (Asyari, 2007:19) In other words, the explicitly 'social reformist' mission of many Christian churches was echoed in the approach of the new organization. Fuad (2006: 402) explains this mimicry:

Dahlan had apparently recognized the possibilities of the new Western system of education as an instrument of change that might improve the lot of the Indonesian Muslim community. The Western system of education, that is, in Dahlan's eyes,

promised itself to be an instrument for reforming the Muslim community.

The early efforts and philosophical ideas of Dahlan continued as an important influence in Muhammadiyah, and have been carried out to some extent in terms of tying the organization to its early commitment to strengthen civil society and social services, and of producing a breakthrough through modern Islamic education in Indonesia to fit the current era.

As a modern Muslim organization, Muhammadiyah has a complex organizational structure. At the top level is the national office, then in descending order the provincial offices, district offices, branch offices, and sub-branch offices. They represent millions of Muhammadiyah's supporters. Delegates from offices around the country from all levels attend five yearly national conventions called Congresses or *Muktamars*. In the *Muktamar*, delegates elect a new chairperson of the national office, deliberate on national problems, and ratify national policies and programs for the coming five years (Fuad, 2004: 401). Besides that, Muhammadiyah is also an umbrella organization for a range of autonomous wings or affiliated organizations (Muhammadiyah, 2010).

The Muhammadiyah national office arranges the national guideline policies on education and social activities for the different levels of Muhammadiyah offices. For example, in the area of education, in an ascending order an *Aisyiyah* (women) branch manages a kindergarten; a Muhammadiyah branch, a primary school; a Muhammadiyah district office, junior and senior secondary schools; and a Muhammadiyah provincial office, a college.

These regulations about hierarchical prerogatives are strict only on paper. In practice, offices and personnel at the lower levels enjoy a high degree of freedom to initiate programs and activities. In fact, initiatives generally come from below, indicating strong grassroots initiatives and independence within the organization. The national office encourages grassroots initiatives by stipulating that the establishment of a lower office should be based on its capacity to establish and run an endeavor, whether in the form of a school, a clinic or an orphanage (Fuad, 2004: 402).

The demand for formal education and the lack of state resources to satisfy this demand give private organizations, including Muhammadiyah, an opportunity to establish new schools at all levels from pre-schools to colleg-

es in Indonesia. 2010 data show that Muhammadiyah has 2,289 pre-schools, 2,604 primary schools, secondary schools consist of 1,722 junior secondary schools (both regular schools and *madrasahs* [Islamic schools]), and 1,023 senior secondary school (regular, vocational schools, *madrasahs*, and *pondok pesantren*¹), and seventy-one schools for persons with disability. It also has one hundred sixty-two universities and colleges (two-year, three-year, or four-year colleges). (Muhammadiyah, 2010).

The Muhammadiyah schools have adopted the national curriculum standards. The Indonesian state designs two national curriculums, one for the general schools and another for the *madrasahs*. The general schools are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Education (MONE) and offer only general subjects. MONE develops the national curriculum for these schools, in which religious instruction is only compulsory as a once-a-week, two credit-hour subject (Fuad, 2004: 405). But general Muhammadiyah schools though under the jurisdiction of MONE offer many religious subjects, not only once a week, but three or four times a week.

The *madrasahs* are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA), which designs their national curriculum. This curriculum consists of thirty percent religious subjects and seventy percent secular or general subjects. A small percentage of the *madrasahs* are public schools and run under MORA, while a large majority of them are privately-run. Besides the *madrasah* system, there are traditional *pondok pesantren* spread throughout Indonesia that are entirely privately-run and offer exclusively religious subjects and independently design their own curriculum (Fuad, 2004: 409). Within Muhammadiyah, an office of any level has the freedom to decide on the type of school to establish - general school, a *madrasah*, or a *pondok pesantren*.

Human Rights Education in Muhammadiyah

In Muhammadiyah schools, human rights education is a result of reconciliation between Islamic law principles and human rights values. Abdul Mu'ti, a secretary of Muhammadiyah education board, defines it as a process of learning a religious subject or group of religious subjects (such as belief [*aqidah*], ethics [*akhlak*], ritual Islamic law [*Ibadah-syariah*], Qur'an-Hadits [words of Prophet Muhammad], and Islamic history) with human rights context. The contextualization in human rights of religious learning

does not mean reduced substance of religious teachings (or their forced interpretation) in order to accord with human rights. While religion and human rights have historically different sources, both have the same object and goals (preservation of honor and elimination of threat to life according to the human being's natural character [*fitrah*] as an honorable creature). Therefore, contextualization is meant to strengthen the meaning of religious education in daily life and to implement it with relevance to human rights (Mu'ti, 2007: 144).

The textbook of Muhammadiyah schools explains the three primary goals of learning: cognitive, skills-related, and affective (emotional) (Thoyyar et al, 2008: 23). For cognitive purposes, students gain a wider horizon on Islamic teaching by relating it to human rights values. Students are expected to better understand *Maqashid al-Shariah* principles, Islamic law principles, by knowing human rights principles. In addition, students should know and be able to understand the verses of the Holy Qur'an and Prophet Tradition that also relate to the appreciation of human rights. In other words, students should come to appreciate and understand human rights as being firmly grounded in an Islamic framework, and avoid mistaken understanding of human rights. As an Islamic scholar said, "we want to reduce doubts [about the compatibility of] Islam ... with human rights" (Interview with Thoyyar). For skills purposes, students should be able to practice competence in employing these values in their daily activities. Consequently, they can defend their rights in their daily lives, and have the competence to advocate for the rights of others. Finally, for affective purposes, students' everyday attitudes, behavior, and habits should accord with human rights principles and Islamic teachings.

Besides raising awareness on human rights, the development of the curriculum is due to the need to revitalize Muhammadiyah schools. The curriculum represents the major process of spreading core ideas and preparing the competencies of educators in the future. Without curriculum development, Muhammadiyah education is in danger of becoming less relevant and of losing its vitality. School revitalization is done through the change of textbook contents, the development of the teachers' capacity to deliver lessons in class, the provision of supporting resources, and the improvement of both the substance and outcomes of lessons. This can be seen as essential for the future improvement of the situation of the Muhammadiyah movement in its local, national, and global contexts (Effendi, 2010: 46)

In addition, reconciling Islam and human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools addresses the different needs of Muslim Indonesia, especially in Muhammadiyah schools. Rezaulhaq sees human rights education based on a western perspective as involving education specifically and exclusively about human rights principles or norms, such as covenants (Interview with Rezaulhaq). Unfortunately, in his view, in the Indonesian educational system, or in Muhammadiyah schools, this way of teaching human rights will burden students with an extra subject and more lessons. Therefore, he sees the need to use other ways of introducing human rights education, such as integrating it with other subjects being taught like religious education. From this point of view, human rights education functions as a perspective within broader religious education. Human rights education is therefore important in addressing humanitarian problems that Muhammadiyah is concerned with. Under this view, concern about violence, religious freedoms, and tolerance becomes part of a shared and common platform and vision between human rights and Islam.

Content of the Human Rights Education Curriculum

The human rights education curriculum model in the textbook for Muhammadiyah schools was developed on the basis of reconciliation of universal Islamic law principles (*Maqashid al-Shariah*) and human rights principles. According to Thoyyar, *Maqashid al-Shariah* and human rights have a common platform or basic value system, therefore Islam and human rights can meet where they share values (Thoyyar, 2008:12). In other words, the curriculum reconciles the values, norms and goals of shariah (*Maqashid al-Shariah*) with the goals of international human rights instruments wherever possible and as far as possible.

The *Maqashid al-Shariah* theory was developed initially by Imam al-Ghazaly to express ideas of goodness of the human being in five basic principles (Dasuki and Abdullah, 2007:30-33): 1) Protection of religious freedom and belief (*Hifz ad-din*), 2) Right to protection of life (*Hifz an-nafs*), 3) Protection of reproduction and child rights (*Hifz an-nasl*), 4) Protection of freedom of thought and expression (*Hifz al-aql*), and 5) Rights to property and work (*Hifz al-mal*). Imam Abu Ishaq as-Syatibi developed further these principles. What is important to note is that the five basic principles of *Maqashid al-Shariah* form the foundation for social development in Islam

and are almost identical with the key principles underpinning the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Thoyyar (b), 2008: 12).

According to Yahya (2008:38), a teacher of Muhammadiyah secondary school in Tasikmalaya, the curriculum integrates absolute values of God (*ilahiyah*) with relative values of the human (*insaniyah*). Then, according to Nugraha (2008: 34), a Secretary of Muhammadiyah Education Board of Garut District, Maarif Institute and Muhammadiyah Education Board try to reproduce the success of Rasulullah (the prophet) in introducing and upholding Islamic belief with two major premises. The first is *rahmatan lil 'alamain* (compassion for all human beings), a vision within which Islam as a religion presents a form of peace (*al-Islah*), freedom (*al-hurriyah*), equality (*al-musawah*), equity (*al-isawah*) and brotherhood (*al-ikha*), tolerance (*tasamuh*), competing in doing good (*fastabiqul khairat*), and discussion and consultation (*syura*). All these principles are guide to universal values. The second premise is the need for consistency between words and actions. In other words, values function not for window dressing, but as values to be realized in practice during the course of daily life.

The development of the human rights education curriculum is therefore founded on the five basic principles of *Maqashid al-Shariah* or Islamic law. Besides that, another basic principle of protection of environmental rights (*hifz al-bi'ah*) has been added to reflect current environmental priorities.

The Muhammadiyah human rights education school textbook discusses the five basic principles of *Maqashid al-Shariah* in the following manner (Interview with Thoyyar):

a. Protection of religious freedom and belief (*Hifz ad-Din*)

Hifz ad-din is translated into protection of religious freedom. In the textbook, *hifz ad-din* covers many topics regarding religious freedom such as right to belief and religion, right to practice belief or religion, right to be appreciated for one's belief, and right to promote and disseminate religion. Actually, *hifz ad-din* has different interpretation among Muslim scholars. Under the conservative Muslim view, *hifz ad-din* is understood as protection of religion, and the protected religion is solely Islam. In contrast, the progressive Muslim view defines *hifz ad-din* as protection of religious freedom. Consequently, Islam is not the only protected religion because other religions are also subject of right to protection (Thoyyar (b), 2008: 1).

In support of the legitimacy of this view, besides the Quran and prophet traditions, the textbook also uses the international human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966), European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), and the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (1990) (Thooyar, 2008:66). These instruments include fundamental principles and norms on religious freedom. They cover protection of the internal (freedom to have, adopt, and defend one's own religion and religious beliefs) and external (freedom to perform one's religion such as doctrine, practices, rituals and obedience [piety] in public and private domains) aspects of this right. They include the principle that no one should be oppressed based on choice of religion or belief. They also include the defense of the freedom of assembly of religious groups and the right to obtain legal status and protection for their groups. Finally, religious freedom is viewed as a non-derogable right (Thooyar (a), 2008: 66).

b. Right to life protection (*Hifz an-Nafs*)

Hifz an-nafs is translated as the right to protection of life. The protection of life is a basic right for every human being. In the textbook, *hifz an-nafs* covers any forms of right related to life such as, the right to life, the right to a decent life, the right to non-discrimination, right to involvement in community and organizational life, and right to self-defense. Interestingly, in presenting these rights, the textbook is illustrated with real worldwide examples of humanitarian crises, from the holocaust regarding Jews, and genocide in Bosnia, to issues of hunger in Indonesia (Thooyar (b), 2008: 35-69).

c. Protection of freedom of thought and expression (*Hifz al-'Aql*)

Principally, this principle is about the protection of intellectual freedoms. In the textbook *hifz al-'aql* is translated into an extended topic, beyond basic freedom of thought and expression, and includes various subjects, such as the right to education, to access to information, to self-expression, to science and technology development, as well as intellectual property rights and patent rights. Therefore all kinds of intellectual activities of human beings are included under the term *hifz al-'aql*, which should all be guaranteed and protected (Thooyar (a), 2008: 105; (b), 2008: 71).

d. Protection of reproduction and child rights (*Hifz an-Nasl*)

Hifz an-nasl is translated into protection of one's descendants. This includes right to reproduction, right to development and growth, and protection rights for children. Every couple and every person has rights to have and determine the number of children, and to minimum guarantees on safety and health as well as reproduction (physically, mentally, and socially). Therefore, this principle covers issues of rights to marriage, reproduction, descendants (children) and family planning (Thooyar, 2008: 125-127). In other words, family life is protected as having a vital importance for the next generation. According to Article 5 of the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, "[T]he family is the foundation of society, and marriage is the basis of making a family." Men and women have rights to marriage, and there should be no restrictions based on race, skin color, ethnicity or nationality. Furthermore, society and state have to eliminate all restrictions to marriage and facilitate marriage procedures legally. This then leads to better guarantee of protection of marriage and family welfare (Thooyar (a), 2008: 128; (b), 2008: 107).

Regarding descendants' rights, every child has rights to grow and develop, and to decent facilities to help the child grow and develop well. These rights cover breastfeeding, good and healthy nutrition, proper care and education. Based on Article 26 of the Child Protection Law (2002), parents are obliged and responsible for caring, educating and protecting their children. Furthermore, parents are responsible for stopping child marriage practices (Thooyar, 2008: 132). They also have to raise their children based on capacity, and interests. According to the textbook, there are at least four problems of children that should be given attention to, including those related to education, health, work, and safety (for children who live in conflict areas).

e. Rights to property and work (*Hifz al-Mal*)

Hifz al-mal is understood as protection of property rights. In the textbook, this right also covers ways of legally obtaining properties. From an Islamic perspective, Allah is the Creator and the owner of all things in the universe, while humans are only limited owners of property and treasure in the world. All properties are entrusted by Allah to human beings; therefore properties have to be obtained through lawful and legal ways (*halal*). Obtaining property according to Islamic principles is an obligation, and ownership and defense of such property, acquired legally, can be considered part of one's religious sacred sacrifice (*jihad*) (Thooyar (a), 2008: 139; (b), 2008: 129).

f. Environmental protection (*Hifz al-Biah*)

Hifz al-biah can be translated into protection of the environment. In the textbook, *Hifz al-biah* covers many environmental rights such as right to clean air, right to access clean water, right to cultivation of land, and right to enjoy clean environment. Actually, these rights are a new element in *Maqashid al-Shariah*, not previously included in traditional Islamic Law. The primary reason for making *hifz al-biah* part of *Maqashid al-Shariah* is the occurrence at present of severe destruction of the environment everywhere (Interview with Thoyyar). Although, it is a new part of *Maqashid al-Shariah*, it is not a new concept in Islam. The Qur'an asserts in various verses the need to ensure the continuity of future generations and of human beings' future (QS al-hasr [59]:18; al-nisa [4]:9, etc.). This includes the need to develop the system of social welfare in the world (QS Hud [11]:61, etc) and prohibitions on doing harm to the environment (QS al-Maidah [5]:32, QS albaqarah [2]:25, and 220, QS al-rum [30]:41). Therefore, there is a good religious foundation for Muslims to become more aware that natural resources and the environment need consideration on the basis of the *hifz al-biah* principle. Protecting both the human beings and the natural environment is the only way to ensure sustainability of the next generation and the safety of the future on earth (Thoyyar (a), 2008: 12-14; (b), 2008: 155).

Pedagogy in the Human Rights Education Textbook

The textbook of Muhammadiyah schools offers various learning models or methods of human rights education that encourage students to participate and learn actively. (Thoyyar, 2008: 61-62). The participatory learning/teaching methods introduced in the textbook develop enthusiasm in students in thinking and finding solutions to problems. The methods include shared reading of materials; group discussion; use of newspaper clippings, drawings, photos, and songs; games; field trips; and storytelling. To make it easier for teachers to manage classes involved in these activities, the textbook identifies five steps in handling the subject matter in class:

1. Subject summary. This provides a global description of the learning subject, which is presented in a short sentence containing the key words.

2. Digging the idea (or 'deepening'). This is meant to attract the interest of students on the learning topics. This presents ideas, for example, through comics, stories, newspaper clippings, so that important issues can be discussed.
3. Core lessons. The core lessons are presented as short, easy-to-understand points for students to learn the main lessons around the topics they have taken up.
4. Enrichment. This provides students supplementary examples that help strengthen their impressions and initial understanding on the learning subject.
5. What has been achieved? This evaluates the competency of students in understanding what they have discussed. It takes the form of questions or assignment, for example (Thoyyar (a), 2008: 25; Effendi, 2010: 42-44).

These steps are very much in line with Paulo Freire's participatory teaching concept. Freire proposed a "problem posing-education" (Barlett, 2008: 3) or "liberating education" to replace the concept of "banking education" (Hudalla, 2005:5). Liberating education is a process of humanizing people through dialogue. Dialogue is a central component of Freire's liberating education, which involves identifying the problems and proposing solutions. Dialogue is useful because it allows individuals the opportunity to share their experiences in a supportive and constructive atmosphere (Barlett, 2008: 2-3). In contrast, the "banking education" framework considers teachers as very central in transferring knowledge, while students are only "receptors who patiently receive, memorize, and repeat" knowledge (Hudalla, 2005: 4-6). Banking education however never facilitates the "liberation" of students.

Regarding human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools, a research found that the most attractive methods were group discussion, followed by role play (Effendi, 2010: 68). The research also found that these methods have enhanced the teachers' capability to ensure an attractive learning atmosphere for students in human rights education. The teachers in West Java, for example, acknowledged that they succeeded in encouraging enthusiasm among students in teaching human rights, because their methods were very varied. At the same time, student's recognized that

Islamic lessons became more attractive when human rights insights were incorporated (Effendi, 2010: 68).

Even the majority of teachers said that they were used to employing the old learning method that put the teacher at the center, but the textbook provided a different teaching that they wanted to use instead of the old method. They were also more comfortable in the new method that made the transaction of lessons more easy, while the students also became more receptive to the subject (Effendi, 2010:78). In other words, the teachers and students agreed that the active and participative learning method was very helpful in making them understand the subject easily and fast. Furthermore, the method was very helpful in improving teaching capability, as it did not bore the students (Effendi, 2010: 67).

The textbook for the human rights education curriculum has succeeded quite well in reconciling Islam and human rights. The textbook starts from the universal values on which both Islam and human rights stand. Regarding content, the curriculum used hybridity as a form of vernacularization (translation) of human rights. The textbook uses the goals of Islamic law principles (*Maqashid al-Shariah*) that are believed to be in common with human rights principles and standards. The contents of the textbook avoid the formal human rights documents in the explanation, although sometimes it is still accompanied by few provisions from international human rights instruments. Islamic language is the very core in explaining human rights issues in the textbook. This is unavoidable because human rights education is incorporated into the Islamic education curriculum. Through the textbook, the progressive group has exploited the *Maqashid al-Shariah* in order to widen perspectives on the needs of Muslim society and individuals in the contemporary era. Due to needs and demands, the progressive group has gradually brought out more issues that could be included in a wider perspective of interpreting the Islamic doctrine. For instance, the progressive group promotes the importance of environmental issues by interpreting *Maqashid al-Shariah*, which is not previously explicit. Also, the human rights education curriculum of Muhammadiyah schools has so far proven quite successful in dealing with contemporary Indonesian issues.

Regarding the pedagogic element, the textbook uses interactive pedagogical approaches as applied to international standards of human rights education. Teachers tend to acknowledge that the teaching materials on human rights, democracy, gender, pluralism are valuable new forms of

knowledge which can widen and enrich the students' and teachers' perspectives if handled wisely (Effendi, 2010: 57). According to Andrea Hirata, a well-known Indonesian author, the textbook has managed to correlate social issues with Islamic character building and specifically Muhammadiyah-influenced forms of learning (Thoyyar (a), 2008: back cover).

Therefore, the content of the human rights education curriculum in Muhammadiyah schools today appears to have a strong relevance to the mandate of Article 26 (2) of the UDHR:

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

In line with the UDHR, Article 3 of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training states that human rights education is a long-term process which starts from pre-school. Article 5(3) provides that human rights education should “embrace and enrich, as well as draw inspiration from, the diversity of civilizations, religions, cultures and traditions of different countries, as it is reflected in the universality of human rights.” See the Appendix of this publication for the full text of the declaration.

Debate on Human Rights Education

Discussions and debates on compatibility between human rights and Islam have been going on for a long time. These discussions and debates have not been confined to western academics who are doubtful about Islam's support for human rights. Debate and dynamic discourse also take place within the Muslim community, especially between the so-called conservative and progressive groups. The latter group is often identified as liberal Muslims (Chase, 2007: 1-15).

The universality of human rights is based on an assumption that human rights are natural attributes of human beings possessed by all people universally, and on the idea about inherent existence of rights in all human beings (Plantilla and Raj, 1997:13). Therefore, the validity of human rights

is only derived from the very source of their existence, the nature of human beings, and not seen as confined by certain contexts, such as social-economic-cultural and political contexts or levels of 'development', in whatever sense (*ibid.*). In contrast to this, the relativist conception of human rights is based on the assumption that human rights are conceived as a reflection of the culture of the major authors of human rights instruments, reflecting existing power struggles and unequal social relations and biases. Therefore, from this relativist perspective, it cannot be assumed that human rights are universal in their application, since some rights may mesh more with some cultures and contexts than with others.

The alternative, and interesting framework, is the cross-cultural critique, which according to Marks and Clapham (2004:395) was originally proposed in the work of An-Naim. This notion concerns with the cultural legitimacy of international human rights standards. In An-Naim's assessment, a major cause of disregard for human rights is their lack of culture legitimacy in societies that have different traditions from those with reference to which the foundational instruments were largely framed. He considers, however, that this gap can still be filled. In his words,

I believe not only that the universal cultural legitimacy is necessary, but also that it is possible to develop it retrospectively in relation to fundamental human rights through enlightened interpretation of cultural norms (An-Naim in Marks and Clapham (2004:395).

Therefore, the project of interpreting cultural norms framed and enlightened by human rights values is a way toward making human rights more acceptable and legitimate in the context of multicultural society. Consequently, the enlightened cultural norm becomes a tool in promoting and supporting human rights within society.

The conflict between conservative and progressive groups within Muhammadiyah on human rights issues has genealogical roots. A Chairperson of Muhammadiyah Tarjih Council (Syamsul Anwar) acknowledges that there is a polemical issue as far as human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools is concerned. According to him, there are at least two groups, conservative and progressive. The conservative group subscribes to the literal text interpretation approach. Its members have tradi-

tional educational background, and the group exists strongly in the districts. The progressive group has the contextual text interpretation approach that considers much more the social context and cultural dynamics in text interpretation (Barus, 2008:50-51).

Thought divergences are not new in the history of Islamic thought. Muhammad Abduh's followers in Egypt, for instance, were split into two opposing groups. Rasyid Ridha, Sayyid Qutb, and Hasan al-Bana were students and also Abduh followers who developed an interpretation and understanding method in conservative, scriptural, and fundamentalist model. On the other hand, other Abduh students and followers such as Mustafa Abd ar-Raziq, Qasim Amin, Luthfi Assayid, and Ali Abd ar-Raziq developed a liberal perspective on Islam (Houroni, 1983:161-192).

In Muhammadiyah, the rise of the strain between the conservative and progressive groups relates to Muhammadiyah doctrine on Puritanism and Muhammadiyah's character as a puritan Islamic movement. Puritanism can be interpreted as either right wing perspective (that arouses a conservative and scriptural Islamic perspective) or left wing perspective (that arouses a liberal Islamic thought, and then the progressive Islamic thought). (Boy ZTF 2009:59) In practice, Puritanism within Muhammadiyah can be manifested as the purification of Muhammadiyah faith that should not be contaminated with any perspective that may destroy Muhammadiyah belief or faith. This type of purification of faith refutes the marriage between Islam and local tradition. On the other hand, Puritanism can also be interpreted through contextualization of Muhammadiyah doctrine in responding to contemporary issues such as pluralism, multiculturalism, democracy, gender justice, human rights, and globalization. The progressive group has the tendency to choose the second interpretation as their approach to purification. Therefore, it is understood that the tendency of progressive Islamic thought within Muhammadiyah cannot be separated from the need to respond to contemporary issues, contextualizing Muhammadiyah within the progressive era, and interpreting Islam in a new way.

Boy ZTF sees the rise of conservatism within Muhammadiyah to have been triggered by many factors such as politics, ideology, and the educational background of its activists. The rise of progressivism within Muhammadiyah, however, is caused by two important factors, namely, Muhammadiyah's intellectual stagnation issues and the rise of conservatism. The birth of progressive group within Muhammadiyah is also a product of

the new discourse on Islamic thought introduced by a number of intellectuals and the young generation in Muhammadiyah (Boy ZTF, 2009:60-61).

The development of conservatism in Muhammadiyah can be understood through two meanings. First, it relates to a political attitude resistant to globalization, which is characterized as compromising local identity and particularity. The conflict between the global and the local and the perceived threat to local communities arouse the rise of conservatism. Second, conservatism is also understood as fundamentalist expressions that totally refuse all forms of change. This mode can be seen as the development and strengthening of exclusivity. The conservatism within Muhammadiyah, according to Boy ZTF, is of the second type and triggers the rise of refusal against all forms of change. On globalization issues, for instance, few groups within Muhammadiyah would adopt an accommodating strategy, while others would choose a confrontational strategy. According to Haedar Nashir, the rise of conflict between conservative and progressive groups is a manifestation of failure in finding within Muhammadiyah a common articulation that bridges purification and reform perspectives (Boy ZTF, 2009: 87-88).

Regarding human rights education, the position of the progressive group in Muhammadiyah is unique and complex. Besides the need to convince the conservative group to support human rights education, the progressive group also has to convince the universalist human rights groups that doubt the link between Islamic values and human rights standards.

Different from the conservative group, the progressive group uses a wide perspective and looks at the Islamic doctrine in the dynamic context of the past, present, and future. In the context of the past, the progressive group considers Islam as a critic over dullness and backwardness of human beings, as well as offered as a "medicine" to structure society into a peaceful family, a good village (*qaryah tayyibbah*), and a good country (*balдах tayyibbah*). The pre-Islamic Arab (*Jahily*) society is seen as maintaining human rights violations such as slavery, tradition of killing female infants, monopoly over resources by elites of Mecca, and discrimination against women. Islam came to offer liberation and reform, and introduced fundamental values such as equality, justice, brotherhood, peace, and human dignity as pillars of the Islamic system (Thoyyar, 2008: 7). Muslim people therefore are obliged to appreciate the rights, such as right to live and protection of life (QS al-maidah [5]:32), right to get decent life (QS al-Dhariyat [51]:12), right to freedom and freedom from slavery (QS al balad [90]:130), right to get

justice (QS al-Maidah [5]:3), right to equality as human being (QS al-hujurat [49]:13), and so on. (Thoyyar, 2008: 10-11). These are important elements in Islam that accord with human rights values in the modern era.

Historical evidence also shows how Islam has proven as human rights defender in the context of slavery and social problem phenomenons. Islam encouraged people to liberate slaves charitably, which was considered a good deed; Muslim people were even advised to marry slave women in order to liberate them. The policy went on until the period of the fourth Khalifah when the entire slaves in the Arab peninsula could have been liberated. The Prophet Muhammad himself liberated sixty-three slaves, Aisyah liberated sixty-seven slaves; Abbas liberated seventy slaves, Abdullah bin Umar liberated one thousand slaves, and Abdurrahman bought thirty thousand slaves and liberated them. Then, in the case of economic distribution, Islam opened an equal chance for all people to access resources, which were controlled by the elites of Mecca during the pre-Islamic era. Besides that, Islam obliged the giving of alms (*zakat*) and charity (*infaq, shadaqah*) as redistribution mechanisms of resources, income, and wealth. (Thoyyar (a), 2008: 8)

The Madinah Charter is also an historical evidence that Islam protected plurality of social forms and belief. It is considered as a foundation of acknowledgment of pluralism in Islam. Brotherhood, friendship, peace, and togetherness were bonds for all sections of Madinah people, Muslim or non-Muslim at the early Islamic period. Non-Muslim people were acknowledged as one community together with the Muslim community (*ummatun ma'al Muslimin*) (Thoyyar, 2008: 8-9). This evidence at once refutes the view of the conservative group which denies pluralism.

Dahlan, a Muhammadiyah founding father, is an important figure who greatly appreciated human rights and diversity. He had high tolerance and never hated other religions. He maintained friendship with the Dutch people who had different religion and belief, and who in turn supported what he was doing. His example shows how to maintain good relationship with different religious groups and appreciate pluralism. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah itself recognized pluralism as part of Islam and social phenomenon. In 2000, Muhammadiyah published a book entitled *Tafsir Tematik al-Qur'an tentang Hubungan antar Umat Beragama* (The Thematic Quranic Exegeses on Relationship Among Religious Beliefs), as a guide book for pluralism within Muhammadiyah (Biyanto, 2009: 111). The example of Dahlan and the Muhammadiyah stance in the past counter the conservative stance today.

Human rights have become global phenomenon in ensuring and protecting people from any kind of violence and oppression. The UDHR has become a global value standard that should be effectively treated as an obligation, and should be accepted and realized everywhere (Thoyyar (a), 2008:9).

Islam as a religion is committed to human dignity but faces the challenge of proving its commitment to human rights. Although Islam has a different approach and rules for settling conflicts at specific levels and circumstances, it does not mean that Islam and human rights cannot be reconciled. Islam can support and help achieve the goals of UDHR (Khan, 1967:140-143), due to its commitment to human dignity.

Furthermore, human rights have become global issues that go beyond the concerns of adults, and cover matters regarding children and youth. This makes human rights and related knowledge a very important subject that should be taught to children from early age. The old paradigm which often considers human rights as elite subject and only relevant to discussions among adults, activist groups, and academics is no longer relevant to the contemporary demands and challenges. Introducing human rights at early age is very important and needed because majority of the victims of human rights violations are children. Children do not know their rights, do not know how to defend them, and how to find a way out of human rights violations (Thoyyar (a), 2008: 15-17). Therefore, there are reasons why it is very important to introduce and impart human rights education through Islamic education.

Negotiation and Strategy

Negotiating the introduction of human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools was a complicated process and took much time. It started in May 2007 when the progressive group launched a campaign on the importance of human rights education for Muhammadiyah schools and ended in August 2008 (Interview with Rezaulhaq). By September 2008, the human rights education curriculum was introduced in the Muhammadiyah schools. The progressive group had to undertake a series of initiatives to improve their negotiating position before and after September 2008. These initiatives included: 1) conferences, 2) research, 3) workshop 4) writing the textbook and modules, 5) review, 6) dialogue, and 7) implementation (Thoyyar (a), 2008: 6).

To support the success of curriculum development and the implementation of human rights education, the progressive group used many strategies and approaches to gain positive responses and to increase interest from key stakeholders in the Muhammadiyah education system. At least two approaches were employed in negotiating with people whose perspectives and interests were less favorable to human rights education. The first was a structural approach to negotiation and the second a more strategic approach.

The progressive group took into consideration the importance of authority and power relations in determining the success or failure of introducing human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools. The progressive group therefore concentrated on the institutions and people who exercised power within Muhammadiyah as an organization. For instance, from the very start, the progressive group invited the Muhammadiyah Education Board to be involved in the human rights education project. While the Education Board initially failed to respond, it subsequently responded by offering a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Maarif Institute. The Education Board concluded this MOU after receiving demands from grassroots members, particularly from many stakeholders in education at the regency level, to support human rights education. The formal and structured link with Maarif Institute, on the other hand, was very useful in the campaign.

The progressive group initiated bottom-up processes to discuss the implementation of human rights education. As a result, the request for curriculum reform came from the grassroots level, especially from Muhammadiyah schools which were key stakeholders at the district level, rather than from 'above.' As Rezaulhaq, a director of the Maarif Institute, said in an interview (Interview with Rezaulhaq):

We have talked with the elite of Muhammadiyah, but they did not respond to our proposal. Therefore, we pushed Muhammadiyah education stakeholders at the grassroots level, especially at district level, to take steps to demand curriculum reform within Muhammadiyah schools.

The progressive group considered that education stakeholders at the bottom or grassroots level have potent power to put pressure on the na-

tional level Muhammadiyah educational structure. Although weak in terms of leadership, stakeholders at the grassroots level know the real conditions and the actual need for the development of the Muhammadiyah education system. Empowering the grassroots stakeholders is a way of increasing their power and leadership that can help, build and support the required educational changes as well as mobilize supporters of human rights education. This approach seems to be in line with the stakeholder analysis formula which says: “supporters with little power and leadership: focus on ways of increasing the power and leadership of these stakeholders” (Schmeer, 2000:2-31).

Besides the bottom-up strategy, the progressive group also took some initiatives to approach and convince different people at the top (national) level. These initiatives included dialogues, meetings and seminars. Regarding the neutral stakeholders at the higher level of the organization, the progressive group seems to have applied a stakeholder analysis formula that “focuses on convincing the stakeholders to support the policy and increasing their power and leadership where necessary” (Schmeer, 2000:2-31). With the acceptance of the human rights education proposal, the progressive group worked closely together with the Maarif Institute and the Muhammadiyah Education Board in defending human rights education before the conservative group. The Muhammadiyah Education Board, the central authority on all educational policies of Muhammadiyah, took the task of responding to the many critics from the conservative group, while the Maarif Institute took the role of “a think tank” on human rights education for Muhammadiyah schools. This division of tasks was very effective in reducing active opposition to human rights education within Muhammadiyah. The division of tasks considered and determined the respective capacities and authority of the two institutions in determining the success of human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools (Interview with Rezaulhaq).

Besides using the structural approach that focuses on the role of power relationship, the progressive group also used strategic approach to negotiation. This approach mainly considers the importance of action and maneuver in gaining the result or goals of negotiation (Alfredson and Cungu, 2008: 7). The progressive group planned diverse strategies to gain positive result in negotiating with the different levels of people within Muhammadiyah who would like to support the human rights education project. The progressive group exerted many efforts (participation, partnership, and dialogue) as part of the strategic approach for this purpose.

Participation, partnership, and dialogue were exploited by the progressive group to maintain and manage all possible resources to gain positive impact or outcome of the negotiation process.

Channeling participation and partnership increased the number of supporters, and raised the chance of making human rights education more acceptable to Muhammadiyah leaders and followers. Dialogue was employed to reduce active opposition to the implementation of the human rights education project. Indeed, participation, partnership, and dialogue are very effective ways to “maintain and mobilize current supporters”, “minimize active opposition”, “convert neutral parties and opposition”. (Scribner and O’Hanlon, 2000: 3-10).

The progressive group used the participation strategy to attract attention from the stakeholders within Muhammadiyah. In developing the human rights education curriculum, the progressive group involved the important elements of Muhammadiyah education stakeholders from the central to the district levels. All of them were involved in this process as writer team members, expert and executive editors, designer and illustrator team members, expert readers, and trainers (Thoyyar (a), 2008: 6). Their backgrounds were very diverse, from heterogenous religious ideologies and thoughts, to culture, to ethnicity, to gender, and also to social stratification such as education policymakers in Muhammadiyah School Education Board, teachers of Al-Islam, religious leaders, academicians or intellectuals, and human rights activists. (Thoyyar, 2008: 6).

Involving Muhammadiyah education stakeholders in the whole process of the project was an appropriate strategy. The Muhammadiyah Education Board, for instance, is key as the policymaker whose interest and influence relate to the revitalization of Muhammadiyah education. Involving Islamic religious teachers of Muhammadiyah schools was a real necessity for the success of Muhammadiyah education. Because the teachers had an influence in the change of curriculum and textbook, putting them as subject group of the program to reorganize the textbook was acknowledged as a rational choice and acceptable. Theoretically, an advocacy strategy that involves influencing stakeholders who have more interest from the beginning is acknowledged as an effective participation strategy that can empower them (Effendi, 2010: 52). Based on Effendi’s research, the strategy that involved a number of Muhammadiyah education stakeholders such as the Muhammadiyah Education Board from central to district levels and the teachers was very

helpful in strengthening human rights content and teaching methodology in Muhammadiyah schools and a key element in improving teacher's capacities (Effendi, 2010: 53-54).

Furthermore, to maintain and strengthen the success of negotiation in introducing human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools, the progressive group built partnership with different elements within and outside Muhammadiyah. The Muhammadiyah Education Board together with Maarif Institute, for instance, had a partnership with the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) and Kompas-Gramedia (a well-known publisher) to publish the textbook more broadly (Interviews with Rezaulhaq and Thoyyar).

In addition, during the negotiation process, the progressive group minimized conflicts and active opposition within Muhammadiyah. It used the dialogue strategy in dealing with the different groups including the conservative group. According to Rezaulhaq, through a long series of meetings and dialogues with many people with the participation of invited experts or intellectuals, human rights practitioners, and victims of human rights violations, the views of the conservative group that initially refused human rights education and considered human rights as western product that contradict Islamic values, interestingly changed. For instance, in South Sulawesi, the local conservative group strongly refused human rights education. But after a long dialogue where the people saw and heard the testimony from witnesses and victims of human rights violations, they became aware and more open to human rights education (Interview with Rezaulhaq).

Conclusion

The human rights education model in Muhammadiyah schools is a hybrid in terms of content, and a replication in terms of pedagogy (teaching). In terms of content, the human rights education curriculum is the result of reconciliation of the human rights core values with the Islamic core values. Human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools has a strong theological basis, with the process of learning linked to a group of religious subjects such as belief (*aqidah*), and ethics (*akhlak*), etc. This is the way by which human rights education has been incorporated into the Muhammadiyah school curriculum. The principles of Islamic Law (*Maqashid al-Shariah*) are thus important starting points in developing greater human rights aware-

ness among teachers and students. The *Maqashid al-Shariah* theory can be viewed as the shared platform where human rights principles and Islamic principles meet. The five core principles of the *Maqashid al-Shariah* theory introduced in the human rights education curriculum developed into six relevant principles, namely, freedom of religion and belief (*Hifz ad-din*), right to protection of life (*Hifz an-nafs*), freedom of thought and expression (*Hifz al-'aql*), rights to reproduction and child life (*Hifz an-nasl*), rights to property and work (*Hifz al-mal*), and finally, right to environmental protection (*Hifz al-biah*).

These principles have formed the basis of human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools, starting with initial efforts from 2005.

Other central conclusions of this study relate to (i) teaching, (ii) the aims of the curriculum, (iii) the debates between conservatives and progressives on human rights education, and (iv) the strategies used to ensure human rights education's adoption in the curriculum.

In relation to teaching, since 2007 human rights education has used various learning methods that attract and encourage students to be involved in learning more actively. These methods are mainly participative learning in character, which are also used generally in teaching human rights all over the world. However, in terms of teaching model, human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools uses the replication model that made the teachers gain the capability to shift the learning atmosphere from boring to an attractive one. According to Effendi, group discussion activities are most attractive to the teachers and students.

Human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools has had two primary goals in the context of curriculum and teaching development. First, the human rights education curriculum aims to improve both the vitality and quality of the school curriculum. These improvements were needed to address the situation of the Muhammadiyah movement in its local, national, and global contexts. Revitalization was to be achieved through textbook content renewal, teacher capacity development to achieve capability for effective delivery of the lessons in class, and provision of resources and supporting materials for the lessons to improve the substance and outcomes of teaching. Second, in terms of teaching development targets, human rights education aims to achieve three primary goals of learning: cognitive learning, skills-related learning, and emotional or affective learning. From this target, there is hope that students would develop more awareness of human

rights issues and improve their attitude and behavior in upholding human rights values.

The effort to reconcile Islamic education with human rights education has provoked a heated debate between conservative and progressive groups within the Muhammadiyah organization. The conservative group refuses human rights education by arguing that reconciling Islam and human rights makes Islam secondary to human rights principles, and this endangers the Islamic doctrine. The conservative group accuses the progressive group of misinterpreting Islamic doctrine in relation to human rights concepts. It claims that the progressive group forced Islamic teachings to accord with human rights, rather than the other way around. More specifically, the human rights education curriculum is criticized for including doctrines of pluralism that endangers the Islamic religious belief. The conservative group considers human rights as Western ideas; as tools for westernization that will spoil Islamic teachings. From this perspective, Islam and human rights cannot meet. Indeed, they should never meet because each has a different paradigm and different source for truth.

Unlike the conservative group, the progressive group is very confident in accepting a human rights perspective in Islamic education. It argues that human rights are already part of Islamic teachings, and that Islam and human rights share a common platform or set of values in relation to definitions of humanity that are universal. It considers the need to reconcile human rights education with Islamic education in order to reduce misunderstanding about Islam and the conflicts between Islamic principles and human rights principles. Therefore, the progressive group denies that reconciling Islam and human rights can be damaging to Islam. Human rights are viewed not as a Western ideology, but as a perspective, that can be related to Islam as a religion. Therefore, even though Islam and human rights may start from different positions, each can help equip the other. Overall, based on the evidence presented in this study, it does seem that Islam can support and be reconciled with human rights values. Theological and historical evidence, for instance, prove that Islam has a strong commitment to developing human rights awareness and reducing human rights violations. Therefore, in the contemporary era, the Muslim community has to participate actively in upholding human rights values.

The strategies in promoting human rights education sometimes face a difficult environment. Due to opposition by the conservative group and

others to human rights education, introducing it into the Muhammadiyah schools was not an easy task at the initial stages. Challenges came from within Muhammadiyah, mainly from the conservative group, and based on bureaucratic objections. The development of the human rights education curriculum has therefore involved a long series of steps involving educational stakeholders within Muhammadiyah, from grassroots to policymaking levels. The progressive group used various strategies to convince the Education Board and many others within Muhammadiyah that they should accept human rights education programs, and that human rights education was compatible with the wider values of the organization. A strategic approach to the negotiation was key to the success in introducing human rights education. This involved combining grassroots demands with Maarif Institute's intellectual influence. The progressive group worked through the Education Board. They used available means to convince key people, including lay people, to take a different stand and to end their opposition to the introduction of human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools. Through such strategies, step by step, the paradigm shifted within Muhammadiyah. Gradually, through persuasion, but also through practical human rights education experience, people within the Muhammadiyah organization as a whole have become more open and more accepting of the new human rights education program.

This study shows that despite the controversy that took place within Muhammadiyah, the human rights education model introduced into the Muhammadiyah school curriculum between 2005 and 2010 has had many positive impacts. It helped develop human rights awareness among teachers and students. As a consequence, the policymakers within Muhammadiyah, especially those in the Education Board, should become even more active in the future in promoting human rights education in Muhammadiyah schools, beyond the three provinces of West Java, East Nusa Tenggara, and Central Sulawesi in Indonesia.

For successful introduction, human rights education has to avoid the more controversial issues of human rights. Counter-productive arguments should be avoided in the initial implementation of human rights education. In Muhammadiyah schools, the pluralism issue has provoked controversy, for example. Since controversies can consume valuable time and energy, relatively uncontroversial issues should be the first themes or topics of hu-

man rights education, and should be based on local needs and accepted basic principles of Islamic education.

References

Alfredson, Tanya & Cungu, Azeta. 2008. "Negotiation Theory and Practice: A Review and Literature." *Esaypol On Line Resource Materials for policymaking*. Food and Agricultural Organization.

An-Naim, Abdullah Ahmed. 2007. *Islam dan Negara Sekular: Menegosiasikan Masa Depan Syariah* [Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari'a]. Bandung: PT Mizan Pustaka.

Appleby, R. Scott. 2003. "Religions, Human Rights, and Social Change." In Ter Haar, Gerrie and James J. Busuttill, editors, *The Freedom to Do God's Will: Religious Fundamentalism and Social Change*. London and New York: Routledge

Asyari, Suaidi. 2008. "A Real Threat from Within: Muhammadiyah's Identity Metamorphosis and the Dilemma of Democracy." *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, vol. 1 no. 1, 18-41. Available at: <http://jurnal.pdii.lipi.go.id/admin/jurnal/11071841.pdf>.

Barus, Deni Mulya. 2008. "Buku Suplemen Berbuah Protes [Book Supplement Generates Complaint]," *Gatra*. Jakarta: Gatra.

Bartlett, Lesley. 2008. "Paulo Freire and Peace Education." In Monisha Bajaj, editor, *Encyclopedia of Peace Education*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, Inc. Available at: www.tc.edu/centers/epe/PDF%20articles/Bartlett_ch5_22feb08.pdf, accessed on 9 November 2010.

Biyanto. 2009. *Pluralisme Keagamaan dalam Perdebatan: Pandangan Kaum Muda Muhammadiyah* [Religious Pluralism in the Debate: The Views of Young People in Muhammadiyah]. Malang: UMM Press.

Boy ZTF, Pradana. 2009. *Para Pembela Islam: Pertarungan Konservatif dan Progressif di Tubuh Muhammadiyah* [The Defenders of Islam: Fight among the Conservatives and Progressives in the Muhammadiyah Community]. Jakarta: Gramata Publishing.

Burhani, Ahmad Najib. 2006. "The Ideological Shift of Muhammadiyah from Cultural into Puritanical Tendency in 1930s." *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya*, vol. VIII, no. 1, 1-22. Available at http://ucsb.academia.edu/NajibBurhani/Papers/781505/_The_Ideological_Shift_of_Muhammadiyah_from_Cultural_into_Puritanical_Tendency_in_1930s_Masyarakat_dan_Budaya_Vol.8_No.1_2006_1-22.

Chase, Anthony. 2007. *Transnational Debates on Human Rights in the Muslim World: Politics, Economic, and Society, Working Paper*. Boston: Human Rights Program at Harvard Law School.

Collins, Elizabeth Fuller. 2004. "Islam and Habits of Democracy: Islamic Organizations in Post-New Order South Sumatra." *Indonesia*, vol. 78, 93-120. USA: SEAP Cornell University. Available at www.classics.ohiou.edu/faculty-directory/elizabeth-collins/, accessed on 15 November 2010.

Council of Europe, OSCE/ODIHR, UNESCO, OHCHR. 2009. *Human Rights Education in the School Systems of Europe, Central Asia and North America: A Compendium of Good Practice*. Warsaw: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). Available at www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/CompendiumHRE.pdf, accessed on 23 May 2010.

Dasuki, Asyraf Wajdi and Abdullah, Nurdianawati Irwani. 2007. "Maqashid al-Syariah, Maslahah, and Corporate Social Responsibility." *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 24, no. 1, 25-45. Available at: http://i-epistemology.net/attachments/916_ajiss24-1-stripped%20-%20Dusuki%20and%20Abdullah%20-%20Maqasid%20Al-Syariah.pdf, accessed on 9 November 2010.

Donnelly, Jack. 2007. "The Relative Universality of Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 2, 281-306. Available at: http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/human_rights_quarterly/v029/29.2donnelly.pdf, accessed on 29 March 2010.

Effendi, Herizal, et. al. 2010. *Jadilah Guru Sekaligus Murid: Sebuah Upaya Pendidikan Karakter Bangsa dari Sekolah Muhammadiyah* [Being a Teacher and Also a Student: National Character Education Efforts at Muhammadiyah Schools]. Jakarta: MI Production.

Fahrurrozi. 2005. "Nilai-nilai HAM dalam Buku Ajar Pendidikan Agama Islam di Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA) Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta" [Human Rights Values in the Islamic Religious Education Textbook in Secondary School of Yogyakarta Special Region]. *Millah*, vol. IV, no. 2, 105-120. Available at: <http://iza-skia.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/penelitian-nilai-nilai-ham-dalam-buku-ajar-pai.pdf>, accessed on 23 May 2010.

Flowers, Nancy. 2003. "What is Human Rights Education?" In *A Survey of Human Rights Education*. Hamburg: Bertelsmann Verlag. Available at: www.hrea.org/erc/Library/curriculum_methodology/flowers03.pdf.

Fuad, Ahmad Nur, et.al. 2007. "Islam and Human Rights in Indonesia: An Account of Muslim Intellectuals' Views." *Al-Jami'ah*, vol. 45, no. 2.

Fuad, Muhammad. 2004. "Islam, Modernity and Muhammadiyah's educational programme." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, vol. 5, No. 3, 400-414.

Gasper, Des. 2000. *Structure and Meaning: A Way to Introduce Argumentation Analysis in Policy Studies Education, Working Paper 317*. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Hadi, H. Abd. 2007. "Gerakan Pemikiran Muhammadiyah dari Puritanisme ke Dinamismo." [The Muhammadiyah Thought Movement from Puritanism to Dynamism]. *Paramedia Jurnal komunikasi dan informasi Keagamaan*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1-20. Available at: <http://ejournal.sunan-ampel.ac.id/index.php/Paramedia/article/viewFile/197/182>.

Hefner, Robert W. 2000. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Available at: <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/s6966.pdf>, accessed on 9 November 2010.

Hourani, Albert. 1983. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hudalla, Justin. 2005. *Transforming My Curriculum, Transforming My Classroom: Paulo Freire, James Banks, and Social Justice in a Middle School*

Classroom, in www.edchange.org/multicultural/papers/hudalla.pdf, accessed on 9 November 2009.

HURIGHTS OSAKA. 2000. *Human Rights Education in Asian Schools*, vol. 3, available at www.hrea.org/erc/Library/curriculum_methodology/HRE-in-Asia3/index.pdf, accessed on 23 May 2010.

_____. 1997. "Human Rights and Cultural Values: A Literature Review," in Jefferson R. Plantilla and Sebastia I. Raj, SJ, editors, *Human Rights in Asian Cultures – Continuity and Change*. Delhi: HURIGHTS OSAKA. Slightly edited version available at www.hurights.or.jp/archives/database/hr-cultural-values.html, accessed on 8 March 2010.

Johnston, James Scott. 2009. "Prioritizing Rights in the Social Justice Curriculum." *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, vol. 28, no. 2. Available at: www.springerlink.com/content/1124702107411783/fulltext.pdf, accessed on 23 May 2010.

Khan, M. Z. 1967. *Islam and Human Rights*. Islamabad: Islam International Publication Ltd. Available at: www.alislam.org/library/books/Islam-HR.pdf.

Landman, Todd and Edzia Carvalho. 2010. *Measuring Human Rights*. London and New York: Routledge.

Landman, Todd. 2006. *Studying Human Rights*. New York: Routledge.

Lapayese, Yvette V. 2005. "National Initiatives in Human Rights Education: The Implementation of Human Rights Education Policy Reform in Schools." In Joseph Zajda, Kassie Freeman, MacLeans Geo-Jaja, Suzanne Majhanovic, Val Rust, Joseph Zajda and Rea Zajda, editors, *International Handbook on Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*. The Netherlands: Springer. Available at www.springerlink.com/content/gk61jlr482176063/fulltext.pdf, accessed on 23 May 2010.

Lohrenscheit, Claudia. 2002. "International Approaches in Human Rights Education." In *International Review of Education*, vol. 48, nos. 3-4, 173-185. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3445359.pdf, accessed on 11 April 2010.

Maarif Institute. 2007. *Workshop Pendidikan Agama Berbasis Ham* [Human Rights-based Religious Education Workshop]. Jakarta: MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity.

Marks, S. and A. Clapham. 2004. *International Human Rights Lexicon*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Merry, Sally E. 2006(a). "Transnational Human Rights and Local Activism: Mapping the Middle." In *American Anthropologist*, vol. 108, no. 1, USA: University of California Press. Available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1525/aa.2006.108.1.38/pdf>, accessed on 10 November 2010.

_____. (b). "Human Rights and Transnational Culture: Regulating Gender Violence Through Global Law." In *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, vol. 44, no. 1, Toronto, Canada: York University, http://ohlj.ca/archive/documents/Merry_Sally_Engle_Human_Rights_and_Transnational_Culture.pdf, accessed on 10 November 2010.

Merry, Sally E. 2006(c). *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Transnational International Law into Local Justice*, Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press.

Muedini, Fait. A. 2010. "Examining Islam and Human Rights from the Perspective of Sufism." *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 7, issue 1, 1-23.

Mu'ti, Abdul. 2007. "Pendidikan Agama Islam Berbasis HAM" [Islamic Religious Education Based on Human Rights]. In Reza Ul Haq, Fajar, *Islam, HAM dan Keindonesiaan: Refleksi dan Agenda Aksi untuk Pendidikan Agama* [Islam, Human Rights and Being Indonesian: Reflection and Action Agenda for Religious Education]. Jakarta: Maarif Institute for Culture and Humanity and New Zealand Agency for International Development.

Muhammadiyah. 2010. *Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah: Jaringan Amal Usaha* [Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah: Network Charity Effort].

Mulkhan, Abdul Munir, et al. 2007. *Islam, Ham, dan Keindonesiaan: Refleksi dan Agenda Aksi untuk Pendidikan Agama* [Islam, Human Rights and Being Indonesian: Reflection and Action Agenda for Religious Education]. Jakarta: Maarif Institute. Available at: www.maarifinstitute.org/downloads/islamhamkeindonesiaan.pdf, accessed on 15 July 2010.

Novak, Kathleen and Hall, Christianne. 2000. 'Conflict Negotiation Guidelines,' *Policy Toolkit for Strengthening Health Sector Reform*, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/48545/RD1.PDF.pdf>, accessed on 16 November 2010.

Nugraha, Agus R. 2008. "Pendidikan al-Islam dan Kemuhammadiyah (AIK) Berwawasan HAM: Kritik dan Perspektif" [Islamic Education and Muhammadiyahism – Human Rights: A Critical and Insightful Perspective]. *Maarif Journal: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial*, vol. 3, no. 3.

Nurdin, Ahmad Ali. 2005. "Islam and State: A Study of the liberal Islamic network in Indonesia, 1999-2004." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 7, 2 (December, 2005): 20-39. Available at: www.nzasia.org.nz/downloads/NZJAS-Dec05/7_2_3.pdf, accessed on 23 May 2010.

Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights. 2010. *Recommendation 4/2: Draft United Nations declaration on human rights education and training*, www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/advisorycommittee/HR_education_training.htm, accessed on 26 October 2010.

Parekh, B. 2005. "Pluralist Universalism and Human Rights." In R. Smith and C. van den Anker, editors, *The Essentials of Human Rights*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Pasha, Musthafa K. and Darban, Ahamad Adaby. 2005. *Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gerakan Islam* [Muhammadiyah as Islamic Movement]. Yogyakarta: Citra Karsa Mandiri.

People's Decade for Human Rights Learning. *Human Rights Learning: A People's Report*, available at www.pdhre.org/report/, accessed on 16 March 2010.

Qodir, Zuly. 2008. "Keragaman Pemikiran dalam Muhammadiyah" [Diversity of Thought in Muhammadiyah]. Paper presented at *Kajian Tematik II LPI PP*. Surakarta: Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta.

Schmidt, Ronald. 2006. "Value-Critical Policy Analysis: the Case of Language Policy in the United States." In Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, editors, *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Schmeer, Kammi. 2000. "Stakeholder Analysis Guidelines." *Policy Toolkit for Strengthening Health Sector Reform*, available at <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/48545/RD1.PDF.pdf>, accessed on 16 November 2010.

Scribner, Susan and O'Hanlon, Barbara. 2000. "Advocacy Guidelines." *Policy Toolkit for Strengthening Health Sector Reform*, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/48545/RD1.PDF.pdf>, accessed on 16 November 2010.

Staub-Bernasconi, Silvia M. 2008. "Human Rights – Facing [Dilemmas] between Universalism and Pluralism or Contextualism." *Paper presented at the 34th Biannual Congress of the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) Transcending Global-Local-Divides – Challenges for Social Work Education and Practice Durban/South Africa, 19-23 July 2008*. Available at: www.zpsa.de/pdf/artikel_vortraege/UniversalismPluralismDurban2008StB.pdf, accessed on 16 March 2010.

Steenbrink, Karel. 2004. "Christianity and Islam: Civilization or Religion? Contemporary Indonesian Discussions." *Exchange: Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research*, vol. 33, no. 3, 223-243.

Svensson, Isak. 2005. "Rebellion, Religion and Resolution: Exploring the Religious Dimensions of Peace Agreements." Life & Peace Institute, Uppsala University. (unpublished)

Teleki, Katherine. 2007. *Human Rights Training for Adults: What Twenty-six Evaluation Studies Say About Design, Implementation, and Follow-up*, Human Rights Education Associates Inc. (HREA) Series No. 1, available at www.hrea.org/pubs/HREA-Research-in-HRE-Papers_issue1.pdf

Ter Haar, Gerrie and James J. Bussutil. 2005. *Bridge or Barrier: Religion, Violence and Vision for Peace*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.

_____, 2003. *The Freedom To Do God's Will: Religious Fundamentalism and Social Change*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ter Haar, Gerrie and Tsurouka, Yoshio, editors. 2007. *Religion and Society: An Agenda for the 21st Century* International Studies in Religion and Society, vol. 5.

Thoyyar, H. Husni, et al. 2007. *Studi Muatan Buku Teks Pelajaran Al Islam Untuk Tingkat SLTA Muhammadiyah* [Content Study of the Textbook of Islamic Lesson for Muhammadiyah Senior Secondary School]. Jakarta: MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity. Available at: www.maarifinstitute.org/.../Penelitian_Muatan_Buku_Ajar_Pendidikan_Al-Islam_SMA_Muhammadiyah.pdf.

Thoyyar, H. Husni (a). 2008. *Buku Panduan Guru: Al-Islam dan Muhammadiyah Berwawasan HAM* [Guidebook for Teachers: Al-Islam and Muhammadiyahism with Human Rights Insights]. Jakarta: Maarif Institute.

_____. (b). 2008, *Pendidikan Al-Islam Berwawasan HAM* [Islamic Education with Human Rights Insights]. Jakarta: Maarif Institute.

_____. (c). 2008, *Kemuhammadiyah Berwawasan HAM* [Muhammadiyah Insights on Human Rights]. Jakarta: Maarif Institute.

Tibbitts, Felisa. 2002. "Understanding What We Do: Emerging Models for Human Rights Education." *International Review of Education*. vol. 48, nos. 3-4, 159-171. Available at: www.springerlink.com/content/m22u0m731748170x/fulltext.pdf, accessed on 11 April 2010.

_____. 2008, "Human Rights Education." In Monisha Bajaj, editor, *Encyclopedia of Peace Education*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, Inc. Available at: www.hrea.org/pubs/tibbitts08-encyclopedia.pdf.

Yahya, Asep Hilman. 2008. "Mengapresiasi Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM) dalam Keterpaduan Hablun Minallah wa Hablun Minannas" [Appreciating Human Rights in the Context of the Unity between God and Human Beings] in *Maarif Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Social*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Jakarta: Maarif Institute.

United Nations. 2010. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a26, accessed on 30 October 2010.

Endnote

1 *Pesantren* is a housing complex that includes the houses of the *kiai* (an expert in Islam) and his family, *pondok* (school), and a mosque. *Pondok Pesantren* means Islamic boarding school.