
SUNNAH SCHOOLS IN JAKARTA GREATER AREA: DAKWAH, EDUCATION, AND THE CHANGING FACE OF URBAN MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN INDONESIA

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Received: 01st September 2022; Revised: 26th October 2022; Accepted: 28th December 2022

Abstract

This qualitative study examines the emergence of sunnah schools and their influence on the development of educational institutions among urban Muslim communities in Indonesia. Three key aspects were explored: (1) the important figures and main actors in establishing sunnah schools, (2) the content and materials used and developed in these schools, and (3) the local community response to their establishment. The study was conducted in the Jakarta Greater Area (Jabodetabek) area, encompassing South Tangerang, Depok, and Bogor Regency. The findings reveal that while sunnah schools have similarities with public schools in general education, there are significant differences in religious education, particularly in the areas of tauhid, fiqh, and other religious sciences according to the Salafi manhaj. In addition to adopting the curriculum of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, sunnah schools also use some special materials, including extracurricular activities such as horse riding and archery, which are considered part of the sunnah of the Prophet. The study concludes that the growth of sunnah schools is closely linked to the dynamics of educational institutions, changes in lifestyle trends, and the development of identity politics in urban Muslim communities in Indonesia.

Keywords: Islamic education; sunnah school; urban muslims; Indonesia

Abstrak

Penelitian kualitatif ini mengkaji kemunculan sekolah sunnah dan pengaruhnya terhadap perkembangan lembaga pendidikan di kalangan masyarakat muslim perkotaan di Indonesia. Tiga aspek kunci yang diteliti: (1) tokoh penting dan aktor utama dalam pendirian sekolah sunnah, (2) konten dan materi yang digunakan dan dikembangkan di sekolah sunnah tersebut, dan (3) tanggapan masyarakat setempat terhadap pendiriannya. Kajian lapangan dilakukan di wilayah Jabodetabek, meliputi Kota Tangerang Selatan, Depok, dan Bogor. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sementara sekolah sunnah memiliki kesamaan dengan sekolah umum dalam pendidikan umum, ada perbedaan yang signifikan dalam pendidikan agama, khususnya di bidang tauhid, fikih, dan ilmu agama lainnya menurut manhaj Salafi. Selain mengadopsi kurikulum Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, sekolah sunnah juga menggunakan beberapa materi khusus, antara lain kegiatan ekstrakurikuler seperti berkuda dan memanah yang dianggap sebagai bagian dari sunnah Nabi. Kajian ini menyimpulkan bahwa pertumbuhan sekolah sunnah sangat erat kaitannya dengan dinamika lembaga pendidikan, perubahan tren gaya hidup, dan perkembangan politik identitas masyarakat muslim perkotaan di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: pendidikan Islam; sekolah sunnah; muslim perkotaan; Indonesia

How to Cite : Yuliyani, A., Darmadi, D., Sadawi, Hafid, M., Asmui. (2022). Sunnah Schools in Jakarta Greater Area: Dakwah, Education, and the Changing Face of Urban Muslim Communities in Indonesia. *TARBIYA: Journal of Education in Muslim Society*, 9(2), 163-174. doi:10.15408/tjems.v9i2.31060.

Introduction

The emergence of socio-religious phenomena, such as the "hijrah," among urban Muslims has become a significant topic in contemporary Islamic studies in Indonesia, and it raises a number of important questions about the future impact on the development of Islamic education and religious education in the country. Despite the fact that Islam is not the basis of the state in Indonesia, it has increasingly influenced social and political dynamics in the country since the late 1980s and early 1990s (Hasan, 2009).

Experts agree that Islam has shown its vitality as a symbolic identity in Indonesia. The role of Islam in the public sphere is so important that mosques continue to grow rapidly with various programs, and the number of worshipers continues to increase. Additionally, various Islamic fashion trends, religious programs on social media (especially YouTube and Instagram), the publication of Islamic books and magazines, and the rapid development of various types of religious and Islamic education have emerged (Hasan, 2009; Burhanuddin & Baedowi, 2003). One of the most notable phenomena is the emergence of "Sunnah Schools," Islamic schools based on the Salafi manhaj, which promote the concept of "education with Sunnah." The growth of these schools is closely linked to the importance of education in changing lifestyle trends and the development of identity politics as part of the "revival of urban Muslim communities" (Pribadi, 2020).

The aim of this research is to provide insight into the proliferation of "Sunnah Schools" and educational institutions that use the Manhaj Salaf model in big cities in Indonesia. Over 400 schools and non-formal educational institutions offer programs under various names such as "Education with Sunnah" or "Manhaj Salaf" across various levels of education and locations in Indonesia. These programs are offered in Early Childhood Education (14 locations), Kindergarten (51 locations), Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (12 locations), Madrasah Tsanawiyah (18 locations), Madrasah Aliyah (9 locations), Elementary Schools (105 locations), Junior High Schools (95 locations), High Schools (42 locations), Vocational High Schools (2), Universities (9 campuses), Islamic Boarding Schools (43 locations), and Course Institutions (11 locations) (sekolahsunnah.com). These schools and educational institutions are located in cities with large populations, including urban areas such as Jakarta, Bekasi, Bandung, Bogor, Serang Banten, Solo, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Malang, Mataram, Makassar, Banjarmasin, Balikpapan, Pekanbaru, Medan, Palembang, among others. This research aims to provide an understanding of the significance of these institutions and their impact on the education system in Indonesia.

Many questions arise from the emergence of Sunnah Salaf schools in Indonesia. One of the main questions is why the followers of the Manhaj Salaf decided to build their own educational institutions, rather than adopting the existing models of religious education in Indonesia, such as those affiliated with NU and Muhammadiyah. Another question is how far the development of Salafi institutions will go and whether they pose a partner, opportunity, or threat to larger Islamic organizations like Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Persis, Nahdlatul Watan, and Al-Khairaat.

It's worth acknowledging that the popularity and proliferation of Salafi da'wah, particularly among youth and intellectuals in big cities in Indonesia, have contributed to the emergence of these Sunnah Salaf schools (Saputra, 2018). However, their presence and da'wah movement often raise controversy due to the lack of transparency surrounding their establishment and the role of Salafi da'wah within these institutions (Thalibi, 2006).

In Saudi Arabia, Wahhabism and Salafism are doctrines that are taught from an early age through various mediums, especially education (Jahroni, 2015). The Ministry of Education (MoE) in Saudi Arabia is dominated by ideologues of the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwān al-

Muslimūn), which results in a very conservative and intolerant curriculum (Commins, 2019). The Muslim Brotherhood movement, which initially developed in Egypt, was likely influenced by the Wahhabi movement due to their political closeness and both claiming to be a movement that purifies and restores Islamic studies. Although Saudi Arabia provided protection to Muslim Brotherhood exiles from Egypt, many Salafi clerics in Saudi Arabia reject the Muslim Brotherhood as a political movement and other ideas that are considered contrary to the Wahhabi and Salafi beliefs (Blanchard, 2011).

Since 1980, Saudi Arabia has invested millions of dollars in exporting Salafism, a strict form of Islam, to Indonesia, which historically has been a tolerant and diverse country. It is believed that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has built more than 150 mosques, a large university with full scholarships in Jakarta, and several Arabic language institutes. They also supply more than 100 boarding schools with books and teachers and disburse thousands of scholarships for postgraduate studies in Saudi Arabia. There are approximately 30,000 Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, making it an attractive target for Saudi influence. As a result, this has strengthened the network of Saudi influence in Indonesia (Varagur, 2022).

According to El Fadl (2005), the propagation of Wahhabism and Salafism from Saudi Arabia is a result of the Sunni-Shia rivalry in the Middle East, which has had an impact on the emergence of political Islamic religious ideologies such as al-Qaeda. Islamist groups such as the Taliban and al-Qaeda were clearly influenced by the Wahhabi movement.

Indonesia is considered to be one of the most important target countries for Saudi Arabia's educational and cultural diplomacy, among others. Saudi Arabia has also built a campus for Al-Azhar University in Egypt, funded certain groups in Bosnia and built schools in the 1990s, financed many madrasas in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and sent 25,000 clerics to schools in India between 2011 and 2013. It is important to note the influence of the educational model in the Middle East, especially in Saudi Arabia, in understanding this phenomenon. Some key personnel at LIPIA Jakarta previously held important posts in Bosnia and Djibouti (Varagur, 2022).

To better understand the educational system and model in Saudi Arabia, it is essential to recognize that the education system is segregated by gender. The state provides general education for boys, general education for girls, and traditional Islamic education for boys. Special schools train boys to become ulama (scholars). The Ministry of Education is responsible for general education for boys, while the General Presidency for Girls' Education oversees girls' education. Students of both sexes follow the same curriculum and take the same annual exams. Primary school lasts for six years and consists of Arabic, arts, geography, history, home economics (for girls), physical education (for boys), and religious and Islamic studies.

General education in Saudi Arabia begins with basic education, which lasts for six years and is compulsory, followed by secondary and secondary education, each lasting three years. Education in Saudi Arabia is free at all levels of K-12 education ('K 12 Education System of Saudi Arabia Classes 1 to 12,' 2022). Basic education typically provides Islamic education subjects, develops basic literacy and numeracy skills, and instills a sense of responsibility towards society. This level of education focuses on the study of Arabic, religion, and culture, as well as general studies and science.

The curriculum used in Saudi Arabia includes mathematics, history, Islamic education, fine arts, geography, science, Arabic, household economics for girls, civics, and physical education for boys. At the end of grade 6, students are required to take an exam, and those who pass receive a certificate of basic education and are eligible for the next level of education ('K 12 Education System of Saudi Arabia Classes 1 to 12', 2022). Upon graduation from elementary school, students receive a General Elementary School Certificate. Middle school lasts three years and

builds upon many of the classes from elementary school. High school is also three years and students can follow either a general or technical path. For those who study Islam, the level of education used is religious high school for three years.

The Ministry of Education manages the school education system in Saudi Arabia, where there are both public and private schools. Public schools follow the general Saudi curriculum, which is mostly taught in Arabic, and focuses more on religious education and Islamic studies. English is introduced in public schools at the beginning of grade 4. Private schools, on the other hand, teach English from kindergarten. In Saudi Arabia, schools have separate classes for female and male students.

According to some foreign observers, Saudi Arabia has been using education since 1980 to indirectly spread Salafism, which is considered a puritanical form of Islam, to various countries, including Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim country. This effort is mainly supported by two factors: the establishment of LIPIA and the provision of scholarships for Indonesian students to attend lectures for free at higher education institutions in Saudi Arabia (Varagur, 2022).

The role and diplomatic relations of Saudi education are managed by the religious attaché, a special office affiliated with the Saudi Arabian embassy in Jakarta. The office provides scholarships for students to study in Saudi Arabia, making it an important player in Indonesia's education landscape.

Meanwhile, research on urban Muslim communities in Indonesia has highlighted several trends and socio-religious dynamics of followers of Tarekat, a Sufi order, using terms such as "City Sufism" (Burhani and Bagir, 2011; Darmadi, 2014) or "Urban Sufism". This research suggests that Tarekat or Sufism not only existed and persisted in the past, but has experienced a significant revival in many areas of the Muslim world, including Indonesia.

Furthermore, works such as Moeslim (1995) and Ahmad (2001) show the existence of spiritual yearning and socio-religious dynamics among urban Muslim communities that are typical in the midst of rapid modernization and urbanization. They document religious practices and rituals that have developed from the rural areas where these communities originate.

Method

This research outlines a qualitative approach that was employed in three stages over a period of six months. The study utilized an educational anthropological method approach, which is a natural fit for examining educational systems within specific societies. Anthropology has long viewed the teaching-learning process as an essential component of society, and early anthropological work focused on comparative analyses of school systems across traditional societies worldwide and modern education models in Europe and America. However, the field has evolved, with contemporary anthropologists focusing more on the cultural aspects of education in specific societies. This evolution has led to the development of "educational anthropology," a field that brings together scholars of education, pedagogy, and anthropology to examine cultural aspects of both formal and informal education.

Results and Discussion

The Origin of the Sunnah Schools

Sunnah schools are a recent phenomenon that is rapidly gaining popularity, particularly in urban areas. The growth of these schools can be attributed to the community's increasing

demand for quality Islamic education with a focus on the sunnah, amidst the rise of urbanization and migration.

Islamic education is rapidly expanding, and this can be attributed to the desire of parents, especially those living in urban areas, to impart Islamic values to their children that align with their understanding of the teachings of the Prophet and the salafi thought. As a result, it's not surprising that parents are sending their children to sunnah schools that align with their preferences and offer the opportunity for their children to study Islam in a way that is true to the guidance of the sunnah.

The development of sunnah schools can also be attributed to the growth of Islamic da'wah movement, which is closely linked to Salafism, but adapted to the contemporary urban context that is characterized by pop, trendy, or contemporary culture. Sunnah schools are particularly appealing to parents who are looking for a more immersive Islamic education that is based on Salafist principles. It's evident that the rapid growth of sunnah schools is a response to the urgent need for religious education in urban communities, which is essential for children to gain a strong foundation in Islam and become good Muslims in accordance with the guidance of the Prophet.

In recent years, public schools with an "Islamic" label, such as elementary, junior and senior high schools, have grown and developed rapidly, even surpassing the growth of madrassahs. However, there is a concern that public schools tend to prioritize general subjects over religious studies, which is in contrast to sunnah schools that focus on religious studies and tend to promote Salafist ideas.

The increasing number of sunnah schools can be attributed to the growing number of Islamic communities that are enrolling their children in these schools. It's clear that the existence of sunnah schools is highly desirable and a source of hope for parents, especially urban Muslims whose "doctrine and ustadz" are affiliated with the manhaj salaf.

There are around 400 schools and institutions in Indonesia that are affiliated with the Salaf ideology or manhaj. Schoolsunnah.com, a website that focuses on sunnah schools in Indonesia, provides information about these schools. In addition, sunnah schools have strong networks and organized associations. The Indonesian Sunnah School Communication Association (ASESI) was established on April 10, 2016, with the aim of improving and developing the managerial capabilities of its members, who manage Islamic schools according to the understanding of Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah "manhaj salaf." The ASESI has at least six objectives, including improving institutional management capacity, enhancing the quality of human resources, improving the quality of students and graduates, and developing Sunnah education management in accordance with advances in technology and science in line with Islamic law.

The existence of ASESI has provided a strong platform for sunnah schools with "manhaj salaf" and has connected them with one another. ASESI is not just an association or forum for fellow "manhaj salaf" sunnah schools; it also acts as a marketing tool and a place to socialize these schools. ASESI's promotional efforts, such as holding expos since 2013, have increased the brand and bargaining value of sunnah schools to the wider community, especially for parents who want their children's education to have a deeper religious insight. These efforts have helped to increase the number of enthusiasts and applicants for sunnah schools. ASESI's management provides contact persons or special numbers that can be contacted to communicate and answer questions or complaints that parents want to convey regarding sunnah schools and religious education.

PULDAPII is another association of sunnah schools with "manhaj salaf" in Indonesia. This association only focuses on foundations and Islamic boarding schools affiliated with "manhaj salaf." PULDAPII has a broad mission covering all fields from education to the economy. Its vision is to become the largest institution in Indonesia, which is "manhaj Ahlussunnah Wal

Jama'ah" in carrying out activities in the fields of education, da'wah, social, economy, and community empowerment. It is essential to note that the Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah referred to by PULDAPII is different from the Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah in Indonesia in general. PULDAPII refers to Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah with a salafi understanding, closer to the Wahhabi salafi, which is more prevalent in the Middle East-Saudi Arabia. Many members of PULDAPII cooperate in the field of Education-Islamic boarding schools and da'wah work and even obtain accreditation from universities in Saudi Arabia, such as Medina University. At least 12 PULDAPII foundations and pesantrens have received accreditation from the Islamic University of Medina (UIM) since 1994, proving that the pesantren network that joined PULDAPII has been in existence for a long time and has even experienced an increase. In 2021, at least six Islamic boarding schools have received recognition and accreditation from the Islamic University of Medina (UIM).

Da'wah and Salafi Educational Institutions in Indonesia

Salafism is a conservative and exclusive perspective, the word salaf or salafi means past or people who precede us both in science, faith, virtue and goodness in the sense that the salaf is one group or person scientifically better than in the current generation (Huda, 2015). Meanwhile, according to the term, salafi means the generation that is closer to the companions of the prophet. So, at this time when there is the term salafi then what is meant is someone who is trying to maintain the existence of an understanding that they consider the same as their friends. The adherents of this salafi understanding emphatically say that they are only based on the Qur'an and hadith in accordance with the understanding of their companions. We can interpret this as the understanding of the salaf is an understanding that adheres to the text of the Qur'an and Hadith and even rejects manhaj that are different from what they understand (Huda, 2015).

The term salafi is also referred to as literal generation or literal manhaj in the sense that these salafists understand the Qur'an and al Hadith literally or can be called textual understanding (Huda, 2015). Therefore, salafi understanding in general wants to restore Islamic understandings which they consider to have deviated from Islamic teachings which at the time of the Prophet Muhammad were then companions to tabi'in even the salaf considered that the Islam that exists today has been contaminated by modern understandings which must be returned to the holy of Islam as in the golden age era.

Today, salafi groups often identify themselves with reformist or revivalist groups, although many argue that salafi have conservative or even exclusive views. What has always been in the spotlight, especially in Indonesia, is the Wahhabi salafi group. Wahhabi salafi understanding is an ideology pioneered by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahab, a scholar from Najed Saudi Arabia. Basically there are many salafi sects or understandings, not only the Wahhabi salafi, including the neo-revivalism of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (Hasan al Banna), Jemaah Islamiyah, and the extreme Jihad of al-Qaeda (Huda, 2015).

According to Bernard Haykel, an expert from Princeton University, the salafi has a strong understanding of Islam and achieves a clear theology. They have a certain view that Islam must return to the perspective of Islam in the first period, like at the time of the prophet or at least the salaf al salih. They believe that many young people prefer with a clear perspective of the Qur'an and hadith, or with these perspective makes young people are more interested and certainly will be participate (Muzammil, 2013). According to Thomas Hegghammer, the consequence of that perspective and interpretation makes the perspective of salafi is very attractive to young people, both in the Arab world and the western as well as various other circles in the world. Not only that perspective, the claim to be al-firqah al-nâjîyah, makes the salafi increasingly admired or becomes a magnet for the people who have been oppressed, migrants, people who have been discriminated against in access to the truth (Muzammil, 2013).

Salafis have a set of strong principles that they adhere to. According to Muhammadiyah (2013), there are at least five principles that form the foundation of their perspective: 1) The sources of *aqidah manhaj salaf* are the Holy Qur'an, Hadith, and *ijma' salaf al salih*. They reject all interpretations and commentaries that do not conform to the *ijma' salaf al salih*; 2) Muslims must obey their leaders as long as they do not order disobedience. If leaders give a command that goes against Allah's commands, Muslims must reject it and only follow what is good and right; 3) Muslims must not consider other Muslims as disbelievers, unless they have done an act that invalidates their *aqidah*, Islam, and faith. Salafis do not consider *shirk akbar* as an act of infidelity because there is no evidence in the Holy Qur'an that supports this view.

Al-wala' wal bara is a fundamental principle that requires every Muslim to love for Allah and hate for Allah. Muslims must give all forms of loyalty (*wala'*) only to other Muslims, while hating only the polytheists and turning away (*bara*) from them. This principle distinguishes between three groups that Salafis love and hate: 1) The Prophet, his family, his companions, and obedient Muslims are to be loved with all the heart; 2) Unbelievers, polytheists, apostates, and those who commit acts that violate religion or *bid'ah* must be hated without any affection; 3) Believers who commit sins can be both loved and hated.

Ahlu al-sunnah must always encourage what is good and forbid what is wrong. Muslims must do everything commanded by Allah and His Messenger in accordance with the Holy Qur'an and Hadith. They must also stay away from all prohibitions, including *bid'ah* and *khufarat*. There are three rules to uphold this fifth principle: 1) Muslims must be patient and sincere in all problems that Allah gives them and must not give up; 2) They must have knowledge and awareness of *ma'ruf* and *munkar* to do both without making a mistake. According to Ibnu Taimiyah, every Muslim must have knowledge related to *ma'ruf* and *munkar* to distinguish between the two; 3) They must recognize the benefits and harms and review the problem if there are complicated differences.

Salafism has been extensively studied in Indonesia. Researchers, such as Jahroni and Wahid, have focused on the development of this perspective. The existence of Salafism has sparked debates in Indonesia, a country where Islamic culture has been successfully acculturated, such as in Selamatan, Pangnga'dereng (Sabara, 2018), and other places. Salafis believe that many Indonesian Islamic traditions cause *kufur* because they are *bid'ah*. They think that Muslims in Indonesia must abandon these traditions. Consequently, Indonesian Islamic scholars became inflamed and even attacked the Salafis because they believed that Islamic culture caused *shirk* and *kufur*.

Salafism has developed in Indonesia since the early 19th century when many Muslims went to Hajj to seek knowledge and became fascinated by Wahhabism. This movement was known as the first Salafi-Wahabi movement, which was later called the Padri (Wahib, 2017). Imam Bonjol, one of the most famous figures in the movement, was an Indonesian hero who opposed colonialism in the archipelago, especially in West Sumatra (Ubaidillah, 2012).

The Salafi movement, particularly Wahhabism, has had a long and complex journey in Indonesia. After the collapse of the Old Order and the New Order came to power, the Salafi Wahabi perspective began to develop. This development was marked by the visit of a Saudi scholar, Shaykh Abdul Aziz Abdullah Al Ammar, and a student of the great mufti of Saudi Arabia, Shaikh Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz Bin Baz, to Indonesia in the mid-1970s. Their visit acted as a green light for the development of Salafism, which has since grown rapidly and penetrated various fields, including politics and education. The emergence of LIPIA as the main mouthpiece of Wahhabism began to spread through campuses, and Saudi Arabia targeted Islamic boarding schools and madrasas to become targets for the spread of Wahhabism.

Since the 1980s, Saudi Arabia has invested millions of dollars in exporting Salafism to Indonesia. They have built over 150 mosques, a large university in Jakarta, and several Arabic language institutions. Saudi Arabia also supplies more than 100 boarding schools with books and teachers and brought preachers and teachers, disbursing thousands of scholarships for postgraduate studies in Saudi Arabia. All of this has certainly contributed to a deep and strong network of Saudi influence in Indonesia.

The establishment of LIPIA had become a long debate, and even the Minister of Education at the time was strongly opposed because it would lead to a more fanatical perspective of Islam. However, for many underprivileged students, LIPIA became a stepping stone to learn Arabic for free and even receive a monthly payment or Mukafa'ah money. As a result, the spread of Salafi Wahhabism is growing rapidly. LIPIA, as a Wahhabi-style purification clinic, has shown a positive trend in the formation of Salafi character in students.

The collapse of the New Order due to reforms that demanded Suharto step down from his position, led to the emergence of many intolerant and radical organizations affiliated with Salafi or Salafi Wahhabis, such as the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI) and Laskar Jihad (LJ). Even after the collapse of the New Order, Salafi Wahhabis played many roles under the pretext of freedom of expression and the organization of Islamic movements. The Salafi Wahhabis spread their perspective on the organization of the Islamic movement, marked by the formation of the Forum Komunikasi Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah (FKAWJ) initiated by Ja'far Umar Thalib and then the military movement of Laskar Jihad (LJ). This involvement caused internal conflicts within the Salafi movement. Ja'far claimed to be a follower of Suurriyah or Ibnu Surur, which differed from his friends such as Abu Nida. This division became the starting point of the Salafi division in Indonesia. Additionally, Ja'far with jumawa told the Salafi Wahhabi clerics in Saudi Arabia that he is the holder of the Salafi authority in Indonesia (Jahroni, 2020; Varagur, 2022; Wahib, 2017; Wahid, 2007).

Sunnah Schools in Greater Jakarta Area

Definition, Scope and Organizational Structure of the Sunnah Schools

This study reveals that each sunnah school has a distinct definition and tagline, despite sharing similar vision and mission. For instance, *sekolahsunnah.org* and ASES are professional organizations affiliated with sunnah schools, and they share a common goal of providing quality education while adhering to the *manhaj ahlussunnah*, memorizing and applying *arba'in hadith* and books as per their institutional references.

Many leaders and teachers of sunnah schools view the growth of such schools in urban areas as a necessary response to community requirements. The gap between expensive but high-quality sunnah schools and low-cost Islamic schools has led to the establishment of various sunnah schools across different regions.

Most founders of sunnah schools hold a LC degree, indicating their affiliation with Middle Eastern educational institutions, especially those in Saudi Arabia, including LIPIA graduates in Jakarta. Although there are no standardized or centralized organizational structures, the foundation's organizational model tends to influence the system and organizational structure of sunnah schools. Regular recitation and *taklim* assemblies are a common feature of these schools.

Physical infrastructure is an essential aspect of sunnah schools, with most buildings having a unique concept and modern facilities such as air conditioning, modern teaching equipment, and computer facilities. They also have a strong emphasis on sports, particularly archery and equestrian sports. Al-Ashr Islamic Boarding School in Rumpin, Kab. Bogor, for example, has its archery field, and gazebos for learning outside the classroom. Equestrian classes are also held,

although they are conducted outside the school. Overall, the study reveals that sunnah schools provide quality education and adhere to the principles of the manhaj ahlussunah while catering to the needs of the community.

Curriculum, Learning Materials and Community Responses

In general, Sunnah schools follow the national curriculum set by the Ministry of Education and Culture. However, they also have their own unique curriculum, which includes subjects like reading the Quran, Arba'in Hadith, Bulughul Maram, and Fiqh. Some schools even have a dedicated tauhid debriefing session, such as Ibnul Qoyyim in Pamulang, South Tangerang. Additionally, at schools like Al-Asr Islamic Boarding School in Rumpin, Bogor, students take turns reading one hadith during every prayer.

These schools also offer extracurricular activities like outbound programs, equestrian sports, and archery, as seen in PKBM An-Nuur in Limo, Depok. Most of the learning materials used in Sunnah schools are produced independently and are based on the references used in the curriculum. Parents of students are also given parenting materials extracted from Arabic books in line with the reference.

The books and reference materials used in Sunnah schools are mostly based on the LIPIA curriculum in Jakarta. This is because most of the teachers in these schools are LIPIA alumni, and they use reference books on subjects like Fiqh and tauhid, among others.

Despite some people associating Sunnah schools with Salafi or Wahhabi schools, others are unaware of the schools altogether and only view them as exclusive Islamic schools. There have been cases where local residents do not send their children to these schools because of the high fees, as seen at Al-Asr Islamic Boarding School in Rumpin, Bogor. Additionally, some people mistake Sunnah schools for Muhammadiyah schools or pesantrens, as they are not familiar with the term.

Stakeholders and Strategic Partners of the Sunnah Schools

Sunnah schools claim to have no special cooperation or relationship with certain institutions, although it is acknowledged that many of the teaching staff are alumni of institutions such as LIPIA. Some of the buildings constructed by sunnah schools receive funds from abroad, especially from Saudi Arabia. For instance, the Sunnah al-Asr Islamic boarding school in Rumpin, Bogor, has a mosque built with funds from Saudi Arabia. At the Ibnul Qoyyim School in Pamulang, South Tangerang, one of the teachers has a sanad in the Qur'anic field and has affiliation with the University of Medina, enabling alumni of this Sunnah school to study at the University of Medina.

The Salafi da'wah movement has grown rapidly in recent years, leading to an increase in the number of institutions affiliated with Salafism. These include foundations, schools, hospitals, Islamic boarding schools, and Arabic language courses. Many Salafi activists have also established non-formal institutions where alumni of Salafi schools can participate in various recitations or study programs at mosques, taklim assemblies, schools, offices, and mall buildings.

There are two things with regards to the community's response to sunnah schools. First, some people are not aware that sunnah schools are affiliated with Salafi/Wahhabi and only know them as high-cost schools. Second, some people do know and understand that these schools are affiliated with Salafi/Wahhabi, even though they may not know Salafi, they are aware of Wahhabism.

Sunnah schools attract students not only from the local area but also from other cities. For example, the al-Asr Islamic Boarding School has most of its students coming from Jakarta, Tangerang, South Tangerang, and Bogor City, even though Rumpin is in Bogor Regency.

Many sunnah schools, such as the An-Nuur institution in Limo Depok, have da'wah and socio-religious cooperation in schools by inviting speakers from abroad, especially from the Middle East. They even broadcast their da'wah and religious activities using their own radio waves (AM). These schools typically start with the establishment of a taklim assembly before it develops into bigger and wider social-religious activities.

Gender Aspect in Sunnah Schools

Sunnah schools generally accept both male and female students, as well as male and female teachers. However, in some cases, the gender composition is adjusted based on the facilities available. For instance, the Al-Asr Islamic Boarding School in Rumpin, Bogor regency originally only accepted male students due to inadequate facilities, but now also accepts female students. At the Ibnul Qoyyim Ilmi school in Pamulang, South Tangerang, which is still relatively new and lacks adequate facilities, male and female students are currently mixed, and so are the teachers.

Meanwhile, at the An-Nuur PKBM sunnah school in the Limo area of Depok, there is a more stringent separation between male and female students and teachers. The male and female mosques are located in separate areas, with the male mosque at the front of the school and the female mosque in a closed-off room. This level of separation is not common in general mosques in Indonesia, where men and women pray in separate areas but can still see each other from a distance. Female students and teachers at the PKBM An-Nuur Depok sunnah school wear black clothes and veils.

Characteristics of Sunnah Schools

Sunnah schools affiliated with the Salafi da'wah movement in urban areas have several identities and characteristics. These include: 1) Religious harmony with the state: These schools are obedient to the government and do not openly criticize it, whether through mass media, bulletins, magazines, books, or even in their pulpits or sermons (Adams, 2004); 2) Independent but well-structured: Although they do not have a general organization with a clear organizational structure, membership, or a mechanism for selecting leaders and administrative reports, they are well-structured and independent. They adhere to the correct understanding of Islam, which only refers to the holy Qur'an and Al-Sunnah with the understanding of the first three generations: companions, tabi'in, and tabi'ut-tabi'in (Adams, 2004); 3) Purification and refinement movement of religion: These schools carry out the purification of Islam and combat various new practices in religion (bid'ah). They consider bid'ah to have tarnished Islam, and thus they work to clean up the faith mixed with various ritual practices that are not derived from Islam (Al-Ubailan, 2003); 4) Strong and systematic doctrine: These schools prioritize tashfiyah and tarbiyah. Tashfiyah is a process of cleansing Islamic teachings from various values that are not sourced from Islam. Tarbiyah is an educational process for people with Islamic teachings who have undergone the tashfiyah process (Ramadhani, 2000); 5) Part of a global movement: These schools show signs of massive, global, and sometimes fragmented growth (Ostebo, 2009); 6) International network: Regular meetings of Salafi (da'i) are held in various regions, bringing in masyayikh from the Middle East. Salafi preachers hold an annual meeting to conduct training (dauroh) attended by shaikhs from the Middle East.

Conclusion

Overall, this study of several sunnah schools in three areas in Jabodetabek has led to several noteworthy conclusions. Firstly, although there are some similarities between sunnah schools and other schools in terms of general education, there are notable differences in religious education, particularly in the areas of tauhid, fiqh, and other religious sciences based on the manhaj salafi. Secondly, in addition to adopting the Ministry of Education and Culture's curriculum, sunnah schools also integrate special materials, particularly in the field of Islam, such as extracurricular activities like horse riding and archery, which are based on the Sunnah of the Prophet. Thirdly, sunnah schools tend to be more exclusive in terms of geographical scope and student acceptance, which may require greater financial resources and parental participation in student activities before they are accepted into the school.

In general, while sunnah schools offer a range of academic subjects that promote general knowledge, their primary focus is to instill religious values such as diligence, discipline, and piety based on the manhaj salafi. These values serve as a unique selling point for sunnah schools and provide students with a strong foundation in their religious beliefs. However, it is also important to recognize that the exclusivity and higher cost of sunnah schools may limit accessibility for certain segments of the population. Therefore, this study suggests that while sunnah schools play an important role in shaping the education and religious values of urban Muslim communities in Indonesia, their exclusivity and higher cost also pose challenges in terms of accessibility and inclusivity.

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