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PUBLIC ISLAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: LATE MODERNITY,
RESURGENT RELIGION, AND MUSLIM POLITICS

Sumanto Al Qurtuby

HAK ANGKET HAJI:
PILGRIMAGE AND THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF
HAJJ ORGANIZATION IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA

Dadi Darmadi

ISLAMIC SCHOOLING IN ACEH:
CHANGE, REFORM, AND LOCAL CONTEXT

Eka Srimulyani

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Eka Srimulyani

Islamic Schooling in Aceh: Change, Reform, and Local Context

Abstract: *The history of Islamic educational reform in Indonesia shows that the emergence of the kaum muda group at the beginning of the twentieth century is connected with the emergence of the modern model of Islamic education called “madrasah”. After independence, the central government established a number of madrasahs for religious education and sekolah for ‘non-religious’ education in a number of areas in Indonesia. Focusing on Islamic education and schools in Aceh, this article argues that although the development of Islamic education in the area initially followed the state-wide pattern of contestation between modernist and traditionalist groups, the context, timing, socio-political factors behind reform and change was varied. This article shows that there is a close intersection between educational change and reform with non-educational factors such as government policies, local socio-political changes, amongst others.*

Keywords: Islamic schooling, Aceh, *dayah*, *madrasah*, *sekolah*

Abstrak: Sejarah pembaharuan pendidikan Islam di Indonesia memperlihatkan bahwa munculnya kaum muda khususnya pada awal abad ke-20 memiliki hubungan dengan munculnya model sekolah Islam modern yang bernama madrasah. Setelah Indonesia merdeka, pemerintah pusat membangun sejumlah madrasah bagi pendidikan agama dan sekolah bagi pendidikan bukan agama dalam sejumlah daerah di Indonesia. Dengan fokus pada kasus sekolah Islam di Aceh, artikel ini berargumentasi bahwa meski tampaknya sejarah pembaharuan pendidikan Islam merujuk kepada pola umum perdebatan kelompok modernis dan tradisional, tapi konteks, pewaktuan, faktor-faktor sosio-politik di balik pembaharuan dan perubahan itu beragam. Artikel ini memperlihatkan beberapa kerumitan, dan suatu persilangan yang dekat antara perubahan dan pembaharuan pendidikan dengan faktor-faktor bukan pendidikan lain seperti kebijakan pemerintah, perubahan-perubahan sosio-politik lokal, dan sejenisnya.

Kata kunci: Sekolah Islam, Aceh, *dayah*, madrasah, sekolah

الخلاصة: أظهر تاريخ تجديد التربية الاسلامية باندونيسيا أن بروز الشبان خاصة في أوائل القرن العشرين الميلادي كان له علاقة بنشوء نوع من المدارس الاسلامية جديد يطلق عليه اسم مدرسة (madrasah). وفيما بعد استقلال اندونيسيا قامت الحكومة بإنشاء عدد من المدارس لإجراء التربية الدينية فيها وإنشاء مدارس غير دينية في عدد من المناطق باندونيسيا. بالتركيز على قضية المدرسة الاسلامية بآتشيه، تحتج هذه المقالة بأنه على الرغم مما يبدو في تاريخ تجديد التربية الاسلامية من الاستناد إلى النمط العام من الخلاف بين المجددين والتقليديين، إلا أن الإطار والتوقيت والعوامل الاجتماعية السياسية التي تكمن وراء هذا التغير والتحديد كانت متنوعة. تظهر هذه المقالة عددا من التعقيدات، ونوعا من التقاطع القريب بين التغير والتحديد للتربية وبين العوامل غير التربية الأخرى مثل سياسة الحكومة والتغيرات الاجتماعية والسياسية وما إليها.

الكلمات الاسترشادية: تعليم الاسلام، آتشيه، الدايا، المدرسة الدينية، المدرسة

There has been an increased interest in Islamic education in Indonesia in the past few decades, accompanied by an increase in the number of publications on the subject (Dhofier: 1982; Mastuhu: 1994; Rahardjo: 1995; Lukens-Bull: 1997; Azra: 1997). To date, however, the studies have mostly focused on Java and—to a lesser extent—West Sumatra. Little has been published on the well-organised Islamic education system in Aceh, which has existed in for several centuries. The influence of Islamic education on Muslims in Aceh is deep and continues to have an impact. It has also played a critical role in the transmission of ideas in the Indo-Malay world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

With more than 10,000 Islamic boarding schools (*pesantrens*), and 37,000 *madrasah* and 5.7 million *madrasah* students (Azra, Afrianty, and Hefner: 2007), Indonesia has one of the largest Islamic educational systems in the world. Some areas in Indonesia are known for their high number of traditional Islamic schools, namely *pesantren*. For example, West Sumatra is known for the development of modern Islamic schooling¹, known as the *madrasah*. Statistical data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs showed that as of 2012, Indonesia had 282,096 Islamic educational institutions, ranging from kindergarten to higher Islamic education (both formal and informal ones and run by the state or private bodies). At least 23,128,221 students were registered in these educational institutions (Bagian Perencanaan dan Sistem Informasi [BPSI], 2012). Aceh, a region with a long history of Islamic education, has 1,174 *madrasah* from elementary school (*ibtidaiyah*) to secondary (*tsanawiyah* and *aliyah*) school. The number of *dayah*² (*pesantren*) is even higher, with 1, 205—most of which are traditional (*salaf*).³

Until the early twentieth century, the only well-known education system in Aceh was religious, taking place in either the *meunasah*⁴ or the *dayah* (Alfian, 1975: pp. 27-42; Baihaqi: 1976). Religious teachers in the *meunasah* were almost always men. Female religious teachers/leaders (*teungku inong*) taught the Quran to the local children in her own residence, not in a *meunasah*. Since the 1990s, the period when the *metode iqra'* model started to penetrate the Acehnese region, the education that took place in the *meunasah* or in the private residence of religious teachers has gradually changed, or even disappeared.⁵ The Dutch colonial government also interfered with the educational sector. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this colonial government

established some Western [secular] style schools in Aceh. These differed greatly from the already existing models of religious learning. Secular Dutch schools were only popular among the families of the local elite, such as the *uleebalang* (local chieftain) or those who worked for the colonial offices or the government (Alfian, 1975: p. 9). Some Acehnese resisted sending their children to the schools due to strong anti-colonial sentiments. This was particularly apparent among those with a *dayah* or *santri* (devout Muslim) background. The phrase “studying at a [secular] school will make someone an infidel (*kafir*)” emerged within the community (Dhofier: 1982), particularly among the traditionalist Muslim groups. In addition to the establishment of secular schools, in 1905, the Dutch colonial government also issued an *ordonansi guru* policy. This policy sought to control the subjects taught in religious institutions like *dayah*, allowing Arabic, *tauhid* (Islamic theology) and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) to be taught.

In this time period, a new modern model of Islamic schooling, *madrasah*, emerged. Some *madrasahs* were founded in the late 1910s in several regions in Aceh (Sulaiman: 1988). Compared to the traditional model of *dayah*, *madrasahs* had modern features: a grading or class system, a classical model, modern facilities with tables, chairs, and a fixed curriculum. In contrast, *dayah* followed a traditional model of non-grading, having no particular limit to the years one would spend to finalise their education. It also had no fixed curriculum, based instead on the ability of students to master classical texts. During the learning process, the student of [traditional] *dayah* sit on the floor in a *balee*, a humble and simple semi-permanent building made from wood.⁶

As in other regions of the archipelago, the establishment of the *madrasah* at the beginning of the twentieth century is connected to the entry of Islamic modernism or reform in Indonesia and Southeast Asia more broadly. In West Sumatra, an area close to Aceh, modernist/reformist ideas were brought to Indonesia through the *kaum muda* (young group) movement and ‘organisations.’ (Abdullah: 1971; Hefner: 2009). The first *kaum muda* movement was dominated by those who returned from Mecca such as Haji Rasul and his associates. Later on, the movement consisted of groups of young scholars who studied in Egypt in the 1930s, such as Mahmud Yunus (Yunus: 1984; Abdullah: 1971; Srimulyani: 2008). Some of the modern Islamic schools or *madrasah* founded in Aceh were affiliated with *madrasahs*

in West Sumatra. Some public figures that belonged to modernist groups, for example Ali Hasjmy (former Governor of Aceh on 1957-1964), also studied in West Sumatra. Alternatively, the transmission of traditionalist thought in Aceh can also be traced to West Sumatra through the figure of Abuya Mudawaly, a charismatic Aceh *dayah* leader who studied in a *surau* (a traditional Islamic learning institution) in Padang Panjang, West Sumatra. Upon his return to his hometown in South Aceh, he established a *dayah* in 1936, named Darussalam, and founded *Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah* (PERTI, Islamic Education Foundation), an organisation that sought to strengthen the traditional model of Islamic education of *dayah*. This organization was stood in opposition to the modern organization of *Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Aceh* (PUSA, 'Ulamā' Association of Aceh), which supported the modern Islamic system of *madrasah* in Aceh.

Post-Indonesian independence, the new government set up rules and principles to manage the educational sector. Religious schools, particularly *madrasahs*, were to be managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and state schools (*sekolah*) fell under the management of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Hing, 1995: p. 49). This arrangement applied to all provinces, including Aceh. The government sought to standardize and centralize the management, curriculum, and system of education in Indonesia.

When political conflict occurred between the Indonesian government and the Aceh independence movement in the early 1970s, it also affected education. From the 1970s to the 2000s, hundreds of schools were burned down, a few teachers were killed, and even the rectors of Syiah Kuala and IAIN Ar-Raniry respectively were assassinated in 2000 and 2001. The conflict brought trauma and fear to the teachers, students, and other educational stakeholders. This is also applicable to the *dayah* and their leaders and teachers. Some *dayah* had to stop their learning process for security reasons and other *dayahs* had to accommodate the students whose parents decided that their children would be safer at a *dayah*. Since 2000, as part of the efforts to solve the political conflict in Aceh, the central government has granted special autonomy status for Aceh province. In addition to the implementation of *shari'ah* law in public social life in 2002, decentralization and local autonomy has also influenced Islamic and general schools in the area (Jackson and Parker, 2008: p. 40). "The impact of this on education is

not yet clear” (Jackson and Parker, 2008: p. 45). There has been little scholarship on the particular impact of decentralization on education, particularly Islamic education.

This article will examine the background or factors affecting change and reform in the Islamic education system in Aceh since the beginning of the twentieth century. It also will explore how schooling developed, changed and was reformed. To what extent did Islamic education differ from the national patterns due to local context, local history (e.g. post-conflict), and the formalization of political autonomy? Overall, this article will complicate the general understanding that the Islamic schooling system and reform across the archipelago is uniform. The article draws on interviews, as well as existing literature and personal observation, to present its analysis of the patterns of Islamic schooling in Aceh.

***Meunasah* and *Dayah* Education: History, Development, and Changes**

Historically, all villages in Aceh would have at least one *meunasah*, as it was the space for basic Islamic education. In addition to its educational purpose, a *meunasah* in Aceh was also culturally significant for communal functions. “...[M]eunasah serve as the nightly resting place of all full grown youths of the *gampong*.” (Hurgronje, 1906: p. 61). In other words, it was a common public space for village men to interact socially (Jayawardena, 1977: pp. 21-38). In *meunasah*, the children learned the Quran, basic Islamic rituals of prayers, and would use a basic Islamic textbook in the Malay language written in the Arabic script (e.g. *Masā'il al-muhtadī*) (Husein: 1985). Around the Muslim world, learning to recite Quranic verses has been a common model for traditional elementary Islamic education (Hefner, 2009: pp. 6-7). During the colonial period, where only limited education available for indigenous populations, this kind of basic Islamic learning served as the only education available for native Indonesians (Hefner, 2009: p. 59). In today's Aceh, the cultural function of the *meunasah* within the Aceh Muslim community also has indeed ceased in some areas, due to the impact of the social change and modernity.

Historically, those that finished the basic Islamic training at the *meunasah* would continue their education at a *dayah* (Baihaqi, 1976: p. 20). The term *dayah* derives from the Arabic word 'zawīyah.'

(Hurgronje, 1906: p. 63). It literally means the 'corner of the mosque', and was used as a place for sufi circles in the early history of Islam. There are three different levels of learning at the *dayah*: 1) *bilek* for beginners, 2) *rangkang* for intermediate students, and 3) *balee* for the advanced students (Husein: 1985).

During the Dutch occupation of Aceh, a number of *dayahs* were destroyed; however the *ulama* or *dayah's* leaders had assumed more power after the fall of the Aceh Darussalam kingdom in 1874. There were *ulama* who lead some of the anti-colonial battles (Saby: 2004). The destructions of some *dayah* and the involvement of *dayah's* leaders and students in the struggle against the colonial occupation resulted in the decline of *dayah* in Acehnese society (Latif: 1995). It was not until the 1930s when *dayah* began to reassume its important role in Acehnese society. The strengthening of the *dayah* can be attributed to Abuya Mudawaly (Waly: 1993), who founded Dayah Darussalam in Labuhan Haji in 1936, and established a network of *ulama dayah* through PERTI.

Until the first and the second quarter of the twentieth century, there continued to be a resistance towards the inclusion of general subjects (e.g. math) in the curriculum on the part of the *dayah* community and the leaders in Aceh. Some *pesantren* in Java such as Pesantren Tebuireng has already included general subjects in 1920s, just few years after the emergence of *madrasah* model (Azra, Afrianty, and Hefner, 2007: p. 75). Further, *madrasahs*, being modernist, also had incorporated secular and general subjects into their curriculum. Yet, some traditional *dayah* communities continued to resist modern Islamic education. As suggested above, the resistance on the matter of education has not only touched the educational domain, but also the theological one due to the claim that those who studied at the schools that offered secular subjects were *kafir* (infidel). Although this statement was initially only directed to Dutch schools, it eventually was extended to the secular school, known today as *sekolah*. Due to the above sentiments, the inclusion of general subjects into traditional *dayah* education in Aceh took place much later compared to other areas in the archipelago. In Aceh, the inclusion of general subjects started in the 1970s. In some *dayahs*, this occurred even later— in the 1990s⁷ and 2000s⁸. In 2008, the government of Aceh established *Badan Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Dayah* (The Office of Dayah Education and Development).

Although, many traditional *dayahs* have now adopted modern education and secular subjects in the curricula, they still, maintain parts of their ‘traditionality.’ These traditions include the use of the Acehese language when teaching *kitab kuning* (a classic Islamic textbook), and having sufi or *tarekat* rituals and practices—something not found in modern *dayah* or *pesantren*, let alone *madrasah*.

Apparently, as mentioned by Jackson and Parker (2008: 30), modernisation has been one of major forces for the transformation of Islamic education (p. 30). The insertion of modern sciences in the ‘curriculum’ of traditional schools like *dayah*, and the adoption of modern features of education, is in part of efforts to respond to modernity. This modernization has occurred across Indonesia since the first quarter of the twentieth century, and Aceh is no exception. Nowadays, the curriculum of *dayah*, which used to focus on Islamic subjects alone, has been modified to insert subjects like English, computer, geography, etc. The variation depends on the needs and policies of *dayah* leaders. Additionally, some traditional *dayah* like Dayah Mudi Mesra also integrate *sekolah* and *madrasah* curriculum, as well college educational system, which allow students to study variety of subjects apart from those focused on the *kitab kuning*.

***Madrasah* in Aceh: Contestation, Policy, and Changes**

The *Madrasah* is an Islamic school known in the archipelago since the beginning of the twentieth century. These modern educational institutions were initially founded by religious organizations or figures concerned by Islamic [educational] reform. The Post-independence government took over the management of some *madrasah*, and established others around Indonesia. *Madrasah* were then known as [state] schools that offered both Islamic and secular subjects for primary and secondary school education in Indonesia. Unlike those in the Middle East or Pakistan, *madrasah* were not institutions of higher Islamic learning (Eickelman, 2007: p. 139).

The history of early *madrasah* in Aceh dates back to the late 1910s and 1920s, when the first *madrasahs* were founded by local religious figures and chieftain. In the western coast of Aceh, Pakih Hasyim Sutan Larangan established Madrasah Sumatra Tawalib, affiliated with a West Sumatran *madrasah*. For example, the instructors of this *madrasah* came from West Sumatra. Subsequently, similar *madrasahs* were also

established in Labuhan Haji, Meulaboh, and Sinabang (Sulaiman: 1988). On the northern coast of Aceh, the immigrant community also did the same thing. PKAS Majid founded *Diniyah Islamiyah School* in Sigli. In 1927, a merchant from Arab, Syeikh al Kalali, founded another *madrasah* named *Jamiah al-Islah wa al-Irsyad al-Arabiyah* in Lhokseumawe, and another merchant, Sayid Husin Syihab, established ones in Idi. This *madrasah* was named Ahlussunah wal Jama'ah Tgk. A. Wahab Seulimeum, from Dayah Jeureula and Tgk. Syeikh Ibrahim Lamnga also founded some *madrasah* in Aceh Besar. The first one was in Keunalo, Seulimum in 1926 named *Madrasah Najdiyah*, and the second was *Jamiah Diniyah al-Montasiah*, founded in 1930 with the *uleebalang* of Montasik T. Main. Ten years later, Teuku Muhammad Daud Panglima Polem, panglima sagi mukim XXII, supported the establishment of *Ma'had Imanil Mukhlis* (Sulaiman: 1998 as cited from *Penjoloeh* no. 11, 1941). In the northern coast of Teungku, Muhd Daud Beureueh, Teungku Abdurrahman Meunasah Meucap, and Teungku Syekh Abd. Hamid also adopted the *madrasah* model. The first two founded *Madrasah Jamiatuddiniyah* in Pidie in 1930, as well as *Madrasah al-Muslim* in Matang Glumpang Dua in 1929.

The *kitab* or text books taught in *madrasahs* were not limited to those used in Shafiite school like commonly taught in *dayah* education. Even in its early history, *madrasah* included general subjects such as foreign languages, natural sciences, etc. The students were also trained for journalism, organisational leadership, and boy scouts. The teachers and students wore trousers with a tie, and they called their teacher 'ustādh'⁹ instead of using the local term of 'teungku'¹⁰. More importantly, the students were also exposed to modernist ideas through the modernist publications. These modernist publications included *Majalah Penjoloeh* and *Majalah al Muslimin*. These were published by Teungku Ismail Ya'kub (1940–1941) in Bireun and by T.M. Usman al-Muhammady 1929 – 1933 (Sulaiman, 1988: p. 13) in Kutaraja respectively. These groups opposed the practice of some traditional religious rituals in Aceh, including some *adat* (custom) practices that are considered non-Islamic. These ideas were transferred to the students through their education, consequently creating tensions with traditionalist groups such as PERTI from *dayah* network. The existence of *madrasahs* alone has caused tension between modernist and traditionalist religious leaders, which have occasionally led to physical confrontations (Husein: 1985).

The emergence of *madrasahs* were also connected to the contestation of modern and traditionalist Muslim groups, which Hefner argues the “Southeast Asian version of a contest that raged in broad expanses of the Muslim world at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries” (Hefner, 2009: p. 20). The modernist groups advocated the use of modern sciences and promoted these ideas through publications and journalism. They claimed that the traditionalist groups placed greater emphasis on the ‘imitation’ (*taqlid*) of centuries-old masters rather than applying independent reasoning (*ijtihad*)” (Hefner, 2009: p. 23). The development of *madrasah* in Aceh reached its peak with the establishment of PUSA in 1939. Through PUSA, several efforts for the establishment and standardization of *madrasah* development and progress in Aceh were carried out (Latif, 1995: p. 68). “The PUSA was strongly rooted in Acehnese society....Its leaders had an open eye for the advantages of modern Education...” (Dijk, 1981: p. 171). It is important to note that another modernist organization also existed in Aceh at that time, Muhammadiyah. However, PUSA had strong roots in Acehnese society and history and consequently gained much more support from the local community compared to Muhammadiyah, an organization founded in Central Java (Sulaiman, 1988: p. 13).

Obviously, the dichotomy of *dayah* and *madrasah* or modern Islamic schooling in Aceh before independence went beyond just a difference in educational philosophy. It was political positions between PERTI, a traditional group, and PUSA, a modernist group. The first group had a charismatic leader in Abuya Mudawaly and the latter had the charismatic figure of Abu Daud Beureueh. In the revolutionary era post-independence, PUSA was affiliated with the DI/TII movement and fought against the new Indonesian Republic led under Sukarno presidency. Abu Daud Beureueh himself led this armed movement. In contrast, Abuya Mudawaly claimed that a struggle against a valid [Muslim] government was a ‘*bughat*’. He strongly supported Sukarno and Indonesian Republic, and opposed the DI/TII struggle against the regime (Waly: 1993).

In 1946, the *madrasah* teachers pleaded with the Aceh government through the *Kepala Pendidikan Agama* to have their salary paid for by the government, like teachers in the *Sekolah Rendah Negeri* (state elementary school). However, this request was not legally approved,

madrasahs were not considered state-owned. The proposal finally passed when *madrasah* were transformed into a state-owned schools, with the consent of PUSA (Husein, 1985: p. 17). As state schools, the teachers of *madrasah* were appointed as civil servants, receiving a monthly salary from the government. All *madrasahs* become *Sekolah Rendah Islam* (SRI, Islamic Primary School), *Sekolah Guru Islam* (SGI, Teacher Islamic School), *Sekolah Menengah Islam* (SMI, Junior Islamic High School), and *Sekolah Menengah Islam Atas* (SMIA, Senior Islamic High School). The state also modified Islamic schools, also popularly known as *madrasah*, but this is different from the earlier *madrasah* established by modernist organisations like PUSA.

During the New Order, the dichotomy between religious (Islamic) schools and secular schools were clear. The government strongly favoured *sekolahs* over *madrasahs*. From the 1970s to 1990s, some *madrasahs* had poor facilities and inadequate teachers. The situation in rural areas were the worst. For example, in one *madrasah* with over three hundred students, there were a limited number of full time teachers paid by the government. Many teachers had to teach on a volunteer basis and had to seek other resources to support their livelihood. At this stage, the effort to make *madrasah* into “*sekolah negeri* “ (state school) did not result in a better position for *madrasahs* within the Indonesian educational system. *Madrasahs* were still marginalised in terms of financial support from the government. In some instances, *madrasahs* were even perceived to be second-class compared to state schools.

In 1974, the government of Indonesia issued a *Surat Keputusan Bersama Tiga Menteri* (the decree of three ministers). This decree was issued by the Minister of Religious Affairs, the Minister of Education, and the Minister of Home Affairs to place the *madrasah* on an ‘equal’ level with state secular schools. The decree meant that *madrasahs* had to reduce their religious subjects in their curriculum, and adopt more secular subjects. The mandate dictated that 70% of *madrasah* curricula had to consist of general or secular [school] subjects, with only 30% of subjects being Islamic subjects. With this change, the output of *madrasah* would be similar those of secular schools, allowing graduates of the system to pursue further studies at secular schools or university. Under these new regulations, students from the *madrasah* system would be allowed to transfer to the general school system, something that was

not previously allowed. However, students attend *madrasahs* at lower rates than general schools (*sekolah*). A report released on the quality of *madrasah* education suggests that 21.40% of Indonesian students were enrolled in *madrasah*, while 78.40% were enrolled in general schools for junior and secondary education (Ali, et.alii.: 2011). Overall, although there have been efforts to make *madrasah* 'equal' to *sekolah*, there is still a gap between these two schooling systems.

The effort to make *madrasahs* 'equal' to *sekolah* has, on the one hand, made the *madrasah* lose some of its 'religious' or 'Islamic' character. They currently have a similar curriculum to general schools (*sekolah*). At the same time, these changes have also made a positive impact for parents who send their children to *madrasah*. Parents now know that their children can pursue further education upon their completion of *madrasah* education; the students can use their certificate to apply for professional jobs (e.g. the bureaucracy). Since the New Order regime applied the centralisation policy, reform efforts had difficulty accommodating the curriculum to the local context. Both general schools and *madrasah* education is uniform regardless of the fact that some strongly Islamic areas may have special needs in regards to their *madrasah* education. Only with the recent introduction rules that allow school autonomy and management have *madrasah* and other schools to address special needs and align themselves accordingly to their local context.

Compared to its early history, the *madrasah* system has changed significantly. The *madrasah* used to be an Islamic school with a strong emphasis on Islamic subjects; it now shares many similarities with the *sekolah* system. Although *madrasahs* continue to be under the control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, many rules and principles governing the *madrasah* are also under the control of the Ministry of Education and Culture) being no longer affiliated with private organisations like PUSA, the *madrasah* in Aceh today are [state] *madrasah* with a uniform national curriculum, modern leadership and school management.

With this change, *madrasahs* are now more similar to *sekolah* than to *dayah*. The curriculum of both *madrasah* and *sekolah* emphasize general subjects (*pelajaran umum*). This modernization project also affected *dayah's* education earlier by becoming modern *dayah*, or inserting modern sciences in its curriculum—though to a much lesser extent than the *madrasah*. At this stage, Aceh and other provinces are not

dissimilar. However, this is not necessarily the case at the next stage of development, due to the impact of the special autonomy policy and the ‘shariatization’ of Aceh after autonomy was granted.

Local Content and ‘*Madrasatization*’ of *Sekolah*

In the New Order era almost all educational related policies and systems were centralised and standardized by the central government. In fact, “very little variation could be found amongst schools throughout the country” (Christano & Cumming, 2007: p. 121). This statement applies to both religious and secular state-owned schools. According to Christano, “the development of a national education system facilitated the transition from loyalty towards one’s ethnic group, religious affiliation, or class toward the nation state” (Christano & Cumming, 2007: p. 126). The local context, diversity, and local needs were generally overlooked in both *sekolah* and *madrasah* education. However, *pesantren* or *dayah* education are not standardized like the *madrasah* and *sekolah*. Although those traditional learning institutions may share some common features and principles, the curriculum offered in one *pesantren* or *dayah* varies from one to another.

In 1994, prior to the decentralization reform, some efforts had been carried out to accommodate the specific circumstances of particular regions regarding their educational needs. This policy is known as the *muatan lokal* (local content) curriculum. Within the local content provision, the province or district were able to introduce some subjects relevant to local needs, context, and circumstances. The decentralization of education transferred the provision of educational service from the central government to the district or provincial government. Apart from the popular subject of *muatan lokal* of foreign language for instance, Aceh’s curriculum also includes unique material subject. For instance, as a post-conflict area, peace education is included in some schools. Even some *dayah* use a textbook donated from *program pendidikan damai* (peace education program) project, and some of their instructors were also trained to deliver peace education. Some schools in Aceh have also introduced disaster risk reduction education for the students to respond to natural disasters, as Aceh is considered a vulnerable area for disaster, particularly for earthquakes. Further, as a part of their tsunami recovery projects, countries like Singapore and Turkey established some schools in Aceh. The people of Singapore supported the establishment of

Sekolah Fajar Hidayah and Turkey founded the *Sekolah Fatih Bilingual*. This kind of private elite education is quite new, never existing in Aceh before. Although, these schools are not religious schools like *madrasah* or *dayah*, they also emphasize Islamic sciences and values. Those schools are known today as elite Islamic schools in Aceh with a high tuition, accessible only to children of the well-off families.

The ‘*madrasatization*’ of *sekolah*?

As part of the Indonesian government’s policy to resolve the armed conflict in Aceh, decentralization in Aceh took a different form, particularly with the signing of the peace agreement between the Indonesian government and Aceh Independent Movement. Local autonomy has existed in Aceh since 1999. Autonomy gave Aceh a special right to formally implement *shari’a* law within Indonesia’s national ‘secular’ system. *Shari’a* has governed Aceh since 2002. This local autonomy policy also affected the public education domain, starting with Law No. 44/1999. Article 8 of this law explicitly states that Aceh would implement the concept of Islamic education. Local *qanun* (by-law) No. 6/2000 on the inclusion of Islamic subjects to general schools followed. In the national curriculum, students only learn Islamic subjects for two hours a week. With this new by-law, the hours devoted to Islamic subjects increased to six to eight hours a week in secular schools. From a legal perspective, the increase in Islamic subjects was strengthened by Law 18/2001 on Aceh self-autonomy, and local by-law no. 23/2002.

LOGA (Law on Governing Aceh)—Law No. 11/2006—was derived from the MoU or peace agreement between the Indonesian government and the Aceh Independent Movement (GAM). It was passed by the Indonesian national parliament. Some chapters of the law also dealt with Islamic education, strengthening aspects of Aceh-specific education and the local context within the framework of national education. In 2008, the local parliament of Aceh passed by-law no.5/2008 on Islamic education, again strengthening the significance of “Islamic” subjects in education. From a curriculum point of view, there are virtually no differences between the Islamic *madrasah* and the secular *sekolah* in Aceh. Currently, the curriculum for religious subjects in *sekolah* are similar to that in the *madrasah*. For example, ‘*aqidah*’ (Islamic theology), *akhlāq* (Islamic ethics), *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *Quran*, *Hadith*,

Tārikh (Islamic history) are also taught, and some schools also teach Arabic.¹¹ Until recently, all of these subjects were considered to be ‘*Pendidikan Agama Islam*’ (Islamic studies), thus only learned for two hours a week. Some *sekolah* have even gone further by trying to apply Islamic integrated educational models. Regular schools, like *SMA Fajar Harapan* (among the best senior high schools in Aceh) also teach a traditional *kitab kuning* in the curricula such as the *Kitāb Matn taqrīb* and the *Masāil al-muhtadī* as an extra-curricular activity, etc. The school has also integrated text books (*kitāb*) like *Matn taqrīb* or *Akhlāq li al-banīn*—classical Islamic texts that are not even used in *madrasahs*. This school also applied a *boarding* system like traditional Islamic schools. Other well-regarded schools like *Fajar Hidayah* and *Fatih Bilingual* also have strong features of Islamic education. The so-called *Rancangan Sekolah Berstandar Indonesia* (RSBI, International School Stubs) also do not delineate religious and non-religious subjects in education. Like a *pesantren* or *dayah*, these schools also train their students in public religious speaking, known in *pesantren* or *dayah* as *muhadharah*.

A school principal in Banda Aceh, Ms Deni Hidayati mentioned that at the beginning, the idea behind the inclusion of Islamic subjects and values in *sekolah* was directed toward the ‘transformation’ of *sekolah* into *madrasah*. Like *madrasah*, general or secular schools (*sekolah*) in Aceh are currently inclined to be more Islamic, having Islamic extracurricular activities such as religious congregation (*pengajian*), Quranic recitation classes, etc.¹² The major objective of this new policy was actually to blur the dichotomy between secular and religious education. General schools also utilize the same textbook as *madrasahs* do. In general, there is little difference between curriculums in *madrasah* and in general school. In fact, general schools in urban areas like in Banda Aceh may even have stronger Islamic dimension, introducing skills like the writing of Arabic Malay script to students. Some general schools in Aceh also have daily communal prayers programs, weekly religious congregation, or Quran recitation on a daily basis. During Ramadan (fasting month), the regular learning processes in *sekolah* are transformed into [intensive] religious learning. Some schools even try to teach secular subjects from the Islamic perspectives, a practice known as the ‘Islamization of knowledge’.

Further, if students of *dayah*, *madrasah* and *sekolah* used to be differentiated by their school uniform, this is no longer true—particularly for female students. With the formalization of *shari’ah* law,

all students in Aceh—whether in Islamic schools or general schools—wear the Muslim dress for their uniform. Formerly, only the female students of *dayah* and *madrasah* were required to wear a head scarf, commonly known as *jilbab*. In the 1990s, few general schools in Aceh had Muslim dress as their uniforms.

Overall, with the introduction of the current policy of Aceh's local government, *sekolah* in Aceh seems to be like *madrasah*, whereas before *madrasah* was changed to resemble the *sekolah* model. This 'madrasatization' of *sekolah* is a result of the *pendidikan Islami* (Islamic education) policy applied in the framework of local autonomy and the formalization of *shari'ah* law in Aceh. This latest development in Islamic schooling has meant that Aceh has diverged from national patterns. Nationally, while some *sekolahs* have adopted Islamic values and content (e.g. *Sekolah Islam Terpadu* [SIT, Integrated Islamic School])¹³, these have been decisions made by the *yayasan* (foundation) of the *sekolah*, applying to an individual school. Further, most of the *sekolah* have modified their curriculum to insert more Islamic subjects are private schools, whereas state schools or *sekolah negeri* still have the same curriculum proportion as before, focusing more on non-religious subjects. In contrast, all of state schools in Aceh have been affected by the local policy of Pendidikan Islami to add more Islamic subjects to their curriculum compared to national curriculum.

Conclusion

The Islamic education across Indonesia initially had similar patterns of development and transformation. First, the traditional model of Islamic learning was developed. Second, Islamic education was 'changed' when modernity and ideas about modern schooling challenged the traditional system. However, a closer look on the ground shows that the form and timing of changes were different. More importantly, the backgrounds—either political or philosophical—were also varied. The well-known dichotomy of modernist and traditionalist contestation is no longer relevant for examining reform in Islamic education and schooling.

Regions like Aceh show how local Islamic schooling emerged, was reformed and even reacted to the challenges of the modernity, and more importantly, to local social and political changes. In the latest development, it is apparent that the change and reform of Islamic

schooling in Aceh ('madrasatization' of *sekolah*) is linked closely to socio-political change, primarily the local autonomy policy and the accompanying formalisation of shari'a law. At this stage, the change and reform of Islamic education in Aceh absorbed factors from the local context, and followed a path that diverged from the national one.

Endnotes

1. Although, the term school of schooling is closely associated to modern concept of education, the term of Islamic schooling referred to in this article is used not only for *madrasah*, but also the so-called 'traditional' Islamic schools of *dayah*.
2. *Dayah* is a local term for *pesantren*, and in this article for Aceh context, I will use the term *dayah* instead of *pesantren*, although *pesantren* is occasionally also used in Aceh to refer to the traditional Islamic learning. Also, in this article, I do not differentiate between *dayah* and *rangrang*, as the nature and character of education took place in *dayah* and *rangrang* is basically similar.
3. The result of online survey 2012 – 2013 by EMIS. Ditjen Pendis Kemenag RI.
4. Small 'mosque' functioned as a place for communal prayer, informal religious learning, or even for social interactions among the villagers such as for community meeting, etc.
5. The traditional model of Islamic learning model used to take place in *meunasah* are not commonly found any longer today. The learning of Quranic recitation today have been replaced by modern system, namely *metode iqra'*. This model resemble schooling system with the grading system, classical learning model and fixed curriculum, and also a 'graduation' ceremony, namely *tasyakkuran* for the children who have accomplished the whole level of their study. If a *meunasah* instructor was also a local *teungku* or *ulama*, who conducted the teaching voluntarily, the *metode iqra'* model recruited the teachers on merit basis, and are paid accordingly. In *metode iqra'* learning model, the children are also not taught the Islamic classical textbook. *Metode iqra'* learning model followed a Java (Yogya) based model which then spread over across Indonesia in 1990s. The attention on local content has been very few as it has a more nationalised and centralised model, and this differed from the previous model of *meunasah* learning system.
6. Nowadays, there are also some *dayah*, which have more permanent building with better financial support either from their own *yayasan* (organisational foundation), business or from the support of local government through Badan Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Dayah (the office for *dayah* education and development).
7. Dayah Mudi Mesra is located at Desa Mideun Jok in Samalanga in Bireun. With thousands of students, this *dayah* has been currently the biggest traditional *dayah* in Aceh. The Mudi Mesra *dayah* leaders believed the early history of this *dayah* dated back to the priod of Sultan Iskandar Muda's reign during the seventeenth century of Aceh Darussalam kingdom. However, it is only from the twentieth century onward, the *dayah* has more concrete data about its history and development. In 1927, Tgk. H. Syihabuddin Bin Idris was the leader of the *dayah* with 100 male students and 50 female students. The *dayah* has a humble non- permanent compound for the dormitories of those students. When Tgk. H. Syihabuddin Bin Idris passed away in 1935, the leadership of the *dayah* was taken over by his brother in law Tgk. H. Hanafiah Bin Abbas, popularly known as "Tgk.Abi". During Tgk. Abi period, the number of students increased although it was not so significant. When he passed away in 1964, the *dayah* was then passed on to his son in law, namely Tgk. H. Abdul Aziz Bin Tgk. M. Shaleh, also known as "Abon Aziz". Abon Aziz passed away in 1989, Tgk. H. Hasanoel Bashry Bin H. Gade known as "Abu Mudi" or "Waled Hasanon" succeeded him. In Waled Hasanon period, the *dayah* started to be 'modernised'. The *dayah* nowadays has several units of business and learning activities such as cooperatives,shops, language centre and *bahsul masail* centre or a research centre. There is also vocational skill training unit and alumni organisation. The *dayah* also has Yayasan Pendidikan Islam Al-Aziziyah (YPIA) that manage secondary educational school in cooperation with the Ministry of Religious Affairs that would help the *dayah* students to pursue formal education. The remarkable changes are the establishment of *sekolah* system within the *dayah*; the *dayah* has a TK (kindergarten), SD (elementary school) Islam Al-Aziziyah, SMP (junior high school) Islam Al-Aziziyah, STAI (college) Al-Aziziyah. The STAI was

established in 2003 within the *dayah* compound, this STAI has several departments; namely Syariah, Dakwah, and Tarbiyah. The curriculum of all departments is similar to IAIN or STAIN (The State Institute for Islamic Studies) model that also include several general or secular subjects as well. If it is traced back to the strong resistance of Abon Aziz towards the general schooling, this is quite significant change in the history of Dayah Mudi Mesra. All of these changes including the adoption of general schooling model occurred in 1990s.

8. Another *dayah* like Dayah Daruzzahidin which has been established since 1966 in Lam Ceu Aceh Besar adopted the changes even much later. When a number of humanitarian aids were pledged to Aceh during post tsunami disaster, some of the humanitarian assistances were in kind of a support for education. During the period, Dayah Daruzzahidin received a sponsor financial support from Malaysian. Hence, the new complex of more permanent building and dormitories were then established afterwards. Some other changes or reforms followed the physical changes of the *dayah* since then. With the modern feature of schooling, the *dayah* also transform themselves to adopt the substance of modern education through the inclusion of religious subject. The *dayah* started to establish a formal schooling system or *sekolah* since 2005; the *dayah* has a SMP (Sekolah Menengah Pertama) and Madrasah Aliyah outside the traditional *dayah* curriculum. With the changes, this *dayah* becomes 'modern' and places more emphasize on mastering foreign language. The students are encouraged to practice the two foreign languages in their daily conversation. If before, they only studied classical text book of Shafite school such as *Tanah*, *Mahalli*, and *Tuhfah*, currently modern reference in Islamic jurisprudence such *al - Fiqh al Mu'asbir* authored by Yusuf al Qaradawi is also taught in the *dayah*. The translation skill, and reading contemporary materials on the Islamic subjects were also emphasised.
9. An Arabic word means teacher or lecturer.
10. A local term means religious teacher, figure, or leader.
11. The school in Indonesia has a subject called *muatan lokal* (local substance) in which they can choose particular subject to be taught based on their situational need. Before the introduction of Islamic education policy, the schools in Aceh used to choose Mandarine or Deutch language for their local substance for reign language subject apart from English. Nowadays, most schools in Aceh will choose Arabic or skill for writing and reading Arabic Malay texts instead.
12. Interview with Ms. Deni Hidayati, July 2011 in Banda Aceh.
13. Sekolah Islam Terpadu is a general schooling that stressed on Islamic knowledge and values more, it is usually generated, or connected to one of Islamic political parties in Indonesia, namely Partai Keadilan Sejahtera(PKS).

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قيمة الاشتراك السنوي خارج إندونيسيا:

لسنة واحدة ٧٥ دولارا أمريكا (للمؤسسة) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٥
دولارا أميركا، ٥٠ دولارا أمريكا (للفرد) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٠
دولارا أميركا. والقيمة لا تشمل على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوي.

رقم الحساب:

خارج إندونيسيا (دولار أميركا):

PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
account No. 101-00-0514550-1 (USD).

داخل إندونيسيا (روبية):

PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
No Rek: 128-00-0105080-3 (Rp).

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:

لسنة واحدة ١٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للمؤسسة) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها
٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية، ١٠٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للفرد) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها
٤٠,٠٠٠ روبية. والقيمة لا تشمل على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوي.



ستوديا إسلاميكا

مجلة إندونيسيا للدراسات الإسلامية
السنة العشرون، العدد ٣، ٢٠١٣

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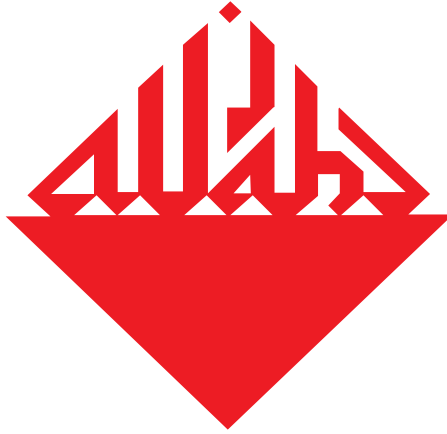
ستوديا إسلاميكا (ISSN: 0215-0492) هي مجلة دورية يصدرها مركز البحوث الإسلامية والإجتماعية (PPIM) جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاكرتا (STT/DEPPEN NO 129/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976)، وترتكز للدراسات الإسلامية في إندونيسيا خاصة وآسيا جانوبي شرقي إجمالاً. تقبل هذه المجلة على إرسال مقالات المتقنين والباحثين التي تتعلق بمنهج المجلة. والمقالات المنشورة على صفحات هذه المجلة لا تعبر عن هيئة التحرير أو أي جمعية التي تتعلق بها. لكنها مرتبطة ومنسوبة إلى آراء الكاتين، والمقالات المحتوية في هذه المجلة قد استعرضتها هيئة التحرير. وهذه المجلة قد أقرها وزارة التعليم والثقافة أنها مجلة علمية (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 56/DIKTI/ Kep/2012).

ستوديا اسلاميا

سثوديا اسرامسا

السنة العشرون، العدد ٣، ٢٠١٣

مآلة إنءونسية للءراساء الإسلامية



إءعاء الحق وءءوءءء السامع ففءءء الترففة
الإسلامفة: ءراسء أولفة ففءءء الكءبء المقررء
لءءرفس ماءء الإسلامفة بالءامعاء الإنءونسة
ءوءف س. ءرءنا

معراء السالكفن إلى مرءبءء الواءفن بهاء
سفء العارففن: بقاء الطرفقة الشطارفة
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