THE MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATION IN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS AND THE SHIFT OF SANTRI'S (ISLAMIC BOARDING STUDENT) POLITICS

SYAFRUDDIN AMIR

Department of Islamic Education, Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Syamsul Ulum,
Sukabumi City, West Java, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Studies on the modernization of education in Islamic boarding schools tend to discuss the issues of renewal, the development of the Islamic education system and its integration with national education. While according to the writer, there are more fundamental problems missing from such research, namely the strengthening of the secularism influence to santri (Islamic boarding students) community which gives an impact on the response to Islamic ideological party. The position of Islamic ideological parties, if chronologized with the history of the struggle for independence, is always on Islamic boarding base. This is marked by many leaders of the nation coming from pesantren. However, after the reform era, the Islamic ideological parties have experienced a decline even in the view of santri. This gap of problem left by the previous researchers that the writer tries to study.

This study uses a phenomenological approach, analytical descriptive method and qualitative research. The research which limits the object of study at Syamsul U'lum and Ibadurrahman Islamic Boarding School, Sukabumi City is intended to find a modernization process and a shift of santri's tendency in choosing political parties in these two Islamic boarding schools.

Modernization of education in Islamic boarding schools is carried out by holding formal education such as Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic Secondary School), Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic High School), General High School, Vocational High School and College in accordance with the wishes of education consumers, and the demand of era development as well as the need for preparing Muslim intellectual cadres. In the process and development, it gives some impact on (1) changes in the leadership model of the kiai (Islamic Priest) from centralistic to collective and so the impact of national education system implementation. (2) the process of education management and organizational system become more structural and systematic. On the other hand, (3) There is a change in santris' way of thinking, behaviour and their political attitude which causes a shift in trend to determine their political party choices. The findings in this study indicates that the more modern the Islamic boarding schools is, the weaker it supports the Islamic ideological party. Modernization held by Islamic boarding schools has created a shift of santri's political preferences towards Islamic ideological political parties, so pragmatically, it gives impacts on the decrease of the votes gained by these parties. This fact is also significantly influenced by the existence of internal and external factors of the party so it causes that the role of ideological Islam is increasingly minority.

KEYWORDS: Modernization, Education, Islamic Boarding Schools, Shift & Santri Politics

Original Article

Received: Feb 13, 2019; **Accepted:** Mar 03, 2019; **Published:** Mar 22, 2019; **Paper Id.:** IJESRAPR20194

INTRODUCTION

Modernization of education that occurs in the world of Islam is not more than a positive response from modernist Muslims toward the Muslims being left behind the progress of the modern west. Modernization itself is an effort made by Islamic leaders which includes improvements and reforms in Islamic education. Whereas Nurcholish Madjid argued that the core of modernization is science, and rationalization is an absolute necessity as an order of God. Therefore, the modernity must lead to an approach to God Almighty (NurcholishMadjid, 1995: 172).

Indeed, the identity of Western civilization can be seen from two important periods, namely modernism and postmodernism. Modernism is a modern Western stream of thought that arose from their historical experience in the last four centuries. Shortly, modernism is the concept that emerged before the rising of Western society from darkness to enlightenment age, the industrial age and scientific age. The characteristics of modern era are the development of a scientific view of life coloured by secularism, rationalism, empiricism, dichotomous way of thinking, desacralization, pragmatism and metaphysical truth disclaimer (religion)

Besides that, modernism which sometimes called westernism brought along nationalism, capitalism, humanism, liberalism, secularism and so on (Troger Garaudy, 1982: 222-223 and Maryam Jemeelah, 1975: I 5). John Locke, one of the modern Western philosophers asserted that liberalism, rationalism, freedom, and religious pluralism are the core of modernism. But which is considered to be quite prominent in modernism is secularism, both moderate and extrinsic (Muhammad al-Bahi, 1985: 52). While postmodernism is a movement of thought born as a protest against modernism or as a continuation. Postmodernism is different from modernism because it has shifted towards new ideas such as relativism, nihilism, pluralism and gender equality, and generally anti world view. But it can be said as the continuation of modernism because it still maintains the understanding of liberalism, rationalism and pluralism. That is, at least, an important element of Western civilization which is now dominating the world.

While modernization of education in Indonesia, Hasnun Asrohah said in early twentieth century, the Indonesian Islamic community had undergone several changes both in the form of religious revival, and enlightenment resulted by the courage to fight against the Dutch colonizers. Since it is impossible for the Indonesian people to maintain all traditional way of activities to counter the forces of Dutch colonialism (Hasnun Asrohah, 2001: 154-155).

Whereas the modernization leaders in Indonesia include Sheikh Ahmad Khatib, Shaykh Taber Jalaluddin, Shaykh Muhammad Djamil Djambek, Haji Rasul, and Abdullah Ahmad (Deliar Noer, 1998: 5). Renewal or modernization of Islam in Indonesia in the last thirty years has a new form, direction and approach which is different from the one that appears earlier. In Sociological perspective, the emergence of differences is a direct or indirect result of socio-cultural happening in Indonesia, which also cannot be compared to the developments that happened before (Azyumardi Azra, 2003: x).

The close relationship of modernization and education, especially Islamic education which colours the dynamics in Indonesia which is more known as development, is a complex multi-dimensional process. In this case, education becomes a variable of modernization, because it is a medium for the society in carrying out the agenda to achieve the goals of modernization and development. Education is absolutely necessary especially, Islamic education because however, it is a support to achieve progress, many experts said that education is the key to open the door towards modernization.

In the world of education, according to Azyumardi Azra, modernization is generally seen from two aspects.

On the one hand, education is seen as a variable of modernization. It means that without adequate education it will be difficult for any community to achieve its goals. On the other hand, education is seen as an object of modernization (Saridjo, 1996: 2). In this context, pesantren education is generally seen as still underdeveloped in various ways, therefore education must be renewed, rebuilt so that it can fulfil the expectations and functions assumed to it. This is along with Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts about modernization as dynamism which principally includes two processes, namely the reintroduction of positive life values that already exist, and also it includes the replacement of those old values with new values which are considered more perfect (Abdurrahman Wahid, 2007: 53).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Methodology

The chosen approach is a phenomenological approach because it requires the researcher to understand the phenomenon of what the research subjects experienced by directly involved so that they can develop patterns and relation of specific meanings resulted from the research (Lexy Moleong: 2007).

By using phenomenological approach, and analytical descriptive method and qualitative research. Phenomenological approach is one of the groups that belong to qualitative research. Phenomenology is a study about the appearance of a phenomena, to explore the essence of the meaning it contains.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Result

One of the modernization phenomenon of the Islamic boarding is characterized by opening formal school systems such as Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic Secondary School) Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic High School), Vocational High Schools, and College in accordance with the philosophical, juridical and sociological base. This process in turn causes a change of Kiai's leadership pattern from the centralistic to collective system, the occurrence of more democratic modern life's reality in pesantren, as well as the shift of communication pattern and system from one-way to multi-way communication.

The process of Islamic boarding school modernization, in many ways, does not cause the birth of educational dualism, or other contradictions, it can even run synergistically so it can establish more structured and systematic education management of pesantren. This situation can influence the pattern of more inclusive social life, more open and more democratic, especially among students.

Furthermore, the process of Islamic boarding school modernization which in turn occurs the changes of such educational patterns, can eventually result a shift in santri political attitudes and behaviour, one of which is marked by a tendency to determine political parties choices in the general election momentum. This, one of them, is caused by a change in learning system which more emphasizes on the growth of more inclusive political awareness, even though explicitly, there is no specific political education and democratization found for students. This political attitudes and behaviour inclusivism can in turn lead to more melting ideological factors, more rational views and attitudes, as well as weakening emotional and primordial sides originating from beliefs and religion.

Discussions

In his writings on *the Impact of Islamic Boarding School Engagement in Politics: Case Studies, Islamic boarding schools in Yogyakarta* use three theoretical approaches as well as a knife of analysis to explain the above problems, namely the theory about the relationship between religion and state, the theory of political economy, and the theory of political hegemony.

First, religion and politics. In his writings on efforts to capture the concept of the state in the history of Islamic political thought, Dien Syharuddin argued about the relationship between religion and state (politics) which has led to three paradigms of thought in Islamic politics. First, the integralistic paradigm that proposes the concept of unifying religion and state. Religion and the state cannot be separated (*scheiding van kerk en staat*) because what belongs to religion, territory is automatically as politics or state territory. Second, a secularistic paradigm that proposes a separation between religion and the state. In the context of Islam, this secularistic views reject the state based on Islam or at least reject the Islamic determination of certain form of the state. Third, the paradigm that proposes the view that religion and state are symbiotically related, that is, relating reciprocity and mutual need. In this case, religion requires state because with state, religion can develop. On the other hand, the state needs religion because with religion, the state can step in ethical and moral guidance (Dien Syamsuddin, 1993).

If related to the political system in Indonesia, it can be stated that Indonesia adheres those three paradigms. As it is reflected in the Pancasila (the five principles) as the basis of the state, the 1945 Constitution as the state constitution, until the presence of the Ministry (formerly the Department) of Religion as an institution that organizes religion in the state which adopt a symbiotic paradigm, the relationship between religion and state (politics) is a mutually influences, fulfilling one another, and even mutual co-optation (BahtiarEffendy, 1996).

Second, political economy. In the liberal political system as adopted in Indonesia, political interactions cannot be identified only based on religion understanding because it is also related to the bargaining of economic interests. Therefore, the study on the impact of a political attitude as it occurs in pesantren must also be seen in the framework of political economy. The systematic relationship in political economic theory as described above can be seen in three possibilities. **First**, there is a causal relationship between economics and politics which, in this case, is often called a deterministic political economy model. This model assumes a deterministic relationship between economics and politics, namely that politics determines economic aspects and economic institutions determine political processes. **Second**, there is a reciprocal relationship between economics and politics which is often called an interactive political economy model. The functions of politics and economics are considered to be different but to affect each other. **Third**, there is a sustainable or continuous behavior relationship between economics and politics (Martin Staniland, 2003: 9).

In addition, it is suspected that there is a tendency for changing voter tastes, including:

- **Ideological Viscosity**

Islam is used as a foundation in the superstructure framework and it works on an ideological level. In this case, Islam is translated into a series of party platforms so that they are deeply embedded in every contextuality of party movements and steps (Syafuruddin Amir, 2007:138). However, several factors have been causing ideological mass power decline, such as, influenced by not accommodating (reason of leaving the party) potential cadres who have a real mass base, influenced by age factors, and the development of renewal of contemporary Islamic thought towards the meaning of

the existence of Islamic parties symbolically and substantively, which ultimately leads Muslims to more assess the fact that Islamic formalism is not everything and the only concern in determining political choices. Indirectly it has given a great contribution to the liquid of Islamic electoral power parties based on Islam such as PPP (United Development Party, PKS (Welfare Justice Party) and PBB (Moon and Star Party) (*op. cit*:139)

- **Rational Sharpness**

In addition, voter tastes based on rational sharpness look more at the infrastructure and performance of parties that work on the scope of program orientation, real problems and concrete evidence of the party as a consideration of political choices. Voters based on rational considerations may not be phenomenal in our society, especially amongst the floating mass that gives support to political parties in every election momentum. However, the rising political education and more improving the public education level will gradually affect the political awareness of the people so that in the future, rational consideration will become the basis to provide support for political parties (*Ibid*: 140).

- **Emotional Closeness**

Changes of political choice of the people towards political parties are also influenced by emotional closeness which is at least based on the cultural similarity, primordial, image, trend and prestige as well as seeing the figure aspects.

This emotional approach heeds no more ideology and rationality of political parties, but more emphasizes to the aspect of taste, just like love that cannot be rationalized and not to regard certain ideology (*ibid*).

That is the thoughts that started from the views of the importance of Islamic follower the struggle oriented to the "ideals of Islam" (ideal Islam) as expressed and implied in the authentic Qur'an and Sunnah, but not necessarily reflected in the socio-political behaviour of Muslims in their historical reality, also contains world view of a Muslim formed by the revelation but this world view has not been completely and systematically formulated in this modern era nowadays (Bahtiar Effendy, 2003: 12)

The politics of santri through Islamic party apparently do not get the support from the Islamic followers in accordance with the majority. This is interesting if related to the concepts and ideals of the Islamic struggle of the santri group that apparently did not get majority support from the Islamic followers themselves, some elites of santri even gave support to non-Islamic parties (Abdul Munir Mulkan, 1994: 8).

The main feature of this thinking is to see the linkages or to take confrontations between the substantive dimensions of religious doctrine and the socio-cultural context of adherents. For realistic thinkers, Islam as a universal revelation religion and departs from perfection and immortality of doctrine, needs to be present and realistically manifest in religions which is reconciled by the course of history and the socio-cultural situation of its adherents. Islam that comes from a "foreign" region is very likely to be assumed to carry the contents associated with its origin, so that, in this context, the process of Islamization faces acculturation problems (Bahtiar Effendy, *op. cit*: 12).

The occurrence of changes in the shifting behaviour of Syamsul 'Ulum and Ibadurrohman Islamic boarding school students caused by internal and external factors which more or less has implications to the obtaining of votes and seats of ideological parties, namely PBB, PPP and PKS, as shown in the table of Sukabumi City vote and seats obtaining of Political Party in last three election below:

**Table 1: The Vote Obtaining of Political Party in Sukabumi City, Tps 07
Sub District Gunungpuyuh, Election 2004, 2009 and 2014
(Processed from Various Resources)**

No	Political Party	2004	2009	2014
1	PBB	32	11	5
2	GERINDRA	0	26	48
3	DEMOKRAT	38	91	52
4	GOLKAR	97	74	81
5	PKS	46	33	22
6	PDIP	63	44	75
7	PPP	73	60	43
8	PAN	30	36	39
9	PKB	16	15	30

**Table 2: The Vote Obtaining of Political Party in Sukabumi City, Tps 14
Sub District Lembursitu, Election 2004, 2009 and 2014
(Processed from Various Resources)**

No	Political Party	2004	2009	2014
1	PBB	28	23	13
2	GERINDRA	0	13	32
3	DEMOKRAT	27	80	41
4	GOLKAR	90	69	76
5	PKS	61	52	47
6	PDIP	58	41	69
7	PPP	38	25	22
8	PAN	25	28	32
9	PKB	8	11	19

**Table 3: The Seats Obtaining of Political Party in Sukabumi
City, Election 2004, 2009 and 2014 (Processed
From Various Resources)**

No	Political Party	2004	2009	2014
1	PBB	3	0	0
2	GERINDRA	0	1	4
3	REPUBLIKAN	0	1	0
4	DEMOKRAT	3	7	4
5	GOLKAR	8	5	6
6	PKS	3	5	3
7	PDIP	5	4	6
8	PPP	5	3	3
9	PAN	3	3	3
10	HANURA	0	0	4
11	NESDEM	0	0	1
12	PKB	0	0	1
Jumlah Kursi DPRD Kota Sukabumi		30	30	30

The table data shows that there has been a shift in santri's political preferences towards Islamic ideological parties in Sukabumi City in the last three elections. In addition, the table also shows that the pesantren influence the obtaining of votes and seats of ideological parties. If the obtaining of votes and seats of ideological party decreased, where are the

votes/ political aspirations of the pesantren distributed? In fact, if traced more clearly, there is a clear point of reference between the Islamic ideological party and the world of pesantren where they used to fight together for the establishment of Islamic values in life of society, nation and state. Although it is not a new discourse, it should be worth attention.

At least, the factors causing the shift of santri political preference to be a sign that indicates the need of making constructive reflection for the effort to fight for Islamic values, both by ideological political parties, the pesantren themselves. and which is caused by the influence of external factors.

First, for the parties, it is expected to be able to make massive internal improvements concerning:

- Reorientation of the vision mission as a superstructure tool that generates the spirit and commitment towards the ideas and goals of the organization;
- Organizational management as an effort to improve the management system of organization that moves towards the modern party
- Innovation and exploration of programs and activities originating from Islamic teachings and values that have real impact and felt by the people
- Increasing communication links with various elernen of communities, especially pesantren as a real ideological basis.

Regarding Islamic political parties, Farid Wadjdi quoted the writings of Sheikh Taqiyuddin in the book at Takattul al Hizbi summarizes some of the weaknesses of Islamic political parties (Farid Wadjdi, 1999: 159-160):

- Islamic political parties (which founded in such a hurry) stand by carrying the concept of public thought (fikrah) without clear boundaries, so that their thinking becomes less serious, vague, and unclear;
- Many Islamic political parties do not recognize the method (thoriqoh) to implement Islamic ideas (fikrah). For example, how it should take the way so that all society's interactions can be regulated based on Islam;
- Many Islamic political parties only rely on people without having fully right awareness, right intention. Most of them only depend on their spirit
- The Islamic political party does not have right relationship. Only tied by the rule of organization, symbols or organizational slogans.

Second, for the pesantren. It can make such efforts:

- Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) can hold ideological and democratic political education as a basic knowledge in expressing political aspirations so that the bias of political ideology affiliation can be minimized.
- Encouraging pesantren to have awareness and care for the dynamics of national politics.

Third, external factors that develop, including:

- A foreign ideology system that develops in the society
- The fraction of muslims political views both thought and practice, such as the presence of various political parties with the label of Islam.

- Capitalism democracy which is based on material and practical so that it allows to develop the attitude of pragmatic-materialistic, liberal and individualistic.
- The increasing of corruption cases, the practice of bribery of officials, political chaos and criminal acts in the society.

The efforts made by Islamic boarding schools in order to adapt to the development of modern era on one hand, and to maintain their identity as an estuary of Islamic values on the other hand, have been continuing to follow various developments that occur and require to interact with various fields of life, such as the advance of contemporary Islamic thought, the interaction with modern social and cultural life, the use of science and technology, also related to the changes in government policies about education including pesantren as religious education institutions, and the dynamics of democratic era through the pesantren involvement in political sphere.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of research on the education modernization of Islamic boarding school and the political shift of santri with focused on the cases in Syamsul 'Ulum and Ibadurrahman Islamic Boarding School, the points can be concluded as follows:

- One of the modernization phenomenon of Islamic boarding is characterized by opening formal school systems such as Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic Secondary School) Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic High School), Vocational High Schools, and College in accordance with the philosophical, juridical and sociological base. This process in turn causes a change of Kiai's leadership pattern from the centralistic to collective system, the occurrence of more democratic modern life's reality in pesantren, as well as the shift of communication pattern and system from one-way to multi-way communication.
- The process of Islamic boarding school modernization, in many ways, does not cause the birth of educational dualism, or other contradictions, it can even run synergistically so it can establish more structured and systematic education management of pesantren. This situation can influence the pattern of more inclusive social life, more open and more democratic, especially among students.
- Furthermore, the process of Islamic boarding school modernization which in turn occurs the changes of such educational patterns, can eventually result a shift in santri political attitudes and behaviour, one of which is marked by a tendency to determine political parties choices in the general election momentum. Thus, one of them, is caused by a change in learning system which more emphasizes on the growth of more inclusive political awareness, even though explicitly, there is no specific political education and democratization found for students. This political attitudes and behaviour inclusivism can in turn lead to more melting ideologic factors, more rational views and attitudes, as well as weakening emotional and primordial sides originating from beliefs and religion.

REFERENCES

1. Abdul Munir Mulkan, *Runtuhnya Mitos Politik Santri*, (Yogyakarta: SIPRESS-1994), 8.
2. Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi: Esai-Esai Pesantren*, (Yogyakarta:
3. A'la, *Dar Neomodernisme feel slam Liberal*, (Jakarta: Paramadina. 2003), x.
4. Azyumardi Azra, *Jejak Fazlur Rahman Dalam Wacana Islam Indonesia*, dalam Abd.

5. Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara dalam Partai Politik Islam di Pentas Reformasi, Refleksi Pemilu 1999 untuk Pemilu 2004*, Penyunting: Kamarudin, (Jakarta, Visi Publishing, 2003).
6. Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996).
7. Dalam *Jurnal Ulumul Qur'an* No.2, Vol. IV, 1993.
8. Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: LPEsS, 1998).
9. Srinivasa Rao, A. B., Kumar, P. M., & Aithal, P. S. (2015). *Strategic Planning in Higher Education Institutions: A Case Study of SIMS-VISION 2025*. *International Journal of Educational Science and Research (IJESR)* ISSN (P), 2249-6947.
10. Dien Syamsuddin, "Usaha Pencarian Konsep Negara dalam Pemikiran Politik Islam",
11. Farid Wajidi, *Mengevaluasi Papol Islam Pasca Pemilu*. in *Mengapa Partai Islam Kalah? Perjalanan Politik Islam Dari Prapemilu 1999 Sampai Pemilu Presiden*, (Jakarta: Alvabet, 1999)
12. Hasnun Asrohah, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*, (Jakarta: PT. Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2001). LKiS, 2007).
13. Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Mutiara Sumber Widya, 1995)
14. Martin Staniland, "What is Political Economy? :
A Study of Social Theory and Underdevelopment", dalam Deliarnov, *Ekonomi Politik*, (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2003).
15. Rai, A. K., & Rana, A. K. *Adjustment of Hearing-Impaired Students in Special Schools of Purvanchal Region of Uttar Pradesh*.
16. Muhammad Balli, *Penentangan Islam Terhadap Aliran Pemikiran Perusak*, (Kuala Lumpur: Hizbi, 1985),
17. Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Kemodernan dan KeIndonesiaan*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1995).
18. Saridjo, *Bunga Rampai Pendidikan Agama Islam*, (Jakarta: CV. Amisico, 1996).
19. Sayfruddin Amir, *Transformasi Energi PPP, Konsolidasi Menuju Partai Sejati*, (Bandung, Idea Publishing, 2007).
20. Lalitha, K., Pushpamala, R., & Rani, R. J. *A Study to Assess the Effectiveness of Health Education on Knowledge, Attitude Regarding Temporary Family Planning among Mothers in Select Area at Guntur District*.
21. Troger Garaudy, *Janji-Janji Islam*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1982), 222-223. see also in Maryam Jemeelah, *Islam and Modernism*, (Lahore: Muhammad Yusuf Khan, 1975).