Significance of Legal Culture Enforcement on Tolerance among Madurese Society through Inclusive Curriculum at IAIN Madura

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Abstract:  
The strong fanaticism of Madurese on diversities of religion, beliefs, opinions to affiliation makes it prone to social-religious conflict like between Shi‘i-Sunni in Sampang. The minority group finds it hard to express their belief and build worship houses. This hegemony requires the right way to foster attitudes and understanding of values of tolerance. This article argues the importance of building public legal awareness through legal culture enforcement on tolerance. The historical normative approach becomes the basic foundation, including reviews on tolerance concept in the Qur‘anic verses and Medina Charter, the concept of human right at Cairo Declaration, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. It reveals the importance of legal culture enforcement because public legal awareness can’t only be built through legal substance and legal structure. Furthermore, the enforcement also functions to maximize several existing legal products on the tolerance building. The enforcement program can be through massive
socialization in public spaces both in academic areas, such as universities, and other social institutions. Religious moderation concept of IAIN Madura can potentially become the instrument for the enforcement through the design of an inclusive curriculum.

**Keywords:**
Tolerance; Legal Culture Enforcement; inclusive curriculum, IAIN Madura, religious moderation

**Abstrak:**

**Kata Kunci:**
Toleransi; Penguatan Legal Culture; Kurikulum Inklusif; IAIN Madura, moderasi beragama

**Significance of Legal Culture Enforcement on Tolerance**

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Introduction

The religious pattern of the Madurese people relates closely to Islamic fanaticism. Although the number of Muslims is not 100% of its population, it is fair to say that more than 95% of Madurese are Muslim. The stigma of being a “santri community” can be justified in line with the large number of Islamic boarding schools scattered in each district in Madura. Based on the records of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, there are no less than 1026 Islamic boarding schools in Madura, making it also feasible to be referred to as “Pesantren Island” in addition to its well-known name as a salt island.

Additionally, statistics for Diniyah Education and Islamic boarding schools in the Ministry of Religious Affairs show that the four districts on Madura have a quite large number of Diniyah Educational Institution and Islamic Boarding Schools compared to other districts in Indonesia. Sumenep has 230 Islamic boarding schools, Pamekasan has 231, Sampang with 386, and Bangkalan with 179. In total, 1026 Islamic boarding schools that exist and develop as Islamic educational institutions. This fact inevitably affects and shapes the style and character of how Madurese people express their Islamic teaching.

For Madurese, the issue of differences in religion, belief, and socio-religious organization affiliation is so sensitive that are prone to cause any social conflict. Sunni-Shi’i conflict in Sampang, responses on Supardi’s followers in Sumenep, and rejection of Madura Ulama Forum against Ahmadiyah congregation have clearly shown religious fanaticism among Madurese. According to Latif Wiyata, an anthropologist and a Madurese figure, Shi’i conflict in Sampang was a misused form of religious fanaticism among the Madurese people.1

In line with this, Mahfud MD, one of the Madurese figures, also said that Madurese are so fanatical about their religion that without proper management, it possibly leads to something negative such as Shi’i conflict in Sampang. Therefore, he encourages all parties, such as

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1https://nasional.tempo.co/read/425968/pemicu-rusuh-sampang-penyalhgunaan-fanatisme-agama/full&view=ok
the security apparatus, community leaders, and all other layers of society to stem this fanaticism.²

Mahfud’s statement makes much sense considering that although K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gusdur) has still become a role model among the Madurese community particularly among those affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), they do not always follow his opinion in responding to any religious phenomenon. Many Madurese pesantren leaders (kiai) disagreed with Gusdur’s opinion about Ahmadiyah sect. Approximately, 100 members of kiai affiliated in Madura Islamic Boarding School Ulama Council (Badan Silaturrohim Ulama Pondok Pesantren Madura or BASSRA) deplored Gusdur’s opinion which supported Ahmadiyah while believing that Ahmadiyah sect deviates greatly from Islamic teachings. Furthermore, they asked the government to prohibit and disband Ahmadiyah congregation in Indonesia. ³

Meanwhile, from December 2012 until today, Sunni-Sh’iah conflict in Sampang has not found the best and fair solution. Shiah refugees still have to stay at the shelter in Sidoarjo because Sunni followers still refuse their return to Sampang. On June 13, 2018, Sunni followers refused the plan to bury Kurriyah’s (24 years) corpse, one of the Shi’ah refugees, at their common hometown. This is the second event after three years earlier, Busidin (65 years) experienced the same. The different sect affiliation causes Shi’ah followers to forcibly get evicted from their hometowns while leaving their various assets behind.

In a broader scope, the dominance of certain religious sects or affiliations has disabled some areas in Indonesia to build houses of worship for minority groups. In Sampang, for instance, there found no church as a place of worship for Christians. Likewise, the local Forum Komunikasi Antar Umat Beragama or FKUB (Inter-Religious Communication Forum) Sampang cannot function optimally. In fact, Indonesian multicultural society with several religions, beliefs, sects, and affiliations requires strong awareness and understanding of the

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² "Fanatisme Keagamaan Orang Madura Harus Dibendung" (online) on https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/08/28/22195249/fanatisme.keagamaan.or ang.madura.harus.dibendung.

³ https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/3466/ulama-madura-berseberangan-dengan-gus-dur-soal-ahmadiyah

al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial, 16 (1), 2021: 50-67
importance of multicultural values. This is mainly because social dynamics of multicultural society tend to be vulnerable to any friction and further conflict. Besides Shi’ah case in Sampang, some similar cases do exist, such as those in Poso, Ambon, Tolikara, Aceh, South Lampung, Situbondo, and others.

Those conflicts make it evident that regulations to protect freedom for religious believers to carry out each religious activity have not been successful yet. Clash and conflict over religion and belief still exist and are mostly triggered by excessive fanaticism as happened in Madurese society. In fact, a multicultural community requires its people to keep their ego down by not considering what they believe is the only right way. Otherwise, diversity will lead to conflict as Hassan Hanafi mentioned that when one truth is judged by another truth, it usually triggers prejudice while prejudice typically leads to conflicts.

**Method**

This study uses a qualitative analysis method and a socio-legal approach. The approach aims to address a problem through a combination of normative analysis with non-legal science. Data were obtained from library search, documentation, and interview. In this case, the social-humanities sciences are considered appropriate in studying the universal sociological phenomena of the Madurese community as the object of this research.

**Theoretical Framework**

**The Qur’anic Verses**

A lot of verses about freedom of religion and belief are mentioned in the Qur’an as the main sourcebook of Muslims. First is the verse which means: "There is no compulsion to (enter) religion; indeed, the true path is clear rather than the wrong way." Likewise, another verse explained: "For you are your religion, and for me my religion. And had your Lord willed, those on earth..."

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4 QS: Al-Baqarah: 256
would have believed – all of them entirely. Then, (o Muhammad) would you compel the people so that they become believers?" 

It is also stated that diversity or multiculturality is something inevitable even necessary. It is furthermore a test for mankind whether they can live in harmony together. This is in line with what the Qur’an says; "…to each of you, We prescribed a law and a method. Had Allah willed, He would have made you one nation, but to test you in what He has given you; so race to good. To Allah is your return all together, and He will inform you concerning that over which you used to differ.” 

Other than that, there are at least four important documents that accentuate the concept of tolerance and respect for human rights. They play a significant role in shaping how tolerance and human rights are understood worldwide. Furthermore, the essence of documents is repeatedly considered in making related decisions and policies. They consist of Medina Charter, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Cairo Declaration, and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NKRI) 1945 as below:

**Medina Charter**

The Medina Charter (Shakhifah Madinah) was initiated around the 7th century during the leadership of the prophet Muhammad pbuh in Medina. It is a clear blueprint for the protection of human rights and tolerance culture in society. Those two are in line with democratic political policy and good governance at that time.

The respect for human rights, balanced participation of citizens, and social justice in a pluralistic society had become the priority agenda of the Prophet Muhammad at the beginning of his leadership. In particular, Medina Charter is a portrait of mutual agreement between Muslims and other religious communities, as well as fellow Muslims with different cultures and understanding.

Medina itself is a place that is approximately 400 kilometers away from the north of Makkah. Its citizens consist of several Arab and Jewish tribes with different religions and beliefs. The plurality of Medina society consisted of various clans. Among Islam, there were

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6 QS: Yunus: 99.
Muhajirin and Ansar while among the Jews, there were Aus and Khazraj. Apart from them, there were many other groups such as people of Quraidzah, Nadhir, and Qoinuq as well as some Medina citizens who had not yet converted to Islam.

The plurality is also clear in the aspect of nationality, regional origin, social class and customs. It was inevitable to find Medina society with different ways of thinking and characteristic that it sometimes becomes a potential factor in triggering any multicultural conflict.

Based on this background that Prophet Muhammad wisely understood, he soon formed a collective agreement or resultant in the form of legislation named Medina Charter. It aimed to create order, peace, security, and justice that all parts of society can experience and accept very well. It furthermore became a unifying constitution with humanitarian and tolerance values among a pluralistic community that all groups can easily accept it.

On a global level, Medina Charter is broadly considered as one of the first forms of modern state constitutions which inspired the founding of many constitutional countries afterward. At least, it consists of forty-seven articles. Freedom of religion and belief is regulated in article 25 and reads as follows: "As a group, the Jews of Banu 'Auf live next to Muslims. Both parties have their respective

9 It needs to know that the majority of Ansar people from Khazraj clan worshipped idols while the Jews believed in monotheism and were given knowledge and holy book. See Ibn Hisyam, Sirah Nabawiyah (Bekasi: PT. Darul Falah, 2015), 389.
10 Zainul Abidin Ahmad, Membentuk Negara Islam (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1960), 93–94.
religions and so do each ally. If any of them commit persecution and sinful deed in this relationship, the consequences will be borne by themselves and their fellow citizens”.16

Overall, there found at least twenty-three articles that regulated internal relationships among Muslims (Muhajirin and Ansar) while twenty-four articles ruled external relationships of Muslims and others, such as Jews. Therefore, it is fair to say that Medina Charter is an initial constitution that accentuates human rights and religious tolerance that can be used as a foothold to build a peaceful and pluralistic society.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)**

In addition to the Medina Charter, the content in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is another relevant foundation in an effort to build awareness of the importance of tolerance and respect for human rights in diverse societies. As one of the fundamental rights, Article 18 states that; “Everyone has the right to access freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, including freedom for religious conversion and declaration on religion or belief by teaching, practicing, worshiping and obeying it both individually and collectively in both public and private places.”17

Textually, the wording of the article shows that tolerance and respect for others’ fundamental rights are very important. It also makes it clear that the fulfillment of these rights can be carried out either individually or in groups in both public and private places. The article also implies that the right for freedom of religion and belief has individual and collective dimensions or what is known as ‘internum forum’ and ‘externum forum’.18 While the former is absolute and cannot be limited, the latter is limited under certain conditions because it refers to the freedom to express religion or belief. The principles of these limitations are contained in the *Syracuse Principles*.19

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16 Medina Charter, article 25.
17 See UDHR, Article18.
19 Ibid, 9.
Cairo Declaration

The Cairo Declaration is another agreement that accentuates the importance of tolerance. Some consider it as a conception of human rights according to Islam similar to UDHR from the Western perspective. The declaration pays major attention to religious and belief tolerance. Medina Charter is the one that inspired and became the reference of this declaration.

The tenth article of this declaration regulates religious and belief tolerance. It states that Islam is a pure religion from Allah the Almighty. It prohibits any form of coercion or exploitation of one’s poverty or ignorance to change his/her religion or make him/her become an atheist.20

Indonesian Constitution

The protection toward freedom of religion and belief in Indonesia is regulated in the 1945 Constitution or UUD RI. Article 28E states; "Everyone is free to embrace a religion and worship according to his religion, to choose education and teaching, to choose a job, to choose citizenship, to choose a place to live in any territory of the country and leave it then come back afterward.” The next verse mentioned that everyone has the right to freedom of religion, speech, and attitude according to each conscience.21

Likewise, Article 29 more explicitly explains that the state guarantees freedom of each resident to embrace his/her religion and to worship according to it.22 The freedom of religion is the most basic right in the Indonesian constitution that no one could interfere under any circumstances.23

These provisions are furthermore strengthened by Law no. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights. Additionally, Article 22 of the Law repeatedly explains that everyone is free to embrace his/her religion and to worship under the state’s guarantee. 24

Result & Discussion

20 Article 10 of the Cairo Declaration
21 Article 28E Verse 1 and 2 UUD RI 1945.
22 Ibid, Pasal 29 ayat 2
23 Ibid, Article 281 verse 1
24 Article 22 of Law 39/1999 about human rights/HAM (Hak Asasi Manusia)
Strengthening the Legal Culture of the Community

Several cases of religious conflicts and intolerance in Indonesia reflect that both the legal awareness and the legal culture of the society still tend to be weak. The existence of laws and regulations regarding religious and belief tolerance does not necessarily make Indonesia free from any religious and belief conflicts.

To maximize the function of law in a certain society, the role of several legal systems with some elements is particularly needed. Each of those elements needs to be interrelated with one another to achieve the purpose of establishing any legal product. In the context of Indonesia with multiculturality in various aspects ranging from ethnicities, religions, cultures, and languages, the formulation of an appropriate legal system becomes urgent to maximize the law’s function and effectiveness.

According to the theory of the legal system introduced by Friedman, there are at least three elements of legal systems that need to establish, namely legal substance, legal structure, and legal culture. The first element refers to any legal product that has been formed and in the Indonesian context, it includes several forms of legislation. Meanwhile, the legal structure, the second element, is a structural element involved in the formation process of a legal product as well as its executor or enforcer. As for the legal culture, the third element is an implementation of values and expectations in the form of a legal product. In other words, legal culture refers to the manifestation of values in a legal product which has been alive in the midst of society.

Unfortunately, habituation, education, or the process of building public awareness on the law frequently receive less attention as they are often considered less important. In fact, a legal norm will be difficult to obey or enforce without people’s awareness, knowledge, and understanding. Therefore, any agenda of habituation or education of law needs intensive and massive development, such as through integrating it into the curriculum of educational institutions. This is important particularly because the

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process of building public awareness of the laws requires maximum efforts in various spaces and institutions.

Furthermore, obedience and enforcement of any legal product greatly depend on perceptions, attitudes, or legal culture of the community. In this context, how the process of law education occurs in society, particularly how each legal subject accepts it, gives significant influence. Analogically, if the legal structure is described as a machine while the legal substance is a machine-produced product, the legal culture can be likened to anyone who determines the running or functioning of the product. Therefore, it is very urgent to strengthen the legal culture in various ways.

One of which is through the curriculum of educational institutions. In the context of Madura, various existing of educational institutions can play a role, such as Islamic boarding schools and higher education institutions. They have a strategic position to begin the formulation of multicultural perspective in a hope that it can reduce religious conflict or fanaticisms of understanding among Madurese people.

The Significance of Tolerance Values through Inclusive Curriculum at IAIN Madura

One of the missions of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs is to spread harmony among religious communities by, among others, establishing the Forum for Inter-Religious Harmony (FKUB; Forum Komunikasi Umat Beragama).27 This indicates that harmony among religious communities gets much attention. Moreover, every level of the working units of the Ministry, such as PTKIN (Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri, state Islamic high schools), is obliged to become a funnel and facilitator in creating harmony in a very multicultural Indonesian society. Among others, it is done through spreading the religious moderation concepts.28

27 The Rule of the Minister of Religious Affair, Number 42 the year 2016 about Ortaker (Organisasi dan Tatakerja, organization and working rules) in the Ministry of Religious Affair, Article 4 verse (4) point a.
28 Lukman Hakim Saifuddin “Moderasi Beragama untuk Kebersamaan Umat” (Religious Moderation for People’s Togetherness), speech material of the former minister of Religious Affair in Rakernas (Rapat Kerja Nasional; National Meeting) of
The religious moderation embodying in the moderate and tolerant attitude is deemed as an important step to build and manage harmony in Indonesia. Considering this, as a part of the working unit of the ministry, IAIN Madura carries responsibility in working on the mission as mentioned above. It makes sense, therefore, to find the mission of the university integrated into the ministries, namely to produce graduates who are religious, moderate, competent, independent, and competitive as well as nationalist.29

The point of religious characteristic aims to produce graduates who are devout in religion, maintain noble character, and respects diversity.30 As the largest religious university in Madura island, IAIN Madura has big potential to spread tolerance value while showing a good attitude in responding to diversity. The university is furthermore a home of more than 10,000 students spreading over thirties study programs in four existing faculties. They also come from all districts of Madura ranging from Pamekasan, Sampang, Sumenep and Bangkalan. This composition makes the role of IAIN Madura strategic enough to build the habit of tolerance while reducing fanaticism on other religious and cultural understandings.

In order to play the role very well, the university needs to adjust what it can do considering its distinctive asset and function with the need it wants to fulfill. As plurality and multiculturalism require an inclusive perspective of society which will lead to a tolerant attitude on any social fact, particularly diversity, the university can play its role through, among others, its curriculum design. It is an appropriate implementation strategy to spread the concept of religious moderation which will lead to a tolerant attitude towards all forms of diversity. In the context of Madura, it becomes more urgent to apply considering that the Sunni-Shi’i conflict has not yet founded any common ground. Besides, the vulnerability of religious conflict in Madura is another basic reason in building a tolerance perspective toward others by upholding human rights values.


Statuta of IAIN Madura

Interview with Mohammad Kosim as the rector of IAIN Madura on November 25, 2019.
On the other hand, curriculum design has an urgent role to achieve academic goals. The curriculum design of an educational institution greatly influences the character building, attitude, and mindset of its alumni. As an example, the exclusive curriculum style of a pesantren tends to produce alumni with an exclusive mindset and vice versa. The exclusive curriculum refers to a design that does not enable students to do critical thinking based on various scientific perspectives. Some previous records note that some suicide bombers in Indonesia are alumni of several Islamic boarding schools with exclusive or extreme curriculum designs in religious understanding.

Theoretically, the curriculum is one of the means or bridges that lead students to achieve learning objectives. In another word, it is a learning plan. Therefore, as a plan, the design of a curriculum requires serious attention and consideration to produce graduates as expected. Curriculum also determines the process of policymaking on academic aspects needed by each faculty, department, or study program. Therefore, the curriculum should be a foothold in terms of making goals, content, and learning materials to achieve certain educational targets or goals.

There are at least four factors to consider in designing a curriculum, namely philosophical, sociological, psychological, and epistemological aspects. Of those four factors, the sociological aspect needs to get major attention as it always requires periodic reconstruction considering that sociological issues are always changing dynamically. Moreover, differences in space and time often require specially designed curriculum for certain communities so that content of the curriculum is supposed to be in line with living cultural values in society. Considering that society is a source of learning, the locally based curriculum is the one that enables learning curriculum compatible to suggest a solution for any living problem of a certain society.

In this context, IAIN Madura considerably needs to design a specific curriculum based on the social conditions of the Madurese

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31 Masykuri Abdillah, “Menimbang Kurikulum IAIN; Kasus Kurikulum 1995 dan 1997”, in Komaruddin Hidayat and Hendro Prasetyo (Eds.), Problem dan Prospek IAIN; Antologi Pendidikan Tinggi Islam, Jakarta: Direktorat Pembinaan Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam, 2000, 73.
community with strong religious fanaticism. Moreover, the hegemony of dominant particular religious understanding often triggers any religion-based conflict. The curriculum, therefore, needs to be inclusive. While NU is the most dominant group in Madurese society, for instance, the curriculum should not be NU-centrist while ignoring other mass-social organizations. The inclusive spirit will be more easily spread and accepted through an academic approach to avoid any causes which possibly trigger sectoral egos.

An inclusive curriculum has a big chance to serve as a medium for building awareness of cultural diversity, and respect for human rights as well as eliminating or minimizing various types of negative prejudices to build a harmonious multicultural community under a mutual sense of justice. It can be a right beginning to solve or avoid social conflict in society by providing awareness that, for example, conflict is not a good thing to cultivate.

For example, the curriculum of Syari'ah Faculty might accentuate studies on varieties of disciplines needed in building the competence of its alumni. The curriculum itself is divided into four competencies, namely: (a) General Basic Competency Courses (MKDU; Mata Kuliah Dasar Umum), consisting of courses that all students of IAIN Madura from any study program must take; (b) Main Courses (MKU; Mata Kuliah Umum), consisting of courses that students of Syari'ah Faculty need to take them; (c) Professional Competence Courses (MKP; Mata Kuliah Kompetensi Pendukung), consisting of some courses that students in some certain study programs under the auspices of Sharia Faculty must take them, and (d) Other Competency Courses (MKL; Mata Kuliah Kompetensi Lain), consisting of some courses that students in a particular study program can take them or not.

The tolerance, multicultural, and inclusive spirit need to get spread through all of the mentioned categories. It can be done by including relevant topics into each syllabus of the courses, such as respect for religious freedom, diverse belief, and the likes. There are some specific courses that possibly contain relevant topics or material for discussing the importance of respecting human rights and practicing tolerance.

32 Interview with the dean of Sharia faculty, IAIN Madura on August 10, 2019.
The first course is Civics Education (Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan) in the first semester. Materials on respecting human rights and strengthening tolerance can be included in the semester course plan considering that the course aims to build awareness and understanding among citizens toward their country identity and characteristics. Therefore, the importance of maintaining the values of tolerance in the context of Indonesian multicultural society is a relevant and proper theme for the course.

The next courses are Introduction to Ulumul Qur’an (Qur’anic Sciences), History of Islamic Law (Tasyri’), and Ushul Fiqh. The syllabus of these courses might contain materials on the urgency of respecting human rights, diversity, and differences in the context of a multicultural society as well. The three are even the core courses of Sharia Faculty of IAIN Madura.

Issues on respecting diversity and strengthening the values of tolerance in the Introduction to the Ulumul Qur’an course can be included in the material of exegesis/Qur’anic interpretation. In discussing some relevant Qur’anic verses on religious freedom, for instance, the issue and spirit of multiculturalism can be well mentioned and portrayed, even made the main subject of class discussion.33

Meanwhile, the course of the History of Islamic Law (tasyri’) greatly provides space for discussing the theme of human rights and tolerance culture. This is mainly because the course generally discusses the historical aspect of Islamic law from old time to the present, namely from the process of revelation of the Koran, the emergence of Islamic Law formulation in the era of mujtahid (the Imams of the School), until the day when the law still lives in the nowadays community. Furthermore, the law products reflect the condition of social dynamics with various ethnic backgrounds and beliefs and as a consequence, Islamic law tends to be different from one another. The difference stems from diverse opinions and considerations of each mujtahid or the leaders of fiqh schools based on each ethnicity, culture, social, even political background. This point can be well emphasized in discussing the history of the emergence

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33 Based on an interview with a lecturer of Pengantar Ulumul Qur’an, Ahmad Qusyairi at Sharia faculty, IAIN Madura, July 17, 2019.
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and development of Islamic law so that the students can understand Islamic law in a more open and dynamic way.

Likewise, in the Ushul Fiqh subject as a course that examines the procedures for formulating (istinbath) Islamic law, incorporating sociological aspect in formulation process needs to get underlined before students. The course can therefore be an entry point for the birth of contemporary Islamic legal formulation products compatible with the recent development of society.

Conclusion

This article found that building public awareness to respect human rights and diversity while practicing tolerance should be done by the whole parties, including higher educational institutions. University can play a role by designing an inclusive curriculum to highlight the importance of harmonious life and tolerance in the plural society while avoiding any social conflict. Madurese society which tends to be homogenous is not excepted to this discussion considering the Sunni-Shi’i conflict in Sampang has not yet found any fair ending. Therefore, IAIN Madura as the biggest Islamic higher educational institution on the island can begin designing an inclusive curriculum that leads the students to be more open coping with diversity. At the Shari’a Faculty, the internalization of multicultural values can be done at least at the course of Civics Education, Introduction to Ulmul Al-Qur’an, History of Islamic Law (Tasyri’), and Ushul Fiqh.

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