



ADDIN

<https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/Addin>

ISSN: 0854-0594; E-ISSN: 2476-9479

Volume 15, Number 2, August 2021: 197-228

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/addin.v15i2.9359>

Religion Teachers' Perceptions of the Abolition of the *Khilafah* and *Jihad* Teaching Materials in the Islamic Religious Education Textbook

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Abstract

This study aims to determine the perception of *Fiqh* teachers on changes in *Khilafah* material, radicalism in material content, and learning strategies for *Khilafah* material. The methodology employed in this research was a qualitative approach using a multistrategy, namely interviews, documentation, and observation. This study's results revealed that at the first point regarding teachers' perceptions of the policy, they tended to agree that there were several suggestions at the level of academic concepts, such as the need to be given a special space for *Fiqh Siyasah* content. Second, in the *Khilafah* material at Minister of Religion Decree (Keputusan Menteri Agama, KMA) Number 165 of 2014, absolutely no elements lead to radicalism. It all depended on how the teacher

taught it. On the third point, it is more in the nature of adapting to the context in which Indonesia stands through discussion forums, is not rigid in using learning resources, and accommodates learning resources for the Qur'an and Hadith, *Ijma'*, *Qiyas*, *Istihsan*, *Istishab*, *Maslahah Mursalah*, *'Urf*, and some under the context of the *Fiqh* learning material.

Keywords: *Perception, Religion Teacher, Revision, Textbook, Khilafah.*

Abstrak

PERSEPSI GURU AGAMA TENTANG PENGHAPUSAN MATERI AJARAN KHILAFAH DAN JIHAD DALAM BUKU AJAR PENDIDIKAN AGAMA ISLAM. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui persepsi guru fikih terhadap perubahan materi *khilafah*, radikalisme dalam konten materi, dan strategi pembelajaran materi *khilafah*. Metodologi yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan menggunakan multistrategi, yaitu wawancara, dokumentasi, dan observasi. Hasil penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa pada poin pertama mengenai persepsi guru terhadap kebijakan tersebut, mereka cenderung setuju bahwa ada beberapa saran pada tataran konsep akademik, seperti perlunya diberikan ruang khusus untuk konten *Fiqh Siyasah*. Kedua, dalam materi *Khilafah* Keputusan Menteri Agama (KMA) Nomor 165 Tahun 2014, sama sekali tidak ada unsur yang mengarah pada radikalisme. Itu semua tergantung bagaimana guru mengajarkannya. Pada poin ketiga lebih bersifat menyesuaikan dengan konteks dimana Indonesia berdiri melalui forum diskusi, tidak kaku dalam menggunakan sumber belajar, dan mengakomodir sumber belajar Al-Qur'an dan Hadits, *Ijma'*, *Qiyas*, *Istihsan*, *Istishab*, *Maslahah Mursalah*, *'Urf*, dan beberapa yang sesuai dengan konteks materi pembelajaran *Fiqh*.

Kata Kunci: *Persepsi, Guru Agama, Revisi, Buku Ajar, Khilafah.*

A. Introduction

Religion must be full and free from values that smell of radicalism. Through religious education in schools and madrassas, it must be able to contribute to and transform humanist values and morals and be able to work together and communicate well. It must contribute more effectively to shaping this nation's character.

Religious education has a strategic role in coloring moderate Islam, creating peace and tranquility, as law mandates. According to a survey conducted by the Institute for Islamic Studies and Peace (LaKIP), it was shown that Islamic Religious Education (Pendidikan Agama Islam, PAI) had failed in fostering diversity in students. The data obtained was relatively high on the approval of radical action by 48.9 percent.

The sudden emergence of the discourse on abolishing the *Khilafah* and *Jihad* chapter teaching materials as if what has been taught in schools through PAI textbooks is the teachings of radicalism. Also, the discourse of eliminating this seems to prove that the teaching material in the religious book chapter of the *Khilafah* and *Jihad* is indeed very full of radicalism.

In a study entitled Religious Attitudes and Behaviors of PAI Teachers and Lecturers conducted by Center for the Study of Islam and Society (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat, PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Indonesia, it was explained that: First, today, religious-based radicalism and intolerance in Indonesia is experiencing strengthening. Radicalism and intolerance in educational institutions enter through various ways, including through *Rohis* (spiritual Islam) extracurricular activities, alumni affiliated with radical movements and PAI textbook materials containing radical and exclusive content (PPIM, 2016).

Second, in the last two decades, radicalism and extremism have followed the opening of space for freedom in the democratic era. Ironically, the radical movement's infiltration also targets formal educational institutions, schools, and universities. Radical and intolerant ideas enter schools and universities through several gaps, such as religious extracurricular activities, content in PAI textbooks, and alumni affiliated with radical movements. Unfortunately, based on the PPIM study (2016), there is a tendency for Islamic Religious Education teachers to have radical and exclusive

religious views. In fact, PAI teachers should be one of the nation's essential instruments in spreading tolerance, warding off radicalism, and strengthening national understanding for the younger generation. With an inclusive, moderate, and tolerant understanding, PAI teachers and lecturers are expected to become what is called Scott Appleby, a nonviolent religious militant who always spreads religious teachings in a peaceful and tolerant manner to students in schools and amidst Indonesian society that is naturally plural. Therefore, knowing more comprehensively about the religious views of PAI teachers and lecturers is something important at this time.

The research study entitled *Reconstruction of Islamic Religious Education: An Effort to Build Multicultural Awareness to Reduce Islamic Terrorism and Radicalism* by Indriyani Ma'rifah elucidated that the reconstruction of PAI is an urgent need. Without reconstruction, PAI will only become a fertile field for the seeds of Islamic radicalism and terrorism. In this context, it needs the political will of each stakeholder, especially the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of National Education and Culture, to jointly formulate a blueprint for Islamic Education with a multicultural perspective.

By looking at the dynamics of the development of policies issued by the Ministry of Religion on these teaching materials, starting from the discourse of deletion, revising content, and shifting the position of the *Khilafah* teaching material from *Fiqh* to Islamic Cultural History, it, of course, requires an in-depth study involving many aspects, especially the actors of the learning process itself. This amendment is emphasized in Circular B-4339.4/DJ.I/Dt.II/PP.00/12/2019, which contains more or less the abolition of the terms *Khilafah* and *Jihad*. It is explained in the circular that eliminating the words *Khilafah* and *Jihad* is taken as one of the anticipatory steps to prevent radicalism in schools. The rules contained in the letter come into effect in the 2020/2021 school year.

The discourse on the revision of PAI textbooks, in this case, is specific to the subject of *Fiqh* in the *Khilafah* and *Jihad* chapters

according to the authors' opinion, of course, has logical reasons and substantial grounds. Amid a leadership crisis, a multidimensional crisis, and a crisis of exemplary, religious teachings need to be evaluated so that what students receive becomes richer. Nationalism becomes more robust so that this nation and state's sustainability can benefit all the people who live in it. However, seeing the existing developments related to the Ministry of Religion's (Kemenag) policy to revise material containing *Khilafah* and *Jihad* studies in exams and the curriculum in madrassas still leaves polemic and raises various responses. The disagreement in madrasah teachers regarding this policy is essential to be studied.

As explained by the general chairman of the DPP PGMI, Syamsudin, he was one of the figures who refused. The reason is that eliminating teaching materials will actually erase any traces of history. He urged that the current thing that should really be improved is the da'wah method, becoming humanist, *rahmatan lil 'alamin*, and tolerant *da'wah*, which must be put forward in conveying something.

Several previous studies have discussed the *Khilafah* theme in *Fiqh* learning. Among them is Fadila Arifatul Fardah's (2020) research, which examined the *Khilafah* and *Jihad* concepts in *Fiqh* learning at Madrasah Aliyah (MA) in Kudus. In her study, Fardah emphasized three things. First, in the perception of *Fiqh* subject teachers, the *Khilafah* is not suitable to be implemented in Indonesia since it has implemented a government system according to Pancasila, which is in harmony with the basic teachings of the *Khilafah*. Second, the *Jihad* concept is not interpreted as war or fighting with violence but a genuine effort in fighting ignorance, poverty, and disobedience. Third, in teaching the *Khilafah* and *Jihad* concepts, *Fiqh* subject teachers used the *mau'idlah hasanah* and lecture learning methods because the *Khilafah* and *Jihad* materials are vulnerable if the learning method is student-centered.

In addition, a study by Abdul Wahib et al. (2019) investigated the learning of the *Fiqh* of *Kebhinekaan* (diversity) to counter the

massive socialization of the *Khilafah* discourse in universities. In their study, Abdul Wahib et al. explained that learning the *Fiqh* of *Kebhinekaan* could be carried out in universities by transforming and internalizing the doctrine of diversity. This learning model is part of a preventive effort in responding to the massive problem of socializing the caliphate concept in universities that dares to show truth claims and declare the urgency of the caliphate system as an ideological choice or system in realizing correct constitutional construction.

In contrast to previous studies, the purpose of this study was to determine the perception of *Fiqh* teachers on changes in *Khilafah* material, radicalism in material content, and learning strategies for *Khilafah* material. The novelty of this study is the study of the *Khilafah* and *Jihad* concepts in *Fiqh* learning materials based on the Decree of the Minister of Religion (KMA) Number 165 of 2014 and the contextualization of teachers in teaching the material to be in line with the ideology of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which has the principle of Pancasila.

This research is categorized as field research. In the process, the researchers used a multi-method strategy, namely offline and online interviews, conducting focus group discussions, and reviewing documents/documentary studies, which complement, strengthen and perfect one another.

In collecting research data, qualitative interviewing, field notes, process materials, and reports were employed. Interviews were conducted with informants who had previously been determined and identified based on purposive sampling, aimed to obtain and discover what was in the minds of others. In addition, the intended informants are also referred to as key persons, which in this study consisted of *Fiqh* teachers at Madrasah Aliyah Negeri 1 and 2 Kudus, Madrasah Aliyah Salafiyah Yanbu'ul Qur'an, and Madrasah Aliyah Bannat Kudus. Several analysis steps of this model followed the activities: (1) data reduction, (2) data presentation (data display), and (3) conclusion drawing and verification.

B. Discussion

1. Perception: Theory, Indicators, Formed Process, and Influencing Factors

a. Perception Theory

The definition of perception, according to Robbins, is a process where a person organizes and interprets sensory impressions to give meaning to their environment.¹ The purpose of the above perception is to provide a map that perception aims to see a person's views or opinions on an event or phenomenon that occurs around him based on what he feels.

According to JA Wagner III and JR Hollenbeck, perception is how individuals choose, organize, store, and retrieve information.² Meanwhile, Wirawan explained, as quoted by Sutrisman, that perception is an activity to identify, organize, and interpret information captured by the five senses to describe and understand something.³ An individual's information will be captured through the five senses to go through the process of identification, organization, and interpretation of impressions that the five senses have captured and arrive at a particular meaning conclusion. Perception is not a process of finding whether something is true or not, but rather a unique interpretation of the context at hand. According to Bimo Walgito, perception

¹ Stephen P. Robbins dan Timothy A. Judge, *Organizational Behavior* (United States of America: Prentice Hall, 2013), 166.

² John A. Wagner III dan John R. Hollenbeck, *Organizational Behavior: Securing Competitive Advantage* (Routledge, 2014), 57.

³ Dudih Sutrisman, *Pendidikan Politik, Persepsi, Kepemimpinan, Dan Mahasiswa* (Guepedia Publisher, 2019), 75, https://books.google.co.id/books/about/Pendidikan_Politik_Persepsi_Kepemimpinan.html?id=0-aEDwAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y.

is a process that begins with a sensing process, which is a process where a stimulus is received by an individual through the senses or also called a sensory process.⁴

From the description above, it can be concluded that perception is a process carried out by specific individuals to understand and interpret new things happening around them. Perception becomes a conclusion of a person's assessment of certain situations and conditions.

b. Perception Indicators

According to Robins⁵, perception indicators are divided into (1) Acceptance and (2) Evaluation. Acceptance means that this process becomes an indicator of perception at a physiological level, where the senses perceive stimuli from outside. In the second stage, the evaluation process occurs where stimuli captured by the senses are passed through the evaluation process by individuals. In this second stage, the evaluation process is subjective, depending on the individual receiving the stimulus. It could be that the stimulation process will be evaluated, and the assessment results will be obtained as something complicated and tedious, or it can be good and fun.

In line with Robbins' opinion, which explains that the results of this perception are subjective, Hamka⁶ added that according to him, perception indicators are divided into two types: (1) absorbing and (2) understanding or comprehension. Hamka explained

⁴Bimo Walgito, *Pengantar Psikologi Umum*. (Yogyakarta: CV. Andi Offset, 2010), 99

⁵Robbins, *Educational Psychology* (Washington: Mc. Graw Hill, 2003), 124–30.

⁶Hamka, *Psikologi Pendidikan* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2002), 101–6.

the purpose of the first stage, absorbing, as a process of receiving stimuli captured by the five senses, which are then processed in the brain and get a place. At this stage, there is a process of analysis, classification, and organization with personal experiences that an individual has had before. At the stage of analysis, classification, and organization, the second stage of the process occurs, in which an individual understands or comprehends so that a conclusion arises in that person in the form of understanding and comprehension.

c. The Process of Forming Perception

As JA Wagner III and JR Hollenbeck explained, humans have five senses: sight, hearing, touch, smell, and taste. The process of perception and decision making can be seen in the following figure:

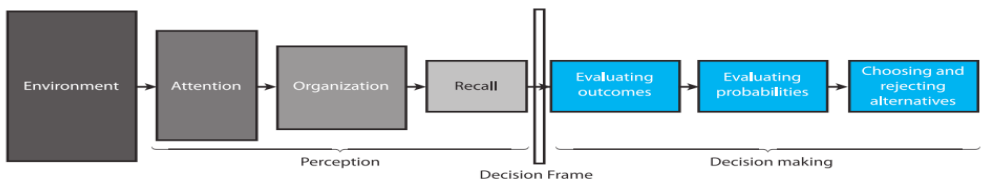


Figure 1. The Process of Perception and Decision Making⁷

According to Salomon et al.⁸, the process of the perception occurrence is explained in the following figure:

⁷Wagner III dan Hollenbeck, *Organizational behavior*, 58.

⁸Michael R. Solomon et al., ed., *Consumer Behaviour: A European Perspective*, 3rd ed (Harlow, England; New York: Financial Times/Prentice Hall, 2006), 37.

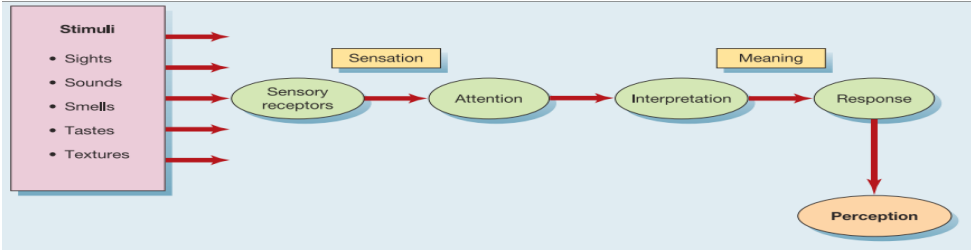


Figure 2. The Process of Perception Occurrence

The end of the perceptual process depicted in Figure 1 above is the stage at which decisions have been made. It means that the decision-maker has collected and discarded various information to arrive at the final stage of information used in making the final decision. From this point, a series of information captured by the senses will be further processed to choose between accepting or seeking an alternative to reject. Two general models used in understanding the decision-making process, according to Wagne et al., consist of two: the rational model and the administrative model.⁹

d. Factors Affecting Perception

The process of perception requires several conditions to be aware of it. According to Walgito¹⁰, some of these conditions include (1) the existence of an object perceived, (2) the presence of sense organs or receptors, and (3) the presence of attention. These three conditions must be fulfilled and complement each other; a perception would never happen without all three.

Apart from the above conditions, several factors play a role in shaping and often reversing

⁹Wagner III dan Hollenbeck, *Organizational behavior*, 65.

¹⁰Bimo Walgito, *Pengantar Psikologi Umum* (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 1981), 54.

perceptions. As explained by Robbins¹¹, which is also quoted by Simbolon¹², the factors that influence interpreting the impression captured by the senses so that it becomes a perception observed are in the following figure:

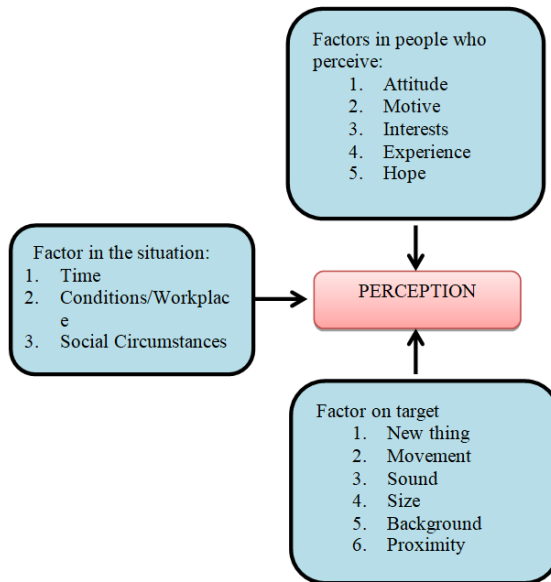


Figure 3. Factors Affecting Perception¹³

2. Islamic Religious Education Teacher and Its Role in Fostering Moderate Religious Attitudes

Teachers are at the forefront of creating the nation's future generations and human resources that are competent, qualified, and mature academically and spiritually. At Law Number 55 of 2007, it is explained

¹¹ Robbins dan Timothy A. Judge, *Organizational Behavior*, 167.

¹² Maropen Simbolon, "Persepsi dan Kepribadian," *Jurnal ekonomis* 1, no. 1 (2007): 54–55.

¹³ Robbins dan Timothy A. Judge, *Organizational Behavior*, 167.

that religious education provides knowledge and shapes students' attitudes, personalities, and skills in practicing their religious teachings carried out at least through subjects/courses in all paths, levels, and kinds of education.¹⁴

Law number 14 of 2005 on teachers and lecturers states that teachers are professional educators who have various main tasks: educating, teaching, guiding, directing, training, assessing, and evaluating students in formal early childhood education, basic education, and secondary education.¹⁵

PAI teachers' definition is "professional educators with the main task of educating, teaching, guiding, directing, training, modeling, assessing and evaluating students".¹⁶ According to Muchit, Islamic Religious Education teachers have a duty to emphasize the process of understanding and explaining Islam clearly. In this case, Islamic Religious Education emphasizes the learning process. It is called the PAI teachers because they have the main task of focusing on teaching how Islam can be understood and implemented by students appropriately and proportionally.¹⁷

It is realized that PAI textbooks are only one source of learning. Apart from textbooks, religious teachers play a more critical role. Through the teacher, the meaning contained in the textbook is explained. The teacher's views, understanding, and beliefs about a problem will

¹⁴"Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 55 Tahun 2007 Tentang Pendidikan Agama Dan Pendidikan Keagamaan" (2007).

¹⁵ "Undang-undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 14 Tahun 2005 tentang Guru dan Dosen," Desember 2005.

¹⁶ Mahasri Shobahiya, "Studi Komparatif Profil Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam dalam Perspektif Hasan Langgulung dan Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas," *Suhuf* 29, no. 1 (2017): 41.

¹⁷ M. Saekan Muchith, "Guru PAI yang Profesional," *Quality* 4, no. 2 (2017): 219-20.

be passed on to his students. Herein lies the strategic role of a teacher, in this case, the PAI teacher.¹⁸

The same thing is explained by Nuruddin that PAI teachers play a crucial role in teaching and understanding students about tolerant Islam and *rahmatan lil alamin* so that they are not exposed to radical Islamic understandings.¹⁹ Dute added that “individual religious understanding is greatly influenced by formal and non-formal education results. In this case, books, religion teachers, and the internet play a vital role in the students’ religious understanding. There is a central point that not all of the above carry messages of peace, tranquility, compassion, and unity. On the contrary, it can spark divisions, bloodshed, and hatred between religious communities and among fellow Indonesians “.²⁰

3. Khilafah Material in the Madrasah Aliyah Fiqh Textbooks

Textbooks, another term for teaching materials, are books used as the main reference for specific subjects.²¹ In Permendiknas (Regulation of the Minister of National Education) No. 2 of 2008 on books, it is explained that textbooks for basic, secondary, and tertiary education lessons, hereinafter referred to as

¹⁸ Ismatu Ropi, *Potret Guru Agama: Pandangan tentang Toleransi dan Isu-Isu Kehidupan Keagamaan* (Jakarta: Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah bekerjasama dengan Kencana Prenada Group, 2018), 16.

¹⁹ Nuruddin Araniri, “Peran Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam Dalam Menanamkan Sikap Keberagamaan Yang Toleran,” *Risâlah: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Islam* 6, no. 1, March (2020): 56.

²⁰ Hasruddin Dute, “Peranan Pendidikan Agama Islam dalam Meningkatkan Toleransi Beragama Siswa di SMA Negeri 4 Jayapura Provinsi Papua” (PhD Thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, 2012), 1–23.

²¹ Sa’dun Akbar dan Hadi Sriwiyana, *Pengembangan Kurikulum dan Pembelajaran: Ilmu pengetahuan Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Cipta Media, 2010), 189.

textbooks, are mandatory reference books for use in primary and secondary education units or universities, which contain learning material in the framework of increasing faith, piety, noble character, and personality, mastery of science and technology, increasing sensitivity and aesthetic abilities, enhancing kinesthetic and health abilities, which are compiled based on national education standards.²²

In the learning material of the MA XII class *Fiqh* book, there are several topics of discussion, namely First, *Siyasah Syar'iyah*; Second, the *Khilafah* which includes the meaning, basics, law forming the *Khilafah*, and the wisdom of the *Khilafah*; Third, the Caliph which includes the meaning, conditions, and methods of appointment; Fourth, *Sighah Mubaya'ah*; Fifth, the obligations and rights of the people; Sixth, *Majlis Syuro* in Islam which includes definitions, conditions, rights, and obligations; Seventh, the attitude of the Islamic Government towards Non-Muslims.²³

The scope of material in chapter I shows that the *Khilafah* material is discussed in detail and comprehensively. In theory, it indicates that chapter I has met the standards of understanding, scope, and objectives in learning. *As a political aspect taught through the MA Fiqh textbook, Khilafah material places the material in an inclusive explanation. The meaning of Khilafah, in this case, is not understood as Khilafah Islamiyah as promoted by HTI/Hizbut Tahrir. In the MA Fiqh textbook, Khilafah is understood as the Islamic*

²²"Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional Republik Indonesia Nomor 2 Tahun 2008 tentang Buku" (2008).

²³ Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, *Buku Siswa Fikih Pendekatan Saintifik Kurikulum 2013*, 2016, 3.

government in general. This textbook explains the meaning of the caliphate as a government structure regulated according to Islamic teachings, where aspects related to governance as a whole are elucidated based on Islamic principles. In another explanation, the meaning of the *Khilafah*, as in the textbook, is a substitute or representative of Allah to carry out His laws on earth and continue the leadership of the Prophet, both in mundane and in matters of the end. In the MA *Fiqh* textbook, it is stated that a genuinely pure *Khilafah* based on the Qur'an and Sunnah was carried out during the time of the Prophet and *al-Khulafa 'al-Rasyidun*, where the laws of the Qur'an and Sunnah were obeyed consistently by all Muslims.²⁴

Each teaching material compiled is certainly not free from its strengths and weaknesses. It includes *Fiqh* teaching materials at the *Madrasah Aliyah* level, which the Ministry of Religion has clearly compiled. Seeing this condition, of course, the government, in this case through the Ministry of Religion, Director General of Islamic Education, sees the need to accommodate aspirations and input and various constructive criticisms of any policy to build and improve it to be much better.

According to KMA 165 of 2014, the *Fiqh* textbook contains content on the *Khilafah* and *Jihad*, which are suspected to be one of the triggers for the development of radicalism. Therefore, through KMA 183 2019, it is no longer enforced and confirmed in Circular Letter B-4339.4/DJ.I/Dt.I.I/PP.00/12/2019, which was signed by the Director of Curriculum, Facilities, Institutions,

²⁴ H. Djedjen Zainuddin, *Pendidikan Agama Islam: Fikih Untuk Madrasah Aliyah Kelas XI* (PT. Karya Toha Putra, 2015), 4.

and Students (KSKK) of Madrasah, Ministry of Religion that it is necessary to revise core competencies and basic competencies (KI-KD) as a form of efforts to mainstream religious moderation and prevention of radicalism in madrasah education units.

Hidayatussa'diyyah explained in his research that there were several weaknesses, especially in the PAI textbooks in the *Fiqh* subjects. According to him, this textbook has implications for the emergence of seeds of religious exclusivity and rejection of the democratic political system of the Indonesian state. The authors consider that *Fiqh* textbooks are still dry from moral values, such as compassion, pluralism, tolerance, and love.

That study's results indicated that radicalism values in the textbook *Fiqh* Madrasah Aliyah Class XII published by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, the book *Fiqh* Madrasah Aliyah Class XII published by Akik Pustaka, and the book *Fiqh* Madrasah Aliyah Class XII published by Alamin Mojokerto Team have a negative tendency and stigma against other religious groups that are different, monopolize the truth, carry the *Islamic Khilafah*, reject democracy, and have a negative stigma against the west. Comparative analysis of several of these books showed that the most radical content was found in books published by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia.²⁵

Contrary to the above study, Khamami Zada elucidated the concern about the emergence of potential tolerance/intolerance in the MA *Fiqh* subject that the *Khilafah* material has an *Islamic Khilafah* tendency,

²⁵Ratna Hidayatussa'diyyah, "Benih-benih Radikalisme dalam bahan ajar Fikih Madrasah Aliyah Kelas XII" (PhD Thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2018).

can be perceived by teachers as a form of Islamic government that must be upheld. In other words, the Indonesian state's form conflicts with the Islamic caliphate, which in turn has to be changed. However, in the study's conclusion, it concerns about the emergence of radical religious ideas that could potentially enter Madrasah Aliyah in the material of *Fiqh* were not proven. In the SKKD, textbooks, and the understanding of MA *Fiqh* teachers, there were no intolerant and radical understandings but only restrictions on the rights of non-Muslims.²⁶

4. Religion Teachers' Perceptions of The Revision of The *Khilafah* Teaching Material Policy at KMA 165 of 2014

PAI teachers' perceptions of eliminating the *Khilafah* teaching material in the Madrasah Aliyah *Fiqh* textbook differed. The policy issued by the director of the KSKK regarding the termination of KMA 165 of 2014 details and explains that the material of the *Khilafah* and *Jihad*, which is taught explicitly at the 12th grade Madrasah Aliyah level, is updated through KMA 183 of 2019, where the *Khilafah* material is not necessarily deleted but is corrected and shifted to the material of Islamic Cultural History (SKI), which is historical in nature.

The interview results with several informants at the madrasah used as research locations obtained various views regarding the revision of content on the *Fiqh* subject. Two main things need to be known together regarding the

²⁶ Khamami Zada, "Radikalisme dalam Paham Keagamaan Guru dan Mata Pelajaran Fikih di Madrasah Aliyah," *Penamas* 28, no. 1 (2017): 81.

PAI teachers' perceptions, in this case, the Fiqh teacher towards the revision and correction of the *Khilafah* teaching material. In the first view, teachers saw the aspect of policy enforcement, while in the second aspect, the perception was seen from the aspect of studying academic content.

Table 1.1 PAI Teachers' Perceptions of the Revision/Correction of the *Khilafah* Material Policy

Informants	Description
SI	Totally agree
IR	Agree
SBH	Agree
MH	Agree
MS	Agree, but it needs to be revised because the <i>Khilafah</i> system does not match the nation's ideology in Indonesia.
I	Agree

From the results above, considering that it has become a policy, whatever the result, the field implementer, of course, still supports and secures a policy. SI's response stated strongly agreed if the material of *Fiqh* in the *Khilafah* chapter was corrected and shifted to the realm of SKI. SI revealed that according to him/her, *Khilafah* material would be more appropriate to be used as a historical study for MA aged children because they would gain a historical perspective on the issue of *Khilafah* rather than a cognitive study of its implementation that is different from the Indonesian government structure, which creates gaps.²⁷ It was reinforced by the MS informant's opinion that he/she agreed that the *Khilafah* material is revised. MS said the

²⁷ SI, W 1, Interview with the Teacher of MAN 1 Kudus.

reason was that the *Khilafah* system does not match the nation's ideology in Indonesia.²⁸

Interestingly, the second aspect in this study is more focused on the *Khilafah* material's content. According to some *Fiqh* teachers, they gave input that the *Khilafah* material had absolutely no problems. According to MH, "concerning the Ministry of Religion *Fiqh*'s curriculum book about *Khilafah*, I do not think there is a problem with the subject matter of the *Khilafah*; with the existing descriptions and explanations, it can be understood that *Khilafah* theremeanstheprocessofchangingtheleadership of the head of state, and it has also been exemplified by Rasulullah and Khulafaur Rosyidin".²⁹ However, it may be necessary to provide additional explanations not to misinterpret *Khilafah* from an Indonesian perspective. Besides, it is necessary to consider the content of *Fiqh Siyasah* at the Madrasah Aliyah level material, where the material provides reinforcement of political procedures according to Islamic law and provides strengthening of national nationalism.

5. Religion Teachers' Perceptions About Radicalism in Teaching Materials of *Khilafah* Chapter at KMA 165 of 2014

Radicalism is a symptom that has emerged in general lately. This phenomenon occurs at the level of society, especially those full of multi-culture, which are very diverse in the economic, social, political, cultural, and even religious or theological areas. It is said that

²⁸ M S, W 3, Interview with the Teacher of MAS Yanbu'ul Qur'an.

²⁹ M H, W 3, 2020.

something becomes radical when followed by a violent, extreme, and anarchist action in facing a different thing from the mindset or way of thinking. According to Hasan and Naipospos, as quoted by Junaedi³⁰, radicalism is divided into two dimensions: understanding and movement. In the context of the *Khilafah* material, radical at the level of understanding is interpreted as a thought to establish an Islamic state, an Islamic caliphate, without violence. Meanwhile, radical in the movement is defined as making changes with violent actions in the name of religion.³¹

According to Maarif, radicalism is more commonly referred to as someone who has fundamentalism, and radicalism in action is often termed as justifying all means of violence or terrorism.³²

Thohir quoted Azumardi Azra's opinion, which emphasized the four roots of radicalism which stem from (a) a narrow, literal understanding of religion and a partial or fragmented interpretation of Qur'an, (b) reading literature and misunderstanding of Islamic history combined with excessive Islamic idealism at certain times, (c) arguments for political, social, and economic deprivation that still persist in society, and (d) disorientation and socio-cultural dislocation due to globalization.³³

³⁰ Mahfud Junaedi, "Pengembangan PAI Kontra Radikalisme," Makalah, *Forum Diskusi Ilmiah Dosen Fakultas Ilmu Tarbiyah dan Keguruan UIN Walisongo Semarang pada Kamis, 1 Maret 2018*, 2018, 3.

³¹ H. Ismail dan T. N. Bonar, "Dari Radikalisme Menuju Terorisme, Studi Relasi dan Transformasi Organisasi Islam Radikal di Jawa Tengah dan DI Yogyakarta," *Jakarta: Pustaka Media*, 2012, 11.

³² Syamsul Ma'arif, "Ideologi Pesantren Salaf: Deradikalisasi Agama Dan Budaya Damai," *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya* 12, no. 2 (2014): 201.

³³ Muhammad Thohir, "Radikalisme Versus Pendidikan Agama Menggali Akar Radikalisme Dari Kekerasan Terhadap Anak Atas Nama Pendidikan Agama," *Nadwa* 9, no. 2 (2015): 175.

In this case, education is seen to have an essential role in building a moderate paradigm for students. In the educational process, supporting components for implementing moderate understanding are needed, including study materials, textbooks, or subject books. According to Nugroho, the role of religious institutions/educational institutions and knowledge and understanding of religion can cause conflicts, both internal and external, horizontal and vertical.³⁴ Seeing the above, of course, it is necessary to know how religion teachers' perceptions of the issue of radicalism in the *Khilafah* material in *Fiqh* subject, such as KMA 165 of 2014. As stated by Jonathan Stevenson, how to present counter-arguments to present religion in the perspective of peace and humanity is as quoted by Hillel Frisch and Efraim Inbar in *Radical Islam and International Security*.³⁵

Learning Islam in madrasas in accordance with KMA 183 of 2019 starting in the 2020/2021 academic year by the Ministry of Religion, in this case, the Director of KSKK revised and perfected KMA 165 of 2014. In the KMA, there are teaching materials for the sub-chapter of the *Khilafah* and *Jihad*, especially in *Fiqh* subjects at Madrasah Aliyah Level class XII. As a policy that has been taken by the Ministry of Religion, of course, anyone is obliged to support, succeed, and secure the policies that have been made. In this discussion, the researchers focused more on the teaching teachers' opinions; in this case, PAI teachers,

³⁴ Puspo Nugroho, "Pendidikan Kerukunan Umat Beragama; Telaah Konsep Kerukunan Umat Beragama Perspektif Pendidikan Islam," *MUDARRISA: Kajian Kependidikan Islam* 4, no. 2 (2012): 273.

³⁵ Efraim Inbar dan Hillel Frisch, *Radical Islam and international security: challenges and responses* (Routledge, 2007), Bab 12.

whether *Khilafah* material contained in KMA 165 of 2014 tends to lead to radicalism so that improvements need to be made. Here, the authors describe the results of the *Fiqh* teachers' opinions, where so far, in reality, direct learning has been carried out.

Table 2.1 PAI Teachers' Perceptions of Radicalism in The *Khilafah* Teaching Materials at KMA 165 of 2014³⁶

Informants	Description
SI	There is no. However, it has the potential to go in that direction if the teacher is wrong in explaining.
IR	There is no.
SBH	There is no.
MH	There is no.
MS	There is no.
I	There is no.

From the analysis, the authors obtained several expressions and responses to the *Khilafah* material's content during the teacher's implementation of learning, which could be seen from the teachers' religious patterns. It tended to be moderate and inclusive religious patterns. It is supported by the reality of the Kudus community's diversity, which is mostly affiliated with a moderate and inclusive religious culture with the ideology *ahlussunnah wal jama'ah annahdliyah*. Seeing the *Khilafah* material was not necessarily taught rigidly but was adjusted to the context in which the system was located. As in history, the *Khilafah* has existed since ancient times; of course, it cannot be simply abolished. Alignment

³⁶ {Data were processed from the interview results with informants (PAI Teachers, in this case PAI Group of Subjects: Fiqh)}

with existing conditions in accordance with the Indonesian context is possible to create harmony. In order to achieve harmony and peace, of course, a moderate understanding of the teacher is needed. According to Zakiyuddin, tolerant teachers encourage mutual respect and build good relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the realm of social interaction among human beings.³⁷

Understanding moderate teachers are essential in presenting religious teachings so that educators can instill in students that the beliefs they profess should not give rise to hostility, hatred, conflict, or coercion in religious beliefs and the life of the nation and state.³⁸

From the informants, the *Khilafah* materials in the class XII *Fiqh* subjects at the Madrasah Aliyah level were considered to have no elements that led to radicalism. However, one of the teachers expressed concern that an extreme understanding would emerge if the *Khilafah* material were not corrected. He/she stated that the material had the potential in that direction if the teacher was wrong in teaching or the material was taught by a teacher who understood that direction.³⁹ According to the authors' analysis, this concern is when the *Khilafah's* material conveyed from *Fiqh's* point of view is taught rigidly by religion teachers who have a literal and exclusive religious pattern, which requires the Indonesian state establishment with a *Khilafah* system. It is in line with Masdar Hilmy's opinion, which states that one of the characteristics of radical Islamic ideology is marked by an excessive desire to implement Islamic law in all living

³⁷ Zakiyuddin Baidhaw, "Pendidikan Agama Islam Untuk Mempromosikan Perdamaian Dalam Masyarakat Plural," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 14, no. 2 (2014): 289–309.

³⁸ Puspo Nugroho, "Internalization of Tolerance Values in Islamic Education," *Nadwa: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 12, no. 2 (2019): 218.

³⁹ S I, W 1.

systems, which culminates in establishing an Islamic state.⁴⁰

The above aligns with Alwasilah's opinion, as quoted by Mukhibat, who views that education is inseparable from social and cultural aspects. Education is deliberative in the sense that society transmits and perpetuates the idea of a good life that comes from fundamental public beliefs regarding world order, society, and values.⁴¹

Religion teachers' perceptions of radicalism in the *Khilafah* teaching materials were influenced by several factors. The inclusive religious style was the main asset of the informants to perceive that in the *Khilafah* teaching material, there was no element of radicalism. Radicalism is more likely to arise due to the mindset and style of exclusive religious understanding. In agreement with Nur Syaifudin's opinion, the emergence of various acts of radicalism and terrorism in the name of religion is caused by a narrow interpretation of the foundation of religious teachings, exclusive and closed. Thus, it becomes a misunderstanding that gives birth to interpretations that fit their narrow understanding, and in the end, the understanding they believe becomes the basis for action.⁴²

⁴⁰ Masdar Hilmy, "The Politics of Retaliation: The Backlash of Radical Islamists to the Deradicalization Project in Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 51, no. 1 (2013): 129–158.

⁴¹ Mukhibat, "Memutus Mata Rantai Radikalisme dan Terorisme berbasis Studi Etnopaedagogi di PTUN dalam Membentuk Keberagaman Inklusif dan Pluralis," *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 10, no. 1 (2015): 227–28, <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2015.10.1.222-247>.

⁴² Isna Nur Syaifuddin, "Peran Forum Koordinasi Pencegahan Terorisme Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (FKPT-DIY) Dalam Pengembangan Pendidikan Agama Islam Inklusif Sebagai Upaya Deradikalisasi Paham Terorisme" (PhD Thesis, Yogyakarta, Universitas ALMA ATA, 2018), 147.

6. The Religion Teachers' Strategies in Delivering The *Khilafah* Chapter Material at KMA 165 of 2014

The *Khilafah* material in KMA 165 of 2014, as stated in the Madrasah-level *Fiqh* textbook, has captured the public's attention. The emergence of concerns over the material content could trigger the growth of the seeds of understanding the establishment of the Islamic *Khilafah*, which the Indonesia Government has strictly prohibited.

In the context of learning in a madrasah, teachers play a crucial role. The way a teacher delivers and packs a material determines students' understanding. In addition to delivering lessons, the teacher's role also seeks to influence students to learn lesson material and achieve goals.⁴³

From several informants in this study, various strategies and methods were used to deliver the *Khilafah* material at KMA 165 of 2014. Several informants explained in detail how they conveyed the *Khilafah* material, where this material has a high enough risk level when a teacher is wrong in interpreting and providing explanations to students. It can result in the wrong acceptance of students' understanding, which leads to the conception of the establishment of the Islamic *Khilafah* as an absolute state system.

It was confirmed by SI's explanation that this material could create a potential for radicalism, which led to the establishment of the *Khilafah* as an absolute form of governance. This material depended on the teacher in explaining it.⁴⁴ In this case, the teacher plays a vital role in

⁴³ Agustini Buchari, "Peran Guru Dalam Pengelolaan Pembelajaran," *Jurnal Ilmiah Iqra'* 12, no. 2 (2018): 108.

⁴⁴ S I, W 1, Interview with the Teacher of MAN 1 Kudus.

explaining and understanding the material to students. In a situation like this, the teacher has a vital role in directing students' religious patterns.

From the interview results with several informants, especially those who directly intersected with *Fiqh* subject in the *Khilafah* sub-chapter, it was found that *Fiqh* teachers had moderate religious patterns. This main foundation becomes the basis for seeing a case (*Khilafah*) more broadly so that there are no mistakes in the delivery according to the Indonesian context. It was as stated by SBH while teaching *Fiqh* material. SBH has met with the *Khilafah* material since 1993, and he/she did not feel anything out of the ordinary. His way of delivering this material started from a historical point of view, even though this material was at the sub-subject study of *Fiqh* subjects. It is because, in the study of *Fiqh*, there is a material of *Fiqh siyasah*. In the process of delivering *Khilafah* material so far, not only did it convey history based on the Qur'an and al-Hadith as a source of Islamic law, but also accommodated other *mukhtalaf* sources, such as *Ijma'* and *Qiyas ishtishan, istishab, maslahah mursalah, urf, shohabi schools* of thought, and other methods of *ushul Fiqh*.⁴⁵

In contrast to the strategy above, in the learning process, SI tended to use a question-and-answer system and assignments in the *Khilafah* material. In the assignment technique, students were asked to analyze the differences and similarities of the *Khilafah* government system in textbooks and the government system running in Indonesia, which then ended with drawing a conclusion.⁴⁶ In the process, SI continued to assist and adapt to the Indonesian context so

⁴⁵ SBH, W4, Agustus 2020.

⁴⁶ SI, W 1, Interview with the Teacher of MAN 1 Kudus.

that drawing conclusions did not conflict with the system running in the Indonesian state.

C. Conclusion

From the data description and exposure above, it could be concluded that at the first point, the religion teacher's perception of the revision of the *Khilafah* teaching material policy stated that they agreed and supported the policies of the Ministry of Religion. However, in improving the content, they stated that it needed to be reviewed again, considering that the *Khilafah* material had a close relationship with the previous material.

In the second aspect, related to whether the caliphate material that has been taught in the *Khilafah* teaching material at KMA 183 of 2014 had an element of radicalism, from the data exposure above, it was found that the majority of informants said there was absolutely no element of radicalism. Several informants emphasized the radicalism of learning *Khilafah's* content, depending on the teacher who taught the material, even though it was *Khilafah's* concept, which means leadership. If teachers' religious patterns tended to be exclusive, intolerant and had narrow religious views, the results would negatively influence the material. On the third point, while teaching the *Khilafah* teaching material at KMA 183 of 2014, religion teachers in the *Fiqh* subject group were more likely to be "flexible", in other languages , not rigid. Various strategies were used to understand students about this material according to the Republic of Indonesia's state administration context. The teacher employed historical, multi-method, and strategic approaches, such as discussion, question and answer, and others.

In the use of learning resources, the teacher adapted to the context of the situation, which accommodated *mukhtalaf* sources, such as *ijma*, *qiyas*, and other *ushul Fiqh* methods so that a conclusion was obtained according to the context in which the tool was used, namely the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

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