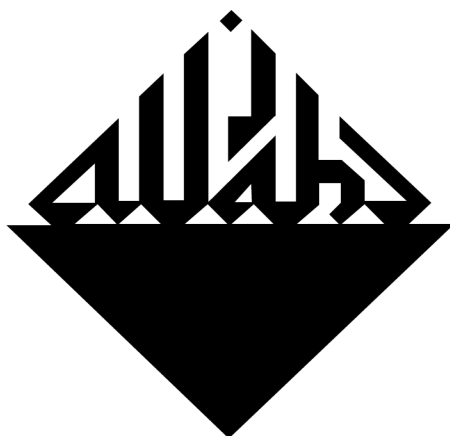


# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 19, Number 1, 2012



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LINKING IDENTITY TO COLLECTIVE ACTION:  
ISLAM, HISTORY AND ETHNICITY IN THE ACEH CONFLICT

Mohammad Hasan Ansori

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THE ROOTS OF THE WRITING TRADITION  
OF ḤADĪTH WORKS IN NUSANTARA:  
*HIDĀYĀT AL-ḤABĪB* BY NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ

Oman Fathurahman

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EDUCATION, YOUNG ISLAMISTS  
AND INTEGRATED ISLAMIC SCHOOLS IN INDONESIA

Noorhaidi Hasan

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# **STUDIA ISLAMIKA**



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Noorhaidi Hasan

## Education, Young Islamists and Integrated Islamic Schools in Indonesia

**Abstrak:** Sekolah Islam terpadu tumbuh menjadi tren baru dalam dinamika sistem pendidikan nasional di Indonesia. Dikembangkan generasi muda Islamis yang terinspirasi pemikiran-pemikiran Hasan al-Banna, pendiri Ikhwan al-Muslimin, dan ideolog-ideolog Islamis lainnya, sekolah Islam terpadu memberikan penekanan khusus pada subjek-subjek keagamaan dasar, seperti teologi ('aqidah), moralitas (akhlāq), dan praktik ibadah ('ibādah).

Salah satu alasan di balik pertumbuhan sekolah Islam terpadu adalah respons atas kekecewaan yang meningkat terhadap sistem pendidikan nasional, yang telah lama dirasakan tidak memadai dalam memenuhi tuntutan kekinian. Hal ini terutama berkait dengan kemajuan ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi. Sistem pendidikan nasional juga dianggap gagal membentuk moralitas siswa dan melindungi mereka dari ancaman narkoba, pergaulan bebas, dan kekerasan. "Kepanikan moral" ini terutama mempengaruhi masyarakat perkotaan yang langsung menyaksikan dampak modernisasi dan globalisasi bagi kehidupan mereka. Berdasarkan latar belakang inilah wacana kebutuhan mengkombinasikan ilmu pengetahuan dengan pendekatan moralitas keislaman mulai bergema. Wacana ini meniscayakan ilmu pengetahuan sebagai jalan memahami secara rasional eksistensi Tuhan, dan membentuk landasan kemajuan ekonomi dan harmoni sosial masyarakat.

Meski tidak seluruhnya bernaung di bawah Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu (JSIT) yang berafiliasi dengan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), sekolah Islam terpadu kerap diidentikkan dengan partai bentukan kader-kader gerakan tarbiyah di kampus-kampus universitas. Minat kader-kader PKS mengembangkan sekolah Islam terpadu tumbuh seiring ambisi

partai itu untuk memperluas keanggotaan dan konstituensi, terutama dari generasi muda Muslim. Sekolah ini tampaknya diharapkan menjadi ladang perekrutan bagi kader-kader PKS masa depan, sekaligus membantu partai untuk memperluas basis dukungan. Strategi ini berjalan seiring upaya PKS mengembangkan organisasi-organisasi ekstra di sekolah-sekolah umum semisal Iqra Club, yang aktif dalam mengorganisasi program-program keislaman, maupun unit-unit kerohanian Islam (Rohis) yang juga aktif mempromosikan ide-ide ideolog Islamis. Fenomena ini kerap dianggap sebagai ancaman terhadap keberlangsungan sistem pendidikan nasional yang mengedepankan pluralisme dan multikulturalisme.

Tumbuh di tengah iklim perubahan, sekolah Islam terpadu ternyata memperkuat tren pengintegrasian agama dan modernitas dalam sistem pendidikan nasional. Seiring proses demokratisasi yang berlangsung pascakejatuhan rezim Soeharto, sekolah ini berkembang menjadi saluran alternatif bagi generasi muda Islamis untuk terlibat dalam mengupayakan perubahan melalui sistem yang berlaku. Melalui pepaduan kurikulum nasional dengan pendidikan moral Islam, nilai-nilai dan kode tingkah laku Islami secara sistematis diintegrasikan ke dalam mata pelajaran-mata pelajaran umum dan keagamaan serta melalui kegiatan-kegiatan ekstrakurikuler. Sekolah Islam terpadu mengadopsi pendekatan pragmatis terhadap sistem sekuler dan sekaligus mengambil kesempatan untuk memajukan agenda Islamisme dalam kerangka sistem pendidikan dan situasi sosial-politik yang tengah berubah.

Artikel ini memperlihatkan bahwa ekspansi sekolah Islam terpadu menandai tumbuhnya kelas menengah Muslim baru yang berhasrat mengekspresikan identitas keagamaan sambil memperlihatkan status, kelas, dan selera sosial mereka sebagai Muslim yang modern dan bersentuhan erat dengan globalisasi. Dengan biaya yang mahal dan berbagai fasilitas yang ditawarkan, sekolah-sekolah Islam terpadu memberikan kebanggaan sosial kepada para orang tua dan sekaligus rasa identitas sebagai Muslim yang berkomitmen. Hal-hal yang bersifat praktis, seperti waktu bersekolah yang lebih lama (full-day system) yang memungkinkan orangtua untuk menitipkan putra-putri mereka di sekolah sehabis jam sekolah biasa juga menjadi alasan penting di balik keputusan banyak anggota kelas menengah di perkotaan melirik sekolah Islam terpadu. Di tengah meluasnya ekseseks-eksese kenakalan remaja dan pergaulan bebas, upaya memastikan putra-putri mereka berada pada tempat yang aman menjadi sangat penting bagi orang tua yang sibuk bekerja dan beraktivitas.



*Noorhaidi Hasan*

## Education, Young Islamists and Integrated Islamic Schools in Indonesia

**الخلاصة:** نشأت المدارس الإسلامية المتكاملة لتصبح اتجاهها جديدا في حركة نظام التعليم القومي باندونيسيا؛ فبفضل التطوير الذي قام به جيل المسلمين الشبان المستلهمين من أفكار حسن البنا مؤسس اخوان المسلمين، والمفكرين المسلمين الآخرين تركز اهتمام المدارس الإسلامية المتكاملة بصفة خاصة على الموضوعات الدينية الأساسية مثل العقيدة والأخلاق والعبادة.

من الأسباب الكامنة وراء نشوء المدارس الإسلامية المتكاملة هو موقف الاستياء المتنامي تجاه نظام التعليم القومي الذي طال عليه الأمد في عدم القدرة على الوفاء بالحاجات المعاصرة، وهذا يتعلق بصفة أخص بالتقدم العلمي والتكنولوجي؛ ويعد نظام التعليم القومي فاشلا أيضا في تشكيل أخلاقيات التلاميذ وحمايتهم من أخطار الإدمان والاختلاط الحر والعنف؛ وهذا الذعر يؤثر بدرجة كبيرة على المجتمعات في المدن حيث يشاهدون بشكل مباشر آثار التجديد والعولمة في حياتهم؛ وانطلاقا من هذه الخلفية بالذات بدأ يطفو على السطح خطاب عن الحاجة إلى دمج العلوم الحديثة بالمناهج الأخلاقية الإسلامية، وهذا الخطاب يؤكد على أن العلوم هي الطريق العقلي إلى فهم الوجود الإلهي وتشكيل الأساس الذي يبنى عليه التقدم الاقتصادي والانسجام الاجتماعي لدى المجتمع. ولئن لم يكن كلها تحت مظلة شبكة المدارس الإسلامية المتكاملة التي تنتمي إلى حزب العدالة والرفاهية إلا أن تلك المدارس المتكاملة تحدد بصلتها الوثيقة بذلك الحزب السياسي الذي أنشأته كوادر حركة التربية في الجامعات، فقد كانت رغبة كوادر الحزب في تطوير المدارس الإسلامية المتكاملة ينشأ مسيرا مع أطماع الحزب في توسيع رقعة أعضائه وأتباعه، خاصة من جيل الشبان المسلمين، يبدو أن هذه المدارس يرجى منها أن

تكون مراكز لتجنيد كوادر حزبية في المستقبل، وفي الوقت نفسه تساعد على توسيع قواعد التأييد، وهذه الاستراتيجية تسير ما جاهد الحزب من أجل تطوير منظمات إضافية لدى المدارس الحكومية مثل نادي اقرأ الذي كان له نشاط فعال في تنظيم برامج اسلامية، وكذلك وحدات الروحانيات الاسلامية التي كان لها نشاط فعال في الترويج للميثاليات الاسلامية؛ وقد تعد هذه الظاهرة في كثير من الأحيان تهديدا على استمرارية نظام التعليم القومي الذي يعطي الأولوية للتعددية العقديّة والثقافية.

وبفضل ظهورها في خضم التغييرات بدت المدارس الاسلامية المتكاملة مؤكدة على الاتجاه إلى دمج الدين مع التجديد في نظام تعليمي قومي، ومسايرة مع العملية الديمقراطية التي سارت بعد سقوط نظام سوهارتو، نمت هذه المدارس وصارت قناة بديلة لجيل الشبان المسلمين أن يشاركوا في حركة التغيير من خلال النظام المعمول به؛ وبالتكامل بين المناهج الدراسية القومية مع التربية الاخلاقية الاسلامية يتم إدخال القيم والآداب الاسلامية بشكل منظم في المواد الدراسية العامة والدينية، وكذلك من خلال الأنشطة الإضافية؛ وتتبنى المدارس الاسلامية المتكاملة المنهج البرغماتي تجاه النظام العلماني وفي الوقت نفسه تنتهز الفرصة لترسيخ جدول الأعمال الاسلامية في إطار النظام التعليمي والظروف الاجتماعية والسياسية الغارقة في التغيير.

يرز هذا المقال أن توسع المدارس الاسلامية المتكاملة يؤذن بنشوء الطبقة الوسطى الجديدة من المسلمين الذين يرغبون في التعبير عن هويتهم الدينية في الوقت الذي يبرزون فيه حالتهم وطبقتهم وذوقهم الاجتماعي كمسلمين محدثين لهم شعور واعى بالعوامة؛ وبالتكاليف الباهضة مع توفير مختلف التسهيلات المعروضة تعطي المدارس الاسلامية المتكاملة للآباء وأولياء أمور التلاميذ الاعتزاز الاجتماعي والاحساس بالهوية الاسلامية الملتزمة، وكانت الاعتبارات العملية مثل أوقات الدروس المتسعة بحيث تمكن الآباء لإرسال أبنائهم وبناتهم إليها بعد مدارسهم العامة تمثل السبب الكامن وراء قرار كثير من الطبقة الوسطى على الاتجاه إلى المدارس الاسلامية المتكاملة؛ وفي وسط تنامي الآثار السيئة عن شقاوة الشبان والاختلاط فإن الجهود من أجل التأكيد على وضع الأبناء والبنات في أماكن آمنة كان لها الأهمية القصوى بالنسبة للآباء الذين لهم انشغال تام بأعمالهم وأنشطتهم.

The widespread diffusion of militant Islamist ideology has sent shock waves through the ranks of moderate Indonesian Muslims. Their anxiety intensified when the militant groups expanded their influence through education.<sup>1</sup> The Salafi group, for instance, which was notorious for its strident demands for *jihād* in the Moluccas, established a number of exclusive Islamic teaching centres (*madrasah*) in remote areas of the countryside. As I have argued elsewhere, the Salafi *madrasah* system rejects anything tainted with the corrupting influence of Western culture, and shows a marked aversion to the traditional corpus of religious authority.<sup>2</sup> It constructs a particular system of authority which is directly connected to the religious authorities of the Middle East and other parts of the Muslim world. Seen from this perspective, the Salafi *madrasah* are unique. In fact, *madrasah* evolved as a by-product of Saudi Arabia's campaign for the Wahhabization of the *ummah* as a major plank in its foreign policy. The *madrasah* were not initially designed as education institutions with class rooms, libraries, teachers' offices and all the trappings commonly associated with schools. Yet the Salafis have used *madrasah* to develop their *da'wah* activities, setting up lessons, study groups, and other religious activities in mosques or *muşallás* or, at times, in private homes. They do this communicate their message, recruit and educate students, and further their movement's goal of Islamizing society from the bottom up.

The Salafi *madrasah* can be distinguished from the handful of conservative, if not militant *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) by their disdain of politics and focus on the enrichment of religious knowledge. The *Pesantren* al-Mukmin, Ngruki, in Solo (Central Java) is one such militant *pesantren*. This *pesantren* was found to have had ties to the terrorists responsible for the October 2002 Bali bombing, and was even considered as the hub of the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) terrorist organization in Southeast Asia.<sup>3</sup> *Pesantren* such as these share ideological similarities with the Salafi *madrasah*, and both claim to be legitimate representatives of the Salafi system (*manhaj*). However, the *Pesantren* al-Mukmin is essentially a home-grown phenomenon, and resembles *pesantren* linked to other reformist Muslim organizations, especially the Persis and al-Irsyad. While teaching a stricter version of Islamic puritanism, the *pesantren* have adopted a system of modern education and the national curriculum. A closer look at al-Mukmin reveals the

inspiration it drew from the Muslim Brotherhood, especially its radical wing associated with Sayyid Qutb.

Moreover, the al-Mukmin *pesantren* has adopted a graded system, one rejected by the Salafi *madrasah*. It has three different schooling units, i.e., Kulliyat al-Mu'allimin (KMI), Kulliyat al-Mu'allimat (KMA), and Madrasah Aliyah Al-Mukmin (MAAM). The first two schools devote the largest part of their curriculum to religious subjects, but still teach secular subjects such as mathematics and the social sciences. MAAM follows the *madrasah* model developed by the Department of Religious Affairs, meaning that 70 per cent of its curriculum comprises secular subjects. During religious classes students are introduced to puritan and militant ideas, including the concepts of *tawhīd* (Oneness of God) and *jihād*, using books by militant ideologues such as Abu Bakar Ba'asyir's *Aqīdah Islāmīyah*, Salim Sa'īd al-Qahtani's *al-Walā' wa al-Barā'*, and Sa'īd Hawwa's *Jund Allāh*. To further reinforce their militancy, students are encouraged to attend extra classes in which senior *ustadhs* voice their animosity towards the government, as well as to the US and its allies. Sometimes they are taken to the jungle for physical and mental training, including hiking, mount-climbing, and camping.<sup>4</sup>

To provide a balanced picture, it should be noted that militant *pesantren* like these have developed only on the margins of mainstream Islamic education institutions. Most *pesantren* are overwhelmingly identified with the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and these foster a moderate understanding of Islam. In many instances *pesantren* have emerged as exemplary Islamic teaching centres in which a *kyai*, the traditional ulama in Java, is the central figure, teaching students (*santri*) exclusively Islamic subjects using the *kitab kuning* (yellow books of classical Arabic texts). Their goal is to produce religious scholars who are strongly motivated to propagate Islamic messages.<sup>5</sup> Spurred by the emerging modernist discourse of the early twentieth-century, modernist Muslim organizations, including Muhammadiyah, al-Irsyad and Persis, have also developed their own *pesantrens*. These embody Islamic reformism and combine modern education with *pesantren* systems.

In Indonesia today there are 11,000 *pesantrens* of various types educating 2.9 million students. Slightly different from the *pesantren* is the *madrasah*. In Indonesia these are Islamic (primary and secondary)

schools which adopt a modern system of education, and in which Islamic subjects are taught alongside general subjects. The main aim of the *madrasah* is to produce graduates like those from modern-style 'secular' schools, called *sekolah*, but characterized by having a better understanding of Islam. A significant number of the 47,000 *madrasahs* scattered all over Indonesia are under the control of the Department of Religious Affairs.<sup>6</sup>

Over the last 20 years, many *pesantrens* have adopted the *madrasah* system and included instruction in secular subjects in their curriculum. The *madrasah* system was initially introduced to bridge the gap between the *pesantren* and *sekolah*, which resulted in dualism in Indonesia's educational system. Given its emphasis on the mastery of religious instruction, the *pesantren* has frequently been considered inadequate to deal with modern challenges and current needs. In response to criticism of the *pesantren* system, many *pesantren* have recently offered extra academic courses such as English and computer science, and vocational training skills including driving, automobile repair, sewing and small business management.<sup>7</sup> Offering a unique formula of integrating the religious into the modern education system, Islamic schooling in Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries has played a significant role in contextualizing Muslims' responses to modernization and globalization.<sup>8</sup>

The proliferation of the Integrated Islamic Schools developed by young Islamists associated with the Muslim Brotherhood-inspired *Tarbiyah* movement has strengthened the trend toward modernizing Islamic education, while remaining in the framework of the national education system. This strategy of working within the state system fits well with the desire of the younger generation of Islamists to Islamize society through a gradual, peaceful long-term process, rather than pursuing the largely failed revolutionary campaign for establishing an Islamic state. Integrated Islamic schools fit comfortably into a multi-stranded educational movement, and have rapidly evolved to become one of the fastest growing trends in Islamic education in contemporary Indonesia.<sup>9</sup> Although there is no exact data, their expansion is clearly visible and active across the country. In Jakarta and its surrounding areas alone there are several dozen Integrated Islamic Schools. Likewise in Bandung, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Surabaya and Malang in Java, as well as Padang, Palembang and Makassar in Indonesia's outer islands,

hundreds of such schools have recently been constructed to complement and add to existing Islamic schools.<sup>10</sup>

In his book, *Putting Islam to work: Education, politics and religious transformation in Egypt*, Gregory Starrett calls attention to the inadequacy of modernization approaches for understanding educational and social change in Egypt. He demonstrates empirically and theoretically that state policy is not passively accepted by its recipients but is mediated and contested, and this can result in unintended consequences. The national government's attempts to counteract the appeal of religious militancy among the country's youth by standardizing the religious studies curriculum lays it open to radical criticism. The government's increased investment in Islamic symbols has made educational idioms part of the language in which political conflict is expressed.<sup>11</sup> However by focussing his attention on top-heavy state policies and curricula, Starrett neglects the role played by human agency in schools and elsewhere in determining and controlling multiple aspects of the educational process. As Herrera clearly shows, the organization and practice of schooling cannot be reduced to issues of state policy alone. There is always a process of appropriation by non-state actors, especially Islamists, working within the school institution and state system to transmit certain values and practices to school children.<sup>12</sup> By analysing the Integrated Islamic School and looking at local actors situated in these schools, this paper seeks to discover how the Integrated Islamic School represents a creative effort by young Islamists to work for modernizing the Islamic education, while at the same time infusing Islamic values into the the formal education.

## Historical Context

Modernization of Indonesia's Islamic educational institutions began in the 1970s when the then Minister of Religious Affairs, Abdul Mukti Ali, introduced a standardized *madrasah* education system through a joint ministerial decree of the Ministers of Religious Affairs, Education and Culture, and Interior Affairs (No. 6/1975). Modernization of the *madrasah* education was later reinforced by National Education System Law (UUSPN) No. 2/1989, which acknowledges the *madrasah* as part and parcel of the national education system. The government has further strengthened the *madrasah* by ratifying the National Education System Law (UU Sisdiknas) No. 20/2003 which guarantees the

equal status of the *madrasah* with general schools, the only difference being the teaching of Islam through reading and rote memorization of the Qur'an.<sup>13</sup> The trend toward modernizing Islamic educational institutions has gained strength at the same time as the higher education participation rate of Muslims from *santri* (pious Muslim) backgrounds has grown, facilitated by the vertical and horizontal mobility of the *santris* and giving rise to a new Islamic-oriented middle class.

The spread of *santri* into a wider range of private sector activities, governmental services and modern business structures has marked the phenomenon. Being involved in the grand narrative of development, the emerging Muslim middle class no longer questions the compatibility of Islam and the state. Instead, they accept the *Pancasila* as the state ideology that unifies the whole nation, and engage in the government's efforts to accelerate the process of development.<sup>14</sup> This occurred in tandem with the shift of state policy towards Islam at the end of the 1980s, marked by the establishment of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI, Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia) with Suharto as its patron. As part of their efforts to introduce more Islamic symbols and institutions into the Indonesian public sphere and Islamize formal education, the urban Muslim middle class conducted various experiments. Not only did they propose the lifting of the ban on wearing headscarves for students, they also set up a number of quality Islamic schools that combine secular elite education with Islamic morals. Examples of this kind of school include al-Azhar, al-Izhar, Muthahhari, Insan Cendekia, Madania, Bina Insani, Dwiwarna, Lazuardi, Fajar Hidayah, Nurul Fikri and Salman al-Farisi.<sup>15</sup>

Unlike the *madrasah*, which generally have limited facilities and recruited students from the poor and lower middle classes, the quality Islamic schools are more elitist, as they select the best students from upper middle class and are equipped with excellent and expensive facilities, such as air-conditioning, digital libraries and laboratories. Some of them adopt the boarding school system, which is oriented toward inculcating their students with discipline and piety. They are basically modelled on the general school system, and the Ministry of National Education administers them and determines the curriculum, system of examination and overall organization of schooling. But their Islamic characteristic is visible in the way the schools give emphasis to Islamic moral education.<sup>16</sup> The growth of such Islamic quality schools

has inspired the Islamization of formal education and the expansion of Integrated Islamic Schools.

One of the reasons that Integrated Islamic Schools have thrived is as a response to growing discontent with the national education system, long considered to be inadequate for current needs, specifically in relation to the advancement of sciences and technology. The national system is also thought to have failed to shape students' morality, and thus protect them from drug abuse, free sex and violence.<sup>17</sup> This "moral panic" has primarily afflicted urban people, who see moral decay as a direct impact of modernization and globalization. Against this background, the discourse of the need to combine science with an Islamic approach began to take shape. This discourse holds that science is a way to rationally comprehend God, and thus form the basis of Muslim economic prosperity and social harmony.<sup>18</sup>

The discourse of integrating science with an Islamic approach has kept pace with the growing influence of Islam in the public sphere, and growing demands for implementation of "Islamic visions" in the educational, social, economic and political arenas. It should come as no surprise that the founders of Integrated Islamic Schools generally have a strong desire to imitate and revive the "Golden Age of Islam", seen as the pure, ideal Islam upon which contemporary life should be based. Many of them believe that this commitment is badly needed in a situation when Islam is under attack by what Islamists describe as the "U.S. led Zionist-Christian imperialist plot". In Islamist eyes, the best way to defend and advance Islam is by developing an integrated system of education which systematically shapes the way of (Islamic) life and moral integrity of students, in accordance with the example of the Prophet Muhammad and the first generation of Muslims (*Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ*). In this system, students are trained to accept Islam as a complete system governing all religious, social, political, cultural and economic orders and encompassing all things material, spiritual, societal, individual and personal.<sup>19</sup>

The prototype of the Integrated Islamic School was first developed by the campus *da'wah* activists at the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB). The influence of these pioneer campus Islamic activists began to gain ground in the 1970s, and they played an important role in disseminating Islamist ideology among university students. They made youth the main target of their expansionist activism, convinced that



young people would become pivotal social agents in the agenda of Islamizing Indonesian society. They believed that education was the most efficient way to build a young generation of Muslims committed to *da'wah*. Accordingly they set up Lukmanul Hakim Integrated Islamic Primary School (SDIT), which subsequently inspired the establishment of similar schools by *da'wah* activists from a variety of Islamic organizations and private foundations, including al-Furqon, al-Taqwa, al-Ikhlas, Izzuddin, al-Itqon, Auliya and Nur Hidayah.

### **Muslim Brotherhood Influence**

From their beginnings as education institutions developed by the *da'wah* activists of the *Tarbīyah* movement, the proliferation of Integrated Islamic Schools is indicative of the rising tide of Islamist ideology in the Indonesian public sphere. The influence of the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood is evident in the way these schools instil an Islamist framework into the students' young minds, and nurture their commitment to Islam in preparation for the long-term process of implementing the *shari'ah*. Their growth has paralleled the public's impatience and disillusionment with the national education system, which many believe is experiencing a crisis of paradigm, vision and mission, development, management, communication and learning process and approach. An Integrated School spokesman told me:

What is the pride of existing schools? Certainly not the moral quality of their students, nor their knowledge and insights. That is why Muslims are so easily defeated by the imperialist West. In a competitive world, it is a pity we don't have the courage to assert our own identity or stand up for ourselves as Muslims. As a result, the existing schools simply produce a Westernized young generation which lacks religious identity and insight. So is their moral identity. This is an extremely troublesome phenomenon. We don't talk about politics. Our ultimate concern is to boost the echo of Islamic (*Shi'ar Islām*) for the glory of the Muslim *ummah*.<sup>20</sup>

This problem is seen as a direct consequence of the same secular system that led to the failure by ruling regimes in the Muslim world to fulfil their promises of accountability, transparency and development. More and more people are loudly protesting against a system which they perceive as an imposed Western construct which has generated a brutal, sadistic and licentious Society.

The Integrated Islamic School vision borrows from the ideas of Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949), an Egyptian schoolteacher and founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. This vision was to transform Muslim youth into a “*rabbani*” generation, meaning a generation of Muslims for whom very existence as creatures of the only Creator is axiomatic, and who thus implicitly comprehend their responsibility for all other creatures.<sup>21</sup> Such a generation would be strongly tied to God and God’s rules as the only source of reference and paradigm to steer every Muslim’s mind and action. From this perspective, there can be no mind and action that is not dedicated toward remembrance of God (*dhikr*) as the Creator of all creatures, Giver of human livelihood and Governor the universe.<sup>22</sup>

Al-Banna constantly reiterated the significance of education as the means to set the foundation of thorough-going Islamic reform in six main fields of life: knowledge, politics, economic, social, culture and international relations. In his view, education is the key to achieving this radical reform and establishing Islam as a “comprehensive order” (*niḡām shāmil*). He argued that no attempt to transform the today’s society can succeed without the sustained support of dedicated cadres prepared to implement the movement’s revolutionary agenda. Creating this new society therefore requires a strategy of formal and informal education (*tarbiyah*) to nurture a new generation of Muslims committed to reviving and implementing Islam in all realms of human activity. By developing a system for cultivating new Muslims for a new society, al-Banna believed that Muslim society at large could be transformed, and that the Muslim nation (*ummah*) as a whole would eventually be restored to its lost power and glory.<sup>23</sup>

Al-Banna’s concept of education inspired the activism model developed by the *Tarbiyah* movement upon which the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) was founded. In this model education is crucial as the basis of a Muslim’s relentless campaign to revitalize Islam in all walks of Muslim life. The Integrated Islamic School should be in the vanguard of this campaign, at time when Muslims are exposed to the temptations of the globalizing world. Hidayat Nur Wahid is one of PKS’s most prominent leaders, and also the spokesperson of the Indonesian Consultative Assembly. As he puts it, Integrated Islamic Schools were set up to revive the lost glories of Islamic education institutions of the Golden Age. They bridge the dichotomy between sacred and secular knowledge which has caused the collapse of the Islamic education

institution. To this end, the Integrated Islamic School does not treat Islam solely as an object of study, but also as a way of life (*minhāj al-ḥayā*), based on which students will survive all current challenges and difficulties.<sup>24</sup>

The Integrated Islamic School puts a particular emphasis on fundamental religious subjects, such as theology (*‘aqīdah*), morality (*akhlāq*) and devotional practice (*‘ibādah*).<sup>25</sup> In accordance with al-Banna’s educational theory, its aim is to build students’ character and morality in an Islamic sense (*shakhsīyah Islāmīyah mutakammilah*), as reflected in their way of thinking, attitudes and everyday practices. The purpose of education, as al-Banna saw it, is not simply to impart knowledge, but also to achieve a comprehensive moral edification (*tahdhīb*) as a means to shape fully Islamic personalities in accordance with the Brotherhood’s religious and political *da‘wah*. A fully formed Muslim personality has, in al-Banna’s view, a “sincere faith” which distinguishes such people from secular school leavers who lack the burning sense of obligation to their fellow Muslims, to the Muslim nation and to God which is essential to carrying out the work of Islamic reform and revival.<sup>26</sup>

Al-Banna’s concept of education provided an outline for the Integrated Islamic School system, with the clear mission of developing an Islamic educational institution able to produce pious, diligent and independent graduates who are, at the same time, capable of providing correct guidance to the world in accordance with the true religion.<sup>27</sup> This mission must also accommodate changing socio-economic contexts and national demands. This can be achieved by designing the school as a residential community, where students follow an integrated curriculum of both general and Islamic subjects and also receive moral education. These schools apply modern management practices and an approach oriented to meet current needs. Instructional activities are managed to optimize the students’ intelligence, in accordance with the criteria proposed by the Connecticut School of Effectiveness Project.<sup>28</sup> These schools believe that only by adopting the modern system of education can they produce pious graduates capable in science, technology and the arts, while committed to following the example of the Prophet Muhammad and the first generation Muslims. These schools also teach practical, vocational skills of value to students who will not continue their studies at tertiary levels.<sup>29</sup>

## The JSIT Network

Integrated Islamic schools thrive under several umbrella organizations. The largest is JSIT, the Network of Integrated Islamic School (*Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu*), which was established in 2003 to coordinate the establishment and operation of integrated schools. JSIT is also backed by *da'wah* activists of the *Tarbiyah* movement who want to unite the *ummah*, particularly in view of the fragmentation that stiff political competition has caused among Muslims. The main concern of JSIT is thus to bring the various Integrated Islamic Schools together in the spirit of solidarity, Salafism and a return to the exemplar of the Prophet Muhammad and the first generation Muslims (*Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ*).<sup>30</sup> Various schools under the JSIT umbrella are operated by different private foundations, including al-Mu'adz, Insan Mulia, Insani, Al Farabi, Ibnu Abbas, Salman al-Farisi, al-Khairaat and al-Madinah.

JSIT normally cannot interfere in the internal affairs of an affiliated school, especially in relation to financial matters. It has seven regional branches across Indonesia, which cover: (i) the northern part of Sumatra; (ii) the southern part of the Sumatra; (iii) Banten, Jakarta and West Java; (iv) Central Java and Yogyakarta; (v) Kalimantan; (vi) East Java, Bali, West and East Nusa Tenggara; and (vii) Sulawesi, Maluku and Papua. Every regional branch has a coordinator supervising district branch coordinators. The coordinators are mostly *da'wah* activists affiliated to PKS. One of the main actors behind the establishment of JSIT is Fahmi Alaydroes, who is also chairman of the PKS-linked education foundation, Nurul Fikri.<sup>31</sup>

JSIT has been active in encouraging the growth of Integrated Islamic Schools. With simple requirements, it invites individuals who want to set up schools to apply via its district and regional branches. Approved application receives a registration number. JSIT claims to have incorporated several hundreds of Integrated Islamic Schools across Indonesia into its network.<sup>32</sup> A number of JSIT competitors have criticised the weakness of a system which cannot guarantee that registered schools operate in accordance with the ideal concept developed by JSIT.<sup>33</sup> In fact, JSIT cannot verify the exact number of schools operating under its umbrella. A registered school may change its name or move to another location without reporting to the central organization of JSIT.<sup>34</sup> The JSIT-affiliated schools generally look more

prosperous than those of other organizations and private foundations. Lukmanul Hakim School at Jl, Timoho, Yogyakarta, for instance, has several very impressive buildings near elite housing complexes in the town. This school was developed by *Tarbiyah* movement activists, some of whom are active PKS members and include local and well respected PKS parliamentarians in Yogyakarta. Indeed, JSIT Integrated Islamic Schools spearhead the interests of *da'wah* activists and PKS as a political party.

PKS's interest in Integrated Islamic Schools springs from the party's ambition to expand its core membership and constituency, primarily among the younger generation of Muslims. These schools provide fertile recruiting grounds for future PKS cadres. They also help the party to expand its support base, as more and more people from the upper middle class send their children to the schools to learn how to become pious Muslims. The Integrated Islamic Schools network has much potential as a conduit to spread of the party's messages, and has also been effectively used by PKS cadres to mobilize support both in the direct election of regional administrators (*pilkada*) and in the general legislative elections. This strategy works alongside the PKS's support of Iqra Club, which is active in organizing Islamic programmes among students of senior high schools. Iqra clubs are closely associated with the schools' Kerohanian Islam (Rohis) student religious groups, and actively promulgate the ideas of Islamist ideologues and their neatly packaged, popular and user-friendly versions of Islam.

Though from the same root, a number of Integrated Islamic Schools operate outside the JSIT network. For example, the Bina Anak Shalih school in Yogyakarta is under the auspices of the Bina Anak Shalih foundation, and claims to have been established earlier than the Lukmanul Hakim school. The Bina Anak Shalih foundation was set up in the early 1990s by activists of the Shalahuddin community (Jamaah Shalahuddin) at Gadjah Mada University of Yogyakarta, who were concerned with the integration of secular and religious knowledge. They have recently set up other integrated primary and secondary Islamic schools in various cities in Indonesia. The foundation publishes *Bina Anak Shalih*, which is one of the most popular periodicals read by school children.

Amien Rais, a leading figure in the mainstream Muslim organization Muhammadiyah, was also interested in establishing an Integrated

Islamic School under his own foundation. He cooperated closely with Shalahuddin alumni to develop the Budi Mulia Dua schools. The growing popularity of Integrated Islamic School has even inspired the established Muslim organizations, both Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), to set up their own schools: the Ahmad Dahlan and al-Madinah schools respectively. A number of foundations linked to particular mosques have also developed Integrated Islamic Schools. One such example is the Syuhada school in Yogyakarta, which operates in association with the Syuhada Mosque.<sup>35</sup>

The Hidayatullah foundation is another important organization that has set up several dozen Integrated Islamic Schools in various provinces: al-Iman, al-Madinah and Hidayatullah. This foundation publishes the fiercely anti-Jewish and anti-Christian monthly *Hidayatullah*, and is the umbrella organization of the *Pesantren* Hidayatullah. The foundation is dedicated to applying the concept of *shahādah* as the primary guide to reviving a “blessed community” based on the Islamic way of life. The organization’s institutional profile declares that its corporate sovereignty belongs solely to God, and its corporate activities are under the management of the main leader through the mechanism of consultation (*shūrā*). Its aim is to implement the principle of the Oneness of God (*tawhīd*) as the foundation for the comprehensive application of the *shari’ah* and the victory of Islam. This concept has a profound impact on the character of the *Pesantren* Hidayatullah as an Islamic boarding school which has developed into an independent modern religious institution with reformist ideologies close to Salafism. Its main aim is to produce *da’wah* cadres committed to the principle of *al-amr bi al-ma’rūf wa nahy ‘an al-munkar* (enjoining good and opposing vice).<sup>36</sup>

Islamist nuances are clearly visible in the vision developed by the Hidayatullah, especially in Mawdudi’s notion of the sovereignty of God.<sup>37</sup> The founder of the *pesantren* was Abdullah Said, who was born in Makassar and was believed to have links with the Darul Islam movement leader in South Sulawesi, Kahar Muzakar.<sup>38</sup> Several reports have implicated the *pesantren* as having links to the Jama’ah Islāmīyah.<sup>39</sup> Despite this, the Hidayatullah foundation has excellent relations with the government. Since its establishment, its *pesantren* has frequently received visits from high-ranking officials, including former President Suharto.<sup>40</sup> Its pioneering forestry, animal husbandry and transport

businesses were successful and were appreciated by the government. Hidayatullah has been known for its populist stance, prioritizing the poor and lower-middle class.<sup>41</sup> A number of Integrated Islamic Schools developed linkages with established *da'wah* organizations from the modernist end of spectrum. Abu Bakar school in Yogyakarta, for instance, was set up on land donated by the Yogyakarta branch of the Indonesian Islamic Missionary Council (DDII). This is a *da'wah* organization established in 1967 by former Masyumi leaders, the first and largest Islamic party in Indonesia before it was banned by Sukarno in 1960. A staunch ally of Rabi'ah al-'Alam al-Islami in disseminating the Wahhabi *da'wah* and Islamist ideology, the DDII has distributed funding from the Middle East for the construction of mosques, Islamic schools and hospitals. When the bloody conflict erupted in Maluku, the DDII set up the Committee to Overcome Crisis (*Kompak*) under which the paramilitary group Mujahidin Kompak operated in Maluku and Central Sulawesi. This group was involved in acts of terror in those two trouble spots.<sup>42</sup>

## Curriculum

The Integrated Islamic School's adoption of the national curriculum reflects a desire to be part of the national education system. The schools do not deny the importance of the basic components of this curriculum: mathematics, natural sciences, humanities, languages, vocational skills and arts. They consider these subjects as necessary to prepare school leavers for their future professional careers as engineers, doctors, economists, physicians and social scientists. Modern pedagogical approaches are used to teach this curriculum, and this distinguishes the integrated schools from the traditional *pesantren* with their religious-based curriculum which focuses on the Qur'an and Islamic texts. The *pesantren* curriculum has long been criticized as static, and blamed for producing individuals who are neither skilled nor prepared for the modern workforce.

The national curriculum is secular and nationalistic in character. It was designed to fulfil the aims of national education as stipulated in Article 4 National Education Law No. 2 of 1989. These are to elevate the intellectual life of the nation and to develop complete, devout and God-fearing Indonesians, physically and mentally healthy, of stable personality, independent, with a deep sense of responsibility

towards society and the nation and possessing knowledge, skills and high moral standards. In response to the current need for a skilled workforce confident in its ability to compete in future global markets, the curriculum has also accommodated reform demands. Providing a foundation for lifelong learning, character-building, problem-solving and critical thinking, and developing the flexibility to manage change are key factors for the curriculum reform.<sup>43</sup>

Every school that adopts the national curriculum is required to use standardized government textbooks and apply approved procedures and practices, which include some limitations on commencing new classes, and on both the both intra- and extracurricular activities they can offer. However this mechanism does not prevent an Integrated Islamic School from modifying its curriculum in order to include religious subjects and inculcate Islamic moral values. Religious instruction is allocated for four lesson hours a week—one lesson hour being 40 minutes—at the primary level and five lesson hours at the junior secondary level—compared to that allocated in public schools, which is two lesson hours a week. Interestingly, no extra time is allocated for religious instruction for students at the senior secondary level. Despite the limited time allocated for religious instruction, imparting religious knowledge can be maximized by including a variety of traditional Islamic sciences, such as theology (*'aqīdah*), devotional practices (*'ibādah*), morality (*akhlāq*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and history and civilization (*tārīkh* and *sīrah*).<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, while the Integrated Islamic School's curriculum incorporates Arabic and Qur'anic studies into its structure, these are more commonly associated with the *madrasah* curriculum. Both are considered necessary to underpin students' understanding of religious subjects and nurture correct belief. A student is expected not simply to memorize the Qur'an, but is taught to internalize its lessons and principles.<sup>45</sup> The emphasis on the study of the Qur'an reminds us of al-Banna's concept of education that makes the Qur'an and the Sunnah the curricular basis of religious instruction. As the literal word of God, the Qur'an is believed to provide detailed practical commandments and regulations concerning each and every aspect of daily life.<sup>46</sup> An unequivocal commitment to implement the Quranic messages in all aspects of life is the foundation of a Muslim's work towards transforming the community and the Muslim nation as a whole.



In fact, the Integrated Islamic Schools design their own curriculum to meet the main purposes of the school, inter alia, “to educate students to become thinking, faithful Muslims with high morality and skills for the benefit and interests of human beings”. All subjects in the curriculum integrate the Islamic values of the Qur’an and Sunnah with those of modern, practical knowledge. Proponents of these schools believe that this is the way to balance the students’ academic achievements with the knowledge and Islamic consciousness they need to devote the whole of their thinking and activities solely to God.<sup>47</sup> Five principles characterize the Integrated Islamic School curriculum: (i) Islam-based education and learning in all aspects of school activities; (ii) competence-based instructional enrichment; (iii) Qur’anic recitation and memorizing ability; (iv) mastery of Arabic and English as necessary to compete in global world, and (v) actualization of students’ talents and vocational skills.

On the basis of these principles, the Integrated Islamic School offers additional religious and moral education aimed at instilling religious values into the students’ young minds, especially outside the regular school times of 7.00 a.m. to 3.00 p.m. *Tawhīd* (oneness of God) is the focus of the students’ mental training and is considered basic to the consciousness needed to apply Islam in all walks of their life. A number of Salafi-Wahhabi type books are used for this purpose, including *Kitab al-Tawhīd* by the Wahhabi founder Muhammad ‘ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792) or its annotated commentary, *al-Qawl al-Shadīd ‘alá Kitāb al-Tawhīd* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Su‘ūdī. Students are required to reach the *mashohab* level as early as elementary school, as this is a fundamental prerequisite if they are to become total (*kaffah*) Muslims with a commitment to the *sharī‘ah* that allows them to survive the challenges of the modern world. The main thrust of the school curriculum is construction of students’ morality and the internalization of religious values based on the concept of “*tarbiyah al-awliād fi al-Islām*” (educating children according to Islam).<sup>48</sup>

Religious values and moral education are not only taught through Islamic subjects and extracurricular activities, but also through general subjects. For example, a mathematics teacher may use the example of a cube as a three dimensional object. The distinctive, universal characteristics of a cube are discussed; everywhere and at all times each of the cube’s edges is the same length, and thus it has six faces

of equal area. It is impossible to conceive of a cube otherwise. You cannot “not believe” in a cube. A cube is the manifestation of an immutable mathematical concept. The teacher is encouraged to relate this mathematical concept to that of Islamic belief. Axiomatically, the Q’uran is the manifestation of God’s magnificence and omnipotence. You cannot “not believe” in the Qur’an Knowledge and science, exemplified here by the perfection of mathematics, are above all evidence of God’s sovereignty over all things and all creatures.<sup>49</sup>

Indicators are used to measure the students’ progress not only in core secular competencies, but also in religious awareness and commitment. The most important of these are the students’ sincere belief (*sālim al-‘aqīdah*) and piety (*shahīh al-‘ibādah*). This foundation is required before the students can develop their maturity (*matīn al-khulq*); independence (*qādir ‘alā al-kasb*); intelligence and knowledge ability (*muthaqqaf al-fikr*); good health (*qawīy al-jism*); seriousness and discipline (*mujāhid li nafsih*); correctness and accuracy (*munazzam fi shu’ūnih*); efficiency (*ḥarīth ‘alā waqtih*); and helpfulness (*nāfi‘un li ghayrih*). In other words, the Integrated Islamic School’s curriculum aims not only to develop students’ curiosity and knowledge and equip them with vocational skills, but also to train their morality and elevate them to be faithful Muslims committed to *da‘wah*. This is why such schools term themselves “integrated”, and this integration is seen as foundational in shaping Muslim leadership.

In the interests of moulding the Islamist character of their students, Integrated Islamic School students recite the students’ oath every Monday morning. It consists of six statements of their determination to be (i) obedient to God and His Messenger; (ii) devoted to parents and teachers; (iii) respectful of fellow Muslims; (iv) committed to hard study and knowledge-seeking; (v) loyal to the rules of the school, dormitory and society; and (vi) independent, well behaved and of good character. Though not identical, this oath of loyalty resembles the Islamist *bay‘ah*, by which Islamists vow allegiance and loyalty to their leaders (*amīr* or *imām*). This oath is used by most radical Islamist movements, and is the subject of criticism even by Islamists themselves. Those from the moderate wings of the Islamist movements argue that *bay‘ah* may conflict with the principle of *al-walā’ wa al-barā’* (alliance and dissociation), as it requires an absolute and unconditional loyalty to a *jamā‘ah* leader, even if that leader commits sinful acts.<sup>50</sup>

The learning process of the Integrated Islamic School curriculum applies the principle of gradual Islamization, and aims to shape an Islamic consciousness and patterns of logical thinking. Students are encouraged to understand that all phenomena in the universe cannot be dissociated from the role of God. In their own words, all learning processes rely on the values of *rabbānīyah* (lordship), and aim to bring students closer to God. The learning process of the *rabbānī* paradigm constructs an emotional relationship between students, teachers and the subject under discussion.<sup>51</sup> This paradigm parallels the concept of the Islamization of knowledge of Ismā‘il Rājī al-Fārūqī. Al-Fārūqī defines this concept as an attempt to rebuild disciplines of modern sciences on the basis of Islam. In his opinion, modern social and natural sciences should be conceptualized, reconstructed and given a new Islamic foundation, so that Islamic principles and values are embodied not only in the methodology and strategy of schooling, but also in the data, problems, purposes and aspirations of the sciences. Al-Fārūqī goes on to suggest that Islamic relevance should be an integral part of every discipline in accordance with *tawhīd* mission, which includes the unity of knowledge, life and history. There is no division between secular and sacred subjects. Islamic values automatically replace Western norms as a source of inspiration in scientific disciplines. Through this project, al-Fārūqī sought to incorporate secular subjects as integral parts of the all-encompassing Islamic worldview.<sup>52</sup>

It is interesting to note is that the Integrated Islamic School curriculum pays specific attention to the activity of scouting. Every student is required to attend scouting, which aims to educate, train and develop the scouts' Islamic morality and integrity, leadership, discipline, intelligence, responsibility, skill and care for all human beings. The scouting curriculum includes training in spirituality (*kerohanian*), physics (*fisik*), vocational skills (*fannīyah*), historical insight (*thaqāfīyah*), leadership and military discipline (*qiyādah wa al-jundīyah*), and Islamic solidarity (*ukhūwah*). This curriculum reflects PKS's concern to develop scouting under the banner of the justice scout. Today several thousand PKS scout members across Indonesia have been prepared for mobilization to the front line of the party's interests, including deployment for humanitarian missions.

## Teachers as *Murabbī*

The role of teachers in translating the visions developed by the Integrated Islamic School is paramount. Its teachers have prime responsibility for imparting the secular and religious knowledge essential to the success of learning-teaching process. They require the professionalism and competence to guide the student's learning and develop the student's moral integrity. JSIT, as the umbrella organization of the Integrated Islamic Schools, has developed surveys to measure the teacher's competence through, among other instruments, regular assessment tests. Guaranteeing teacher competence and professionalism is not easy, as this starts with the whole process of recruitment. Integrated Islamic Schools have therefore implemented a system of recruitment in which teachers are selected from outstanding applicants from tertiary institutions. These include state teachers' training colleges, faculties of education at State Islamic universities and secular universities, and also non-education faculties of those universities.<sup>53</sup>

Teachers must do more than simply impart secular and religious knowledge. They are required to act as moral educators and guides (*murabbī*) who can instil religious moral values into the students' young minds. Accordingly, they treat students not simply as pupils, but also as partners in developing knowledge and disseminating *da'wah* messages. In this way the students' can acquire intellectual capacity and moral integrity. As one teacher in al-Khairaat school in Yogyakarta said, the distinctiveness of the Integrated Islamic School does not lie in its curriculum, but rather in the ability of its teachers to instil Islamic values and moral education in students by their own example. The examples set by teachers include how they speak in the language of the Qur'an and Sunnah, how their behaviour accords with the Islamic moral principles, and how much their lives echo those of the *al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* of the past.<sup>54</sup>

There is a slogan recited widely by those active in the Integrated Islamic School: "*al-ṭarīqatu ahammu min al-maddah, wa al-asātidh ahammu min al-ṭarīqah, wa rūḥ 'al-Islām ahammu min kulli shay'in*" (method is more important than teaching materials, teachers are more important than method, and the spirit of Islam is more important than all other things). The principle is that the teachers' knowledge and insights into Islam will lead the students to correct beliefs, in accordance with those of pious forefathers (*manhaj Salah al-Ṣāliḥ*).

Students will thus be free of heretical innovations (*bid'ah*), polytheism (*shirk*), pluralism and liberalism. This moral instruction is taught through persuasion, whereby the teachers seek to develop the students' consciousness as faithful Muslims committed to Islam. Teachers serve primarily as motivators of students, rather than their instructors.

The Islamist consciousness of the candidates for recruitment as Integrated Islamic Schools' teachers is therefore considered seriously. The candidates' concern with Islam is one of the most important criteria for teacher recruitment, and their mastery of Islamic knowledge and the Qur'an is formally tested. In practice most of the candidates selected have had an association with campus based conservative Salafi-type Islamist movements. Their inclination towards conservative Islam is reflected in their appearance: long beards, trousers right to the ankle and al-Banna-style hats for men, and long veils and modest dress for women. Generally their ambition is to see the *shari'ah* comprehensively implemented in Indonesia, although they do not agree with revolutionary Islamist movements which legitimize violence to topple existing regimes. In their eyes, the struggle to implement the *shari'ah* should be pursued through peaceful education and *da'wah*.<sup>55</sup>

Selected candidates are required to attend JSIT training programmes by, run in collaboration with private foundations and relevant organizations. This is to ensure their commitment to Islam, and give them full understanding that their main task as teachers of the Integrated Islamic School is to save the future generations of Muslims.<sup>56</sup> The programme of continuously internalizing the teacher's faith and commitment to Islam is conducted through *da'wah*, which is integral to the school's daily activities. Teachers must understand that Islamic schooling is a process to reinforce Muslim faith using model used by the Prophet Muhammad's to spread Islam among Arab pagans. Recently JSIT set up a teachers' training college for Integrated Islamic Schools (*Pendidikan Guru Sekolah Islam Terpadu*, PGSIT) in Yogyakarta, to recruit and train more candidates to strengthen the expansion of the schools.

The teacher training programme's ideals can be contextualised as assuring that candidates have the qualities of good teachers, and also the desired character traits. Integrated Islamic School teachers are recruited to spearhead the task of teaching correct faith to students, and must practise it themselves. Their understanding of the meaning

of tolerance excludes any considerations of the theological validity of other religions. Islam does not compromise in terms of faith. They believe this is the meaning of the Qur'anic message, *Lakum dīnukum wa liya dīn* (You have your religion, and I have mine). Nevertheless, teachers are required to give some insights into the theology of other religions, anticipating their students' need to deal with non-Muslims. The principle of tolerance towards non-Muslims is also taught as being part of the basic character of Muhammad. Tolerance is recommended to anyone who does not treat Muslims as enemies. However this tolerance is confined to matters of social relationship, not of belief. Integrated Islamic School teachers have thus the twin tasks of teaching students the required subjects and the basic tenets of Islam through classroom teaching, but also of imbuing them with Islamic values and morality (*ādāb*) through everyday practices.

It should be noted that although lessons in *ādāb* only take up a relatively small portion of the schedule, observations confirm that *ādāb* permeates the everyday affairs and overall atmosphere of the Integrated Islamic Schools. Some teachers in al-Khairaat school in Yogyakarta claim that their school has been able to attract more and more students every year not because of its academic achievement, but rather its popularity as a school that produces graduates who have internalized the Islamic principles of morality and codes of conduct. They are very proud that their students, including those at the senior secondary level, respect their school's teachers, founders and associates more than they respect their own parents. When students meet a teacher, even outside the school compound, they do not hesitate to kiss the teachers' hand. This school's *ādāb* education is developed to encourage the students to find applications in their own lives of the examples in the religious curriculum, which include social etiquette based on accounts of the life of the Prophet Muhammad, and of his Companions and the *Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* in general.

### **The Schooling System**

Another attraction of the Integrated Islamic School is its full-day school system, which requires students at the primary (class 3-6) to attend from 7.00 a.m. until 3.00 p.m. Secular school hours are from 7.00 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. This longer learning time enables the Integrated Islamic School to teach all materials required in its curriculum,

including the additional religious curriculum, Arabic and the Qur'an. In addition to this, students are able to practise what they have learnt, especially the materials in the religious curriculum. Through collective prayers and short religious lessons (*kultum*), for instance, the school further instils religious values and awareness as the foundation of their students' moral standing and integrity. The eight-hour school day also allows them intensive interaction with teachers, who act as their close observers and mentors and provide them with direct guidance on how to behave as a good Muslim. More importantly perhaps, the full-day school system is believed to optimally nurture the students' creativity and knowledge. It allows time for the students to attend a variety of enriching programmes in accordance with their interests and talents.

In boarding schools the task of imparting religious knowledge and nurturing piety and morality can be conducted more systematically and intensively. Students who live in the school's dormitories have more time to interact with teachers and tutors, and thus learn how to practise what they have studied in the classrooms. This system resembles the *pesantren*, except there is no *kyai* as the central authority and main reference for students reading the *kitab kuning*, classical *fiqh* texts. Integrated Islamic School students are not required to master the *kitab kuning*, which is the main requirement for *pesantren* students.

Consistent with the school founders' concern about the danger of young Muslims intermingling with members of the other sex (*ikhthilāt*), Integrated Islamic Schools reject coeducation, especially for students at the secondary level. Male students are separated from female students. Coeducation has been blamed for the moral crisis among Muslims. For *da'wah* activists of the *Tarbīyah* movement, *ikhthilāt* should thus be avoided to protect the younger generation of Muslims from becoming slaves to hedonism, materialism and their own hormones. Pre-school and elementary school students are considered too young to know about sex, and so Integrated Islamic Schools at these levels are coeducational.

The full-day and boarding school systems benefit urban middle class and working parents. By sending their students to an Integrated Islamic School they do not need to spend extra money on child care. They do not even need to worry about what their children are doing after school. This is particularly reassuring at a time when parents are gripped by a moral panic from watching television programmes about drug victims and sexually promiscuous youth. The additional

monthly fees at an Integrated Islamic School are not more than IDR 600.000, which covers the costs of providing lunch and other student facilities, and monitoring them for the whole day.<sup>57</sup> Among the urban middle class, civil servants are most likely to send their children to an Integrated Islamic School. School hours coincide with Indonesia's office hours of 8.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m (six working days) or from 8.00 a.m. to 4.00 p.m. (five working days). Regular schools finish earlier in the day, and working parents are reluctant to leave their children unattended after school. The full-day school system is a practical solution for them. This explains why some middle-class parents prefer an Integrated Islamic School, and this popularity enhances the school's status as an established, if not elitist institution.

Nevertheless, generalizations are easy to make and should be treated with some caution. There are also schools that attract students only from the lower middle class and thus look poor and unprepossessing. For example, most of the parents of students at schools run by the al-Khairaat foundation are small traders, labourers or, at best, low-ranking civil servants. These schools do not receive significant amount of money from the students' tuition fees, but they still can operate with financial aid from donors. According to a teacher in one of the al-Khairaat schools in Yogyakarta, the concern of donors for the progress of Islamic education institutions keeps the school going. This school in fact subsidizes those unable to afford the tuition and catering fees. To support such schools, some foundations creatively develop economic activities and entrepreneurship. They coordinate alms collection, donations and charities with other institutions operated by the same foundation. Thus philanthropy becomes a support mechanism for some Integrated Islamic Schools, and increasing numbers of philanthropic institutions are willing to cooperate with school foundations as part of their goal of "empowering" the *ummah*. Financing schools is considered more appropriate than simply distributing money to the poor.

The support of philanthropic donors and institutions donors appears also to be driven by the success of the schools in fostering a positive image of their students' behaviour and ability, particularly when compared with private schools belonging to Catholic and Protestant foundations. In the 2007 junior secondary school national examination, Integrated Islamic Schools dominated the ten top ranking schools, surpassing the achievements of such well-known schools as SMP 5 in Yogyakarta or



Stella Duce School of the Catholic foundation. Moreover, graduates of the Integrated Islamic Schools have a good admission rate to Indonesia's most prestigious universities.<sup>58</sup>

The most innovative aspect of the Integrated Islamic School is its adoption of the moving class system, involving an active learning method called *sentra*. *Sentra* is an arrangement of classes that allows students to follow their own interests by giving them some freedom of choice. Their learning is still directed, but they are able to explore their interests and conduct their own experiment. In Salman al-Farisi, for example, students can elect to develop their interests and talents through one of two *sentra*, construction and arts. In the construction *sentra* construction technology is explored and explained using a variety of learning models. Those interested in arts are encouraged to join the *sentra* of arts, which comprises different forms of artistic expression.

Another school, al-Khairaat, has developed two *sentras* which function as a laboratory for students' interests in language and in construction. In the language *sentra* students are trained to correctly communicate in Bahasa Indonesia and master foreign languages, especially the English language and Arabic. Mastery of English is given a greater emphasis, as it is considered as the most important international language and the key to a student's development and career. Arabic is also taught intensively, both as the language of the Qur'an and because it is the fifth most commonly spoken language of the world's population. A number of Integrated Islamic Schools with excellent foreign language courses have attracted more and more students. This is precisely the reason for popularity of foreign language courses in the Integrated Islamic School.

## Conclusion

Integrated Islamic Schools essentially follow the national curriculum, which they enrich with additional religious subjects and Islamic moral education. Islamic values and codes of conduct are systematically integrated into general and religious subjects, and through extracurricular activities. These schools adopt a pragmatic approach to the secular system, at the same time taking every opportunity to advance the Islamic cause within the prevailing socio-political framework. They can be seen as a viable alternative to the existing educational institutions, in the sense that they provide a formal education consistent with today's knowledge economy, and at the same

time give their students instruction and mental training in how to live in accordance with Islamic principles and values. To some extent these Integrated Islamic Schools resemble *pesantren*, especially in their emphasis on disseminating moral education and imparting religious knowledge.

Very clearly, Integrated Islamic Schools fill a gap in Indonesia's national education system by combining secular, academic learning with solid education in "being a Muslim". Before the advent of these schools the choice lay between secular education at a government school, or the largely old-fashioned education of a *madrasah* or *pesantren*. They provide a very viable alternative for parents who seek a balanced, modern education for their children, where secular knowledge and religious commitment are holistically integrated to produce "complete" graduates. When this is coupled with the range of facilities and teaching schedules they offer, Integrated Islamic Schools are becoming increasingly popular with Indonesia's emerging Muslim middle classes.

## Endnotes

1. Prominent Muslim leaders, including Abdurrahman Wahid, A. Syafii Maarif and A Mustofa Bisri, have expressed their concern with what they referred to as aggressive infiltration by militant groups into the established Muslim organizations so as to influence a younger generation of Indonesians and thus the future of the country. See Abdurrahman Wahid, "Musuh Dalam Selimut," A. Syafii Maarif, "Masa Depan Islam di Indonesia," and A. Mustofa Bisri, "Belajar Tanpa Akhir," in Abdurrahman Wahid, ed., *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2009), pp. 9-41, pp. 1-8, and pp. 233-237 respectively.
2. Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Salafi Madrasah of Indonesia," in *The Madrasah in Asia, Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*, eds. Farish Noor, Yoginder Sikand and Martin van Bruinessen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), pp. 247-274.
3. Robert Hefner, "Islamic Schools, Social Movement, and Democracy in Indonesia," in Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), p. 57; see also van Bruinessen's valuable distinction between the traditionalist and Islamist *pesantrens* in Martin van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia," in Farish Noor, Yoginder Sikand and Martin van Bruinessen, eds., *The Madrasah in Asia, Political Activism and Transnational Linkages* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), pp. 217-245.
4. For a further account of the al-Mukmin, see, for instance, Zuly Qodir, *Ada Apa Dengan Pesantren Ngruki* (Yogyakarta: Pondok Edukasi, 2003); E. S. Soepriyadi, *Ngruki & Jaringan Terorisme* (Jakarta: Al-Mawardi Prima, 2003); and Muhammad Wildan, "Pondok Ngruki and its Alleged Linkage with Radical Islamism in Contemporary Indonesia," paper presented at the *International Convention of Asia Scholars* (ICAS V), UKM, Malaysia, 2-5 August 2007; see also van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens," pp. 231-234.
5. On the *pesantren*, see Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java* (Arizona: Arizona State University, 1999); see also Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 146, 2/3 (1990): 226-69; and Ronald Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihād: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
6. See Azyumardi Azra, Dina Afrianty and Robert W. Hefner, "Pesantren and Madrasah: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia," in *Schooling Islam, The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, ed. Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 172-98.
7. See van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens," pp. 217-246.
8. Robert W. Hefner, "Introduction: The Politics of Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia," in Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), pp. 1-54.
9. Hefner, "Islamic School," p. 73.
10. According to the data collected by JSIT (the Network of Integrated Islamic School) in 2007, there are 265 integrated Islamic schools. Integrated Islamic Schools at the primary level, 70 at the junior secondary level and 12 at the senior secondary level. The total number becomes double if Islamic integrated kindergartens are included. Interview with Fahmi Zulkarnain, Secretary General JSIT, Jakarta, was conducted in December 2008.
11. Gregory Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work, Education, Politics and Religious Transformation in Egypt* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1998).
12. Linda Herrera, "Islamization and Education in Egypt, Between Politics, Culture

- and the Market,” in John L. Esposito and Francois Burgat, eds., *Modernizing Islam, Religion in the Public Sphere in the Middle East and Europe* (London and New York: Hurst and Rutgers University Press, 2003), pp. 167-88.
13. Azyumardi Azra and Jamhari, “Pendidikan Islam Indonesia dan Tantangan Globalisasi: Perspektif Sosio-Historis,” in *Mencetak Muslim Modern Peta Pendidikan Islam Indonesia*, ed. Jajat Burhanudin and Dina Afrianty (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2006), pp. 1-22; Muhammad Zuhdi, “Modernization of Indonesian Islamic Schools’ Curricula, 1945-2003,” *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 10, 4/5 (2006): 415-27.
  14. Aswab Mahasin, “The Santri Middle Class: An Insider’s View,” Richard Tanter and Kenneth Young, eds., *The Politics of Middle Class Indonesia*. (Victoria: CSEAS Monash University, 1990); Robert Hefner, *Civil Islam, Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). Muoeflich Hasbullah, “Cultural Presentation of the Muslim Middle Class in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Studia Islamika* 7, 2 (2000): 1-58; and Hendro Praseyo, et al., *Islam dan Civil Society Pandangan Muslim Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2002).
  15. See, for instance, Ismatu Ropi, “Sekolah Islam untuk Kaum Urban: Pengalaman Jakarta dan Banten,” in *Mencetak Muslim Modern, Peta Pendidikan Islam Indonesia*, ed. Jajat Burhanudin and Dina Afrianty (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Perkasa, 2006), pp. 241-68.
  16. Ibid.
  17. Tim JSIT, *Sekolah Islam Terpadu, Konsep dan Aplikasinya* (Bandung: Syaamil Cipta Media, 2006).
  18. As for the debates on the Islamization of Islamic knowledge and their impact on Indonesia, see Zainal Abidin Baqir , “Islam dan Ilmu Pengetahuan,” *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam* (Jakarta: Ikhtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2002)
  19. Tim JSIT, *Sekolah Islam Terpadu*, pp. 19-22.
  20. Interview with Mujidin, Public Relation of JSIT, Yogyakarta, conducted on 16 February 2007.
  21. Tim JSIT, *Sekolah Islam Terpadu*, pp. 33-35
  22. For a further account on of Hasan al-Banna and his interpretation of the term *rabbani* and its relation to his concept of education, see Brynjar Lia, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement* (Ithaca: Ithaca Press, 1998); cf. Richard Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).
  23. Ehud Rosen, “The Muslim Brotherhood’s Concept of Education,” *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology Vol. 7* (Washington DC: Hudson Institute, 2008), pp. 117-118.
  24. This statement appears in Hidayat Nur Wahid’s preface forgiving a sort of conceptual blueprint of integrated Islamic school Integrated Islamic Schools, in Tim JSIT Indonesia, *Sekolah Islam Terpadu, Konsep dan Aplikasinya* (Bandung: Syaamil Cipta Media, 2006), pp.1-9.
  25. Interview with Fahmi Zulkarnain, Jakarta, conducted in December 2008.
  26. Rosen, “The Muslim Brotherhood’s Concept of Education,” pp. 118-119.
  27. Interview with Joko Prayitno, Nurul Fikri Integrated Islamic School, Jakarta, conducted in December 2008.
  28. Fred C. Lunenberg and Allan C. Ornstein, *Educational Administration, Concepts and Practices* (Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Publishing, 1991).
  29. Tim JSIT, *Sekolah Islam Terpadu*, pp. 18-20.
  30. Interview with Mujidin, Public Relation of JSIT, Yogyakarta, conducted on 16 February 2007.
  31. Nurul Fikri was initially set up in the 1970s by Yusuf Asmara Nurasa, a *Tarbiyah* activist of Arief Rahman Mosque at the University of Indonesia, as a profit-oriented study club for senior high school students wanting to pursue a higher education in prestigious universities in Indonesia. This institution appears to be one of recruitment

- pools for *da'wah* activists concerned with the expansion of the *Tarbiyah* movement on university campuses. Interview with Yusuf Ghazali, Nurul Fikri Islamic Boarding School Foundation, Jakarta, conducted in December 2008.
32. Interview with Fahmi Zulkarnain, Jakarta, conducted in December 2008.
  33. Interview with Nasruddin Ahmad, a Muhammadiyah school's teacher, Yogyakarta, conducted in February 2007.
  34. Interview with Muhammad Harman Abdullah, the Regional Coordinator of JSIT, Yogyakarta, conducted on 14 February 2007.
  35. Interview with Mujidin, Public Relations spokesman of for JSIT, Yogyakarta, conducted on 16 February 2007.
  36. For a profile of the *pesantren*, see Sirojudin Abas, "Al-Ma'had al-Turathi wa Takwin al-Jama'ah: Tajribah Ma'had Hidayatullah," *Studia Islamika* vol. 5, no. 2 (1998): 131-78; Arief Subhan, "Pesantren Hidayatullah: Madrasah-Pesantren Independen Bercorak Salafi" in *Mencetak Muslim Modern, Peta Pendidikan Islam Indonesia*, ed. Jajat Burhanudin ad Dina Afrianty (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Perkasa, 2006), pp. 203-240.
  37. On Mawdudi's concept of *bakimiyya* (sovereignty), see Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994).
  38. Concerning Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar and the DI/TII movement in South Sulawesi, see Anhar Gonggong *Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar; Dari Patriot Hingga Pemberontak* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 1992).
  39. International Crisis Group (ICG), "Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia: The Case of the 'Ngruki' Network in Indonesia," *Asia Report 42* (Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2002).
  40. Van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens," pp. 217-245.
  41. Hefner, "Islamic School," p. 80.
  42. International Crisis Group (ICG). "Indonesia Backgrounder: Jihād in Central Sulawesi." *ICG Asia Report No. 74* (Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2004).
  43. Ella Yulaelawati, "National Education Reform in Indonesia: Milestones and Strategies for the Reform Process." Paper presented at *The First International Forum on Education Reform, Experiences in Selected Countries*, organized by the National Education Commission of Thailand (ONEC), in collaboration with international alliance of education reform, in Bangkok, July 2001.
  44. Hermawan et al., *Kurikulum Pendidikan Agama Islam Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu* (Bandung: Syaamil Cipta Media, 2006).
  45. Interviews with Joko Prayitno, Sulam al-Munawarah and Fahmi Zulkarnain, teachers of at Nurul Fikri Integrated Islamic Primary School, Jakarta, conducted in December 2008.
  46. Rosen, "The Muslim Brotherhood's Concept of Education," pp. 119-120.
  47. Fahmy Alaydroes, "Pengantar," in Tim JSIT, *Sekolah Islam Terpadu Konsep dan Aplikasinya* (Bandung: Syaamil Cipta Media, 2006).
  48. Tim JSIT, *Sekolah Islam Terpadu*, pp. 45-53.
  49. Interview with Mujidin, Public Relations spokesman of for JSIT, Yogyakarta, conducted on 16 February 2007.
  50. On the doctrines of *bay'a* and *al-wala al-barra* as propagated by Sayyid Qutb and the Muslim Brotherhood in general, see Ahmad S. Mousalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Ideological and Political Discourse of Sayyid Qutb* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1992).
  51. Tim JSIT, *Sekolah Islam Terpadu*, pp.61-54.
  52. Ismail Raji Al-Fārūqī, *Islamization of Knowledge: General Principles and Work Plan* (Herndon, VA: IIIT, 1982).
  53. Interview with Fahmi Zulkarnain, Jakarta, conducted in December 2008.
  54. Interview with Siti Nurlela, an Al-Khairaat School's teacher, Yogyakarta, conducted on 17 February 2007.

55. Interviews with Abdullah Munir and Ahmad Yunus, Al-Madinah school's teachers, Kebumen, conducted in October 2007.
56. Interview with Fahmi Zulkarnain, Jakarta, conducted in December 2008.
57. Interview with Mujidin, Public Relation of JSIT, Yogyakarta, conducted on 16 February 2007.
58. Interview with Muhammad Harman Abdullah, Yogyakarta, conducted on 14 February 2007.

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# ستوديا إسلاميكا

مجلة إندونيسيا للدراسات الإسلامية  
السنة التاسعة عشر، العدد ١، ٢٠١٢

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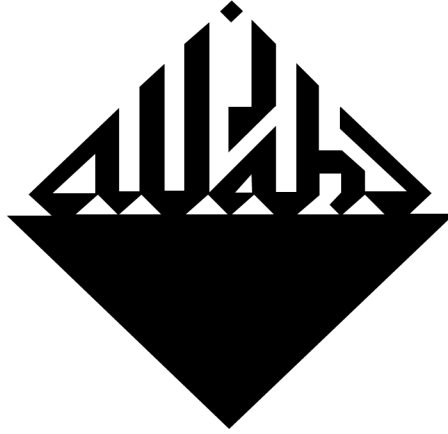


# ستوديا اسراميا

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مجلة إندونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة التاسعة عشر، العدد ١، ٢٠١٢



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تون سري لانانج في مسار التاريخ  
وعلاقته بانتشار الاسلام في آتشيه

محمد دين ماجد

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الشيخ أحمد الرفاعي وسياقية الشريعة الإسلامية:

دراسة على كتابه تغيرة

محمد أديب مصباح الإسلام

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