

The Policy of Local Government to Implement Peace Education at Secondary School Post Armed Conflict in Aceh Indonesia

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Abstract

This study aims to describe the policies adopted by the Aceh government in implementing peace education in the secondary schools. It used the qualitative descriptive method with a case study design, whereby 17 participants consists of officials of education bureau and teachers of civic and religious education were involved in the study. The data was collected by in-depth interview and documentary study. The data was analyzed using Creswell's spiral data analysis. The study found that, firstly, the Aceh government focused more on implementing Islamic-based education in accordance with the national standards, and had not considered the normative and sociological chances to make a policy that regulated the implementation of peace education in the schools. Secondly, the Aceh peace agreement used the concept of human rights in regulating the education in Aceh, and therefore, the Law on Governing Aceh did explicitly regulate Aceh educational reform for peacebuilding. This had resulted in unanimous understanding and implementation of peace education at the secondary schools. Thus, there is a need for educational system reform in respect to peace-related education curriculum in the region. Finally, this study suggested for future research that focused on the regional government's authority in reforming and restructuring regional educational system that incorporated peace education as long-term peacebuilding vis-à-vis the central government.

Keywords: *Implementation, Peace Education, School, Policy, Aceh Government*

Introduction

Aceh armed conflict ended in 2005 through the negotiation mediated by the International Non-government Organization and Crisis Management Initiative (Shea, 2016). According to McLeod (2014), all aspects of human rights need to be interdependently met to gain and sustain an Aceh peaceful society. Human rights are undoubtedly closely related to peace and education, which is fundamental to its achievement (Andrews, 2019; Turan, 2020). The collapse of education systems leads to the unsustainability of peaceful, prosperous, and productive societies (De Giusti, 2020).

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Education promotes social emotions needed to underpin the peace process, such as sympathy for the suffering of others, compassion for victims, forgiveness for offenders, tolerance for different identities and cultures of others, optimism for the future, and bravery to encourage trust (Brewer, 2010; Gibbs, 2020). It addresses inequalities, overcoming prejudices, and fosters new values in institutions. Education in schools is viewed as an agent in developing and transforming cultural values among students from violent to peaceful, thereby eliminating the potential of violent conflict (Darolia, 2020; Grewal et al., 2019; Ritiauw, 2017; Wandix-White, 2020).

Peace education mainly eliminates direct, structural, and cultural types of violence (Cremin & Guilherme, 2016). According to Davies (2016), Mendenhall & Chopra (2016), and Tinker (2016), peace education is a soft essential tool used to bring positive peace in post-conflict areas. Therefore, there is a compelling need for conflict and conflict-related contexts (Tschirgi, 2011). Hence, through peace education, every human is equipped to understand conflict and peacebuilding to eliminate violence (Maleki & Komishani, 2014). Peace education functions to increase students' constructive conflict resolution, reduce aggressive behaviors, and enable students to have problem-solving skills (Ay, Keskin, & Akilli, 2019; Turk, 2018). With peace education hopefully a peaceful society could be established.

With respects to Aceh, a region that had resolved its vertical conflict through the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2005, it had faced another horizontal conflict among the former GAM elites, foot-soldiers, and community groups (Ansori, 2012; Barron, Rahman, & Nugroho, 2013; Quayle, 2018). Making Aceh fallen into conflict society. Therefore, Aceh needs the implementation of a peace education policy by the Government to achieve a non-conflict society. Numerous NGOs such as UNICEF have initiated a peaceful education program by supporting a group of academics and activists grounded in the core of Islamic and the Acehnese social-cultural values. The curriculum was based on six fundamental principles: introspection and sincerity, rights and responsibilities, conflict and violence, democracy and justice, diversity of creations, and peace paths (Thalal, 2010).

In 2001 ninety-six high schools³ had implemented the peace education curriculum with UNICEF's initiatives with full support of the local Government and the Muslim religious leaders (*ulama*) (Ashton, 2002). Principals and teachers strongly commended the implementation of peace

³ The term high school was used interchangeably with the secondary school

education curriculum outcomes, which have transformed students' views and attitudes. In the following year, the program was extended to 247 schools, targeting more than 75,000 students. The teaching manual then was incorporated into the *Aqidah-Akhlaq* (Islamic faith and morals) curriculum, published in 2006. This program accommodated more Islamic principles to strengthen the high school students' Islamic faith and morals (Husin, 2009). However, Wenger (2014) argued that, peace education should also cover the history of Aceh and the newly resolved conflict. It is also essential to reexamine the Acehnese traditional wisdom's symbols and mottoes, especially those related to peace issues such as reciprocity, care, tolerance, and justice. This reexamination tends to make these symbols and advice more meaningful and beneficial to transform the conflict (Maleki & Komishani, 2014).

Although the Aceh Peace Agreement has taken place for more than a decade, its education system is similar to other provinces in Indonesia. In addition, the Government is mandated to focus on succeeding in a national standard curriculum. The Indonesian Government does not consider the importance of peace education in post-conflict provinces, such as Maluku and Aceh (Wahyudin, 2018). According to Zainal (2016), some school principals and teachers stated that teaching peace education in a particular strategy makes it difficult for students to understand. This indicates difficulty in the formal implementation of peace education in schools situated in post-conflict regions. Therefore, to achieve this, a government policy is needed as a strong foundation and a step in the right direction that supports educational development over time (Palmer & Witanapatirana, 2020; Strunc, 2020; Tonich, 2021; Walter et al., 2021). This policy also tends to affect peace education initiatives (Zembylas et al., 2016) and legitimize its realization (Bal-Tal & Rosen, 2009).

Several studies demonstrated the essential role of peace education in peacebuilding to achieve a peaceful society after intractable conflict (Johnson & Johnson, 2006; Harris & Morrison, 2012; Bar-Tal & Rosen; 2014; Lauritzen, 2016; Tinker, 2016; Cremin & Bevington, 2017; Harber, 2018; Hymel & Darwich, 2018; Cromwell, 2019; Bar-Tal et al. 2020; Abdi, 2020). They argue peace education can promote generations to a culture of peace, coexistence, and reconciliation that emerge from the long-term peacebuilding process. According to Smith et al. (2011), peace education is needed to support transformation processes related to changes in security, political institutions, economic regeneration, and social development within post-conflict societies. Therefore, it needs to be operated in three types. The first is a humanitarian response, which

prioritizes children's protection and responses to the negative impacts of conflict on their education. The second is conflict-sensitive education that 'does no damage' and ensures that education does not reinforce inequalities. The third is education and peacebuilding, which tends to reform and contribute to political, economic, and social transformations in a post-conflict society. From 1989 to 2005, only 11 of 37 peace agreements defined education as a critical aspect to be addressed and used as a tool for peacebuilding (Tinker, 2016). Similarly, the 2005 Aceh Peace Agreement, whereby education has been denied as an important part of peacebuilding. Therefore, it is important for this research to analyze the policies of the Aceh government in implementing peace education at the secondary schools.

Research Questions

As it has been discussed above, this study aims to address the following research questions:

1. How does the Aceh government's policy respond to the implementation of peace education at the secondary schools post-armed conflict in Aceh?
2. How does the implication of Aceh Government's policy on the implementing peace education at the secondary school?

Literature Review

Definition of peace education

Experts defined peace education differently overtimes. Tinker (2016) found some similar names for peace education, such as anti-nuclearism education, international understanding, citizenship, global education, environmental responsibility, communication skills, conflict resolution, critical pedagogy, life skills, democracy, gender coexistence and equality, human rights awareness, peacebuilding, and diversity tolerance. In addition, some peacebuilders involved the spiritual dimension of inner harmony, and this has increasingly recognized that a broader and more holistic approach to peace education is urgently needed (Clarke-Habibi, 2005). International actors use the latest concept of peace education as a peacebuilding tool for future generations to learn the right strategies needed to handle conflict without violence and to ultimately maintain a culture of peace (Ajaps & Obiagu, 2020; Rahmadi, et al., 2020; Tinker, 2016).

Harris and Morrison (2012) defined peace education as philosophy and a process involving listening, reflection, problem-solving, cooperation, and conflict resolution skills. According to Assegaf (2016), peace education is a process that empowers the community to ensure they can overcome conflicts or problems creatively without violence. Ni'mah (2019) reported that peace

education is directed towards developing human personality, respecting their rights, fundamental freedoms, mutual understanding, tolerance, and friendship with all nations, races, and inter-groups, leading to peace.

Furthermore, Asamonye et al. (2014); (Ofoegbu & Alonge, 2020) stated that peace education is a process of acquiring values, knowledge, and skills needed to develop attitudes and behavior for one to live in harmony with oneself, others, and the natural environment. Besides, Asamonye et al. (2014) defined it as a deliberate attempt to educate children and adults in conflict dynamics and promote peacemaking skills in homes, schools, and communities. It is used to create, maintain and manage positive attitudes towards peace among various levels and segments of society. This is similar to Ikechukwu (2014), which identified peace education as a process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values needed to bring about behavioral changes that would enable children, youth, and adults to prevent and resolve issues related to conflict and violence and create a conducive environment.

Furthermore, Smith and Ellison (2015) defined peace education through three educational functions in peacebuilding, as follows:

1. Education as a Peace Dividend: Education restoration services lead to public confidence in the capabilities of the state; hence, people tend to benefit from peace. However, it makes a positive contribution to peacebuilding, assuming it benefits all elements of society somewhat. Even educational provisions insensitive to local contexts are seen as coercion by the Government capable of undermining trust in the state with negative impacts.
2. Education Governance and Reform: Good governance across educational sectors creates excellent conditions for managing conflict constructively and addressing horizontal inequalities between groups. Therefore, it is necessary to balance power and function between the central Government and the decentralized regions.
3. Education as an Entry Point for Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding: Social services education provides an entry point for addressing the underlying causes of conflict. Education programs have been examined as providing protection, overcoming inequality and redistribution, social cohesion, and transitional reconciliation and justice.

These definitions promoted peacemakers and activists to emphasize the importance of peace education. Therefore, presently, peace education is seen by policymakers as one of the precursors in ensuring the stability and health of a country, especially when it involves multicultural

communities with various aspects of their background and educational level (Lafer & Tarman, 2019; Price, 2019; Tannous & Oueijan, 2011).

The Contents of Peace education

Brock (2011) stated that the post-conflict context provides an opportunity for educational agents to adopt a fundamentally new approach to peacebuilding. One way of directing education by adopting the literature on post-conflict reconstruction (Akulluezati et al., 2011). Therefore, (Harber, 2018; Higgins & Novelli, 2020; Novelli et al., 2014) stated that education is an essential means of supporting the transformation of society after an armed conflict. In addition, a divided society works towards peace; hence, it is widely recognized that education plays an essential role in fermenting community divisions or helping socio-political change, thereby leading to the reconstruction of community relations (Gill & Niens, 2014).

Bajaj (2016) stated that a critical aspect of educational transformation is introducing new subjects into the curriculum to create more peaceful individuals and societies. The peace education curriculum must cover seven core competencies, namely (1) critical thinking and analysis, (2) empathy and solidarity, (3) individual and collective bodies, (4) participatory and democratic engagement, (5) innovative education and communication strategies, (6) conflict resolution skills, and (7) continuous reflective exercise. Meanwhile, Cunningham (2014) reported that peace education requires subject matter for developing self-awareness and self-control. This is useful in building sympathy for others, sensitivity, and developing cooperation skills. In the conflict or post-conflict era, peace education needs to be directed to change the mindset of groups, mutual understanding, and responsibility for the suffering of others.

Furthermore, Bajaj and Hantzopoulos (2016) reported that peace education is not limited to subject curricula; instead, it requires a broader transformation of content, pedagogy, structure, educational practices, relationships between educators and students, and educational outcomes measurement systems. Its curriculum is necessary and insufficient because it also needs to determine the best strategies to manage schools according to the way teachers and students behave. Furthermore, content and teaching methods throughout the curriculum need to reflect competence, peaceful behavior, democratic, inclusive, and participatory values.

Some Challenges of Peace Education

Conflict is one of the main challenges in implementing peace education. According to Novelli et al. (2014), most warring parties do not always accept peace education in conflict-affected areas.

However, this education type is termed unnecessary in situations whereby the governments blame the conflict on other groups. Therefore, the principles of peace education are incompatible with the dominant ethos and structure of the school (Higgins & Novelli, 2020). Harber & Sakade (2009) stated that an authoritarian environment, driven by an assessment system in most schools, is not the right place for peace education to develop and prosper. Therefore, sometimes formal schools are not seen as the best means of developing peace education because there is a mismatch in the values and practices necessary for peacebuilding. This is in line with the physical punishment widely used due to the occurrence of educational practice (Harber, 2014).

Many students reject peace education because teacher-centered and dominant pedagogy is prevalent in schools (Zembylas et al., 2016). Several teachers do not receive peace education training; hence they are unskilled and indisposed to teach controversial issues needed in the classroom (Harber & Mncube, 2012). Furthermore, it is difficult to assess the impact and outcomes of this subject, which is generally about skills, values, and behaviors than knowledge (Harber & Sakade, 2009). According to Jäger (2015), peace education is faced with the challenges of making education programs and systems sensitive to conflict. It is in the context of conflict-sensitive education, which is defined as a process with three core elements, namely (1) Understanding the context in which education takes place, (2) Analyzing the two-way interaction between the context and educational programs and policies (development, planning, and delivery), and (3) Acting to minimize and maximize negative and positive impacts of education policies, respectively.

The Role of Peace Education

Education in post-conflict situations assists in changing the structures and strengthening the positive role by promoting expansion, equality, and different content of education to address the underlying causes of conflicts. This process needs long-term education programs and a more complex approach to transform the education system (Novelli & Cardozo, 2008). According to Novelli & Smith (2011), education is essential for peacebuilding. UNESCO's Education for All Global Monitoring Report stated that "Intra-state armed conflict is often associated with grievance and perceived injustices linked to identity, faith, ethnicity, and region. Education makes a difference in all these areas, thereby tipping the balance in favor of peace or conflict." UNESCO has affirmed that education contributes to peace because "No country hopes to live in peace and prosperity unless it builds mutual trust among its citizens. This starts from the classroom, and

schools need to be seen as places to spread the most important skills, such as tolerance, mutual respect, and the ability to live peacefully with others" (Lerch & Buckner, 2018; Smith, 2010).

In addition, King (2011) stated that schools contribute to peacebuilding and conflict prevention by restoring normality and helping to hope for a brighter future. Therefore, teachers play an essential role in transforming the structure of society, especially in post-conflict contexts (Lopes Cardozo & Hoeks, 2015; Shepler, 2011). Furthermore, Bevington et al. (2020); (Emkic, 2018) stated that the education sector is a crucial component in peacebuilding efforts and the initial recovery of a country experiencing conflict. Therefore, it is imperative to continue to provide education during emergencies as part of an early recovery strategy. Therefore, on this basis, education is defined as a sector used as part of a strategy to strengthen peace. A trend has emerged towards better integration in several post-conflict countries for poverty reduction and its peacebuilding strategy. According to Smith Ellison (2014), there are five rationalizations of the role of education for peacebuilding, namely (1) it provides training skills other than violence, (2) protects children, (3) helps rebuild normality, (4) helps make up the missing foundations, and (5) contributes to social transformation.

Method

Research Design

This research used a case study design to address the research problem with a qualitative approach. Creswell and Creswell (2017) noted that qualitative research is an approach used to explore and understand the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem.

The case study design was considered proper to examine the research problem, because, it helps the researchers to investigate phenomenon in depth. It describes the phenomenon from the participants' point of view and analyzes the documents without researchers' intervention. In addition, the researchers can follow the chronological flow of events concerning the research problems (Creswell & Poth, 2016). In completing this study, its data had been partly benefited from a research project funded by the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education of Indonesia in 2018 and 2019.

Participants

The research participant in a case study could be a program, an event, an activity, a person, or a group of people. In this study, the participants were officials from the Government educational

bureau and the secondary schools who had the authority to carry out the peace education. They were selected by purposive sampling that to be interviewed in their offices in East Aceh and Aceh Province, Indonesia.

The primary data were obtained from 17 participants, consisting of the head of the Aceh Education Bureau Curriculum sub-division, Head of East Aceh District Education Bureau, five secondary school principals, ten religious teachers and civic education teachers respectively. The principals and teachers of respective Senior High School, Vocational High School, and Religious High School, Madrasah Aliyah.

The researchers first contacted the authorized person of Education Bureau to meet the participants at schools easily. The former also used social networks to meet the latter for interviews. The characteristics and demography of the participants are shown in table 1.

Table 1.

The characteristics and demography of the participants

No	Position	Frequency	Location
1	Head of the Aceh Education Bureau curriculum sub-division	1	Aceh Province – Banda Aceh
2	Head of East Aceh District Education Office	1	East Aceh
3	School principal	2	Senior High School
		2	Vocational High School
4	Religion education teacher	1	Religious High School (Madrasah Aliyah)
		5	Senior High School (SMA Darul Aman and SMA Rantau Selamat), Vocational High School (SMK I Peureulak and SMK Taman Fajar), and Religious High School (Madrasah Aliyah I) - East Aceh
5	Civic education teacher	5	Senior High School (SMA Darul Aman and SMA Rantau Selamat), Vocational High School (SMK I Peureulak and SMK Taman Fajar), and Religious High School (Madrasah Aliyah I) - East Aceh

Data Collection Tools

In qualitative research, the researcher is the human instrument (Wa-Mbaleka, 2019). It means the researcher plays the main role in data collection. The study used an unstructured interview (in-depth interview) guide, in which researchers were attentive to what the interviewees said and

responded with follow-up questions and probes. thus, the researchers designed the interview guide and involved directly in the field to collect data from the participants—the interview guide used as the supporting instrument for data collection. The interview guide is an essential instrument for the researchers to ensure that all critical issues were included in the conversation. A few examples of guide questions are given below:

1. We are from Malikussaleh University Lhokseumawe, my name is...and this is my friend, his name is....May we know your name and position?
2. Does Aceh have a special education model after the peace agreement?
3. Is it important to implement peace education in the secondary schools in Aceh?
4. To support peacebuilding, what is the appropriate Aceh education system?
5. What has been done to implement peace education at the secondary schools in Aceh?
6. What do you think about the peace education program implemented by non-government organizations in Aceh?
7. Why was the program not adopted as peace education in Aceh schools?
8. How do schools in East Aceh implement peace education to support peacebuilding?
9. Does your school carry out peace education?

Besides the interview guide, the researchers also equipped themselves with field note instruments to write and record the conversation, such as a pen, notebook, and smart recorder. Pen and notebook were used to write in short what the interviewees' responses related to research questions. Meanwhile, a smart recorder was a smart phone recorder used to record whole conversations during the interview.

Data Collection

The data were collected through face-to-face unstructured interviews with the consent of participants. It consisted of open-ended questions related to the research topic. As the conversation run naturally, the researchers recorded all responses, while at the same time wrote down the main points deemed essential and relevant to the research. This way made easier for the researchers to transcribe data upon the completion of the interview.

In addition, this study also used a document analysis technique to attain secondary data that addressed the research problems. The data were searched via the google and google scholar, such as document reports, research reports, and journal articles. The primary documents of this study included the Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of

Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement, Aceh Government Regulation (Qanun Aceh) on education after the peace agreement, research reports on Aceh education reform, and research article on peace education in Aceh post-conflict. These data were mainly used to look at peace education chances and the Aceh government's policies on the implementation of peace education in formal schools.

Data Analysis

This study adopted the data analysis technique developed by Creswell (2013). The latter argued that, the data analysis process commonly used in qualitative research were firstly, preparing and organizing the data (i.e., text data as in transcripts, or image data as in photographs). Secondly, the data were reduced into themes by coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables, or a discussion. However, Creswell has modified a spiral of qualitative data analysis of three previous well-known qualitative researchers (Madison, 2005; Huberman and Miles, 1994; Wolcott, 1994), into the four steps spiral analysis model, see figure 1.

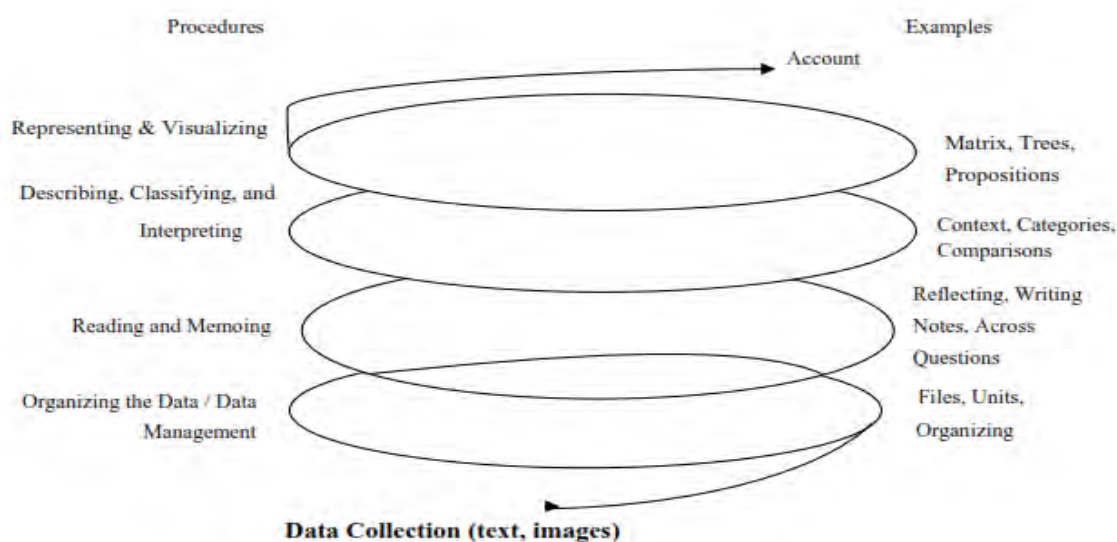


Figure 1. The Data Analysis Spiral

- Step 1: Organizing the Data or Data Management. The researcher organized the data into computer files. Besides, the researcher converted the files to appropriate text units (words and sentences) in word document transcripts.
- Step 2: Reading and Memoing. The researcher read the transcripts in entirety several times to get a sense of the information and ideas from the participants before dividing them into parts, and then wrote notes or memos in the margins of transcripts.
- Step 3: Describing, Classifying, and Interpreting Data. The researcher described the data into detailed descriptions by segmenting sentences into categories and then coded those categories based on themes. In addition, the researcher interpreted the themes in light of views of researchers and literature to have a general description.
- Step 4: Representing and Visualizing the Data. The researchers represented the data found in the text and tabular (the description of the themes) into the narrative passages to make propositions and discussion.

Findings

The Aceh government's policy response to the implementation of peace education

The success of the implementation of peace education in formal schools requires political support in the form government policies that reflect the potential opportunities contained in the Aceh peace agreement, the LoGA, and peace education programs of the civil society organizations. These aspects were categorized into two policies that considered the normative and sociological chances. In the normative context, the chance for the implementation of peace education is not only reflected in the Aceh peace agreement through the fulfillment of human rights for the people of Aceh, but also in the LoGA that postulates that, the Aceh education must adapt the local community's characteristics, potential, and needs. The LoGA expressively provides a hope for comprehensive education reform in Aceh, as one of an autonomous region with special privileges.

Peace education is considered to be urgent for Aceh to build a peaceful society after such a protracted conflict. According to the participant of the Aceh education bureau - the head of the curriculum unit- that, the Aceh government has tried to develop the curriculum that reflects the uniqueness of Aceh, including the peace education, but only the Acehnese language has been realized. It is because of the ministerial decree that, that all schools have to implement the Education Unit Level Curriculum (KTSP) and the 2013 Curriculum throughout Indonesia. He further said that:

"Actually, since 2014, the Aceh Government has started the process of designing the local wise curriculum, but it was stopped/delayed in 2015, because of the financial wise. Only in 2017, the curriculum was reorganized and completed it in October 2018, for it was targeted to be disseminated in November of the same year. It was planned to be implemented in several schools as a pilot project in 2019. This curriculum is called the Aceh Curriculum, which encompasses Islamic education, peace education, and Acehnese local wisdom."

Similarly, Zainal (2016), by quoting the Head of Aceh Education Bureau's statement argued that, peace education had been discussed and debated among stakeholders of Aceh education, but there was no decision and a clear implementation mechanism. Even some teachers believed that religious education and moral beliefs (*aqidah-akhlak*) have covered the peace education, or else, it can be taught in a local wise subject, such as Acehnese Cultural History.

Accordingly, the Government of Aceh has tried to design a new Aceh education curriculum as mandated by the peace agreement and the LoGA. The Governor of Aceh strongly committed to implement peace education at all levels of formal schools throughout Aceh. It is reflected in his saying that "The Aceh government wished to incorporate Aceh history and peace agreement into the education curriculum, from elementary to senior high school" (Zainal et al., 2020).

However, the curriculum reflects more on implementing Islamic education in Aceh rather than peace education specifically. The Government's policy regarding Aceh education which is articulated in Aceh regulations (Qanun Aceh) reflects that education reform in Aceh is more about strengthening Islamic education. As a result, the main education stakeholders in the district, such as education officials and teachers in schools, do not understand peace and its relationship with education. Some teachers interviewed do not understand peace education, and some teachers even understand peace in term of a peace agreement. For instance, a teacher at a secondary school asked the researcher, "what is peace education? I have only heard about it now." Moreover, another East Aceh Education Office participant stated that "Aceh is now peaceful, so peace education is less relevant to be implemented in schools. In East Aceh, there have never been brawls between students.

The regulatory policies of the Aceh government in responding to normative chances for the implementation of peace education were summarized in table 2.

Table 2.
Normative chances and Aceh Government's policies

The Chances		The Policies	
MoU Helsinki	LoGA	Qanun Aceh (Aceh Regulations)	Practices
Point 1.4.2, the legislature of Aceh redrafts the legal code for the community based on the universal principles of human rights on Civil and Political Rights and Economic and Social and Cultural Rights.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Article 16/2/c, the Aceh government is obliged to provide quality education and add local content according to Islamic law. Article 215, the education system in the Aceh is united with the national standard, which is adapted to the local community's characteristics, potential, and needs. Article 216/ (1) and (2), every Acehnese has the right to quality and Islamic Education in line with science and technology developments. Education is carried out based on the principles of democracy and justice by upholding human rights, Islamic values, culture, and national diversity. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Qanun, Aceh number 5/2008, the education system implemented in Aceh is based on the national standard that is modified by integrating Islamic values. Qanun Aceh number 11/2014, the Education in Aceh is based on Islam and conducted in line with the national standard. Qanun Aceh number 9/2015 amends and affirms the implementation of the Aceh Islamic Curriculum. Qanun Aceh number 6/2015 on <i>Badan Reintegrasi Aceh</i> (BRA - Aceh Reintegration Office), education is one of the sectors handled by BRA, which works on the peace issue. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The Aceh Government had programs similar to peace education carried out by the Culture and Tourism Department. In 2012, it held a workshop to build teachers, communities, and youth's capacity on peace education and culture in all districts and cities in Aceh. Aceh Mid-term Development Plans (2012-2017) stated that Islamic Education covers all aspects of human life, including physical, mental, faiths, morals, emotional, aesthetic, and social aspects. In 2018, the Aceh government launched an Islamic Curriculum in Aceh following the National Curriculum with additional compulsory subjects related to Islamic Education, which includes the Qur'an and <i>hadith</i>, faith and morals, Islamic law, the history of Islam, and Arabic language. At the end of 2019, the Aceh Reintegration Agency (BRA), in collaboration with the Aceh Education Office, initiated the Aceh Peace Education Syllabus writing. This syllabus covers the history of the Aceh conflict, resolution, conception of peace, reintegration, post-conflict reconciliation, and the importance of negotiation and diplomacy. The Government planned to implement the syllabus through local content lessons in 2020.

Table 2 shows that Aceh Peace Agreement (MoU Helsinki) gives a chance for peace education through human rights concepts. The LoGA confirms it by adding a framework with Islamic values, Acehnese culture, needs, and Indonesian diversity. However, the Government responded it by Qanun that only confirms the conduction of Islamic values in line with the national educational

system. Meanwhile, peace education was explicitly carried out by Aceh Reintegration Office, authorized to reintegrate various programs and activities to strengthen peace (article 14 (h) Qanun Aceh Number 6/2015).

Based on the facts, this study argues that the Government is not seriously in implementing peace education; instead it prefer to the launching of the Aceh Islamic Curriculum, which does not encompass peace education and the local history. It is arguably that being an autonomous region, Aceh has been given a chance to construct Islamic identity in the education system's new context. Teachers are required to integrate faiths, morals, and Sharia into every subject (Junaidi, 2020; Nazir, 2017). Despite of Thalal (2010) argument that peace education needs to be urgently implemented to guarantee the sustainability of peace, they denied the peace education. Peace education targets all segments of the community, namely the ex-combatants, government officers, the military, and the civilians. Teachers and students belong to a civilian group at school and employ multicultural education to address ethnicity and ethnic diversities in Aceh.

Furthermore, in a sociological context, the policies of the Aceh government in responding to implement peace education are also explained through sociological chances based on the supports of civil society in implementing peace education. Through the curriculum unit of the education bureau, the Aceh government admitted that many organizations had taken a role in post-conflict peace education in Aceh. The participant stated that:

"We really appreciate the programs of civil society organizations in assisting the task of the Aceh government in building and restoring post-conflict Aceh. However, they proposed their respective concepts and programs to be adopted by the Government into the school curriculum. For example, an organization working in human rights proposed human rights education, environmental organizations said that environmental education needs to be adopted in the curriculum, and organizations engaged in peace education said that peace education is crucial to be implemented in schools. There were even organizations that suggested anti-drug education should be adopted into the Aceh education curriculum. So if all these concepts must be included in curriculum, it is very burdensome for students. We think that Islamic education already represents all the concepts of education."

Base on above description, the Aceh government is actually very supportive to peace education programs, including environmental education, human rights, and anti-drugs, which can strengthen

peace education. However, due to students' burden, Islamic education is considered adequate for peace education.

A similar thing has also been emphasized in introductory books or peace education modules compiled by civil society organizations, such as UNICEF and Peace Generation. The Aceh government appreciated the peace education program of non-governmental organizations. It was shown in the foreword of the peace education books or modules that guide the organization in carrying out the program. This is as described in table 3

Table 3.

Sociological chance and Aceh Government's policies

The Chances	The Policies
Supports of Civil Society and Education Institutions	Recognition and Hopes
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. During (2001) and after (2006) the conflict, UNICEF supported developing a pilot peace education course for secondary school students based on local cultural and Islamic values. 2. Since 2007, Peace Generation has cooperated with International and National Nongovernment organizations to train teachers and youths to teach peace in schools and communities. 3. In 2010, nine universities in Aceh collaborated to develop a conflict resolution education curriculum. 4. In 2015, universities throughout Aceh agreed to form a Network for Peace. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. After carefully examining this Peace Education Curriculum, the Head of the Regional Office of the National Education Department of Aceh fully supported its implementation as a pilot project for Secondary School during the 2001/2002 academic year. They hoped that peace education targeting public high schools in the province contributes to realizing a lasting solution to the conflict hampering Aceh. 2. Aceh Governor stated a foreword in publishing a book of 12 values of peace and stated that these values need to be taught to students with the possibility of reaching to all groups. Therefore, the expected parties need to support the implementation of the peace education program.

Table 3 shows a strong will from civil society to implement peace education in formal schools. Their concepts and programs are suitable and recognized by the Government throughout the region. Sociologically, civil society plays an essential role in supporting and enabling Aceh Government to implement peace education in secondary school. However, the Government only appreciated their activities by rhetoric statements, and consequently, after their programs ended in 2019, the Government failed to follow it up, as explained in the previous section.

Several teachers who were trained about peace education admit that the concept of peace education taught and practiced by NGOs is important and relevant to be implemented in schools throughout

Aceh. The latter further explain that the material is in accordance with Islamic values and Acehese culture. A religious teacher whom UNICEF trained in 2008 said that after receiving training in peace education in 2008, the modules given to him were taught in religious subjects. According to him, the materials of the peace education module have represented religious subject matter, especially faith and morals. Therefore, he argues that the peace education module is fundamental for every teacher who teaches religious subjects, especially for *aqidah-akhlak* (faiths and morals) subject. In this case, the participants mentioned: "The education module distributed by UNICEF was complete specifically for *akidah-akhlak* material, and it was in accordance with the cultural values of the Acehese."

The Curriculum for Peace Education of UNICEF in 2002 consisted of the following six chapters.

1. Introspection and sincerity, with the scope including "I look at myself," "I manage anger," "I am sorry and sincere," "me and my attitude," and "your mouth is your tiger."
2. Rights and Obligations, with the scope including "me and Education," "us and extortion," and "the state is our responsibility."
3. The Plurality of Creation, with the scope including "me and nature," "we live in diversity," and "we are different and the same."
4. Conflict and violence, with the scope, we are enemies to conflict, social inequality, and drugs.
5. Democracy and justice, with the scope we negotiate, social peace, and democracy, with respect to the law and economic justice.
6. The scope related the way to a peaceful family by craving solutions to problems in love and peace.

The module was revised in 2006 with a manual entitled "*Aqidah Akhlaq*" Curriculum in the Context of Peace Education, covered eleven chapters as follows:

1. The Qur'an is a mirror of my life, with subchapters, such as "I love the Quran," "the Qur'an is our guidelines," "the Qur'an and the humanitarian approach," "the Qur'an of the universe," and "me and nature."
2. The prophet is My Idol, with the following subchapters, "My prophet is a selected man," "we are progressors of the prophet's message," "my nature is zuhud," "we keep the mandate," and "I am sorry and sincere."

3. Science and charity, with subchapters, including “why the tsunami,” “the impact of the tsunami and our solidarity,” “is there compassion among us,” “let us respect others,” and “we are doomed.”
4. Practice and the day of justice, with subchapters including “our deeds positive or negative,” “let's reach the reward,” “death very close,” “doomsday comes,” and “heaven Yes, No hell.”
5. Negativity Adverse the Nation, with subchapters, such as “slander threatens our peace,” “my people were destroyed because of corruption,” “collusion and nepotism,” “I reject hedonistic and materialistic,” and “is our mutual help wrong?”
6. Life skills, with subchapters, including “we are educated teenagers,” “let's be a wise person,” “we are the visionary generation,” “let's be a teen leader,” and “I have self-esteem.”
7. Rights and Obligations, with subchapters, including “our rights and duties,” “we live in diversity,” and “we are different but the same.”
8. What's with the media, with subchapters including “educating our media?” “my favorite broadcast on television,” and “watching violence is saddening.”
9. The Problems of Contemporary Youth, with subchapters including “free sex, no way,” “Pornography drops our pride,” “Drug is my enemy,” and “depression is not my best friend.”
10. Introspection and Self-concept, with subchapters including “I look up,” “do not be afraid and anxious,” “Manage anger, strengthen yourself in grief, and attitude.”
11. Conflict and peace, with subchapters including “me and conflict,” “your mouth is your tribe,” “we manage conflict,” “we are democratic,” “we love peace,” and “religion is peace.”

In addition to that, Peace Generation Curriculum covers twelve aspects; Self Acceptance (I am Proud to be Me), Prejudice (No Suspicion, No Prejudice), Racism (Different Cultures, Still Friends), Religious Tolerance (Different Beliefs do not have to result in Enemies), Sexism (Both Males and Females are Human), Wealth and Poverty (Wealthy not Proud, Poor not Insecure), Gangs and Cliques (If you are a Gentleman you do not need to be in a Gang), Diversity (The Beauty of Diversity), Understanding Conflict (Conflict makes you more Mature), Violence (Use your Brains, not your Brawn), Asking for Forgiveness (Not to Proud to Admit Wrong), and Forgiving Others (Not Stingy in Giving forgiveness) (Rusyana, 2012a, 2012b).

However, these programs were evaluated. It was concluded that they possess numerous similarities, which are not sustainable due to a lack of government funding and failure to integrate it into a holistic curriculum reform process (UNICEF, 2014). Aceh Government prioritized the

implementation of the National Curriculum in 2013 and improved the quality of education. Therefore, peace education is "a discourse" among stakeholders and a priority of the Aceh education development." According to education stakeholders' peace education is better integrated into the subjects of social sciences, such as the natural sciences. Therefore, it does not add subjects in the curriculum structure that burdening students. Furthermore, the Aceh government paid more attention to making an Aceh Islamic Curriculum, which is implemented in line with the national curriculum, as shown in table 2.

In sum, the description above indicates that the Aceh government's policy in implementing peace education seems ambiguous. On the one hand, it wants peace education to be carried out in schools specifically and supports peace education programs carried out by non-governmental organizations. While on the other, the local regulations do not explain peace education. These regulations explain more about Aceh Islamic education and the implementation of the national curriculum.

The Implications of Aceh Government's policy on implementing peace education at secondary schools

The ambiguous policy of the Aceh government regarding the implementation of peace education in schools has implicated differences in understanding peace education among education stakeholders in the district, and resulting in different implementations of peace education at secondary schools. A public senior high school teacher stated, "It is important to teach peace education as a special subject separately, by adding subjects to the national curriculum. If the material of the peace education module is inserted into other subjects, it can only be absorbed 20-30 percent." Meanwhile, teachers at Vocational High Schools stated that "Religious education and citizenship education already include peace education in them. In addition, peace education can also be carried out through extracurricular activities such as scouting and Islamic arts and spiritual activities (such as joint Yasin recitation, speech, and Islamic studies)." The findings are detailed in table 4.

Table 4.*The Implications of Aceh Government's policies on Implementing Peace Education at Secondary School*

No.	The Implications of the Aceh Government's policies on peace education implementation
1	Some secondary schools teachers stated that peace education had been included not only in the religious and civic education, but also becoming part of extracurricular activities, including scouts, artistic, and Islamic grouped activities, such as reading al-Quran (<i>Surah Yasin</i>) together, public speaking, and other Islamic activities. They, therefore, believed that peace education as a subject that should not be taught in a particular way. What is more, Aceh is peaceful region.
2	Some secondary schools taught their students using the UNICEF Peace Education Curriculum. Teachers stated that religious subjects and civic education generally contained peace education. Hence, specific learning of peace education is strongly needed. Such as UNICEF peace education module is crucial for every teacher that teaches religious subjects, especially for faith and morals subjects.

- Table 4 shows different understanding with the implementation of peace education. Some schools perceived that peace education has to be conducted in a particular subject beside religious and civic education. While, they are schools that considered peace education is no longer needed, because it has been represented by religious and civic education.

Discussion, Conclusion and Implications

Based on the above findings, the Aceh government's policies are not in consistent with its perception of the important of peace education and its appreciation of the peace education programs implemented by civil society organizations. As it is reflected in the Qanun of Aceh regarding implementing education in Aceh after the armed conflict has not reflected a clear path for implementing peace education in Aceh. The Qanun further stipulates that education in Aceh is implemented following national education standards and Islamic values. Despite the fact that, Aceh post-conflict reality indicates the needs for peace education to build and maintain peace, so positive peace in Aceh can be realized. Davies (2016) argues that peace education enables to displace oppressive regimes and challenge the normalization of violence. It is similar to Buckland (2006); education has the potential to play a significant role both directly and indirectly in building peace. It restores countries to a positive development path and recovers the damage caused by civil war. Thus, peace education is an essential prerequisite for sustainable peace.

In addition, the study also shows that the terminology human rights represented the education element in a peace agreement cannot be the milestone for peace education to be implemented.

Similarly, the LoGA does not regulate specifically peace education to be implemented in the schools. The Government has interpreted education as limited to each citizen's basic social needs that must be met, but it fails to see the double sided implication of education, as the root cause of conflict and source of power to transform conflict sustainably. Consequently, the relevant peace education frameworks to Acehnese culture and subjective values initiated by NGOs had limited transformation effects on building positive peace in Aceh.

The findings are in line with Lauritzen (2013) that peace education is not initially grounded in national policy, and perceptions of irrelevance are two reasons for lack of motivation and an unwillingness to implement peace education in schools. The findings are also in accordance with Harber (2019), who stated that most empirical evidence of peace education implementation is negative in the light of political contexts, which are not supportive. Some peace education projects show the possibility of activities carried out with little or no evidence of systemic transformation. Furthermore, this study argues that human rights concepts cannot be the proper foundation for post-conflict education reform to implement peace education. It needs to be initially grounded, clearly and explicitly stated in a peace agreement, and then restated in the law following the agreement as a mandate that requires the provincial government to make policies that encourage the implementation of peace education in schools. Dupuy (2008) and Poppema (2009) argued that the educational policies of former conflict states should be transformed depending on the agreements, such as the history and the causes of the war, as well as on the conflicting interests of the actors involved. Such this path was used in resolving a violent conflict in Colombia. Morales (2021) stated the Colombian Government and the guerrilla group *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias* de Colombia (FARC) – the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia reached a peace agreement, and education was set to be essential to promote peaceful relationships among young people and foster their active engagement in society. Accordingly, the Colombian Government created a peace and citizenship education course. It was called a Peace Lecture, and the course had a positive impact on the communities.

Nevertheless, this study does not question why the education aspect was not clearly regulated in the Aceh peace agreement. According to Dupuy (2008), there are three reasons an agreement has not included education as an essential aspect for long-term peacebuilding. Firstly, education is frequently viewed as a developmental rather than a humanitarian issue that needs to be addressed outside the peacemaking process. Secondly, individuals and parties involved in peacemaking

processes are more concerned with the immediate cessation of direct violence and satisfying the demands of warring parties for a piece of the political pie than outlining long-term educational and sociopolitical reforms and responses. Finally, the conflict is classified as an identity, secessionist, revolutionary, or factional. Moreover, educational specialists are not present during a peacemaking process, with education playing an essential role in the conflict outbreak.

Consequently, the Aceh government's policies regarding peace education have implications on different models of peace education implementation at secondary schools. In East Aceh, for instance, secondary schools have implemented peace education in their perspectives. Some schools include peace education in religious and civic education. They view that peace education also has been conducted through extracurricular activities. In such a case, the goal of peace education cannot be achieved optimally; bring about behavior changes that enable children, youth, and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural, and resolve conflict peacefully. What is more, to create a conducive and peaceful environment at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national, or international level (Das & Das, 2014; Eliasa et al., 2019). Thus, it is challenging for the Acehnese to have positive peace, social, economic, political, and environment/ecology relationships (Navarro-Castro & Nario-Galace, 2010) and a spiritual dimension in their personality (Lederach, 2015).

It is undeniable that civic and religious education contain peaceful values, such as tolerance, empathy, democracy, justice and equality, fraternal, integrity, humanity, unity, solidarity, and ecology (Baidhawiy, 2014; Darolia, 2020; Saputri, 2018; Sumardjoko & Musyiam, 2018; White, 2020; Wulandari, 2018). Somehow, peace education is related to material that includes peaceful values and attitudes, behaviors, and skills to peacefully respond and solve problems to meet the interests and needs. All these are integrated into the process, learning methods, and the school environment as well as the socio-cultural context of the community. The process of teaching these values is more effectively carried out by learning the local culture and wisdom (Ritiau, 2017; Sumardjoko & Musyiam, 2018). This is in line with Hamid et al. (2020), which model of citizenship education learning in schools to achieve the literacy skills of citizenship culture and the ethos of peace in students on strengthening local culture, which is a strategic choice. Therefore, learning peace education represented by civic and religious education is less precise. It needs to be combined with other lessons or taught separately, especially regarding conflicts and their resolution models. Formal education is the vital space for learning to accept diversity in society

and develop inclusive competence and skills among children, which are crucial to maintaining social solidarity, cohesion, and social peace (Fontana, 2016).

Based on the above discussion, this study argues that, although the human right is an important part of the peace agreement, it does not empower the Aceh government to reform the education system that make a path for peace education to be implemented optimally. The central government restricted the Aceh government from converting its education system into a medium for long-term conflict transformation. It is similar to Fontana (2016), who stated that the decentralization and power-sharing model adopted after the conflict does not promote region actors to design and deliver educational services that contribute to long-term conflict management. However, Fontana did not link his argument to the peace agreement. Thus, this study highlights that a peace agreement needs to arrange peace education concepts to encourage decentralized governments to make policies in formal peace education implementation. Then it should be followed by a central government regulation that explicitly describes the reform of the education system in the formerly provinces of civil conflict.

In the light of the discussions above, this study emphasizes that less obvious educational setting in the peace agreement (e.g., human rights concept for education reform) has implications for education reform policies that do not support the implementation of peace education in a particular way in schools although a former conflict province is granted special autonomy, such as Aceh. As a result, education stakeholders in schools implement peace education following their perspective in strengthening the national curriculum and ignoring the primary function of education in conflict-affected society to transform the conflict into a positive peace.

This study, however, has some limitations in explaining local government policies in implementing peace education. Firstly, with respect to participant, the governor of Aceh, as the holder of regional authority, was not selected to be one of the interviewees, regarding the authority of Aceh government in reforming national education in relation to Aceh. Therefore, future research needs to be carried out to examine why the Indonesian Government does not consider peace education an essential element to build a peaceful society in post-conflict provinces. Further studies need to consider why Aceh Government failed to follow up the NGOs' peace education concepts, including Islamic values and Acehnese culture.

The study suggests that, the Indonesian Government should give a chance for the Aceh Government to make a policy that supports peace education that would be implemented at schools

in Aceh. In so doing, firstly, teachers need to be trained regularly for their capacity building and competent in transforming conflict, mitigating violence, and addressing adversaries among students and the community. Finally, the curriculum must compose of knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills of peace education to enhance students' understanding of their roles as peacebuilders in society.

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