

Habitus of Institutional Education and Development in Intolerance Attitude among Students

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Abstract

This article examined how habitus in schools and families tends to encourage acts of intolerance. Although students have realized the importance of multiculturalism, in practice they are often ambivalent. This study, which was conducted in 5 cities / districts in East Java with 500 students, found that at the construction level, most students realized that diversity and tolerance become basic prerequisites for the pluralistic life of the nation and state in Indonesia. However, most students generally consider their own safety rather than interfere in persecution that they witness at school. Most students stated they would defend if there were friends becoming victims of persecution or acts of intolerance. However, in reality, they generally still weigh various factors and implications of their actions. In terms of numbers, act of intolerance committed by students may not be too great. However, around 20-25% of students who are intolerant and sympathetic to the radicalism movement are seeds that become counter-productive for the life of the nation and state. It is not impossible to happen due to the role of some teachers (religions) who seem to support intolerance, thus increasingly encourage the growth of intolerance among students. From the results of in-depth interviews, some students felt that they way they act was in accordance with their beliefs, so that making distance and even persecuting different groups was considered normal.

Keywords: intolerance, radicalism, students, school

Introduction

Educational institutions should ideally become a space that allows the meeting of differences and the media to establish social relations without having to be overshadowed by prejudice. However, not a few educational institutions turned out to be a place for the seedbed of intolerance attitude and even understand the increasingly troubling radicalism. Educational institutions, which are supposed to be a neutral teaching and learning place of intolerance attitude, in fact become institutions that are prone to being contaminated by negative influence of intolerance and radicalism.

Many studies showed how the seeds of intolerant attitude and radicalism began to grow when students entered the school at the middle and high school levels. A study conducted by the Institute for Islamic Studies and Peace I (LaKIP) (2010) from October 2010 to January 2011 on the level of intolerance and radicalism among Islamic Religious

Education teachers and students in the Greater Jakarta area found a growing form of intolerance seen from respondents' willingness to take a number of actions, such as destruction and sealing of problematic houses of worship (teachers 24.5%, students 41.1%), destruction of houses or facilities of heretical religious members (teachers 22.7%, students 51.3%), destruction of night entertainment venues (teacher 28 , 1%, students 58.0%), or defense with weapons against Muslims from other religious threats (32.4%, students 43.3%). As many as 23.8% of teachers and 13.4% students agreed with the ideas and actions of radical figures. A study conducted by Farcha Ciciek in seven cities (Jember, Padang, Jakarta, Pandeglang, Cianjur, Cilacap and Yogyakarta) found similar findings, where around 13% of students supported radical movements and 14% agreed with acts of terrorism.

Some scholars argued that Indonesia is currently experiencing a "conservative turn" (Fealy 2005; Bruinessen 2013). Some studies found that the influence of radicalism not only infiltrated mosques, lecturers, teachers and government bureaucratic apparatus, but also infiltrated in various high schools and colleges (Turmudi, 2004; Qodir, 2014; PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2018). Referring to Fealy, conservative turn is a symptom of increasing interpretation of conservative, puritanical and intolerant religious understandings. The characteristics of Muslims in Indonesia who were previously known to be moderate, friendly, tolerant and open, now turn to be conservative, angry, introverted and intolerant (Fealy, 2006; Hadiz, 2008; Bruinessen, 2011; Kikue, 2014) - no exception among students. Students currently become the main target of the influence of intolerance and radicalism that continue to develop in Indonesia.

Theoretical Framework

One of the problems that have challenged the development of democratic life in Indonesia since the 2000s is the increasing attitude of religious intolerance and discriminatory attitudes in civil society (Hamayotsu, 2013; Mietzner, 2018). Although freedom has been expanded in many fields including mass media, the development of intolerance and even radicalism remains a problem in the country. According to Hamayotsu (2013), two factors contributing to the increasing influence of hard-liners or religious radicalism movements and increased religious intolerance are first, hard-liners' access not only extends to new media, but more importantly, traditional ways and institutions for religious mobilization and politics, including the state apparatus, to foster antagonistic sentiments and attitudes towards what they perceive as enemies of Islam in the Muslim community while spreading narrow and dogmatic interpretations of Islam. Second, the emergence of conservative Muslim politicians who are ready and eager to embrace new media and communication technology while using state offices and prerogatives to advance a conservative religious vision and agenda.

Duile & Bens (2017) argued that the main obstacle in the practice of democracy in Indonesia does not originate from institutional problems, but rather arises from the ruling political discourse and imposes broad and harmonious consensus on most political issues. Political discourse in Indonesia is structured generally around "Islam" and "society". These themes provide a basis for political consensus that covers economic and social contradictions and reveals de-politicization in democratic practices in Indonesia.

Indonesia is known for a country with diverse religions but has the most Islam followers in the world. Religion and belief play an important role in the daily life of Indonesian people and are part of individual identity and national identity (Colbran, 2010). Religious tolerance, democratic transformation, and promotion of human rights are values that have been developed as well as being their own pride for Indonesia. However, there are indeed still many Indonesians who face religious discrimination. Existing laws, policies and practices are the opposite of international human rights, and the state is deemed to have failed in protecting its people from acts of religious intolerance and violence. Various practices of intolerant behavior, such as defamation of adherents of certain religions, still often occur in various places - except in educational institutions or schools.

Educational institutions that should be sterile from intolerance, let alone the ideology of radicalism, are apparently not immune to the influence of ideologies and movements that are contrary to the spirit of democracy. A study conducted by Moulin (2011) among students in secondary school found that not a few students who wanted to maintain the confidentiality of their religious identity at school for fear of becoming victims of intolerance that were widely spread and evenly triggered by religious studies. This poses an ethical dilemma for practitioners and is a major stumbling block to teaching strategies that assume students can share their own religious experiences and views in learning.

In some special schools, such as homogeneous religious schools, it is predicted that tolerance towards different groups is more difficult to develop. A study conducted by Dowd (2014) in Nigeria found more positive influences on religious freedom in various religious adherents. Dowd found that Christian and Islamic religious leaders were more open to religious tolerance and togetherness than in a religiously homogeneous place. Substantially, Dowd's study found that religious separation, rather than religious diversity, has prevented religious tolerance and made basic estimates of changes in religious diversity and socio-political conditions at various times affecting how Christianity and Islam teach tolerance.

Research Methods

To gain an in-depth understanding of how intolerance developed in educational institutions, the researchers collected quantitative and qualitative data from 500 students spread across 5 cities / districts in East Java, namely Surabaya, Malang, Kediri, Pasuruan and Pamekasan Regency.

A total of 100 high school students were selected from each research location. The total number of students studied was 500 respondents from various high schools in 5 regions, both public schools (53%) and religious schools (47%). The criteria of respondents in this study were: (1) high school students; (2) having a gadget, laptop / personal computer; and (3) having seen or been involved in acts of intolerance to other fellow students.

Table 1
 Social Profile of Students

Sex	Male	180 (36%)
	Female	320 (64%)
Age	15	60 (12%)

	16	247 (49,4%)
	17	156 (31,25%)
	18	37 (7,4%)
Grade	Grade 10	252 (50,4%)
	Grade 11	186 (37,2%)
	Grade 12	62 (12,4%)
School status	Public school	265 (53%)
	Religious school	235 (47%)
Religion	Islam	398 (79.6%)
	Christian	42 (8.4%)
	Catholic	59 (11.8%)
	Hinduism	1 (0.2%)
Origin	Surabaya	100 (20%)
	Malang	100 (20%)
	Kediri	100 (20%)
	Pamekasan	100 (20%)
	Pasuruan	100 (20%)

Of all respondents, 36% were male and 64% were female. They were around 15 to 18 years old. Around half of the respondents (50.4%) currently were at the tenth grade, followed by eleventh grade (37.2%) and twelfth grade (12.4%). Most respondents were Muslims (79.6%), followed by Christians (8.4%), Catholics (11.8%), and Hindus (0.2%).

In-depth interviews were carried out with ten students in each study area or a total of 50 informants to obtain qualitative data. The data collection process took place over three months in five cities / districts where both public and religious schools were located. The entire study lasted for six months.

Results

Attitudes and Behavior of Intolerance Among Students

Attitude and behavior of intolerance among students in various schools has developed on an unsettling scale. The school is not only a place for students to learn and study for their future, but also a space for infiltration of adverse influences in social relations with fellow students. Even though 67.6% of the respondents claimed that they had never committed acts of intolerance to other students, 32.4% claimed to have, in which 29.2% claimed rarely, and 3.2% claimed often.

Table 1
 Intensity of Students Performing Acts of Intolerance to Other Students

No.	Intensity	Amount/Percentage
1.	Often	16 (3.2 %)
2.	Rare	146 (29.2%)
3.	Never	338 (67.6%)
Total		500 (100%)

Indeed, the students do not always take intolerant actions to their classmates. When there is no moment that allows and stimulates them to carry out intolerant actions, life and patterns of interaction between students in school is normal. However, certain students possibly carry out acts of intolerance to other students due to some stimulations. This study found that when there were many discussions about the election, for example, some students were sometimes encouraged to act intolerantly towards other students. Differences in ideology and who they idolize in election cause some students are not reluctant to act intolerance to their friends.

"During the election, I was bullied by friends because they knew I chose Mr. Jokowi. He said I am a foreign and *Aseng* supporter I don't really know if this has anything to do with my Christianity. Maybe yes. In fact, I chose Jokowi because my family is a sympathizer of the PDIP. Mr. Jokowi is also a simple person But I do not serve [my friends]. I just stay quiet," Edward (17 years), a high school student in Malang.

Table 2
 Intensity of Students Persecute Other Students They Dislike

No.	Intensity	Amount/Percentage
1.	Often	29 (5.8%)
2.	Rare	181 (36.2%)
3.	Never	290 (58%)
Total		500 (100%)

Intolerance for some students is common. Not only acts of intolerance due to attitude of rejecting differences, in daily life at school, some students claimed to also be accustomed to acts of harassment or persecution. As many as 36.2% of respondents claimed to have committed harassment even though the intensity was rare. Meanwhile, as many as 5.8% of respondents said they often carry out persecution with other friends.

Table 3
 Types of Persecution

No.	Types of Persecution	Yes	Never
1.	Harsh statement	165 (33%)	335 (67%)
2.	Spreading false rumor	57 (11.4%)	443 (88.6%)
3.	Bullying	72 (14.4%)	428 (85.6%)
4.	Physical abuse	32 (6.4%)	468 (93.6%)

Types of persecution carried out by students to their friends were mostly in the form of verbal abuse (33%), such as harsh statement, including cursing, rebuking, and the like that hurt. Meanwhile, other forms of persecution include bullying (14.4%), spreading false rumors (11.4%), or carrying out physical abuse against friends, such as hitting, kicking and the like (6.4%).

Table 4
 Students' Attitudes Toward Friends of Different Religions, Ethnicities, or Ideologies that are Abused by Groups of Students from Other Schools

No.	Attitudes	Amount/Percentage
1.	Sympathize, but afraid to defend	146 (29.2%)
2.	Will defend students who are victims because of close friends	82 (16.4%)
3.	Will defend even if not a close friend	272 (54.4%)
Total		500 (100%)

As a young person, actions that are a bit distorted, such as persecution or bullying to friends, often become common - not infrequently too far. However, that does not mean students tolerate all acts of intolerance occurred in their social environment. When there is an intolerance towards other students of different religious or ethnic backgrounds, this study found that more than half of students generally dared to be assertive and would defend students who were executed - even if they were not close friends (54.4%). As many as 16.4% of respondents admitted they would defend students who were treated intolerant if it was a close friend. Meanwhile, as many as 29.2% expressed sympathy, but did not dare to defend because they did not want the atmosphere to become more turbid and they themselves became victims.

Causes of Intolerance Among Students

Factors driving students to be intolerant are related to the habitus they grow. Among student families, some parents are figures who often encourage the development of intolerant attitudes. As many as 41% of students admitted that their parents sometimes support the growth of intolerant attitudes - even though the intensity is rare. Meanwhile, 7.8% of respondents even claimed that they were often supported by their parents to be intolerant. This indicates that in daily socialization, almost half the students grow up in habitus and parental socialization patterns that support intolerant attitudes.

"Yes, my father always advises me and my younger siblings to be devout. What is forbidden by religion should not be done. Sin. Yes, we do have to have a guide. Our grip is religion. Aqeedah ... If the Aqeedah does not allow it, then we must obey. It was God's command. My father is a religious person. I respect him ... ", Siti Fatimah (17 years), a student in Surabaya.

Table 5
 Intensity of Family / Parents of Respondents Regarding Consent with Intolerant Attitudes

No.	Intensity	Amount/Percentage
1.	Often	39 (7.8%)
2.	Rare	205 (41%)
3.	Never	256 (51.2%)
Total		500 (100%)

Not only parents and patterns of socialization in the family, the attitude of intolerance developed in some students is likely also supported by learning approaches developed in schools. Of the 500 students studied, most of them (60.2%) admitted that there were no teachers in the school teaching about intolerant attitudes. However, as many as 36.8% of respondents claimed that there were some teachers, although a few, supported the development of intolerant attitudes. In fact, as many as 3% of students revealed that most teachers in their schools were intolerant.

At school, when religious teachers teach, we are often told to worship properly. Once we discussed about the possibility of wishing a Merry Christmas to a Christian friend. The teacher said we should not because we violate the Aqeedah. Yes, so I am afraid to wish a Merry Christmas. My parents also agree with our teacher's suggestion ... ", Ajeng Fatimah (17 years), a student in Pasuruan.

Table 6
 Intensity of Teachers Teaching Intolerant Attitudes

No.	Intensity	Amount/Percentage
1.	Yes, a lot	15 (3%)
2.	Yes, but few	184 (36.8%)
3.	No	301 (60.2%)
Total		500 (100%)

Among students, the number of intolerant friends is even more worrying. Of the 500 students studied, more than half of the respondents claimed to have intolerant friends. Only 41.2% of respondents stated they did not have intolerant friends. As many as 53.6% of respondents had intolerant friends, but the number was small. Meanwhile, as many as 5.2% of respondents claimed to have many intolerant friends at school.

Table 7
 Intensity of Intolerant Friends

No.	Intensity	Amount/Percentage
1.	Yes, a lot	26 (5.2%)
2.	Yes, but few	268 (53.6%)
3.	No	206 (41.2%)
Total		500 (100%)

With the condition of social habitus that is accustomed to being intolerant, sooner or later students will certainly be affected. The study found that some students claimed they did not feel guilty about intolerant actions towards friends who were judged differently, because their friends also did similar thing. Responding to friends with different beliefs or religions, for example, most respondents generally tend to distance themselves, especially for things they consider potentially violating the Aqeedah. As a matter of wishing a Christmas to Christians, for example, not a few students feel it is forbidden and sinful.

Table 8
 Parties Prohibiting Wishing Merry Christmast

No.	Parties Prohibiting	Often	Rare	Never
1.	Teacher (general)	91 (18.2%)	172 (34.4%)	237 (47.4%)
2.	School principal	49 (9.8%)	95 (19%)	356 (71.2%)
3.	Religious teacher	205 (41%)	111 (22.2%)	184 (36.8%)
4.	Parents	113 (22.6%)	129 (25.8%)	258 (51.6%)
5.	Grandparents	76 (15.2%)	94 (18.8%)	330 (66%)

Among students, those who often forbid them from wishing a Merry Christmas were mostly religious teachers (41%) and respondents' parents (22.6%). As many as 18.2% of teachers in schools also often forbid students from wishing Christmas to their Christian friends. As many as 9.8% of students claimed that school principal prohibited them from wishing Christmas, followed by respondents' grandparents (15.2%).

Relationship between Radicalism and Intolerance among Students

Not all students develop similar or homogeneous attitude toward problems of intolerance and radicalism. This study found that only some students tend to be intolerant to their peers. However, the seeds of this intolerant attitude are certainly at risk of being counter-productive for the life of the nation and state if left unchecked.

Table 9
 Students' Intensity Following Media Development on
 Radical Groups in Indonesia

No.	Intensity	Amount/Percentage
1.	Always	17 (3.4%)
2.	Rare	283 (56.6%)
3.	Never	200 (40%)
Total		500 (100%)

More than half of the respondents claimed to have accessed and followed the development of media about radical groups in Indonesia. As many as 56.6% of respondents claimed to have been even though rare, but there were 3.4% of respondents who claimed to frequently or always follow the development of radical groups in Indonesia. First, students were likely accessing information about radical groups because of curiosity. However, sooner or later, curiosity can turn into a sense of sympathy for what the radical groups do because it is judged in accordance with the ideology they support.

Table 10
 Students' Assessment of Radical Group Actions in Indonesia

No.	Penilaian	Jumlah/Persentase
1.	Sympathy	82 (16.4%)
2.	Rather sympathy	184 (36.8%)

3.	No sympathy	234 (46.8%)
Total		500 (100%)

This study found that 36.8% of respondents stated that they were somewhat sympathetic to the development of radical groups in Indonesia. Meanwhile, as many as 16.4% of respondents expressed sympathy. Only 46.8% of respondents stated that they did not sympathize with the movement of radical groups in Indonesia. Although only about 16.4% of respondents sympathize with the radical group movement in Indonesia, but some students who have this kind of belief and ideology will certainly encourage the development of a broader intolerant attitude.

Table 11
 Students' Assessment of Intolerant Behavior to Other Students

No.	Assessment	Amount/Percentage
1.	Fair	97 (19.4%)
2.	Not fair	403 (80.6%)
Total		500 (100%)

This study found 19.4% of respondents who stated that intolerant behavior developed in some students was fair, although most students expressed intolerant attitudes as unfair. However, for some students, intolerant attitudes towards other students are reasonable or fine, especially when it comes to differences in beliefs. Some students revealed that they could not be friends with all students in their schools with the same feelings. There were some bases underlying the decision of choosing which friends to make good friends. For some respondents, similarity of beliefs and racial equality is one of the main bases for choosing friends.

Table 12
 Students' Attitudes towards Social Segregation and Harmony in Indonesia

No.	Attitudes	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1.	ISIS existence	9 (1.8%)	8 (1.6%)	30 (6%)	104 (20.8%)	349 (69.8%)
2.	Establishment of a khilafah state in Indonesia	29 (5.8%)	23 (4.6%)	115 (23%)	155 (31%)	178 (35.6%)
3.	Suicide bombing in another religious place of worship	5 (1%)	12 (2.4%)	24 (4.8%)	110 (22%)	349 (69.8%)
4.	Ready to die for jihad in defense of religion	100 (20%)	151 (30.2%)	90 (18%)	51 (10.2%)	108 (21.6%)

5.	Leaders should be Muslim	148 (29.6%)	150 (30%)	78 (15.6%)	61 (12.2%)	63 (12.6%)
6.	Married to someone of the same religion	234 (46.8%)	180 (36%)	49 (9.8%)	16 (3.2%)	21 (4.2%)
7.	<i>Bhineka tunggal ika</i> (Unity in Diversity)	381 (76.2%)	99 (19.8%)	7 (1.4%)	4 (0.8%)	9 (1.8%)

In general, students generally accept that Indonesia is a country that was built from the condition of diversity or Unity in Diversity (76.2%). However, some respondents felt there were some things that could not be compromised related to various religious beliefs. This study found that not many students strongly agreed or supported the act of carrying out suicide bombings in places of worship of other religions (1%) or about the existence of ISIS (1.8%). However, quite a lot of students agreed that the leaders in a Muslim-majority country like Indonesia should be Muslim (29.6%). As many as 20% of respondents also agreed that they were willing to do jihad, die martyrdom to defend the religion they believed in.

There were 5.8% of respondents who strongly agreed that Indonesia was established by the Khililah State. As many as 46.8% of respondents also strongly agreed that marriage should be carried out by people of the same religion. Thus, most students indeed did not approve things that are classified as extreme. However, for things that may be the seeds of intolerance, they agree because they are believed to be right.

Discussion

This study found the development of seeds of intolerance and the emergence of persecution against other students. Although not an indication of the majority, these findings could be an alarming warning. Students in educational institutions that are ideally sterile from acts of intolerance begin to show how they are partly accustomed to pulling social distance from other students who are considered different, both in terms of religion and race. As the intensity of social encounters between different students becomes less frequent, then the possibility of prejudice that results in the emergence of an intolerant attitude becomes more open.

The findings of this study correspond to the results of a study by Kanas, Scheepers, & Sterkens (2015) who examined the relationship between interfaith contact and negative attitudes toward out-group religion between minority Christians and majority Muslims in Indonesia. The research conducted in Ambon and Yogyakarta found that a higher quantity of interfaith contact could reduce negative out-group attitudes among majority Muslims, but this did not apply among minority Christians. This indicates that the higher quality and quantity of contacts can reduce negative attitudes toward out-group religion. Conclusions of the Kanas et al.'s study corresponds to a research conducted by Pettigrew et al. (2011) and Pettigrew and Tropp (2006).

In the heating atmosphere and background of political life during DKI Jakarta Regional Election and Presidential Election, community, including students, indeed tended to

be divided into two groups. One group identified more as a representation of Islamic and indigenous groups, while another group was placed as a representative of the Liberal or Abangan Islamic group, and defender of the Aseng (non-native) group. Groups considered to represent liberal Aseng and Islamic groups, they usually tend to be more potential victims of persecution and bullying of friends at school.

The study, which was conducted in five cities / districts in East Java, found that quite a lot students were reluctant or felt that they did not need to wish a Merry Christmas to their Christian friends because they were considered to violate the Aqeedah. The social environment, the socialization process and the habitus where students grow and develop generally support the development of intolerance among some students. Not only parents' socialization, but the explanation of religious teachers in schools also often encourages students to distance themselves from different groups (the other), especially when they should choose to wish a Merry Christmas or not.

The teacher's role is ideally very strategic in encouraging the growth of tolerance between one student and another. As Raihani (2011) stated, the quality of teaching is not only in the form of technical and pedagogical abilities, but also in the development of whole-hearted values of appreciation for the uniqueness and needs of each student. High-quality teachers are those who can create a supportive culture for children to live in togetherness, namely by intentionally and explicitly acting according to rituals, norms, and standards consistent with tolerance education. In Indonesia, unfortunately some teachers apparently do not act as ideal as Raihani said. Some teachers, especially religious teachers, often teach intolerance in the name of firmness of belief. Wishing a Merry Christmas which can be an entry point for building an attitude of togetherness and tolerance, according to some religious teachers is not permitted because it is considered to violate the Aqeedah.

Not all students naturally develop intolerant attitudes and actions. There are many factors influencing the development of intolerant attitudes among students. A study conducted by Nilan, Demartoto, & Wibowo (2011) in Solo, for example, found that students who had been fighting with their peers since junior high school or had quarreled with children from other schools tended to continue quarreling after junior high school in the realm of work or during high school. Student who has been intolerant since junior high, when entering high school will continue to be intolerant, depending on the socio-cultural factors influencing it. Among normal students, in some cases, they are generally positive, and say they will defend if a friend is bullied or executed because of their differences. At the construction level, most students realize that diversity and tolerance are basic prerequisites for the life of the nation and state in Indonesia which is indeed pluralistic. However, quite a lot of students claimed to prefer silence when they saw their friend being executed on the grounds that they did not want to look for a case. Self safety and reluctance to look for cases that have the potential to cause harm causes most students to prefer not to interfere with matters that could harm themselves. This is what makes some students look confused.

This study found ambivalent attitudes among students. There is a kind of uncertainty among students addressing the differences and acts of intolerance that sometimes occur in their social environment. The findings of this study about the attitude of ambivalence of students in addressing differences correspond to a study conducted by Parker, Hoon &

Raihani (2014). The survey, which was conducted on 3,000 high school students in five provinces in Indonesia: Jakarta, Yogyakarta, West Sumatra, Central Kalimantan and Bali, found that most students had a positive view of friendship with people of different ethnicities and beliefs. At the same time, however, most students disagreed with interreligious or interfaith marriages because they accept that their religion forbids it.

A study conducted by Parker et al. (2014) found that in general, students in Indonesia not only had a positive outlook, but also practiced socializing with people between ethnic and religious groups in their daily lives. Nearly three-quarters of this study's sample had friends from different religions and visited their homes, even having friends from different ethnicities had a higher percentage. Most young people will choose to attend other religious celebrations if they are invited. Although many students are positive about differences, Parker et al. (2014) found there is still a feeling that assimilation with dominant culture is still needed. Moreover, many young people can relate traits that are not complementary to other religions and ethnicities, such as arrogant, extreme, miserly, terrorist, and materialistic. So far, students in Indonesia have been found to agree on dating relationships with people of different faiths and ethnicities. Nearly one-third of respondents had dated between religions. However, when asked students who had never had a boyfriend from a different religion whether they would consider it, 77% answered no because of religious differences.

Developing intolerant attitude among students is not easy. The existence of social differences and the position of a minority group often gives birth to discriminatory acts and bullying. A study conducted by Parker (2017) on minority Muslim women's groups in Bali found that Muslim female students in Bali were generally constructed to feel inferior by Balinese and felt ashamed when wearing the hijab. Hijab mark them as an inferior group, so that some feel inferior (inferior and lack of confidence). Low socio-economic status among migrants - associated with poverty, low education, unskilled labor and economic insecurity. Muslim teenage girls who feel ashamed when wearing the hijab because they feel inferior and alienated by Balinese are mostly because they represent the classic case of alienated subordinates - which is the culture that is brought by the majority.

A study conducted by Hoon (2014) at a Jakarta Christian school found similar findings. Although the school have tried to develop values that respect diversity and tolerance, but because parents are apathetic and students who are surrounded by their own ethnicity and religion, 'indigenous Muslims' have always been the subject of humiliation and demonization. An exclusive environment also contributes to maintaining racial boundaries. Although some teachers show promising efforts in inculcating religious tolerance, the insistence of schools that require non-Christian students to participate in Christian religious activities and intolerance towards sexual majority shows a double standard. Hoon (2014) stated the role of parental education and the socio-economic class is central to the development of a habitus of tolerance and discipline. For Christians, schools are a place to develop critical reflections and attitudes of respect for differences. Limitation of tolerance must always be (re) negotiated so that tolerance is not only limited to the narrow interpretation of religion. To integrate students into Indonesia's broader multicultural society, schools need a balance between maintaining religious identity and promoting the value of pluralism, tolerance and respect. From the results of their study in Oman, Al Sadi, & Basit

(2013) concluded that education that emphasizes interfaith equality has proven to be able to suppress intolerance.

The wrong development of political conditions and social habitus often gives birth to students who are sensitive and easily develop intolerant behavior towards each other. The key to building attitudes and behaviors that are tolerant of differences is how socialization and the social environment support in that direction (Johansson, 2008). A study conducted by Raihani (2014) in Palangkarya, Central Kalimantan, found that students generally have cultural capital derived from religious diversity and tolerance from families and communities, which all have proven to help them to create a 'culture of tolerance' in schools. Although Palangkaraya had been hit by ethnic riots between Dayaks and Madurese migrants who became a national tragedy and apart from school policies that were inconsistent with religious diversity, it turned out that students had their own ways of responding to differences. Raihani (2014) stated that religious teachers play an important role in shaping students' understanding of religious diversity and tolerance through deliberate teaching about several aspects of other religions.

Conclusion

This study uses quantitative and qualitative data to understand how seeds and acts of intolerance developed among students in East Java. The findings of this study highlight how habitus in schools and families tends to encourage acts of intolerance. Although students have realized the importance of multiculturalism, they are often ambivalent in practice.

At the construction level, most students realize that diversity and tolerance are basic prerequisites for the life of the nation and state in Indonesia which is indeed pluralistic. However, most students generally consider their own safety rather than interfere in the persecution that they witness at school. Most students admit they would defend if there are friends becoming victims of persecution or acts of intolerance. However, in reality, they generally still weigh various factors and the implications of their actions.

In terms of numbers, acts of intolerance committed by students may not be too great. However, around 20-25% of students who are intolerant and sympathetic to the radicalism movement are seeds that become counter-productive for the life of the nation and state. It is not impossible to happen due to the role of some teachers (religions) who seem to support intolerance, thus increasingly encouraging the growth of intolerance among students. From the results of in-depth interviews, some students feel that they way they act is in accordance with their beliefs, so that making distance and even persecuting different groups are considered normal.

It is hoped that this article will contribute to enrich various perspectives and studies on intolerance and help the understanding of education observers in order to develop curricula and activities that can reduce the emergence of seeds of intolerance among students.

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