The Dynamics Of Negotiation And Accommodation Of Civil Society On Pesantren Education Policy

by Fadhly Azhar

THE DYNAMICS OF NEGOTIATION AND ACCOMMODATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY ON PESANTREN EDUCATION POLICY

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Abstract

In Indonesia, conflicts of interest regarding matters of religious education in Indonesia were not unique because the state and community interest groups tend to participate with each other in matters of education. The nation's ideological values and religious principles were interrelated, even experiencing interconnectivity. This conflict only occured in certain sub-sub-communities which had not yet fully reached state policy regarding religious education, where this encourages the politicization of education created by sub-dominant powers if an educational policy was not in accordance with the wishes and interests of the sub-dominant powers. This research aimed to identify and analyze the dynamics of negotiation and accommodation of civil society on Pesantren education policy. This research used a qualitative research approach with a case study method. The results of this research concluded that the involvement of Pesantren Kyai played a role in political interests in history before playing a role in legislative politics as happened in the Pesantren policy. The background to the involvement of Kyai in the Pesantren policy was born from the phenomenon that Kyai enjoyed a high social position since Islam entered Java in carrying out negotiation and accommodation efforts. There were two roles played by Kyai in the legal political constellation of the Pesantren policy. First, the formal role, where in this case the Kyai was a politician who has entered the political system. In this way, Kyai in this case also participates in carrying out party plans and activities, for example serving in the people's representative council, campaigns, work meetings and the like. Second, non-formal roles, in this case the Kyai had more status but then they also tried to approach politics itself. Kyai of this kind, structurally could not be said to be politicians, but socially they had a role in developing political circles.

Keywords: Negotiation, Accomodation, Civil Society, Pesantren Education, Education Policy

INTRODUCTION

Pesantren as an educational institution that has strong roots (indigenous) in the Indonesian Muslim community, in its journey is able to maintain and maintain its sustainability (survival system) and has a multi-aspect educational model. Santri are not only educated to be someone who understands religious knowledge, but also receive natural leadership, independence, simplicity, perseverance, togetherness, equality and other positive attitudes. Pesantren is an Islamic educational institution that has its own characteristics. The Pesantren Institution is the oldest Islamic institution in Indonesian history which has a big role in the process of sustaining national education.

At the beginning of its development, there were two functions of Pesantren, namely as an educational institution and as a religious broadcasting institution. This main

function is still attached to Pesantren, although in subsequent developments Pesantren has undergone changes. Pesantren in Indonesia is growing and developing very rapidly. Throughout the 18th century to the 20th century, Pesantren as an Islamic educational institution increasingly felt its existence by society at large, so that the emergence of Pesantren in the community was always responded positively by society.

The relationship between civil society and the state in the context of Pesantren education experiences ups and downs. It cannot be denied that religious traditionalist groups, most of whom are members of Nahdlatul Ulama and other religious organizations, represent the civil society movement as an Pesantren interest group. This then makes Pesantren a prototype of civil society within the framework of the Indonesian Islamic masterpiece from pre-independence until now. This is reinforced by what Ma'arif (2019) said that the Pesantren School as an education center is also a source of informal leadership for the Kyai and Santri group, as well as providing space for activities which of course contain various possibilities for carrying out deeper roles. widespread in the Santri and Kyai groups.

Sociologically, the Pesantren community, which generally lives in rural areas, is currently experiencing very intensive penetration from urban life patterns (Martin, et. al., 2014; Maghfirun & Luthfan, 2020). The results of the study by Mansir, et. al. (2020) shows that during the pre-independence era, the Pesantren interest group as a civil society experienced pressure and even experienced intimidation by the Dutch government. In the New Order era, civil society which was active in developing Pesantren felt that Pesantren as an educational institution which was the Indonesian civil society prototype education still experienced marginalization compared to formal educational institutions which in fact adhered to the Western education system (Pohl, 2006; Thahir, 2014; Kroger, 2018).

At the beginning of the New Order government, Soeharto issued a policy that was detrimental to Islamic education with the issuance of Presidential Decree Number 34 of 1972. The Ministry of Religion, which since independence had been tasked with fostering religious education (Pesantren, Madrasah and Religious Schools), was only tasked with and responsible for compiling the educational curriculum. religion, both for public schools, madrasas and universities. Through his field research, Dhofier revealed that there was no formal organization that tied Pesantren to one another.

According to Mukhibat & Ghafar (2019), the continuity and existence of Pesantren is supported by intellectual exchange, which is made possible by blood ties between Kyai families, where there is a process of change among traditional Muslims who represent almost all of Pesantren. The contradictions alluded to in this process include that on the one hand there is a temporary willingness of Kyai to initiate changes which are often fundamental, while on the other hand there is no willingness to reinterpret their traditional framework (Lukens-Bull, 2008). These interests relate to the importance of recognizing Pesantren education from the existing model in the national education system.

Apart from that, another interest that we want to fight for is the government's accommodation of Pesantren as a unique educational institution in the dynamics of the history of national education, especially religious education. Research regarding the Pesantren policy is always seen from the perspective of the country and the prospects of the Pesantren policy. First, the approach that needs to be looked at is related to Fauzi (2012) stated that public policy is determined, implemented and enforced in an authoritarian manner by government institutions. The relationship between public policy

and government institutions is very close. Also, policies do not become public policy until they are accepted, implemented and enforced by government institutions.

Second, the research results of Asrori (2017) explained that determining policy is a state activity. Third, the results of research by Asror (2017) defined that policy involves the use of power, control and validation of the values of certain groups. Fourth, use the approach used by Muhammad Amin, et. al. (2019) said that policies are approved, accepted and implemented by government institutions. Different perspectives on participation in the development context as above will provide different implications in analyzing power relations in a participatory process and the ways in which target communities benefit from the development process (Abu-Nimer & Nasser, 2017). In an instrumental perspective, the relationship between the community as the target of the program and policy makers or aid providing institutions is relatively absent (Klein & Lee, 2019).

In Indonesia, conflicts of interest regarding matters of religious education in Indonesia are not unique because the state and community interest groups tend to participate with each other in matters of education. The nation's ideological values and religious principles are interrelated, even experiencing interconnectivity. This conflict only occurs in certain sub-sub-communities which have not yet fully reached state policy regarding religious education, where this encourages the politicization of education created by sub-dominant powers if an educational policy is not in accordance with the wishes and interests of the sub-dominant powers.

The sub-dominant powers in question are the Pesantren community and religious organizations which are involved in forming regulations as a reference for Pesantren education policy, in this case the Pesantren policy. Pesantren is a type of religious education for Indonesian Muslims which is included in Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System and Government Regulation 55 of 2007 concerning religious and religious education. Although Pesantren in Indonesia has received recognition. Pesantren education still feels marginalized and discriminated against in the National Education System as a whole (Fua, et. al., 2018).

Interest group participation is a sociological way of reformulating the politics of Pesantren education after the 2003 National Education System Law (Kosim, et. al., 2023). This participation as part of the public policy process is the most crucial stage because policy implementation and evaluation can only be carried out if the policy formulation stage has been completed (Busyairi, 2017; Putrie, et. al., 2018). Apart from that, the failure of a policy or program to achieve its objectives largely originates from imperfect processing at the formulation stage. The policy formulation stage is the actual mechanism for solving public problems that have been included in the Government's agenda. This research aims to identify and analyze the dynamics of negotiation and accommodation of civil society on Pesantren education policy.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Negotiation

Negotiation has the meaning of a bargaining process by negotiating to give or receive which is useful for reaching a mutual agreement between one party and another group or organization, resolving problems peacefully through negotiations between the parties in dispute (Nilsson, 2018; Cuhadar & Paffenholz, 2020). De Dreu (2014) stated that negotiation or negotiation is a process of achieving mutual satisfaction through discussion and bargaining.

A person carrying out negotiations tries to resolve a dispute, by changing the agreement or conditions or other issues so that the negotiations can be successful, each party must be serious and want the agreement to be followed up, as a long-term agreement (Mendes, 2019; Ismail, 2021). According to Langewiesche (2020), negotiations are carried out if communication between the parties is still well established, and there is still a sense of mutual trust and a desire to reach an agreement and establish a good relationship.

Accomodation

Accommodation is a form of ability to adjust or regulate one's behavior in responding to other people so that there is a balance in the interaction relationship between individual to individual or group to group which is related to social norms and values that exist in society (Hanfstingl, et. al., 2022). According to Ma'arif (2018), accommodation also means a form of active action carried out to accept another's interests in mitigating a conflicting condition that occurs.

Accommodation is a form of describing a process in relationships that exist in a social environment which is the same as the meaning and purpose of adaptation (Rock-Singer, 2022). In the social context, adaptation is also understood as a process where self-adjustment can be carried out by one person or a group that is initially in conflict, with adaptation the self-adjustment is aimed at a common interest in a particular situation (Lukens-Bull, 2008).

Civil Society

Civil society is a society that upholds human values, and can properly understand technological and scientific developments (Paffenholz, 2014; Chaney, 2016; Brandsen, et. al., 2017). Civil society is a social sphere that is independent of the influence of the state and is composed of a structure that is connected to us such as the family, social organizations, and so on (Rashid & Simpson, 2019; Scaramuazzino, 2020). According to Albareda (2018), civil society is a society with a process of civilization formation that refers to shared policy values based on creating social integration and unity.

Civil society can be defined as a society that is civilized in building, living and interpreting its life (Sénit, 2020; Arslan, et. al., 2022). Botchway (2019) explained that the main basis of civil society is unity and social integration based on rules of life, avoiding conflict and hostility that causes division and living in brotherhood. Civil society is a thriving social system based on moral principles that guarantee a balance between individual freedom and societal stability (Bannett, et. al., 2019; Egholm, et. al., 2020; Amaral, 2021).

Pesantren Policy

Pesantren as the oldest educational institution in Indonesia is a place where special learning about Islamic studies takes place which has a complex and dynamic system (Amin, et. al., 2019). Pesantren is a system that has clear goals that involves a lot of educational resources to achieve goals, both individual and institutional goals (Triantoro & Ardiansyah, 2018). Hefner (2016) explained that Pesantren School institutions play an important role in efforts to provide education for the Indonesian people, especially Islamic religious education.

According to Fauzi (2012), Pesantren School education, which is part of the National Education System, has 3 main elements, namely: 1) Kyai as educators as well

as boarding school owners and students; 2) Pesantren School Curriculum; and 3) Worship and educational facilities, such as mosques, Kyai's houses and huts, as well as some madrasas and skills workshops. The activities are summarized in the Tri Dharma Pesantren School, namely: 1.) Faith and devotion to Allah; 2.) Useful scientific development; 3.) Devotion to religion, society and country (Isbah, 2020).

METHODS

This research uses a qualitative research approach with a case study method. Qualitative research is a research method used to examine the condition of natural objects, and the researcher himself is the key instrument, the data collection technique used is triangulation, the data obtained tends to be qualitative data, the data analysis is inductive or qualitative, and the results of qualitative research are for understanding. meaning, understanding uniqueness, constructing phenomena and finding conclusions (Creswell, 2017).

A case study is a series of natural activities carried out intensively, in detail and in depth about a program, event and activity, either at the individual, group of people, institution or organization level to gain in-depth knowledge about the event (Yin, 2014). In case study research, data collection can be carried out in natural settings, primary or secondary data sources, and various other methods. According to Miles, et. al. (2014) stated that data analysis techniques can be carried out in the following way:

1.) Data Reduction. After getting the data, the next stage is analyzing the data through data reduction, reducing the data, namely summarizing, selecting and sorting the main things, focusing on the important things, looking for themes and patterns.
2.) Data Display. The data presentation most often used in qualitative research is text that is narrative/wordy and easy to understand.
3.) Conclusion Drawing or Verification. Next, the researcher makes conclusions based on data that has been processed through data reduction and data exposure.

RESULTS

Pesantren is a type of indigenous 'original' Islamic educational institution and is also the oldest institution known as traditional education in Indonesia. Pesantren is a unique instrument of the Indonesian education system as an institution that specifically carries out religious studies (tafaqquh fi al-diin). Pesantren does not separate itself from the social environment. Pesantren is treated discriminatorily in Indonesian education policy so that it has difficulty developing, continues to be left behind, and finds it difficult to progress even though Pesantren has contributed to Indonesian education.

A political policy that is implemented within a certain period of time is likely to encourage the development of a social system as an effort to maintain that guarantees the implementation of the political system and policy as the government policy given to Pesantren as an Islamic educational institution in Indonesia, giving the impact of starting to develop Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. Indonesia, from basic education institutions and even to the formation of higher education institutions that are able to compete with general education institutions.

The Pesantren School teaching institution focuses on religious teaching using traditional teaching methods and has unique rules, administration, and teaching curriculum. Pesantren has historical value in fostering and developing society, its quality must continue to be encouraged and developed. The human development process carried out by Pesantren cannot be separated from the human development process that is being

pursued by the government. The process of developing the world of Pesantren, which apart from being the internal responsibility of Pesantren, must also be supported by serious attention from the Government's development process.

So far, Pesantren has experienced discriminatory treatment in terms of obtaining budgets originating from state finances. As a result of this treatment which is considered discriminatory, infrastructure, human resources, and everything related to fulfilling the needs of Pesantren experience inequality with public bodies providing education and community empowerment. If the rules regarding Pesantren and recognition of Pesantren are not regulated in statutory level regulations then the realization of educational equality towards Pesantren cannot be implemented optimally (Zamhari & Rahmayanti, 2021).

Looking at the data on the number of Pesantren Schools in 2009 in Indonesia, it shows an increase according to data from the National Central Statistics Agency. From existing data, the number of Pesantren Schools in Indonesia has reached 14,556 and generally consists of three types of typologies. First, Pesantren which has a traditional style (salafiyah) totaling 9,105 units. Second, Pesantren with traditional and modern bainiyah patterns) totaling 4,379 units. Third, there are 1,172 modern-style Pesantren (khalafiyah), by 2022 the number will reach 37,626 and all of them have the principle of al-muhafazah 'ala al-qadim al-salih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadid al-aslah as a partner in carrying out this change. Changes take effect quickly if the changes involve general material, but regarding religious material, changes are made very carefully.

The policy regarding Pesantren is the task of section C of the Department of Religion, namely managing education with the main task of dealing with issues of religious education in public schools and religious education in religious schools (madrasas and Pesantren). Even though the government states that it is necessary to pay attention to Pesantren, in practice Pesantren has not received reasonable treatment from the government as educational institutions should receive attention and treatment from the government. The policy of transferring responsibility for building madrasas and Pesantren Schools has caused controversy and unrest among Islamic figures. This policy encourages educational efforts under one roof and has an impact on the secularization of religious education.

In the political history of Islamic education in Indonesia, the Pesantren community of Kiai and Pesantren school students have played a major role in escalation—both revolutionary-radical and evolutionary-gradual—which includes aspects of economic, political, social life as well as in the form of cultural struggle. Various forms of protest movements involving farming communities in the 19th and 20th centuries were generally driven by kiai, who turned out to be charismatic figures based on Pesantren or those who had a network of tarekat. The significance and strategic politics of kiai and santri in this movement occurred because of the dynamic relationship between teacher-student, between kiai-santri or in general it could also be called between patron and client.

DISCUSSION

In Indonesia, the Pesantren education model has become a common phenomenon in almost all religious organizations, with various modifications to their education systems in accordance with modern developments, of course, and the largest of them are Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, both of which are based on education (Assa'idi, 2021). The position of Pesantren schools as one of the community educational institutions that is often identified with rural people automatically has a close position with local

traditions and the authority of their Kyai. This often becomes an arena for competing for legitimacy for interests in the social and political fields (Ross, 2019).

Pesantren's relationship as a communal entity that is independent from almost all socio-religious organizations and political organizations, apparently does not mean that it is immune from "intervention" by political parties. Ideologically, Pesantren indeed acts as a media for educational transformation which is oriented towards producing student cadres who are able to preserve and continue the cultural struggle of the ideology espoused by Pesantren itself. In the case of Nadhlatul Ulama, for example, efforts to continue Islamic teachings with the model of Ahli Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah, have made Pesantren the most effective medium for cultural mobility. However, for example, Pondok Modern Gontor is able to show its independence and emphasize that it is not deeply involved in politics.

The argument that can support this opinion based on fact that Pesantren is always affiliated with this organization, although there are also Pesantren which are not affiliated with this institution, and are even neutral towards religious mass organizations and certain socio-political forces. Amount 11,312 existing Pesantren Schools, 7,306 (64.59%) were affiliated to Nadhlatul Ulama, 184 (1.63%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to Muhammadiyah, 49 (0.43%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to Persis, as many as 118 (1.04%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to Al-Washliyah, as many as 46 (0.41%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to the Islamic Community Association (PUI), as many as 33 (0.29%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to Mathla'ul Anwar, as many as 50 (0.44%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to al-Khairat, as many as 97 (0.86%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to Nahdlatul Wathan, as many as 51 (0.45%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to Darud Dakwah wal Irshad, as many as 137 (1.21%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to the Islamic Tarbiyah Association, as many as 43 (0.38%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to GUPPI, as many as 10 (0.09%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated to LDII, as many as 572 (5.06%) Pesantren Schools were affiliated with other community organizations, and as many as 2,616 (23.13%) Pesantren Schools stated that they were independent and not affiliated with anything.

Kyai of Pesantren played a political role of interest in history before playing a role in legislative politics as happened in the Pesantren policy. The background to the involvement of Kyai in the Pesantren policy was born from the phenomenon that Kyai have enjoyed a high social position since Islam entered Java in carrying out negotiation and accommodation efforts. There are two roles played by Kyai in the legal political constellation of the Pesantren policy. First, the formal role, where in this case the Kyai is a politician who has entered the political system. In this way, Kyai in this case also participates in implementing party plans and activities, for example serving in the people's representative council, campaigns, work meetings and the like. Second, non-formal roles, in this case the Kyai have more status as Kyai but then they also try to approach politics itself. Kyai of this kind, structurally cannot be said to be politicians, but socially they have a role in developing political circles.

One of the Kyai's participation in practical politics is that Kyai's political communication is felt to be very effective when dealing with traditional Islamic society. The effectiveness of communication carried out by Kyai in conveying his political ideas cannot be separated from the role of Kyai as someone who has authority in community life with a typology of authority as legal (rational) authority, traditional authority, and charismatic authority. In the aspirations in the formulation of the Pesantren policy, Kyai and Santri as civil society agents are a respected status with a set of roles they play in the

structure of society. As a result of the status and role he holds, Kyai's character and leadership have shown how strong his skills and personality shine in leading Pesantren and society. This can be seen from how a Kyai build a strategic role as a non-formal community leader through intensive communication with the community in the formulation of the Pesantren policy.

In the case of the formulation of the Pesantren policy, Kyai and santri as a group of local agents were massively consolidated and dialectical in their interest in the Pesantren policy. Two groups of actors were influential in the formulation of the Pesantren policy, namely official and unofficial. Officially these are the executive, legislative, administrative and judicial branches and unofficially (non-governmental) they are political parties, interest groups, think tanks, mass media and citizens. However, according to some experts' views, political parties can have more influence than interest groups in the decision-making process. The image below explains the strategy of Kyai and Pesantren school students, interest groups and movements in formulating the formation of the Pesantren policy.
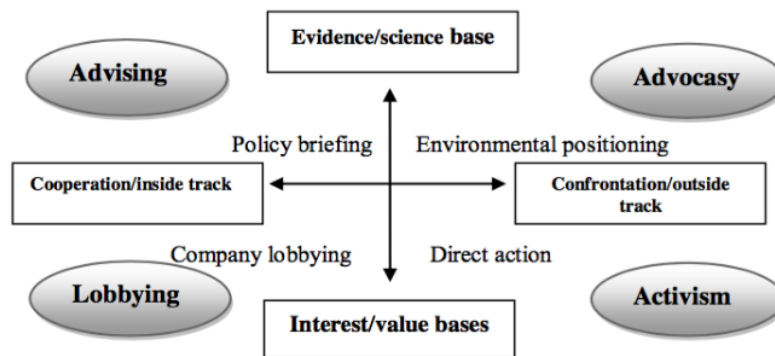
Figure 1. Strategy of the Pesantren Community and Islamic Religious Community Organizations as Interest Groups in Formulating Pesantren Policy
(Source: Primary Data, 2023)

Figure 1 above explains that the strategy of the Pesantren community and religious organizations as interest groups and movements in the formulation of the Pesantren policy uses a number of instruments, namely: advising, advocacy, lobbying and activism. Each of these instruments has different movement characteristics. However, it can be done according to the situation and desired choices. Each instrument and movement's choices determine the color of civil society's relationship as an interest group and movement with the government. The doctrinal study of the relationship between religion and the state is also able to explain how the Pesantren community and religious organizations played a role in the formulation of the Pesantren policy. In the current practice of state life, the Pesantren community, Kyai and Pesantren school students as civil society are a bridge to how religious aspirations in the state can be internalized in political policy.

In this context, citizens' orientation regarding religion in the context of state life is quite varied, which can be broadly classified into three forms. First, religion as an ideology, which is supported by those who want to make religion a state ideology, the manifestation of which is in the form of formal implementation of religious teachings (sharia in the Islamic context) as positive policy. Second, religion as a source of ethics

and morals (morals), which is supported by those who have a greater national orientation than a religious orientation. Third, religion as a sub-ideology or as a source of ideology if the word "sub-ideology" is considered to cause rejection from some groups of society. The first orientation is very idealistic in the Islamic context, but less realistic in the context of the very plural Indonesian society and nation.

CONCLUSION

The results of this research conclude that the involvement of Pesantren Kyai played a role in political interests in history before playing a role in legislative politics as happened in the Pesantren policy. The background to the involvement of Kyai in the Pesantren policy was born from the phenomenon that Kyai have enjoyed a high social position since Islam entered Java in carrying out negotiation and accommodation efforts. There are two roles played by Kyai in the legal political constellation of the Pesantren policy. First, the formal role, where in this case the Kyai is a politician who has entered the political system. In this way, Kyai in this case also participates in carrying out party plans and activities, for example serving in the people's representative council, campaigns, work meetings and the like. Second, non-formal roles, in this case the Kyai have more status as Kyai but then they also try to approach politics itself. Kyai of this kind, structurally cannot be said to be politicians, but socially they have a role in developing political circles.

One of the Kyai's participation in practical politics is that Kyai's political communication felt to be very effective when dealing with traditional Islamic society. The effectiveness of communication carried out by Kyai in conveying his political ideas cannot be separated from the role of Kyai as someone who has authority in community life with a typology of authority as legal (rational) authority, traditional authority, and charismatic authority. In the aspirations in the formulation of the Pesantren policy, Kyai and Santri as civil society agents are a respected status with a set of roles they play in the structure of society.

LIMITATION

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