

Religious Education for *Aliran Kebatinan* Community in Contemporary Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper is a literature review of the fulfillment of the rights of *Aliran Kebatinan/Kepercayaan* followers, or *Penghayat Kepercayaan*, to obtain religious education in Indonesia. *Aliran Kebatinan* or *Kebatinan* is a religious community that has been discriminated since the Independence of Indonesia. Up to these days, *Kebatinan* has not been recognized as one of the official religions in Indonesia. Specifically, this study examines two issues, namely; the discrimination experienced by the *Kebatinan* followers in Indonesia, and the fulfillment of the rights to religious education in accordance with the beliefs of *Kebatinan* followers. This study revealed two findings; *first*, *Kebatinan* still becomes a marginalized minority community in Indonesia even though the followers of this belief is quite large. The followers of *Kebatinan* had continuously been discriminated until 2017 when the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia recognized their rights. *Second*, since the Independence of Indonesia until 2016, the *Aliran Kebatinan* community was “forced” to learn other religious education such as; Islam, Christian, Hinduism, Buddhism or Confucianism at schools even though they were not the adherents of one of these six official religions. In 2006, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia through the Ministry of Education and Culture issued a regulation on religious education in formal education institution. Finally, the students who are the followers of *Kebatinan* were given religious education named “Religious Education”. Thus, the Government of Indonesia began to have a commitment to provide religious education services for adherents of *Kebatinan* in Indonesia.

Key words: *kebatinan, kepercayaan, educations, rights, Indonesia, minority*

Introduction

Indonesia is a country consisting of various ethnicities, languages, and religions. From the religious aspect, there are six official religions in Indonesia, namely; Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism (Crouch, 2014; Ibn Chifarie, 2018). Every religion consists of various schools. Islam is a religion adhered by the majority of population in Indonesia, and there are various schools within the Muslim community. Some communities are Sunni, which is the majority, and some others are Shia and Ahmadiyya, which are the minorities. Muslims in Indonesia are affiliated with certain Islamic organizations, such as; Al Jam’iyatul Washliyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam (Persis), and Persatuan

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Tarbiyah Islamiyah (Perti). These organizations are affiliated with Sunni schools (Ja'far, 2018; Niam, 2017; Pullungan, 2018; Burhani; 2018).

Shia and Ahmadiyya as the minority groups also founded religious organization, such as; Ikatan Jamaah Ahlul Bait Indonesia and Ahlul Bait Indonesia (ABI) for the Shia group (Zulkifli, 2009; Al makin, 2017; Ahmad, 2017), Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) and Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (GAI) for the Ahmadiyya group (Zulkarnain, 2005; Mariani, 2013; Soedirgo, 2017). In addition to those two groups of minority, there is another religious community called *Kebatinan* or *Penghayat Kepercayaan* which is adopted by a number of Indonesia citizens (Hefner, 2018). *Kebatinan* is derived from the Arabic word *batin*, meaning "hidden", or "inner self". It is a combination of metaphysics, mysticism and other esoteric doctrines from Animistic, Hinduistic, Buddhist and Islamic origins with the aim of a metaphysical search for harmony within one's inner self, connection with the universe, and with an Almighty God (Choy, 1999). Thus, *Kebatinan* have no certain prophet, sacred book, nor distinct religious festivals and rituals. The followers of *Kebatinan* in Indonesia are quite large, and this group consists of no less than 83 schools (Hadiwijono, 2006; Kinasih, 2018).

Even though Islam is adopted by the majority of Indonesia's population, Indonesia is not an Islamic state. Pancasila becomes the basis of this country, democracy is implemented, and this country fights for human rights. In the reformation era, Indonesia has been perceived as a modern country which implements a democratic system and respects human rights. However, discrimination still becomes a concern in this country due to the different religions and religious understanding. It cannot be denied that the existence of majority and minority group still becomes a problem in modern Indonesia. Denny JA (2014) shows that the cases of discrimination in the form of violations of religious freedom and intolerance continue to occur in Indonesia. Discrimination occurs because of religious differences and understanding, sexual orientation, and gender. Within the Muslim community, there are three groups that are still discriminated, namely; Ahmadiyya, Shia, and religious schools which are considered heretical. A number of conflicts in the name of religion also occurred in Indonesia.

Among the minority groups in Indonesia, the followers of *Kebatinan*, as the local religion, are still discriminated since this religion is seen as deviant sect and cannot be recognized as one of the official religions (Hakiki, 2011; Djafar, 2018). This community keeps fighting for their rights so that they can be recognized by Indonesian law and have equal rights as other citizens do. Even

though the Indonesian people have entered a reform era where freedom has been given, but the issue of discrimination and intolerance due to differences in religion, ethnicity, belief, social orientation and gender still continues to occur. The majority and the minority groups do not have mutual understanding in which according to the democracy, every citizen has the same rights and obligations.

Djafar (2018) adds that the followers of *Kebatinan* are among the groups that are still discriminated. Among the forms of discrimination experienced by this community are the fulfillment of basic administrative rights, such as the identity cards, family identity and marriage records. Despite having a large number of followers, this sec is not considered as a religion, thus it is not managed by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia but only facilitated by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Although the believers of this group are Indonesian citizens, it turns out that they are not treated and facilitated equally by the government. In fact, related to the fulfillment of the rights for religious education in formal education institution, the followers of *Kebatinan* are still discriminated.

This study is based on the idea that education is a process of facilitating young people to gain knowledge, skills, values, beliefs, and habits under the guidance of educators so that students can teach themselves (Dewey, 1944). Basically, education functions as a medium for exploring knowledge, attitudes, and skills (Gibbs and Blakely; 2000). As a minority group in Indonesia, *Kebatinan* has enough followers who still need educational institution in order to gain the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed. Unfortunately, their rights to obtain religious education has not been accommodated by the government, so formal education institutions have not been able to be a medium for disseminating their knowledge, attitudes, and skills regarding their beliefs. For this reason, through this study, the researchers will examine how this minority groups are able to teach their religious education to the next generation through formal education institutions in Indonesia.

A number of studies on *Kebatinan* has been carried out with the majority of the researchers examined the teachings, history and the development of *Kebatinan* in Indonesia, including Indrawardana (2014), Wijayanti (2013), Syukron (2013), Kholid (2013), Syafariah Widjayanti (2015) and Khotimah (2016). Some others examined the rights of *Kebatinan* followers as citizens, including the studies conducted by Hakiki (2011), Mutaqin (2014), Budijanto (2016), Arifin (2017), Hamid (2018), Azizah (2018), Diah (2018), Setiawan (2018), Sulfiyah (2018),

Yuliani (2018), Argani (2018) and Lukman (2018). However, none of these researchers have examined how the followers of *Kebatinan* group gained their rights of religious education in Indonesia. In other words, no studies have been conducted focusing on the fulfillment of the *Kebatinan* followers' rights for religious education in formal education institution in Indonesia.

In regards to the gap of the current literature, this study will examine how the followers of *Kebatinan* as a minority group in Indonesia get their rights for religious education in formal educational institution. For this reason, it is necessary to reveal the cause of why they did not get religious education in accordance to their beliefs, how they fought for the rights, and how the contemporary developments are related to the fulfillment of their rights.

This study aims to analyze the issue of fulfilling the rights of *Kebatinan* followers to obtain religious education in Indonesia. This study is important because, first, *Kebatinan* is a phenomenon that cannot be ignored since it has a large number of followers in Indonesia. The religious adherents are even less sympathetic to their existence. Second, the researchers still leave questions in their academic work about how the followers of *Kebatinan* group get rights for religious education considering they are still discriminated. Third, the Republic of Indonesia, as a democratic country which supports pluralism and human rights, in fact, has not provided equal rights for education to its citizens because of the religious differences and beliefs even though the laws in this country guarantee that equality.

Methodology and Conceptual Framework

Using the historical-philosophical method, this study is a review of literatures which aims to provide a critical, descriptive and analytical review to the rights of religious education for the followers of *Kebatinan* in Indonesia. Conceptually, Rosyada (2017) states that religious education is education that provides students the knowledge, skills, and attitudes in practicing religious teachings on all paths, levels and types of education. The map of religious education in Indonesia is divided into three main regions. First, the religious education in public schools, including; Islamic education for the adherents of Islam or Christian education for the adherents of Christian. Second, the religious education in Islamic schools (madrassa). Third, religious education that offers in-depth religious education which is usually provided in Islamic boarding schools. In this context, the religious education for the followers of Mysticism community in

Indonesia is in public schools, so this study examines how the implementation of religious education for the followers of Mysticism in Indonesia.

This paper is in the form of reviews and documentation about the religious education for the followers of *Kebatinan* in Indonesia. This review aims to find the information from the primary sources obtained from the *Kebatinan* community in the form of organizational documents, works, and statements of figures, and various news and information published on the organization's websites. In addition, this review also underlies its information from the secondary resources in the form of research reports, journal articles, and textbooks written by experts as well as the news related to the *Kebatinan* group both in printed version and online version. This literature review uses the literatures that have succeeded in uncovering the issue of *Kebatinan* yet tries to find and display new and different information from the existing literature.

This literature review may contribute in three aspects. First, it produces the latest literature and documentation on *Kebatinan* in Indonesia, specifically the followers' right to get religious education in formal education institutions where this study has not been reviewed by experts in this field. Second, it identifies the challenges and achievements of the followers of *Kebatinan* in gaining their rights to obtain religious education in Indonesia. Third, the findings of this study can be used as a basis in formulating education policies that pay attention to pluralism and multiculturalism.

Findings

Aliran Kebatinan in Indonesia

Etymologically, the word "Kebatinan" in Indonesia's dictionary means "the inner state"; everything about the mind; the teachings or beliefs about the knowledge of truth and divinity which can be achieved by the inner vision; the knowledge that teaches the path to inner perfection; *suluk*; *tasawuf*; the knowledge of the inner matter; mysticism". The Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia states that "*Kebatinan* is an understanding that recognizes the supreme lord, not from the revelation of God (Samawi), but comes from the culture of the nation that consists spiritual values of a legacy of living ancestors and has been cultured in a society as a result of the reasoning of creativity, sense of humor and the will of the human being". Setiawan (2018) describes that *Kebatinanis* all beliefs in the society whether it comes from the religion or outside of the religion. This religious belief holds activities that are mystical, psychological, and

trust in God the almighty, including various activities that are mystical, *kejawen*, shamanism, forecasting, paranormal, and metaphysics. However, in this study, *Kebatinan* is defined as the result of national culture that contains spiritual values and is recognized as an ancestral heritage that has become culture in society in Indonesia. Furthermore, *Kebatinan* is the religious group that is not affiliated with any officially recognized religious groups in Indonesia. Even if this group is called a religion, they are the followers of the local religion.

Aliran Kebatinan is an adherent of a belief in “religion” outside the adherents of official religions in Indonesia. There are six official religions in Indonesia, namely; Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Some followers of *Kebatinan* had emerged in Indonesia before the arrival of these official religions. *Kebatinan* is indeed not religious and is different from any recognized religions as it is a spiritual culture originating from human creation. *Kebatinan* is the belief in God the Almighty outside any established and a new one, but rather part of Indonesian national culture (Ilyas and Imam, 1988). Nevertheless, *Kebatinan* can be referred to as “local religion” and is a “native religion” of Indonesian society.

There are numerous published works that provide information about the trends of *Aliran Kebatinan* in Indonesia. Various genres of *Aliran Kebatinan* in Indonesia are discussed by As’ad (1977), Rahnip (1984), Subagya (1984), Sofwan (1999), Kartapradja (1985), Muhammad (1985), Ilyas and Imam (1988), and Artawijaya (2010). They exemplify the history and understanding of the sects of *Aliran Kebatinan* such as; Paguyuban Sangkan PAraning dumadi Sri Jayabaya, Satriyo mangun Mardiko Dununge Urip, Perjalanan, Daya Daya, Sumarah, Ngesti Tunggal, Bratakesaawa, Pangestu, Paryana Suryadipura, and Sapta Darma. Specifically, some studies reveal the teachings of each of the sects of *Aliran Kebatinan*. Academically, the history and understanding of *Aliran Kebatinan* has been thoroughly written by the researchers. For example, Stange (2009), Melton and Bauman (2010) and Romano (2013) comment on the teachings of *Kebatinan Sumarah*.

Recent studies about the contemporary development of *Aliran Kebatinan* in Indonesia have also been carried out by researchers. Hamid (2018) reviewed the Perjalanan Group as one of *Aliran Kebatinan*. Some researchers, such as; Azizah (2018), Puspitasari (2018), Setiawan (2018), Sukoco (2018), and Wahyudi reviewed the decision of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia regarding the *Aliran Kebatinan* in 2017 in Indonesia. However, there is an interesting side that has not been studied by *Aliran Kebatinan* researchers in Indonesia, namely;

how the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* have the rights to obtain religious education in formal institutions in Indonesia. There is no written data on this issue. This issue is very interesting because on one hand, legislation in Indonesia states that every citizen in Indonesia has the right to get education and the government is obliged to provide education to all citizens without exception. However, on the other hand, the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* had not gotten their right in receiving religious education in accordance with their beliefs in formal education institutions. The government only provides religious education services to followers of official religions in Indonesia such as; Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Meanwhile, there are many Indonesian citizens who are not the adherents of one of those official religions. Among them are the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* who can be called as the adherents of local religions in Indonesia.

The study of *Aliran Kebatinan* has attracted the attention of experts because it has a large number of followers. The Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia predicts 12 million people as the adherents of religions in Indonesia. The Ministry of Education and Culture in Indonesia records that there are about 187 groups of faith in Indonesia. Setiawan (2018) revealed that the Directorate of Trust in God the almighty recorded 248 central organizations and 980 branch organizations that brought together *Aliran Kebatinan* followers. This group is spread in various regions of Indonesia such as; North Sumatra, Riau, Lampung, Banten, DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta, East Java, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara and North Sulawesi. Among the *Aliran Kebatinan* communities in Indonesia are Perjalanan, Paguyuban Sumarah, Sapta Darma, Bratakesawa, Pangestu, Paryana Suryadipura, Sunda Wiwitan, Aluk todolo, Parmalim, dan Kaharingan. Although some *Aliran Kebatinan* group existed before the presence of official religions in Indonesia and had significant followers, this group is still discriminated by the government.

The Discrimination toward *Aliran Kebatinan* in Indonesia

The *Aliran Kebatinan* is a “religious” group that has long been discriminated in Indonesia. Even though its number of communities is quite large and had already existed before Indonesia’s independence. In the Old Order Era (1945-1966), the *Aliran Kebatinan* was not recognized as a religion because according to the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, religion is characterized to possess the holy books, prophets and international recognition (Attorney

General Office of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017) so that the *Aliran Kebatinan* is not considered as religion. The government of Indonesia in that era did not regard *Aliran Kebatinan* as a religion, and for this reason, this sect did not receive services from the government as what official religions did.

In 1953, the Indonesian government established Pengawas Aliran Kepercayaan (PAKEM). The basis for the formation of PAKEM is the findings of the Ministry of Religion that 360 new religions and *Aliran Kebatinan* have emerged in Indonesia. This institution is under the Ministry of Religion with the main function of overseeing new religions and *Aliran Kebatinan* group and their activities. In 1961, Law No. 15 of 1961 concerning the Principal Provisions of the Prosecutors Office of the Republic of Indonesia was issued in which one of the articles states that “to give an assignment to the Prosecutor’s Office to oversee the movement of *Aliran Kebatinan* that endangers the community and the state. At this time, PAKEM was under the supervision of the Prosecutor’s Office, no longer under the supervision of the Ministry of Religion (Attorney General’s Office of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017). It indicates that the government gave a negative assessment of *Aliran Kebatinan* in Indonesia.

In 1965, the President of the Republic Indonesia established the PNPS 1/1965 Law concerning blasphemy. This law was made by the government to protect official religions from desecration by the *Aliran Kebatinan* sect. Even during the New Order era, *Aliran Kebatinan* was suspected of being part of Communism. To avoid accusations of being communists, a large number of *Aliran Kebatinan* adherents decided to convert adherence to certain official religions, even though they adhered to the official religion by force (Attorney General’s Office of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017).

In 1978, the TAP MPR No. 4/1978 concerning the *Aliran Kebatinan* is not religion, but culture. This rule even stipulates the obligation to write down the official religion adhered to by the people on their identity cards (KTP). Here, the *Aliran Kebatinan* followers faced difficulties because they were not followers of one of the official religions in Indonesia. In 2006, the government issued Law no. 23 of 2006 concerning population administration. In the law, it was confirmed that the trust identity was not recorded in the religious column on the KTP. Article 1 paragraph 2 states “for Residents whose religion has not been recognized as a religion in accordance with the provisions of the Laws or trustees are not filled, but are still served and recorded in the population database.” This law reaffirms that the government does not recognize

Aliran Kebatinan as a religion and as a result of this law, many difficulties are faced by the *Aliran Kebatinan* followers in obtaining administrative services to the problem of finding jobs.

Susanto, et. al. (2011) emphasized that there were two forms of discrimination faced by *Aliran Kebatinan* community in Indonesia, namely the National Identity Card (KTP) and marriage certificate/birth certificate. They experienced discrimination as a result of government regulations that were still discriminating. The problems of making KTP among the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* cannot be separated from the rules regarding six official religions in Indonesia, namely; Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Believers must fill in the religious column on their KTP with one of those six religions. They cannot fill it with the name “belief stream”. If they reject it, then they will not be able to make and have an ID card. If they do not have a KTP, as a consequence, it will be difficult for them to get administrative services in various government and private agencies, including finding jobs. Another option is that they must choose one of the recognized religions in Indonesia even though they are not followers of that religion. This choice has an impact on the issue of depriving them of their identity and giving rise to other forms of discrimination.

If the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* refuse to fill in the religious column in their ID cards with one of Indonesia’s official religions, they will find it difficult to get the administrative services, especially; marriage, education, funeral, and social assistance. In terms of marriage and birth registration, the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* cannot have a marriage certificate, including not being able to get a family card. Even though they were married according to their faith, the state did not recognize the marriage. Their children will be difficult to get birth certificate. There are many aspects of these problems, especially the difficulty for their children in getting public services and gaining a decent future. This treatment of discrimination against the *Aliran Kebatinan* group, according to Hakiki (2011), is caused by laws stipulated by the Government of Indonesia where the law regarding *Aliran Kebatinan* is prepared for the interests of the majority religion and denies the minority groups. The major religions in Indonesia have committed affair with power.

The new era of the rise of the *Aliran Kebatinan* community was their success in fighting for their rights before the court of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta. The *Aliran Kebatinan* followers from Marapu community, Parmalim, Ugamo Batak Nation and Sapto Darmo sued the law to the Republic of Indonesia Constitutional Court in 2016 related to the

article emptying the religious columns for the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* on their family cards and Identity cards. The Constitutional Court's decision was a new chapter in the life of *Aliran Kebatinan* followers in Indonesia where they hope that their rights could be fulfilled by the state, including from the aspect of education.

However, the decision of the Constitutional Court above received rejection from religious people in Indonesia, especially Islamic organizations. The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) is one of the Islamic organizations that questioned the Court's decision. MUI considered that the Constitutional Court's decision tended to equalize and balance the religion with mysticism. MUI proposed that *Aliran Kebatinan* to be given special Identity card. Muhammadiyah as one of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia besides the Nahdlatul Ulama and Al-Jam'iyatul Washliyah also held a special meeting to review the Constitutional Court's decision. This shows that the struggle of the *Aliran Kebatinan* community in Indonesia in fighting for their rights as citizens in Indonesia is not easy.

The Issue of *Aliran Kebatinan* Followers' Rights to Get Religious Education

The impact of discrimination on the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* in Indonesia is that the children of this sect find it difficult to obtain religious education in formal schools. The formal education institutions in Indonesia provide religious subjects as compulsory subjects but only offer classes for students who hold official religions in Indonesia. Therefore, there are no teachers who teach *Aliran Kebatinan*. A student who adheres to *Aliran Kebatinan* is not likely to take Islamic studies or other official religions because he is not an adherent of one of these religions. As a result, he will not be able to go up to the next grade or to graduate because there is no score on his religious subjects. If he studies one of the official religions, he will not be able to follow it, or even if he can, it will be difficult to follow it, let alone to get a good score. Some cases show that the school asked the student to be one of the followers of an official religion so that he could go up to the next grade. However, many parents refuse this offer. This problem is often faced by children whose parents are the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan*.

There are two main problems faced by children adhering *Aliran Kebatinan* in Indonesia. The first problem is that the government does not pay attention to the teachers of students whose religion is *Aliran Kebatinan*. The middle school students in Indonesia usually continue their

formal education in secular institutions or in religious institutions (madrassa or Islamic boarding school). The students who adhere *Aliran Kebatinan* cannot go to madrassa or Islamic boarding school or educational institutions established by the followers of certain religions. Their choice is only studying at secular schools. However, the government in Indonesia issued a policy that every student in Indonesia should be given religious studies in accordance to their religions. The problem is, schools do not provide religious studies that are in accordance with the beliefs of the students who are the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* because their beliefs are not recognized as one of the official religions in Indonesia. For this reason, there are no teachers who are competent to teach *Aliran Kebatinan* teachings. The Indonesian government has never opened job openings for teacher positions in this field. This problem is also originated from the problem that there is no tertiary institution offers a teacher education study program in the field of *Aliran Kebatinan*. Therefore, there is no available teacher whose competence is recognized by the state to teach these lessons, including the government that is impossible to employ the teachers and pay their salary. Since the independence of Indonesia, the government has not provided teachers in the field of *Aliran Kebatinan*.

In recent years, several schools have collaborated with existing *Aliran Kebatinan* communities to provide teachers who are considered capable of teaching these lessons. Then, the school must pay the teacher's salary, and if the teacher is a teacher with the status of a civil servant at the school, then of course he cannot receive a salary. Thus, the problem faced by formal education institutions where there are students from among adherents of *Aliran Kebatinan* is the absence of scholars and teachers in the field of this belief.

The second problem is that the students from Mysticism community in Indonesia do not get religious subjects. As what has been discussed previously, the government of Indonesia only prepares learning devices for religious lessons for followers of official religions in Indonesia. *Aliran Kebatinan* is considered as a group of religion. At school, the children who are the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* did not receive special guidance in the religious field according to the teachings they believe in. To respond to their interests, several schools decided to replace religious studies with *Kepenghayatan dan Budi Pekerti* lessons specifically for students who did not adhere to official religions. However, no teacher has specifically taught the lesson. Finally, some teachers are asked to teach the subject matter, but they must be recommended from the organization of *Aliran Kebatinan*, including the subject matter. Not all the students of adhering

to the *Aliran Kebatinan* have access like this. Among the schools that provide services for students from adherents of the *Aliran Kebatinan* are SMK Dinamika Pembangunan Jakarta, Yayasan Al-Wathoniyah Asshodriyah 9, SMK Karawitan in Bandung, SD Merdeka Bandung, SMA Negeri 5 Bandung, and almost all elementary and junior high schools in Jati Asih district, Bekasi (Susanto, et.al, 2011). Students of other schools who adhere to *Aliran Kebatinan* do not receive religious studies at all. Therefore, they may take certain religious lessons, or not all with the risk that they cannot go up to the next grade or graduate from the school.

When formal education institutions do not provide religious education teaching *Aliran Kebatinan*, the students from these schools cannot explore and live their beliefs. At a certain level, they are “forced” to take other religious lessons and must take exams in other religious studies. If they do not do it, they certainly cannot pass the exam because schools require each student to pass all the lessons, including religious studies. This could be categorized as a form of discrimination that continues to be faced by groups of students from *Aliran Kebatinan* group and this case has been going on for a long time.

To extend one’s knowledge and appreciation of beliefs, students from the *Aliran Kebatinan* community finally usually use the family environment and community /organization of *Aliran Kebatinan* as informal and non-formal educational institutions outside their schools. Here, the family environment of followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* becomes the first educational institution where students recognized and lived their beliefs. *Aliran Kebatinan* is inherited from generation to generation and to younger generation. Thus, the *Aliran Kebatinan* community utilizes family institution as one of the recognized educational institutions that preserve and strengthen the existence of *Aliran Kebatinan*. Within the family environment, children know and appreciate the teachings of certain schools or beliefs when schools cannot facilitate it.

“*Aliran Kebatinan*” Subject for the Mysticism Community

In terms of education, the Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System confirms the principle of the implementation of national education in Indonesia. Article 4 states that “Education is organized in a democratic and just manner and is not discriminatory by upholding human rights, religious beliefs, cultural values, and national pluralism”. In article 11, it is stated that the Government should provide services and facilities, and guarantee the

implementation of quality education for every citizen without discrimination. “In article 12, it is stated that “every participant in religious education in an education unit has the rights to: a) obtain religious education in accordance with the religion he adheres to and is taught by religious educators. Thus in the context of equality, actually *Aliran Kebatinan* followers as Indonesian citizens have the right to education. The fact is, until 2017, students from *Aliran Kebatinan* community are still discriminated because they do not get the rights for religious education which is in accordance with their beliefs, and “required” to take other religious lessons.

For this reason, the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia issued a regulation stipulated in Permendikbud No. 27 of 2016 concerning Educational Services against God the almighty in Educational Unit. There are three points of this rule. First, students can fulfill religious education through religious belief. Secondly, the government including the regional government can cooperate with *Organisasi Penghayat Kepercayaan* which has been registered in accordance with the laws and regulations. Third, educators provide religious education lesson in accordance with the teachings of students’ beliefs. The basic consideration for the emergence of this regulation is that the Indonesian government recognizes that students from the *Aliran Kebatinan* community have the same rights as other students from other official religious circles to obtain religious education. They have the rights to receive education in accordance with the mandate of human rights. In this regulation, it is increasingly emphasized that students from the *Aliran Kebatinan* community are given the rights to obtain religious education by studying the subject entitled “Pendidikan Kepercayaan” (the religious education) which gives the students an opportunity to learn about the existence of God the almighty. This regulation shows that the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* have been served by the government in the field of education.

Since this rule issued, legally students at school are no longer discriminated. First, the students may follow the religious subjects that are in accordance with their beliefs. Secondly, the students are not required to take religious subjects determined by schools. Previously, students were “forced” to learn other religious lessons that were not in accordance with their beliefs. Now, this does not happen anymore. Third, the school handed over the lessons and grading related the religious education subject to the leaders of *Komunitas Penghayat Kepercayaan* where students have joined.

The recent developments show that the students of *Aliran Kebatinan* sect have been given the right to obtain religious education. First, the government has held a national standard examination for religious education lessons since 2018. The exam includes theoretical and practical exams. Previously, they had to take exams for other religious lessons so they could graduate to go to the next grade or to graduate from school. Secondly, the government through the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia has collaborated with the Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa (MLKI) so that the students of the community can obtain religious education at school according to that belief. One point of the collaboration is to develop standard competency specifically for religious education teachers in accordance with the laws of the teachers and lecturers in Indonesia. Then, the government needs also to provide opportunity for the teachers as civil servants who teach religious education. Third, together with the MKLI, the government has compiled a curriculum guide and textbooks for the teachers and students in religious education lessons. From these textbooks, the teachers and students can take part in learning religious education lesson in accordance with the laws and regulations in Indonesia.

Discussion, Conclusion and Implications

Based on the discussion above, this study can be concluded as follows. First, the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan* have been discriminated in Indonesia due to a number of regulations issued by the government of the Republic of Indonesia. This group has not received official recognition from the government since a long time ago even though some of these groups had emerged and developed before the independence of Indonesia. Their existence was overseen by the Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Religion and the Attorney General's Office, and was considered as a religious community that could undermine the purity of the teachings of official religions in Indonesia, even accused of the involvement in the communist movement. Various regulations increasingly corner this group. The main problem which is the cause of the emergence of discriminatory behavior towards them is the problem of recording their beliefs in their identity cards and marriage certificate or birth certificate. As a result, they find it difficult to get administrative services, especially marriage, education, funeral and social assistance because religious issues are important in order to get services in various fields. The issue of religious column in the Identity card and Family certificate raises a new problem where the *Aliran*

Kebatinan group does not get religious education services in formal school. At least they face two problems. First, the government does not pay attention to the provision of teachers for children of *Aliran Kebatinan* followers. Secondly, the students of the *Aliran Kebatinan* community in Indonesia do not get religious subjects in formal schools. During this time, they were “forced” to attend certain religious studies such as; Islamic education or Christian Education even though they were not the adherents of Islam and Christian.

Secondly, the *Aliran Kebatinan* community was finally able to get out from the issue of administration in which they could fill the religious column on their identity cards with the phrase “penghayat kepercayaan” (trustees), even though all this time they had to vacate or fill with one of the particular religions. In 2016, the government issued Permendikbud No. 27 of 2016 concerning Educational Services against God the almighty in the educational unit. This regulation is the legal basis for the *Aliran Kebatinan* followers to get the right of religious education in accordance to their beliefs. Based on this regulation, the children who are the adherents of *Aliran Kebatinan* learn “Pendidikan Kepercayaan” (religious education). Since the regulation was issued, they began to be learned “Pendidikan Kepercayaan” (religious education), and the school is collaborated with the *Aliran Kebatinan* organization that provided teachers who are competent in the field. Even the religious education has become the subject of national exam for the students who are the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan*. The government and Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan yang Maha Esa (MLKI) has compiled the curriculum guidelines, and textbooks for the teachers and students in religious education class. Even though the government has started giving attention to the followers of *Aliran Kebatinan*, their existence and the rights they get still get a lawsuit from the religious groups in Indonesia. On one hand, the government must fight for the human rights of every citizen in Indonesia regardless of their religions, ethnicities, national and racial background, but on the other hand, the government policy towards the *Aliran Kebatinan* has been criticized by the majority of religious groups in Indonesia. However, as a country that upholds human rights, democracy and pluralism, the government of Indonesia must serve every citizen without exception.

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