
The Modernization of Islam in Indonesia

*An Impact Study on the Cooperation
between the IAIN and McGill University*

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Indonesia-Canada Islamic Higher Education Project

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This study offers a picture of Islam in Indonesia from the perspective of Islamic higher education, focusing on the role it plays in developing Islamic thought and in disseminating ideas throughout the country. State institutions of Islamic higher education were established at the time Indonesia was founded to provide opportunities for those who wished to pursue Islamic education. The system has grown in size, there are now forty-seven state institutions of Islamic higher learning, and the quality of education and the range of programs offered has also increased. Three of these institutions have now become universities with programs in both Islamic and secular sciences, challenging what is considered by many progressive Muslims in Indonesia to be an unnatural dichotomy between Islamic and secular education.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) commissioned this impact study on the cooperation between McGill University and the State Institutes of Islamic Studies (IAINS) in Indonesia in 2000. The focus of the study was broader than the impact of the two consecutive CIDA projects involving McGill and the IAINS. Julian Murray, the head of aid at the Canadian Embassy in Jakarta, saw this as an opportunity to develop a better understanding of the role of the IAIN and its impact on Indonesian development.

A decision was made to use IAIN researchers to carry out the study, many of whom have graduate degrees from Western universities. This unusual approach to conducting a project evaluation had significant benefits. First, it highlighted the fact that the Indonesian researchers have privileged access to information related to the topic of the study because of their backgrounds and networks. Second, it was a topic of great interest to the researchers themselves, and the study enabled them to focus on the larger context in which they live and work. Third, since the researchers are in demand both nationally and internationally as spokespeople for Islam in Indonesia, they are now able to provide outsiders with a better understanding of the IAIN, the development of Islamic thought in Indonesia, and how these progressive ideas are disseminated.

A short version of the research on the impact of the cooperation between McGill and the IAIN was presented to CIDA in May 2000. In June 2002, the

Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM/Pusat Penelitian Islam dan Masyarakat) produced *IAIN dan Modernisasi Islam di Indonesia*, a longer version of the study in bahasa Indonesia.

The Modernization of Islam in Indonesia: An Impact Study on the Cooperation between the IAIN and McGill University is the English version of this full study, which was translated in Indonesia by the researchers and then edited in Canada.

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Introduction: Spreading the Seeds of a New Islamic Tradition

Much of this book is the result of qualitative research concerning the impact of longstanding efforts toward modernization on Indonesia's Islamic education system. Of particular importance has been the collaboration between the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Indonesia's Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) in collaboration with the State Institutes of Islamic Studies (IAINS/ Institut Agama Islam Negeri) in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. This collaboration has been overseen by the Indonesia Canada Islamic Higher Education Project (ICHEP). The purpose of one of the primary programs within this project is to send young lecturers to the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, for postgraduate studies. This cooperation, which began in 1989, has already resulted in more than ninety masters of arts and doctorates in Islamic studies being awarded to IAIN students and lecturers. These graduates now work at several IAINS and State Colleges of Islamic Studies (STAINS/Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri) throughout Indonesia, which is truly an extraordinary collaborative achievement.

This research, presented here as *The Modernization of Islam in Indonesia: An Impact Study on the Cooperation between the IAIN and McGill University*, explains the role played by the IAIN in the development and dissemination of a new Islamic discourse in Indonesia. Furthermore, this study examines the dynamics of the discourse on Islamic thought being developed in Indonesia's institutions of Islamic higher education, particularly the trend toward Islamic modernization. A unique feature of this research is its focus on the role of the postgraduate programs at IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta in shaping discourse on Islamic thought in Indonesia.

The contingent of IAIN graduates who enrolled in the Islamic Studies Program at McGill University are now able to draw upon knowledge covering a range of approaches to religious study, from the historical to the comparative. At McGill's Institute of Islamic Studies, they have been exposed to the ideas of such figures as, to name but one expert in each of several fields: Charles J. Adams (Islamic history), Wilfred Cantwell Smith (history of Islamic civilization, comparative religion), N. Berkes (modern development of Islam in Turkey), Hermann Landolt (Islamic philosophy, Sufism, Shi'ism), Wael Hallaq (Islamic law), A. Ünner Turgay (nationalism and Islam), Donald P. Little (Islam of the Middle Ages), Eric L. Ormsby (Islamic theology), and Issa J. Boulatta (Qur'anic studies, Arabic literature). The McGill alumni, with their diverse backgrounds and expertise, have made significant contributions both to the development of Islamic studies in Indonesia and to the bureaucracy of the Indonesian Archipelago.

In addition, teaching at the higher level of Islamic education in Indonesia has become highly visible, thanks to the services of two Muslim intellectuals: Harun Nasution and Mukti Ali. Harun Nasution, a scholar in the field of contemporary Islamic thought with strong roots in the IAIN environment, is well known for his consistent articulation of a pluralistic approach to understanding Islam. His book *Islam Viewed from Several Perspectives* has inspired many Indonesian Muslim scholars in their recognition of the sturdiness of Islamic ideas when these are subjected to critical and comparative analysis.¹ Unique to Nasution's approach is that his pluralistic perspective on Islam is fundamentally consistent with Islam's sacred texts.

By means of this adherence to holy teachings, Harun Nasution sought to directly influence the views and thoughts of the *ummah* (Islamic community). In promoting a pluralistic religious understanding, he encouraged an appreciation for the value of religious diversity both within and outside of Islam – an appreciation previously undeveloped within the *ummah*, where the populace remained captivated by the thoughts of particular groups or individuals, where religious teaching adhered to single understandings or lines of thought, and where religious interpretation and meaning were thus limited to narrow and partial perspectives.² Before the introduction

of Nasution's pluralistic thinking, differences in understanding were regarded as errors in religious practice, as deviations from the sacred texts, or even as the refutation of Islam itself. At its most entrenched, this regard for religious difference resulted in a homogenous perspective that forswore any variation in views on religious issues.

Nasution also expected to see the *ummah* participate in the development of the nation. As the largest group in Indonesia, the *ummah* should, he believed, be responsible for the growth and maturation of Indonesian society. For this reason, when President Suharto's New Order government implemented steps toward modernization, Nasution argued that the Islamic community should adapt to the situation by recognizing the value of rational thinking, a prerequisite of modernization.

It is not surprising that Nasution's efforts have resulted in the spread of rational theology in Indonesia and that such an approach to theological discourse has become the basis for postgraduate studies at IAIN Jakarta. As director of the IAIN's first postgraduate program, Harun Nasution transformed IAIN Jakarta into a centre where new Islamic concepts thrive. This institution has become a centre for the development of IAIN lecturers in Islamic thought and of teachers for the STAINS throughout Indonesia. And, in the form of leaflets and notes, Harun Nasution's thought has been disseminated to the various regions of Indonesia.

For his part, Mukti Ali played an important role in expediting the modernization of Indonesia's institutes of Islamic education, particularly when he served as Indonesia's minister of religious affairs. In the realm of scholarship, Mukti Ali's influence has perhaps not been as far-reaching as that of Nasution, but his efforts to establish the comparative study of religion as one of the prominent areas of investigation at the IAIN have had a significant impact on the development of interreligious dialogue and discourse in Indonesia. Like Nasution, Mukti Ali was motivated by a concern about the increasing number of Muslim groups with narrow-minded views and thus made the development of comparative religious studies an academic obsession. By introducing the teaching of religions other than Islam, he made a genuine appreciation of religious diversity possible within the Muslim community.³

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW TRADITION

The IAIN's role as an institute of Islamic education has of course undergone change. In one respect, the IAIN's reorientation has been facilitated by the increased knowledge of its teaching staff. But change has also come in response to the IAIN's evolving self-definition as an institution with religious affiliations. The IAIN initially focused on community development through the glorification of Islam within the Indonesian Islamic community. Thus great emphasis was placed on community development activities. Although this orientation was not inherently wrong, the IAIN's mandate as an institution of higher education necessitated a rethinking of its dissemination of Islam, the focus becoming instead the academic study of Islam and the application of acquired knowledge. The IAIN now emphasizes thought, research, and discovery as the modes of inquiry most appropriate to its academic role.

Nevertheless, within the IAIN there remains a mutual relationship between the established theological and pedagogical roles. There is also tension between these roles in the development of the institution's academic life. Ideally, these two approaches to Islamic education should not compete with each other but should be regarded as equally important to the IAIN's role within Indonesian society. Without such a reconciliation of its mandates, the IAIN cannot hope to foster religious community development that is academically responsible. This interdependence between the IAIN's two historical functions can perhaps best be understood within the context of the IAIN's influence on Islamic instruction throughout Indonesia.

As the primary institution of Islamic higher education in Indonesia, the IAIN is a necessity for those wishing to pursue further studies within an Islamic education system. Moreover, in this capacity, the IAIN also functions as a coordinating institution for the enhancement of education within the *ummah*, a reciprocal effect that ideally serves to improve the quality of the *ummah's* religious community development. The IAIN, that is, retains its role as a religiously oriented institution concerned with influencing the quality of religious thought and understanding. And the *ummah*, in turn, through its exposure to and participation in modern intellectual discourse, is equipped to play a role in the development of Indonesia.⁴

The transmission of Islam to South East Asia, as has been noted by Azyumardi Azra and Zamakhsyari Dhofier, was achieved through the network of *ulama* (religious scholars). Because the Middle East was then the centre of Islamic knowledge, with the locus of influence being first the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and later also Cairo, the features of Islam that developed in Indonesia reflected those that had arisen in the religion's heartlands. Local features did of course become evident in the emerging pattern of Islamic thought in Indonesia, but on prominent issues Indonesian Muslims continued to be guided by the inclinations of the wider Islamic world. The network of *ulama* was highly influential, their teachings serving to shape the Islamic tradition in Indonesia. Indeed, Islamic education was centred on the writings and teachings of a few famous *ulama* and limited to the development of *hifdh* (learning things by heart) and *syarh* (the explanation of well-known texts).

Today, religious discourse in Indonesia is influenced by students' increased access to Islamic higher education at centres of study outside of the Middle East. IAIN and STAIN graduates, upon returning from their studies at McGill and other Western universities, have introduced a tradition of rational discourse to Islamic pedagogy in Indonesia. Unlike the *ulama* network, which perpetuates its teachers' perspectives, the tradition of scientific inquiry developed in the West has exposed these returning graduates to academic methodologies and approaches that enable them to engage critically with their professors' ideas.

Moreover, the influence of Western-trained graduates has been such that a socio-historical approach to religious studies in Indonesia has now been established in the country's Islamic higher education system. This new approach, however, does not so much comprise a departure from traditional Islamic thought as it does an attempt to integrate traditional understandings into a wider empirical analysis of social realities. Although the socio-historical approach to Islamic studies has many critics, there is increasing interest in this mode of inquiry. Indeed, given the differences between Western and Middle Eastern models for the study of Islam, Indonesia has acquired the flexibility to build an intellectual network comprised of several frameworks. The IAIN's interactive cooperation with a wider range of intellectual institutions has had visible effects on the country's

Islamic education system. Whereas traditional approaches to Islamic studies found the IAIN operating within a network of groups of intellectuals from the Middle East, the empirical approach introduced by IAIN graduates in their capacities as policy makers and lecturers has generated serious interest in the further development of international networks with the West.

In combination, the IAIN's theological and pedagogical mandates have produced in Indonesia an approach to the study and dissemination of Islamic thought that allows for the coexistence of differing views. In fact, the IAIN's most significant contribution to the country's socio-religious development has been its role as a meeting point and melting pot for several divergent approaches to the study of religion. The hope, in turn, is that the integration of these diverse approaches will foster a tradition of Islamic studies particular to the Indonesian Archipelago.⁵

A positive step toward this goal of reorienting the study of Islam in Indonesia has been the proliferation of research and study institutes with a sociological agenda at the various IAINs and STAINs. By providing a place for the development of research that regards religion and its change from the broader perspective of social studies, these institutes have produced a group of Muslim graduates increasingly involved in shaping public opinion in Indonesia, particularly in those areas in which religion and broader social problems intersect.

Originally, the tradition of research developed at the IAIN was heavily focused only on the problems of Islamic texts. Now, through the application of social research, intellectual discourse at the IAIN has come to encompass such contemporary concepts as democracy, civil society, gender, and the environment. Indeed, many well-known scholars teaching within the IAIN-STAIN system are now regarded as experts in these areas of study, their ideas being disseminated through research institutes and through the publication of articles and pamphlets on socially relevant issues. As a result, the focus of religious studies continues to have a direct effect on evolving social inclinations. The study of classical Islamic texts in concert with the study of contemporary problems has imparted a richness to Islamic studies in Indonesia and proven invaluable to the development of Islamic higher education.

Notably, the IAIN's increased interaction with the West through an intellectual network of wider scope predates the current concern with Muslim extremism in the context of international terrorism – a concern that points to the very real importance of the IAIN's modernizing influence within the *ummah*. As rural Muslims are exposed to the ideas of an increasing number of IAIN graduates and modern Muslim intellectuals, this influence will reach the wider community, encouraging further dialogue on social problems that are not exclusively religious. Moreover, the IAIN's exchange with international institutions will continue to improve the quality of academic discourse within the Islamic higher education system, further enhancing the IAIN's approach to the study and dissemination of Islam.

ACCELERATING SOCIAL MOBILITY

The IAIN's new orientation in the study of Islam has also benefited the IAIN's individual graduates in terms of increased social mobility. Statistical data from the campuses of IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta show that more than 50 per cent of their students come from the countryside, despite these IAINs' urban locations. Indeed, the IAIN-STAIN system absorbs many students from poorer areas, the majority of whom subsequently return to their villages either to assume management roles in education, often in the *pesantrens* (traditional Islamic boarding schools) and *madrasahs* (traditional Islamic schools), or to become professionals in the field of community development.

By providing its graduates with skills in these traditional community-based roles, the IAIN has, in turn, initiated social mobility within the *ummah* in Indonesia. IAIN alumni, given their expertise in both the religious and social arenas, now have a greater opportunity to influence the wider Islamic community – particularly through their contributions to research and to the empowerment of individuals in respect to contemporary issues. Of course, it is no longer necessary for all IAIN graduates to *pulang kampung* (return to their place of origin) in order to pursue careers in Islamic social work. Rather, they are now able to make a living in the cities, where the contributions of many IAIN alumni to the national agenda would likewise not have been possible without the IAIN's change in academic orientation.

As evidenced by the profile of students attending IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta, the major focus of the IAIN-STAIN system has been to educate the middle and lower classes. Thus it is not an exaggeration to suggest that the IAIN has also played a significant role in alleviating poverty in Indonesia, a fact that has further served to integrate the IAIN's modern ideas into the daily life of the broader Islamic community. The decision to modernize religious thought in Indonesia, as expressed by scholars such as Harun Nasution and Mukti Ali, was intended to engage the *ummah* in a dialogue ripe with pluralistic, contemporary, and socially relevant understandings of Islam. Such is the nature of the discourse on Islamic studies currently being fostered by the IAIN.

PIONEERING THE STUDY OF INDONESIAN ISLAM

In the broader arena of Islamic studies, attention to Indonesian Islam is relatively new. Compared to the study of Islam in North Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia, the study of Islam in Indonesia has lagged far behind. This is the case because Indonesian Islam is principally regarded as constituting a departure from "mainstream" Islam and has thus been greatly neglected by Western scholars. As a so-called "peripheral" phenomenon, Islam in Indonesia is, it is true, less aggressively dogmatic than its counterparts in the more prominent and traditional centres of Islamic knowledge, but its embrace of modern perspectives in response to a new approach to Islamic studies may in fact have implications for the broader Islamic world.

First, the IAIN's fusion of a normative approach to Islam with socio-historical analysis has produced a richer understanding of the religion, one informed by a greater breadth and depth of analysis. The study of contemporary problems within a classical framework of Islamic knowledge has become the primary mode of study within the IAIN-STAIN system, providing a potential model for Islamic studies elsewhere. In particular, the emergence of related research institutes and/or study groups have proven a means of facilitating the fusion of theological and sociological agendas within the *ummah* as a whole.

Second, increased familiarization with the numerous views and lines of argument within Islam has fostered a more pluralistic comprehension of the religion in general, thereby strengthening the

Islamic intellectual tradition. Moreover, this pluralistic approach to Islamic studies has given rise in Indonesia to an Islam based on tolerance and inclusiveness. Thus, by achieving harmony with traditional Islam, the process of modernizing Islamic education has also served to modernize Indonesian Islam – that is, to produce an Islam that is not only pluralistic, but also polyphonic, in its reconciliation of diverse perspectives.

Third, the IAIN's continued attention to its original mandate in respect to community development has ensured the relevance of its academic pursuits to the larger social agenda. By expanding the application of academic research to religious studies, the IAIN has affected change within other areas of study closely related to social and religious problems. Thus, for the wider Islamic world, the IAIN's pedagogical methods provide a complementary approach to education-based religious socialization.

As a centre of excellence for Islamic higher education and research in Indonesia, the IAIN now needs to focus on the *local context* and *local content* of Indonesian Islam. It must strive to enhance its capacity to serve as a centre for the development of a cultural Islam that is rooted in Indonesia. In turn, academic development within the IAIN and other institutes of Islamic higher education will receive even greater support from the country's traditional network of Islamic cultural resources. And in this respect, too, in the IAIN's quest for broader community support, Islam in Indonesia will continue to serve as a barometer for the development of a new tradition in Islamic studies.

NOTES

- ¹ Harun Nasution, *Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya* [Islam viewed from several perspectives] (Jakarta: UI Press, 1974).
- ² For a more detailed account of Harun Nasution's contributions to the orientation of Indonesian Islam, see Saiful Mujani, "Mu'tazilah Theology and the Modernization of the Indonesian Muslim Community: Intellectual Portrayal of Harun Nasution," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1 (April-June 1994): 104.
- ³ See Ali Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali: Modernisasi Politik-Keagamaan Orde Baru" [Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali: Religio-political modernization under the New Order], in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful

Umam, eds, *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik* [The ministers of religious affairs of Indonesia: Social and political biographies] (Jakarta: PPIM-IAIN Jakarta dan Litbang Depag, 1998), 271-320, and "Islam and the Struggle for Religious Pluralism: A Reading of the Religious Thought of Mukti Ali," *Studia Islamika* 3, no. 1 (1996): 111-27.

- ⁴ Azyumardi Azra, "Studi-studi Agama di Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri" [Religious studies in public Islamic higher education institutions], in *Pendidikan Islam Menuju Millenium Baru* [Islamic education in the new millennium] (Jakarta: Logos, 1999), 169-70.
- ⁵ Azyumardi Azra, "The Making of Islamic Studies in Indonesia," paper presented at the international conference "Islam in Indonesia: Intellectualization and Social Transformation," as organized by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Jakarta, 23-24 November 2000.

PART ONE

BUILDING A NEW TRADITION: THE ROLE
OF IAINS JAKARTA AND YOGYAKARTA

1 Creating a Centre of Excellence: IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian Muslims have long subscribed to the idea of establishing an Islamic higher education system. Before the State Higher Islamic College (PTAIN/Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri) was established as an embryo of the IAIN, some efforts to create an institution of Islamic higher education had been undertaken. In Jakarta, for instance, although it was later closed due to the Dutch's political intervention, Dr Satiman Wirjosandjojo had established the Foundation of Higher Islamic Boarding School (Yayasan Pesantren Luhur) as a centre for Islamic higher education in Indonesia. In 1940 various Muslim educators established Higher Islamic College (STI/Sekolah Tinggi Islam), but unfortunately it was closed in 1942 when Japanese military forces began to occupy the country and consolidate their political power. The same effort was also made by prominent figures such as Muhammad Hatta, Muhammad Natsir, K.H.A. Wahid Hasyim, and K.H. Mas Mansyur, who initiated the establishment of STI in Yogyakarta, chaired by Abdul Kahar Mudzakkir, on 8 July 1945. Unfortunately, this institution was again closed as soon as the Indonesian Independence Revolution broke out and did not reopen until 6 April 1946.

Muhammad Natsir argued that although conventional education systems like those of the *pondoks* (traditional Islamic boarding schools) and *madrasahs* were successful in producing devout and well-behaved Muslims, their graduates were unfortunately very ignorant of social problems. Therefore, in June 1938, Natsir wrote an

article entitled “Sekolah Tinggi Islam” (Islamic college), in which he underlined the need for STI – as an alternative to the country’s Western education system – to produce a group of intellectuals highly familiar both with Islamic tradition and with cultural issues.

Wirjosandjojo and Hatta identified four reasons for the establishment of STI: (1) Muslim society had fallen very much behind in education compared to non-Muslim society; (2) The advancements of non-Muslims in education had resulted from their adoption of the Western education system; (3) There was a significant need to connect the Islamic education system to an international network; (4) There was also a need to consider the local content of Islamic education.¹ The establishment of Islamic higher education, therefore, was aimed at answering these demands.

Wirjosandjojo accordingly gave special attention to various explanations for the backwardness in Islamic education. He compared Dutch schools and other schools that had adopted the Dutch system to the *pesantren*. The latter was, according to Wirjosandjojo, proven to be incapable of fulfilling the needs of society:

When the Indonesian people were still sleeping [i.e., ignorant], the teachers from the *pesantren* could solve social problems, but when many schools were founded and many people had gained the “fruits” of various schools, from elementary to the higher levels, they were no longer satisfied with the “fruits” of the *pesantren* [...] People began to compare Muslim teachers, who had graduated only from the *pesantren*, to those of their Christian counterparts, who had earned degrees from institutes of higher education. It is not surprising, therefore, that Islam’s influence in society began to disappear day by day.²

Wirjosandjojo’s attention to the Muslim education system is an apt example of an Indonesian leader’s recognition of the importance of social participation in solving public concerns – which, at that time, entailed the fight against colonialism in his home country. According to Wirjosandjojo, those who were actively involved in the national struggle to fight colonialism were mostly those with a higher education, while the rest of society, those educated in the *pesantren* system, had been left behind. STI was therefore intended as a medium by

which educated Muslims could join groups of intellectuals with whom to fight for independence from Dutch colonialism.

Wirjosandjojo believed that, to achieve appropriate qualifications through higher education, Indonesian Muslims should be aware of and linked with two different worlds: the domestic world in which they live and the international world. And, to ensure that Indonesian Muslims are aware of their own potential local heritages, Wirjosandjojo included Hinduism (“because this religion is one of the important roots of Javanese culture”), Javanese mysticism (*ilmu kebatinan*), and the Book of Saints (*kitab wali-wali*) in STI’s curriculum. To help facilitate contact with international audiences, Wirjosandjojo also proposed including subjects such as the English language (“as a preparation and, if needed, teachers should be invited from Cairo, Lahore, and Malay”), the history of religions, and an introduction to philosophy.³

Although he did not express it explicitly, Wirjosandjojo was aware of the importance of understanding Western tradition and other world traditions as a means of empowering Muslim society. English, philosophy, and religious studies were the ideal bridge by which Western tradition could be introduced to Muslim society. Wirjosandjojo’s observation that schools under the auspices of Taman Siswa⁴ modelled their education standards on those of Dutch schools (“due to their adoption of the Western education system”) is an indication that he strongly favoured including Western tradition, in terms of subjects and methodologies, in the Islamic education system.

Wirjosandjojo was confident that if STI could fulfil the requirements necessary for becoming a modern education institution, it would show tremendous growth and “last forever,” as it was supported by the grass roots and supervised “not by ordinary people, but by Muslim intellectuals whose capacities are equal to those of their Western counterparts.”⁵ It should be noted, however, that Wirjosandjojo’s ideas were proposed in 1939 at a time when initiatives toward liberation from Dutch colonialism were highest on the agenda of the Indonesian people. The political atmosphere characterizing the establishment of STI – which sought to mobilize social participation in order to fight against the Dutch by adopting Western thought – may to some degree be one of the reasons why this noble idea failed to take hold.

Not only did this quasi-political agenda jeopardize the Dutch colony in Indonesia, but it also handicapped STI in its efforts to gain full support from all Muslim communities.

Along with Wirjosandjojo, another key person who initiated the establishment of STI was Mohammad Hatta. His involvement in the issue may have been motivated by his own desire to integrate so-called “mosque education” with secular education. According to Hatta, mosque (i.e., religious) education has advantages, as it advocates religious values; at the same time, however, it fails to disseminate secular sciences. By comparison, the secular school system mainly concentrates on rationality and devotes itself to development of the sciences, while ignoring religion. Hatta believed that religion plays an important role in “humanizing” society. STI, therefore, was expected to take part in deepening its students’ religious understanding in line with the development of the sciences. Hatta also expected graduates from STI to be familiar with rapid changes in society, as those graduates would be society’s leaders. This is why, according to Hatta, philosophy, history, and sociology were important components to include in STI’s curriculum.

In Hatta, the idea of establishing STI found its new blood. In one of his memoranda, written in 1945, Hatta noted that in the Indonesian context, Islam is one of the main factors to be discerned in society’s development:

Religion [...] is one [pillar] of national culture. For Indonesia, 90 per cent of whose population embrace Islam, giving proper attention to religious education is one of the ways [...] to support society. The Indonesian people want to build a strong society, a society based on brotherhood and cooperation, and to build such a society, Islamic education should be given proper attention. Islam is a “light” that [...] offers society the way into brotherhood and cooperation. To accomplish the goal of religious education, it is urgently necessary to establish Sekolah Tinggi Islam (STI).⁶

As one of the founding fathers of the republic, Hatta supported the importance of developing a strong society. In the Indonesian context, as Islam is one of the country’s national pillars, empowering society is meaningless without the involvement of Islam. In other words, Hatta saw a positive interaction between Islamic understanding and

social development in Indonesia. Developing a strong society (in Hatta's words, a society based on "brotherhood and cooperation") begins with developing an inclusive understanding of Islam.

The process of developing an inclusive Islamic understanding as a main source of social development in the future could be effectively and properly carried out only by an educational institution. When Hatta wrote his memorandum of 1945, Islamic educational institutions were indeed not a new phenomenon. The *pesantren* system had existed in Indonesia for more than five centuries. And, in the 1950s, modern Islamic schools would in fact be established. However, they unfortunately approached Islam in a very narrow-minded way. Disseminating inclusive Islamic studies required a thoughtful understanding and therefore could be achieved only in institutions of higher education.

Hatta also paid serious attention to how an inclusive Islamic understanding could be built. An inclusive outlook could be attained only by taking a dynamic view of Islamic doctrines. Religion, if treated merely as a doctrine, remains static and is thus unable to solve various social problems. According to Hatta, the best way to counter this dogmatic understanding of religion was through philosophical, historical, and sociological approaches to religious studies: "The dogmatic approach can produce only 'belief,' and this belief may, in some respects, lead to a narrow understanding. But philosophy may produce an open way of thinking and feeling and lead the people to a means of discerning and feeling in the broadest sense."⁷

The law that guides the daily life of Muslim society and greatly affects the structure of a Muslim lifestyle also had to be regarded empirically in terms of how the doctrines of religious law were formulated and applied to society. For this reason, a historical approach to law was essential. "Without its historical background, religious law may be memorized but not properly understood."⁸ Furthermore, a sociological approach to understanding the society for which the law was formulated and to which it was applied over time was absolutely needed. Thus sociology, according to Hatta, was also to be an important part of STI's curriculum: "Islamic teaching that guides us in solving social problems should be based on sociological science." Sociology was essential to understanding not only the existence of law, but also its application within society. "The ulama, who understood

the religious laws from religious books but failed to recognize their own society's needs, were indeed handicapped in leading society," Hatta noted.⁹

Besides philosophy, history, and sociology, it was also thought that STI's curriculum should include state law. Islam, which produces its own law, may exist within a state that also produces its own law, and in some respects, these two systems of law may contradict each other. To ensure against such potential conflict, a productive dialogue between Islam and the state was seen as absolutely vital. STI's students' knowledge of state law, it was argued, should be as thorough as their knowledge of religious law: "Knowledge of state law is also important in STI's education system."¹⁰

The difference in emphasis between Wirjosandjojo and Hatta in terms of their ideas about Islamic education is understandable, as six years of history separated their efforts to establish STI. However, both outlined the importance of social participation in education. And both believed that schooling should be initiated and maintained by society. As Wirjosandjojo states:

The state – we repeat once more – should always be neutral in its position on religious matters, but this neutrality does not mean that the state takes no notice of supporting religion, as it has provided principal support for Christian churches and missionaries. The establishment of an institution of Islamic higher education (*hoogeschool Islam*) should be initiated by the Muslim community. And we are proud, for we are capable of founding this institution of higher education.¹¹

Six years later, this sentiment was repeated by Hatta: "Sekolah Tinggi Islam (STI) is owned by Muslim society. Its founding is and will always be based on social endowment. Muslim society itself is responsible for its continuation."¹²

Wirjosandjojo's call to establish STI autonomously may in some respects have been a logical consequence of Dutch colonial policies, which took a neutral position on religion. In other words, if Muslims urged the founding of religious-based schools, they should in turn be self-reliant enough to found such institutions themselves. It also meant that Wirjosandjojo's will to fight Dutch colonialism had inspired him to build a strong community with its own educational institutions. He was confident that, as the majority, the Muslim community was strong enough to rely on its own capabilities.

Hatta made his statement in July 1945, a month before Indonesia gained its independence. The Dutch colonial government had been taken over by the Japanese, and Indonesian awareness of the necessity of self-reliance had intensified. And even though he frequently repeated the idea of self-reliance, it may not have been for the same reason as Wirjosandjojo. Rather, Hatta's subscription to the idea was seen as an indication of his confidence that it was the best time to normalize the idea within the community.

Concerning Wirjosandjojo's and Hatta's ideas about establishing STI, there are some interesting points to underline: (1) Both were fully aware that the backwardness of traditional Muslim education had alienated Muslim society from the national agenda – an agenda that, for Wirjosandjojo, was concerned with the struggle against colonialism and, for Hatta, with the development of a strong society; (2) The transformation of Indonesia into a modern society could be achieved only through the reinterpretation of religious understanding and by means of Islamic higher education; (3) Through Islamic higher education, religious understanding would be transformed by modern, inclusive, and empirical sociological and historical approaches, thus overcoming its conservatism and dogmatism; this new understanding, in turn, would enable Islam to guide its adherents in solving all problems arising from rapid social change; (4) This higher education system should be initiated by Muslim society, and Muslims moreover should be responsible for forming its goals, setting its curriculum, and handling its financial affairs.

THE FADING EXPECTATION

The noble aim of those earlier Muslim scholars to found an institution of Islamic higher education that promoted inclusive, dynamic religious understanding and that had strong grass-root support gradually faded away. During the 1950s the Indonesian government began to change its policies on the Islamic higher education system. To get a better picture of this process, it is necessary to return to the years after Hatta's establishment of STI.

In 1946, following the second Dutch Colonial Intervention, which forced the new government of the Republic of Indonesian to move to Yogyakarta, STI also moved from Jakarta to Yogyakarta. Afterward, this removal shifted STI's orientation. Under a special committee, STI

was transformed into Indonesian Islamic University (UII/Universitas Islam Indonesia) on 2 March 1946, its name being formally changed in 1948. As a consequence of becoming a new university, the institution immediately created four new faculties: Religion, Law, Economics, and Education.

Evident in these changes were two key aspects of UII. First, on the one hand, Islam was still treated as the basic system of education. On the other hand, it was implicitly regarded as insufficient to cover all the scientific disciplines. At UII people could now study Islamic higher sciences. But what did UII consider to be Islamic sciences? There is no clear indication of how the discussion among the members of the special committee was run, but their preference for the word “university” suggests intense debate. The term “Islamic sciences” itself indicates that sociology, philosophy, and other subjects specified by Wirjosandjojo and Hatta could not be covered. Rather, Islamic sciences seem to have been understood to include only religious sciences such as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *ushuluddin* (Islamic theology). However, because this newly established institution would also offer general sciences, the word “university” was adopted and thus linked with the word “Islam.”

Second, Wirjosandjojo and Hatta underlined that the institution of higher education that they really wanted to establish was one in which Islam was studied in a comprehensive way using various approaches. Sociology, philosophy, history, world religions, and the English language were believed to be the most effective tools with which to broaden society’s understanding of Islam. Unfortunately, this noble objective was translated by the members of the committee as the need to open general faculties besides the Faculty of Religion at UII. Islam was thus returned to its own “box,” remaining an Islam alienated from its adherents and, as such, the very type of Islam about which Wirjosandjojo and Hatta had long complained.

Government policy on the education system in general became in some respects the source of the dissociation of UII from the initial ideas of Wirjosandjojo and Hatta. From 1940 to 1950, the Indonesian government in Yogyakarta established two kinds of higher education: namely, general/secular higher education and religious/Islamic higher education.

The government transformed Gajah Mada Higher Education Institute (Balai Perguruan Tinggi Gajah Mada) into the state-owned Gadjah

Mada University and also attached UII's Faculty of Education to this newly established university. To meet the need for religious education, the government also transformed the Faculty of Religion at UII into the PTAIN (State Higher Islamic College). It is imperative to note, however, that when Islamic studies were included in the Faculty of Religion at UII, students received intensive exposure to other general sciences offered in the institution's various faculties. When Islamic studies were omitted from UII and became a special and independent institute, encounters between Islamic studies and the general sciences rarely took place in a formal way.

As soon as Government Decree No. 34 was issued on 26 September 1950, this new institute of religious higher education officially came into existence in Yogyakarta with the aim of employing Islamic higher education as the key means of developing and deepening Islamic knowledge. In other words, the PTAIN was established to produce scholars in Islamic studies who could fulfil the needs of society and state by means of religious problem solving. This argument was based on the fact that Islam is the religion most embraced by the Indonesian people. Given that Indonesian society is recognized as a so-called religious community, religion plays important roles in all aspects of life in Indonesia.

During its formative period in 1951, the PTAIN opened three faculties – Education (Tarbiyah), Law (Qadha), and Islamic Mission (Dakwah) – enrolling sixty-seven students. The subjects offered were Arabic, introduction to religious studies, Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Islamic legal theories (*ushul fiqh*), Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsir*), Muhammadan tradition (*hadith*), Islamic theology (*kalam*), philosophy, logic (*mantiq*), ethics (*akhlak*), Islamic mysticism (*tasawwuf*), comparative religion, Islamic mission (*dakwah*), Islamic history, Islamic civilization, Islamic education, Islamic culture, psychology, introduction to Islamic law, social and law ethics, ethnology, sociology, and economics. Students who passed their baccalaureate and doctorate exams were given bachelor's degrees and doctorates respectively in the field of Islamic studies and employed as civil servants.

UII's transformation from a private institution into a state-owned institution had significant consequences. On the one hand, the institution was obviously secure in terms of financial support; however, on the other hand, its institutional development seems to have been influenced by pragmatic government policy intended to address the

lack of *madrasah* teachers in religious and general subjects. The PTAIN was thus co-opted by the government's educational bodies, especially by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which provided most of the government's financial support for the PTAIN.

As soon as the PTAIN was officially opened in Yogyakarta on 1 June 1957, the government also initiated the foundation of the State Academy of Religious Studies (ADIA/Akademi Dinas Ilmu Agama) in Jakarta. The government appointed Mahmud Yunus as the dean and Bustami A. Gani as the vice dean. This academy aimed to equip civil servants with academic and practical expertise (at the diploma level) in order to fulfil the need for religious teachers in junior high schools (SLTP/Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama), private schools, and religious schools. The ADIA thus created three faculties – Religion, Arabic Literature, and Military Religious Advisors – and the subjects offered at the ADIA included the Indonesian, English, French, and Hebrew languages, Indonesian culture, general civilization, Islamic history, Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsir*), Muhammadan tradition (*hadith*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Islamic legal theories (*ushul fiqh*), history of Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic theology (*kalam*), logic (*mantiq*), ethics (*akhlāq*), philosophy, comparative religion, and the history of social education.

Within ten years, the number of students at this institution had increased, drawn from various provinces in the country as well as from Malaysia. And because of the numerous aspects of Islamic studies and in order to improve the quality of the institution, the creation of distinct faculties was vital. For this reason, on 24 August 1960 the president of the Republic of Indonesia issued Government Regulation No. 11 concerning the merging of the PTAIN and the ADIA into a new institution centred in Yogyakarta – that is, the IAIN – and appointed Professor R.H.A. Soenarjo as its first rector and Professor T.M. Hasby Ash-Shiddieqy and Dr Muchtar Yahya as the deans of the Faculties of Islamic Law and Islamic Theology respectively. At the same time, the government also created the Faculties of Education and Islamic Civilization, appointing Dr Mahmud Yunus and Professor Bustami A. Gani as their respective deans. It should be noted, however, that this unification strongly revealed the government's agenda, as it provided a strategic position within the institution from which the government could pursue its pragmatic goals.

The policy to centralize the IAIN in two cities, Yogyakarta and Jakarta, is a likely explanation for why this institution initially failed to answer the demands of Muslim community members in the country who wished to educate their children in the IAIN system. Muslim communities in some areas also strongly requested that the government open institutions of Islamic higher education, or at least some faculties, in their provinces. To fulfil this request, the Provisional House of the People's Assembly (MPRS/Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara) later recommended that the government establish the IAIN in other provinces in Indonesia. Based on this recommendation, within only three years – that is, by 1963 – the IAIN, which had initially been founded in Yogyakarta and Jakarta, had opened eighteen other faculties throughout the country. Faculties of Education were opened in such provinces as Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Malang, and Banda Aceh; Faculties of Islamic Civilization in Jakarta and Yogyakarta; and Faculties of Islamic Law in Yogyakarta, Banda Aceh, Banjarmasin, Palembang, Surabaya, Serang, and Makassar.

To respond to the rapid development of the IAIN, the Ministry of Religious Affairs issued Regulation No. 49 in 1963, an important measure concerning the division of IAINs Yogyakarta and Jakarta into two different institutions. From that time, IAIN Yogyakarta was renamed IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, while its counterpart in Jakarta was renamed IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah. IAIN Sunan Kalijaga took charge of coordinating all faculties in Central Java, East Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, and Irian (Papua), while IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah was responsible for coordinating all faculties in Jakarta, West Java, and Sumatra. The official ceremony of this division of responsibilities took place on 18 March 1963 at IAIN Jakarta.

To fulfil society's demands for quality Islamic higher education, many faculties in various disciplines were subsequently expanded and developed into new autonomous IAINs. Government Regulation No. 27, dated 5 September 1963, officially unified three faculties into a new IAIN. According to this regulation, IAIN Jakarta and IAIN ar-Raniry Banda Aceh were inaugurated as new IAINs on 5 October 1963. Inaugurations also occurred in other provinces following the establishment of the new institutes in Jakarta and Banda Aceh. IAIN Raden Fatah Palembang was officially made autonomous in October 1964, IAIN Antasari South Kalimantan on 22 November 1964, IAIN Sunan

Ampel Surabaya on 6 July 1965, IAIN Alauddin Makassar on 28 October 1965, IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang on 21 November 1966, and IAIN Sultan Thaha Saefuddin Jambi in 1967.

Following the consolidation of the New Order regime, in which Suharto replaced Soekarno as Indonesia's president, some new patterns emerged in government policy concerning religious education in the country. During the formative period of transition from 1967 to 1971, the New Order regime did not in fact issue any new regulations. The government's reluctance to become involved in the issue was understandable given that the Ministry of Religious Affairs was, at the time, still dominated by "old faces," such as Saifuddin Zuhri and K.H. Mohammad Dachlan of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU/Awakening of Religious Scholars), a traditional Islamic wing. The new regime, accordingly, suspected that the NU was one of the Old Order's political organs. Therefore, concerning the IAIN's development, the new regime during this period maintained the old policy of initiating the establishment of new IAINs or opening new faculties in various areas of study as an effective way to answer the aspirations of local Muslim leaders. This resulted in the emergence of new IAINs throughout the country. IAIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung was opened on 28 March 1968, IAIN Raden Intan Lampung on 28 October 1968, IAIN Walisongo Semarang on 1 April 1970, IAIN Syarif Qosim Pekanbaru in September 1970, and IAIN North Sumatra on 19 November 1973. By the mid-1970s, thirteen IAINs with 104 faculties had been established in the country.

It should be noted, however, that the IAIN, as a government-run institution, was not immune to the political fluctuations of the government itself. In fact, the government played a dominant role in deciding who would run and lead the IAIN. The decision concerning these appointments was very much affected by the political power of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. During the Old Order regime and the early years of the New Order regime, this ministry was dominated by NU leaders, who thus held most of the important positions.¹³ This domination also appeared in the IAIN system when the Ministry of Religious Affairs restructured the IAIN's academic and administrative organization, appointing a rector and administrative officials in 1969.¹⁴ In the hands of the traditionalist Islamic community, the management system, recruitment of lecturers and administrative officers, curriculum design, teaching methods, and interactions between stu-

dents and lecturers were greatly influenced by the values disseminated by the NU, thus creating at the IAIN a traditionalist atmosphere inappropriate in a modern higher education system.

BACK TO THE ROOTS

As previously noted, according to Wirjosandjojo and Hatta, one of the initial motives for establishing STI in Indonesia was to develop a model of Islam that promoted inclusive religious understanding grounded in sociological, historical, and political experience. To achieve this noble purpose, according to these Muslim leaders, Muslim society should be open-minded about other civilizations, including the West. This is why, in part, Yogyakarta and Jakarta, being relatively modern and cosmopolitan cities, were considered the ideal places to found an institution of Islamic higher education.

After its inauguration as a state-owned institution, the IAIN grew significantly. By 1973 there were 112 IAINs throughout the country.¹⁵ This was indeed rapid progress and both positive and challenging for a public education institution. Logically, if the IAINs were built in small, very remote cities and villages, many students would easily be able to continue their advanced studies. However, this unfortunately resulted in the disappearance of the spirit of urban culture that had initially been regarded as necessary for building a prestigious and cosmopolitan Islamic institution. As unqualified students from remote areas were increasingly accepted by the IAIN, the institution became geographically and culturally marginalized.

The unexpected consequences of the proliferation of IAINs throughout the country became a main concern of Mukti Ali, an MA graduate of McGill University who in the mid-1970s urged that the IAIN be systematically returned to its initial goal. He had inherited the spirit of the founders of STI, Kyai Mas Mansyur having been his teacher and spiritual guide.

During his studies at McGill, Mukti Ali experienced a sort of golden vision of a new Islamic understanding based on inclusive, scientific, and empirical approaches to religious study and on an open-minded attitude to Western culture as imagined by Wirjosandjojo and Hatta. He was very attracted to this new understanding of Islam:

Mukti Ali said that he was very excited to learn that the program of Islamic studies at [McGill] was presented in a systematic, rational and – in his own words – “holistic” fashion: its doctrines, history and civilization [...] He asserts the need for introducing an empirical approach to Islamic studies as a means of reinterpreting Islamic doctrines in the context of modernity.¹⁶

He spread this new spirit in Indonesia upon returning home, where he taught at the ADIA in Jakarta and at STI in Yogyakarta, which, during his tenure, eventually became the PTAIN. At these institutions, Mukti Ali devoted himself to developing a new horizon of Islamic studies such as he had experienced at McGill University, particularly in terms of methodology and the study of comparative religion.

New scientific approaches to Islam were widely and effectively applied when Mukti Ali served as the minister of religious affairs from 1971 to 1978. As noted earlier, during this time the ministry was still greatly dominated by officials from the traditional Islamic wing who controlled policy making either at the upper level (in the offices of the ministry) or at the lower level (as IAIN rectors, deans, lecturers, and students). Mukti Ali encountered an atmosphere characterized by traditional perceptions of Islam and thus, in order to modernize Islam in Indonesia, began to reform the upper and lower levels of his ministry.

With the full support of President Suharto, Mukti Ali reorganized the Ministry of Religious Affairs to eliminate the dominant influence of the traditional wing by reducing bureaucracy and by recruiting prospective professionals who had been marginalized by the former ministers because of their different socio-political aspirations. He also sought to staff his offices with graduates from overseas universities who were more likely to share his views.

The regime’s interest in modernizing the Ministry of Religious Affairs in general and the IAIN in particular should in fact be seen in the light of its newly adopted policy toward modernization, which sought to strengthen the economy, to ensure political stability, and to promote the national ideology of Pancasila and the Indonesian Constitution of Undang-Undang Dasar (UUD) of 1945 as the country’s sole basis for social and political organizations. The regime believed that economic development could not be achieved if Indonesian soci-

ety remained backward, ignorant, and poor, and if the political factions within political parties continued to dominate. Accordingly, the regime regarded the transformation of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the modernization of the IAIN as the means to achieve its goals. To support this policy, it was decided that some strategic positions in the ministry should be controlled not by traditionalist groups such as the NU or by revivalist groups such as the Islamic Union (PERSIS/Persatuan Islam), but by those from the modernist wing, such as Mukti Ali.

Concerning the creation of the IAIN as a centre for urban culture, the government introduced some important policies. These included closing a large number of the IAINs or faculties in very remote areas. In 1975, of the 112 IAINs throughout the country, only 13 were given an operational licence.¹⁷ This policy proved effective in ensuring the selection of qualified students at the IAIN and in reducing the IAIN's annual budget. It also served to root the IAIN in an urban culture characterized by the type of plural and inclusive environment necessary for exposing students to modern thoughts and attitudes.

This policy was also followed by the government's initiative to send some young, energetic Indonesians to study abroad, mostly in Western universities. In 1972, upon being appointed minister of religious affairs, Mukti Ali sent fifty-five young lecturers and office staff to study abroad, which had never happened before in the history of the ministry.¹⁸ At IAIN Jakarta, during the period 1973-78, numerous young scholars benefited from this policy, six going to Australia, two to England, seven to Egypt, two to Sudan, nine to Canada, one to Singapore, and seven to the Netherlands. In 1973 some lecturers from IAIN Yogyakarta were sent abroad not only to earn graduate degrees, but also to visit various language centres in America, Canada, Europe, and Asia.¹⁹

THE IAIN-MCGILL UNIVERSITY RELATIONSHIP

As noted earlier, upon becoming minister of religious affairs, Mukti Ali undertook some principal efforts to modernize the IAIN and transform it into a prestigious institute of Islamic higher education. One of his efforts was the massive recruitment of Western graduates

to assume strategic positions in his ministry. He also started sending promising young Muslim scholars to pursue graduate studies in overseas universities. Concerning the cooperation between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and McGill University, during Mukti Ali's era nine employees from his office pursued master's degrees at McGill University and helped him afterward to formulate important policies in the ministry concerning religious development in Indonesia. During the next stage, starting in 1990, this academic cooperation, whereby junior lecturers are sent to study at McGill University, was formalized by Munawwir Sjadzali.

There are at least two explanations for why Indonesian students from the IAIN have chosen to pursue their graduate studies at McGill University. First, there is a strong emotional attachment between the founder of the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill, Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith, and some prominent Indonesian scholars, particularly Mohammad Rasjidi and Mukti Ali. Rasjidi was one of the first professors invited to the institute and lectured there for about five years (1958-1963) on the development of modern Indonesian Islamic thought.²⁰

As a devout Muslim scholar, Rasjidi was part of the institute's efforts to facilitate contact between Muslims and non-Muslims in order to provide an emphatic, objective, and comprehensive picture of Islamic civilization. Wilfred Cantwell Smith believes that in order to achieve that objective, it is necessary to have devout Muslim students and professors attending the institute. In his view, the institute is an apt medium for a dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims that can serve to produce a general and acceptable picture of Islam.²¹ Intellectual exchanges between, on the one hand, students and professors from the Muslim tradition and, on the other hand, non-Muslims studying at the institute are an essential means by which both communities are expected to assess their mutual understanding of theology and religion. Such exchanges are also aimed at defining an acceptable "theology" in the light of scientific tradition, a kind of theology that, in Wilfred Cantwell Smith's words, "conceptually articulates the needs of truth and ensures the vision of it in someone's religious tradition without having to lose the intrinsic values of the faith."²²

Second, compared to other Islamic studies programs at other Western universities, the program offered by the Institute of Islamic Studies

at McGill is both unique and exceptional. Studies on Islam in many European and North American universities are commonly conducted under the auspices of Departments of Middle Eastern Studies, Departments of Near Eastern Studies, or Faculties of Religious Studies. The institute at McGill University, founded in 1952, is the only autonomous institution of Islamic studies in North America under the auspices of a Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research.²³ Furthermore, in many North American universities, studies on Islam are offered as part of a larger curriculum of studies that includes other religious traditions like Christianity, Judaism, and/or Buddhism. By comparison, Islamic studies at McGill comprises a specially designed program consisting of philosophy, Sufism, theology, Islamic law, and history. Interestingly, the program covers not only the heart of Islam – namely, Islam as it is experienced in the Middle Eastern countries – but also peripheral and local Islamic identities scattered from West Africa to Asia Minor and Indonesia.

The institute gives special attention to the study of Islam in general rather than specifically emphasizing the origin of Islam or the classical history of Arab culture, as is the case in some prominent North American and European universities – an unfortunate approach that does not reflect Islam’s influence on the culture and civilization of peripheral Muslim communities. McGill is also committed to the development of a dynamic, modern Islam, regarding such development as the best way for Muslim communities to redefine their own classical heritages in the contemporary context.

The significance of institutions such as the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University is their belief that in order to discuss religion, researchers must talk to believers. The researcher’s goal in such a dialogue is not only to obtain valid information, but also to verify his or her interpretations. If one, for instance, talks about Islam, he or she has to present the facts as they are believed by Muslims, and it should be assumed that what is said by researchers is true from the Islamic point of view.

Although what Wilfred Cantwell Smith achieved was not a new phenomenon in the study of religion, it is the main reason why McGill’s Institute of Islamic Studies became so important. On the one hand, for many Western scholars, information from primary sources – that is, from Muslims themselves – is highly valuable. On the other hand, the presence of Muslims as partners in a dialogue within the

institute serves two purposes: (1) They are qualified to offer a representative example of both the Islamic faith and the traditions of the Muslim community in general; (2) Not only do they have the opportunity to absorb Western critical methods and scientific discourse, instruments that better enable them to give an adequate explanation of the Islamic legacy, but they are also able to contribute critically to the development of Islamic studies.²⁴

It goes without saying that as a melting pot of two civilizations, the institute plays an important role in facilitating an intellectual interaction and exchange between Western and Muslim scholars. Encounters between the two civilizations at the institute are of crucial importance to academic and theological discourse. The academic value of the institute lies in its determination to escape Wilfred Cantwell Smith's criticism of the prevailing approach both to the study of religion in general and to Islamic studies in the West in particular. According to Wilfred Cantwell Smith, the Western academic tradition has been dominated by a positivist approach that applies the procedures and methods of the exact sciences. As a result, there is often a huge gap between subject and object. Applying the positivist method to religious studies may reveal religion as a spiritual matter, but it also reduces religion to the particulars of practitioners' psychological lives, which, in the end, assumes religious behaviour to be knowable via the exact sciences.²⁵ Instead, religious studies in general should pay more attention to how practitioners' expressions of faith transcend historical analysis and religious tradition. That religion is treated as a static phenomenon circumscribed by the historical forms of a given tradition²⁶ is one of Wilfred Cantwell Smith's fundamental criticisms of existing religious studies. This criticism is prominent in his essential studies, whereby he explains how the existing framework for religious studies perpetuates the notion of religion as a unified and unchangeable concept. Within such a framework, religious studies tend to generalize certain phenomena unique to a particular religious community living during a specific time period as being common to similar communities, regardless of its historical distinctions. For example, if a radical Muslim movement emerges in the Middle East, radicalism is accepted as a verifiable phenomenon prevalent in Muslim communities elsewhere.

In general, the IAIN lecturers who have obtained graduate degrees at McGill University can be grouped into three categories: the '60s,

the '70s, and the '90s. The generation of the 1960s is represented by Mukti Ali, who, a year before Rasjidi arrived at McGill, became the first Indonesia student to obtain a master's degree at the institute. His thesis was entitled *The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction*. In the following years, the institute produced many Indonesian Muslim scholars, notably Anton Timur Jaylani (1959), Tedjaningsih Jaylani (1959), Mochtar Naim (1960), Harun Nasution (1965), and Kafrawi Ridwan (1969), each of whom earned a master's degree from the institute. In addition, the institute produced the first Indonesian Muslim scholar to get a doctorate in Islamic Studies, Harun Nasution, whose dissertation was entitled *Muhammad 'Abduh and the Rational Theology of Mu'tazilah* (1969).

At the beginning of the 1970s, the arrival of nine Indonesian Muslim scholars at McGill University to pursue graduate studies introduced a new perspective to the discourse on Islamic studies at the institute. Interestingly, those nine scholars – A. Hafidz Dasuki (1974), Zaini Muchtarom (1975), Murni Djamal (1975), Muhammad Idris (1975), Nourouzzaman Shiddiqi (1975), Bisri Affandi (1976), Saifuddin Anshari (1976), A. Farichin Chumaidy (1976), and Muhammad Asyari (1976) – wrote their theses on Islam in Indonesia. After this “group of nine,” there were no Indonesian Muslim students at the institute until the end of the 1980s. During this decade, only one Indonesian student studied there, Iik Arifin Mansurnoor (1987), whose PhD dissertation on the role of the *ulama* in Madura was entitled *Ulama in a Changing Society: A Study of the Madurese Community*.²⁷

McGill alumni of the late 1960s and 1970s played significant roles in the reformation of Indonesia's Ministry of Religious Affairs. As employees at the ministry, Kafrawi Ridwan, Hafidz Dasuki, Zaini Muchtarom, and Murni Djamal were important figures in the government's administrative life, holding key positions. Kafrawi Ridwan was once general director of the General Directorate of Islamic Institutional Development. Zaini Muchtarom was once director of Islamic Higher Education. And Murni Djamal was once an assistant to the minister of religious affairs. In addition to their activities in the ministry, they were also active participants in academic discourse among Indonesian Muslim scholars. Unfortunately, after the period influenced by these alumni, there was a period during which, for unknown reasons, the ministry produced no overseas graduates. Not until the end of 1985, when the ministry was led by Munawir Sjadzali, was the policy of

sending scholars overseas formally continued. Sjadzali initiated a pilot project that in turn became policy. Since the mid-1980s, many outstanding IAIN graduates have left their homeland to continue their studies in the United States and Turkey. And, throughout this period, the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill has offered its full cooperation, committing itself to enhancing the education of its Indonesian Muslim scholars.

INDONESIA-CANADA ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION
PROJECT (ICIHEP): AN APPRECIATION

Given the key roles played by McGill alumni both in academe and in the Ministry of Religious Affairs, it is undeniable that the cooperation between McGill University and the IAIN has had benefits in terms of optimizing human resources in Indonesia. It was this advantage that motivated the ministry to formalize a cooperative relationship with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) whereby promising IAIN graduates are regularly sent to pursue graduate studies at McGill University. Since the signing of a memorandum of understanding between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and CIDA, the Indonesia-Canada Islamic Higher Education Project (ICIHEP) has provided academic opportunities for many IAIN graduates throughout Indonesia. To date, eighty-two lecturers – consisting of fifty-eight men and twenty-four women – have earned master's degrees from McGill University. An additional ten men and one woman have earned doctorates. And six young IAIN lecturers, all of whom are men, have completed one-year diplomas. As the IAIN's main source of support for the development of its libraries, in particular its libraries at IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta, the project also sends librarians to McGill's Islamic studies library to broaden their experience and allow them to pursue master's degrees in library and information studies. Furthermore, the project initiates the exchange of professors between the IAIN and McGill, provides important instruments for improving the teaching and education system at the IAIN, and publishes anthologies on Islamic studies.

In terms of gender equality and empowerment, the number of females who have earned degrees as a result of the project represents 25 per cent of all alumni. Table 1.1 indicates the gender and degree

breakdown of McGill alumni who teach at the IAINs and State Colleges of Islamic Studies (STAINS) throughout Indonesia.

Table 1.1
Gender and academic degrees of McGill alumni lecturing at the IAINs

| IAIN/STAIN | PhD | | MA | | DIPLOMA | | TOTAL |
|-------------------------------|-----|----|----|----|---------|---|-------|
| | F | M | F | M | F | M | |
| Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh | - | 1 | 1 | 8 | - | - | 10 |
| Medan, North Sumatra | - | - | 5 | 6 | - | - | 11 |
| Imam Bonjol, Padang | - | - | 2 | 1 | - | - | 3 |
| Sultan Thaha Saifuddin, Jambi | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Sultan Syarif Qasim, Riau | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Raden Intan, Lampung | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Raden Fatah, Palembang | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta | 1 | 3 | 4 | 9 | - | - | 17 |
| Sunan Djati, Bandung | - | - | 4 | 2 | - | 1 | 7 |
| Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta | - | 3 | 4 | 9 | - | 1 | 17 |
| Sunan Ampel, Surabaya | - | 2 | 1 | 6 | - | 1 | 10 |
| Walisongo, Semarang | - | - | 1 | 4 | - | 1 | 6 |
| Antasari, Banjarmasin | - | - | 1 | 3 | - | 1 | 5 |
| Alauddin, Makassar | - | - | 1 | 5 | - | 1 | 7 |
| STAIN Kediri | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| TOTAL | 1 | 10 | 24 | 58 | - | 6 | 99 |

A careful look at the dissertations submitted by IAIN lecturers who are McGill alumni as partial requirement for obtaining master's degrees or doctorates shows that their interest in the study of Islam in Indonesia has been surprisingly high in comparison to their interest in general studies on Islam, such as classical Islamic history, theology, philosophy, and Islamic jurisprudence. Between 1989 and 2000, ninety dissertations were submitted to McGill by IAIN lecturers, fifty of which specifically focus on Islam in Indonesia in terms of Islamic institutions and the development of Islamic thought. Thus Indonesian Muslim scholars are producing approximately five new works each year that have Islam in Indonesia as their main focus of study. This is a significant number that should, in many respects, enrich the study of Indonesian Islam.

As of 2000, the project had afforded seventy-five IAIN librarians – twenty-six of whom are women – the opportunity to pursue their

advanced studies in library and information systems at the University of Indonesia, one of the leading universities in the country. In addition, various short courses on management and education aimed at encouraging institutional development are also offered both at McGill and at the IAINS. These courses represent an excellent opportunity for more than 551 IAIN staff – 130 of whom are women – to increase their professional capabilities in terms of academic expertise and management skills.

IAINS JAKARTA AND YOGYAKARTA:
CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT

From the forgoing account, it will be clear that, primarily in the past five years, IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta have become the main partners in the McGill-IAIN collaboration. The reason for this development is not only that, historically, these IAINS have a long and special relationship with the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill, but also that, academically, IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta are in some respects more advanced than the other IAINS in Indonesia. The continued development of IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta as a focus of new projects is therefore expected to have an indirect impact on the other IAINS, as they will benefit from the support provided by these two IAINS for various programs, including professor exchanges.

Generally, the strengths of IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta can be understood in terms of the following: (1) institutional development; (2) quality of human resources (professional teaching staff); (3) level of participation in disseminating new ideas; (4) curriculum development; and (5) teaching methodology.

Institutional Development

In terms of promoting institutional and community development, IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta have implemented some important policies, including:

(1) A policy to rationalize IAIN Jakarta's branches by closing nonproductive faculties, such as the Faculty of Education in Serang Banten and the Faculty of Islamic Theology in Cirebon West Java in 1975, both of which had previously been affiliated with IAIN Jakarta.

(2) A policy to decentralize IAIN administration by converting some of the satellite faculties associated with IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta into fully autonomous institutions: namely, the STAINS.

(3) A policy to intensify partnerships with national and international institutions. IAIN Yogyakarta, for instance, has signed memoranda of understanding aimed at developing human resources, curriculum, and research skills. This program is conducted in cooperation with such partners as McGill University, the Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS), Gadjah Mada University, the State University of Yogyakarta, the Indonesian Islamic University, Muhammadiyah University at Yogyakarta, the Indonesian Islamic Cultural Foundation, and the Multimedia Training Centre in Yogyakarta. Similarly, IAIN Jakarta is also working to strengthen its partnerships with various local and international institutions.

Structural and nonstructural research centres have also experienced tremendous development at both IAIN Jakarta and Yogyakarta. IAIN Jakarta lends institutional support to the Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (CENSIS/Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat/PPIM) as an autonomous body focused not only on academic research – such as research into gender issues, with financial support from the Ford Foundation, or into civil society, with support from the Asia Foundation – but also on consultancy and publishing. This centre regularly publishes: (1) an international journal, *Studia Islamika*, which focuses in particular on the development of Islam in Southeast Asia; (2) *Madrasah*, a journal dedicated to the development of Indonesian Islamic secondary education and distributed to more than 4,000 Islamic schools throughout the country; and (3) *Perta*, a journal devoted to institutions of Islamic higher education and circulated to all of the IAINs and STAINS in Indonesia. At IAIN Yogyakarta, the Centre for Women's Studies (PSW/Pusat Studi Wanita), with a grant from the Ford Foundation, is an active advocate of gender empowerment in the region.

Quality of Human Resources

Both IAIN Jakarta and Yogyakarta have taken important steps to improve the quality of human resources, in particular the quality of

lecturers. A significant number of lecturers from both IAINs have been sent to various academic institutions, both in Indonesia and overseas, to enhance their expertise and knowledge. In 1999, for instance, 128 young lecturers from IAIN Yogyakarta were pursuing master's degrees: 37 in Islamic studies, 41 in sociology, 9 in psychology, 23 in education, 8 at law schools, and 10 in a variety of social sciences. As well, 59 young lecturers from IAIN Yogyakarta were pursuing doctorates at national or overseas universities: 53 in Islamic studies and the remainder in various branches of the humanities.

Table 1.2 indicates that the percentage of PhD graduates from overseas universities lecturing at IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta – representing more than 35 per cent of the PhDs lecturing at both IAINs – was higher than the percentage lecturing at the other IAINs in Indonesia. This is not surprising, as both IAINs were the first institutions in the country to offer Islamic higher education. These overseas graduates have played an important role in the academic improvement of IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta.

Table 1.2
Lecturers with PhDs at eight IAINs, 1998/99

| IAIN | PhD | % |
|------------------------------|-----|------|
| Medan, North Sumatra | 16 | 7.4 |
| Imam Bonjol, Padang | 13 | 5.5 |
| Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta | 36 | 35.3 |
| Sunan Djati, Bandung | 15 | 4.5 |
| Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta | 31 | 35.8 |
| Sunan Ampel, Surabaya | 17 | 6.8 |
| Antasari, Banjarmasin | 5 | 2.9 |
| Alauddin, Makassar | 27 | 11 |

Improving the quality of its lecturers is one of IAIN Jakarta's priorities. In general the ratio of students to lecturers decreased from 25:1 in 1994/95 to 7:1 in 1998/99. In terms of academic improvement, Table 1.3 shows a positive trend. In 1984/85 the total number of lecturers at IAIN Jakarta who had attained the highest academic position (professor) was only 3, but in 1994/95 there were 8 such lecturers, and in 1998/99 there were 20.

A similar improvement has also been observed in terms of upgrading the formal qualifications of the lecturers. The total number of lecturers

with doctorates in 1984/85 was only 7, but this had increased to 22 by 1994/95 and to 36 by 1998/99. The total number of lecturers who had earned master's degrees was 10 in 1984/85, 33 in 1994/95, and 76 in 1998/99. By comparison, the number of lecturers who had earned only an undergraduate degree gradually decreased from 140 in 1994/95 to 120 in 1998/99. Table 1.4 shows these trends in lecturer education at IAIN Jakarta.

Table 1.3
Academic position of lecturers at IAIN Jakarta, 1984/85 to 1998/99

| | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| ACADEMIC POSITION | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 | 99 |
| Professor | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | - | 8 | 13 | 10 | 14 | 20 |
| Associate professor | 14 | 16 | 18 | 18 | 18 | - | 37 | 46 | 45 | 45 | 46 |
| Senior lecturer | 16 | 20 | 27 | 32 | 33 | - | 29 | 31 | 32 | 35 | 40 |
| Lecturer | 32 | 27 | 19 | 15 | 12 | - | 19 | 23 | 29 | 36 | 50 |
| Junior lecturer | 19 | 14 | 20 | 17 | 18 | - | 30 | 35 | 27 | 18 | 25 |
| Assistant lecturer | 15 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 19 | - | 37 | 25 | 27 | 40 | 35 |
| Junior ass. lecturer | 23 | 27 | 35 | 53 | 65 | - | 35 | 37 | 38 | 35 | 26 |

Table 1.4
Academic standing of lecturers at IAIN Jakarta, 1984/85 to 1998/99

| | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| ACADEMIC STANDING | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 | 99 |
| PhD | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 12 | - | 22 | 24 | 31 | 33 | 36 |
| Master's | 10 | 12 | 15 | 14 | 19 | - | 33 | 48 | 58 | 63 | 76 |
| Undergraduate | 102 | 100 | 111 | 129 | 135 | - | 140 | 137 | 114 | 120 | 120 |

Level of Participation in Disseminating New Ideas

As will be discussed in chapter 5, the number of articles that have appeared in national daily newspapers written by those students and graduates from IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta is higher than the number of articles produced by the other IAINs. At the international level, besides publishing academic articles in such prestigious journals as

Islamic Studies (Karachi, Pakistan), *Hamdard Islamicus* (Islamabad, Pakistan), *Journal of Islamic Studies* (Oxford, England), *Islam-Muslim Christian Relations* (Birmingham, England), and *Qur'anic Studies* (London, England), the academic communities at both IAIN Jakarta and Yogyakarta are also actively involved in the publication of their own accredited academic journals: IAIN Jakarta's *Studia Islamika* and IAIN Yogyakarta's *al-Jami'ah*.

Curriculum Development

With the return of Mukti Ali and Harun Nasution from McGill University, the IAIN's curriculum was abruptly revised to include a number of new disciplines: comparative religion, which was introduced to the IAIN in 1960 and became one of its major studies at the graduate level in 1971; introduction to Islam, which covers various aspects of Islam; philosophy; Islamic mysticism; theology; sociology and research methodology, which were proposed by Harun Nasution in 1973 at the IAIN rectors' annual meeting; and Orientalism and Occidentalism, which were introduced in the 1990s.

Teaching Methodology

In line with the new disciplines offered at the IAIN, new teaching methods have been developed as well. No longer, as during the previous era, are Islamic studies approached from a single narrow perspective. From the beginning of their academic careers, students are introduced to various schools of thought, and a variety of texts are critically examined. This new approach has proven to be an effective means of ensuring that the IAIN's students and graduates are able to actively discern the contemporary problems faced by Indonesian society, such as those arising from gender inequality, human rights abuses, and the need to strengthen the country's democracy. Their involvement in issues beyond their own religious concerns and their intellectual contributions through various publications in the mass media are a result of this new approach to the study of Islam at the IAINs.

NOTES

- 1 Satiman Wirjosandjojo wrote an important article on Higher Islamic College published in *Pedoman Masyarakat* [Society's guidance], no. 15 (13 April 1938): 290-1. This article was fully quoted, adapting the newest standards of Indonesian spelling, by H.A. Soetjipto and Agussalim Sitompul in *Sejarah Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) al-Jami'ah* [State Institute of Islamic Studies: History and development] (Yogyakarta: Lembaga Pengabdian pada Masyarakat, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1986), 11-25.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 A learning institution for Javanese natives overseen by the Dutch colonial government.
- 5 Soetjipto and Sitompul, *Sejarah Pertumbuhan*, 11-25.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid., 21.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid., 23.
- 11 Ibid., 14.
- 12 Ibid., 24.
- 13 Ali Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali: Modernisasi Politik-Keagamaan Orde Baru" [Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali: Religio-political modernization under the New Order], in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam, eds, *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik* [The ministers of religious affairs of Indonesia: Social and political biographies] (Jakarta: PPIM-IAIN Jakarta and Litbang Depag, 1998), 288.
- 14 Ibid., 289.
- 15 Ibid., 316.
- 16 Ibid., 281-2.
- 17 Ibid., 317.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Soetjipto and Sitompul, *Sejarah Pertumbuhan*, 79.
- 20 Fauzan Saleh, "Mengkaji Perkembangan Islam di Indonesia dari Montreal" [Observing the development of Indonesian Islam from Montreal], in *Belajar Islam di Kanada* [Studying Islam in Canada] (Yogyakarta: Titian Ilahi Press, 1997), 307-72. See also a biography of

Dr Rasjidi written as part of the program to celebrate his seventieth year: Endang Basri Ananda, ed., *70 Tahun Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi* [70 years of Prof. Dr H.M. Rasjidi] (Jakarta: Harian Umum Pelita, 1985), and Azyumardi Azra "Guarding the Faith of the Ummah," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 2 (1994): 106-21.

- 21 Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Religious Diversity* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), xiv.
- 22 Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Towards World Theology* (London: MacMillan Press, 1981), 89, 125.
- 23 For centuries, Islamic studies have occupied an important position among other Oriental studies in European and North American universities. Interestingly, each and every university has developed a program emphasizing a different specialization. For instance, the University of Chicago's attention to Islamic thought differs from Princeton University's primary focus on Islamic civilization. See Faisal Ismail, "Studi Islam di Barat Fenomena Menarik" [Islamic studies in the West: An interesting phenomenon], *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (Jakarta), 16 February 1996, 6.
- 24 Cantwell Smith, *Religious Diversity*, xxii-xxiii.
- 25 Sheldon R. Isenberg, "Comparative Religion as an Ecumenical Process: W.C. Smith's *Towards World Theology*," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, no. 2 (1987): 620-1.
- 26 S.J. Samartha, *Courage for Dialogue* (New York: Orbis Books, 1981), 36.
- 27 Fauzan Saleh, "Mengkaji Perkembangan Islam," 340-4.

2 Developing Institutional Linkages: The IAIN and the STAIN in Indonesia

The mandates of the various IAINs and State Colleges of Islamic Studies (STAINS) are closely related to the local circumstances of each institution's city or town. As a result, the characteristics and development of these institutions are greatly affected by the social factors and religious traditions of their surrounding communities. This influence, for example, determines the subject matter presented to students as well as the approaches taken to the development of academic discourse at the institutions. Each of Indonesia's fourteen IAINs and thirty-two STAINS, therefore, is distinct.

Local society's relationship with the IAINs and STAINS is symbiotic. On the one hand, local conditions influence the characteristics and policies of the institutions; on the other hand, the institutions have a positive effect on their communities. The discourse developed at the institutions is often used by the local people, as religious discourse and academic activities become the point of reference for similar discussions within society.

The important social role played by the IAIN and the STAIN is facilitated by the involvement of their lecturers and students in the ongoing development of religious and academic thought. For example, they conduct research, organize discussions, hold seminars, and sponsor social empowerment activities. Moreover, they are committed participants in religious affairs. Apart from giving religious sermons in mosques, they are involved in education at the *pesantrens*, the *madrasahs*, and other religious schools.

As religious institutions of higher education, local IAINs and STAINS assume responsibility both for developing their society and for bridging

local and national interests. This task is important to ensuring that the process of modernizing Islam in Indonesia does not neglect the existing local cultures. To fill this strategic role, the IAINS and STAINS require the support of their staff, lecturers, and bureaucracy. In particular, IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta have become centres for training and upgrading the staff, lecturers, and students of the other IAINS and STAINS.

The question then is what qualities have enabled these two IAINS, Jakarta and Yogyakarta, to play such an important role in developing the other IAINS and STAINS. How do each IAIN's influences differ from the other's? What is the relationship between local discourse and the existing discourse at IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta? For now, it is enough to say that both of these IAINS influence their alumni. This impact is reflected in the tendency of the alumni of both IAINS to develop their home institutions by integrating the Islamic thought acquired at IAINS Jakarta or Yogyakarta with local discourse. In Jakarta this impact is known as "Harunism" – in reference to Harun Nasution, a McGill alumnus and former director of the postgraduate program at IAIN Jakarta – and in Yogyakarta as "tolerance."

BUILDING CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE
AT THE OTHER IAINS AND STAINS

Just as IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta facilitate the development of Islamic studies at the other IAINS and STAINS in Indonesia, so too do these various IAINS and STAINS influence the nature of Islamic studies at the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* in their locales. In terms of meeting the objectives for the IAIN's establishment – particularly the goal of providing human resources for the Ministry of Religious Affairs and teachers for the *pesantrens* and the *madrasahs* – each IAIN and STAIN plays an important role.

Indeed, local IAINS and STAINS serve as agents for the dissemination of local Islam or local Islamic practices as influenced by local culture. As Dr Aswadi Syukur says:

Local IAINS, such as IAIN Antasari, have a symbiotic relation with local culture. This means that it is true to say that religious practices in this area are coloured by local culture. For example, in South Kalimantan the symbiotic

relation is readily apparent. For the ethnic community of Banjar, the largest ethnic community in Banjarmasin, Islam has provided, on the one hand, a new order of values. On the other hand, adherence to Islamic doctrine has been greatly influenced by the values of Banjar's ethnic community itself as echoed in their traditional Islamic celebrations.¹

Therefore, it is not surprising that the existence of IAINS and STAINS in the various provinces has determined the direction of the development of Islamic discourse. Indeed, the IAINS and STAINS are expected to develop and enhance their Islamic discourse as a means of improving the religious quality of their own communities. The development of the IAINS and STAINS emphasizes two things: (1) absorbing as much information as possible on the development of local Islamic discourse, information that may be obtained through continuous studies or research and through intensive communication with the local people; and (2) improving the quality of religious understanding through the improvement of their staff, lecturers, and students. These efforts have to be conducted in a manner consistent with existing local tendencies and characteristics. Without considering both, the IAIN's and STAIN's programs may be of little benefit to local discourse. As one correspondent says:

The problem faced by Muslims in the provinces is how to include and correlate both local and national Islamic discourses in a manner accordant with the national setting. For example, in discussing gender issues, there are three problems to be dealt with. First, understanding gender issues in terms of local culture. Second, relating religious understanding – including *tafsir* [Qur'anic exegesis] and its interpretation – to gender issues. Third, taking into account the national setting, where Islamic discourse interacts with other views. In one locale, cultural factors may not be a hindrance to a new understanding on gender. However, in other locales, these factors may be problematic and influential.²

Local culture functions as the agent of development for Islamic discourse. Thus it is not surprising that the IAINS and STAINS were designed to be centres of excellence for their adjacent districts. Indeed, many of the IAINS and STAINS wish to have undergraduate and postgraduate programs that study and teach local Islamic issues.

Their wish is a strong indication of the will of their lecturers (*civitas academica*) to build centres for local Islamic studies. In Banjarmasin this desire has facilitated the establishment of undergraduate and postgraduate programs in Islamic studies based on local issues. It is likely that in the future this intention will be made manifest not only in Banjarmasin, but also at the IAINs and STAINs in other locales, where this proposal has occasioned intense discussion.

The proposal has two complementary aims: (1) to explore the differing characteristics of local Islamic discourse; and (2) to relate local Islamic cultures to the larger sphere of Islamic discourse. It is logical, therefore, that the IAINs and STAINs should send their staff and lecturers to pursue their studies at other universities as one means of improving the quality of their own institutions. In this respect, as explained in chapter 1, IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta play an important role in the development of the rest of the IAINs and STAINs, both fulfilling the quest for knowledge of graduate students coming from the provinces and giving them an opportunity to discuss their local Islamic cultures with others.

Islamic discourse is a field of considerable academic interest to graduate students of IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta. Many of the theses produced by the students of these institutions discuss this area of studies. Moreover, in these dissertations, studies on local Islam are related to Islamic modernization and Sufism – two important themes that have become a focus at IAIN Jakarta. The attention to themes on local Islam is also considered an indication that students from the provinces desire to initiate research into their local Islamic traditions. Many of the dissertations illustrate that local Islamic views go hand in hand with modern thought as advocated by modernist Muslims living in the cities. This trend is interpreted, moreover, as evidence of these students' interest in trying to link local and national Islamic discourses.

The question to raise is whether studies on local Islam can contribute to developing an understanding of modernist Islam. Assessing the subject matter discussed in dissertations pertaining to the various themes on local Islam reveals that many of them attempt to rationalize religion, which has been done before. By comparison, works that investigate vernacular texts otherwise deemed to be of little further interest in fact contain insights on the implementation of

religious values in society. The discussion of local Islam, moreover, is aimed at articulating the relation between local Islamic discourses from various areas. It often happens that an existing Islamic discourse does not reflect the larger sphere of Islamic understanding. Dr Fasli Djalal, a scholar who was interviewed on the issue of Islamic education in his province, gives the example of a local Islamic discourse that is often less supportive of social empowerment than is the case elsewhere. For example, in Nusa Tenggara Barat, he says, the mortality rate among toddlers (up to five years old) is relatively high. Although additional factors contribute to this situation, such as poor nutrition or parents' lack of knowledge about health, a religious understanding that is not supportive of a better standard of living contributes to the high number of early deaths among the community's offspring. Furthermore, he says:

School teachers of religious subjects often say that if a child dies, he or she – being regarded as innocent – will go directly to Paradise to await the parents. So the death of a child is seen as the parents' deposit, which will be theirs to claim in Paradise. Therefore, many parents tend to be careless with their sick children. When babies die due to this carelessness, it is thought that the children will be the parents' salvation in Paradise, so the parents do not feel loss.³

Treating local Islamic discourse in a larger forum presents an opportunity for identifying priorities as well as a means of developing Islamic teaching that is more inclusive, tolerant, and open to a dialogue on modernization. In the context of the “national setting,” religion must adapt to the current situation and the many new ideas on modernization.

The phenomenon of many staff, students, and lecturers from the other IAINS and STAINS pursuing their studies at IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta is a demonstration of their concern both about improving their religious knowledge and about sharing perceptions with one another as they face the challenges of the future. A student says:

It is admitted that a lot of things remain to be done to improve the IAINS and STAINS, even though the IAINS and STAINS have gained independent status. The IAINS and STAINS often focus on nonproductive religious issues, such as discussing different opinions on the interpretation of religion. In fact, society

faces social problems that need attention. Studying at IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta has many advantages. First, students learn how to understand Islam from a rational perspective. Second, they are also involved with problems of modernization in the cities.⁴

When Munawir Sadzali was appointed minister of religious affairs, he initiated the program of sending IAIN and STAIN lecturers to pursue studies in Western countries – rather than in Middle Eastern countries as had traditionally been the case. He asserted that this program was not intended to eliminate the existing one, but rather to give IAIN and STAIN lecturers an opportunity to participate in the discourse on modernization at secular universities. According to Sadzali, setbacks in Islamic higher education were in fact partly caused by the fact that few Indonesian Muslim scholars, because of their distinct backgrounds in the local practices of Islamic interpretation, participated intensely in national discourse. To correct this decline, he believed that IAIN and STAIN lecturers had to pay attention to the broader political and social issues in Indonesia. However, because of differences in the quality of their educations, Muslim and secular intellectuals were often unable to conduct an adequate dialogue.

It is not surprising that the impact of sending lecturers to pursue studies in Western countries has been felt so deeply at the IAINs and STAINs. For example, the director of the postgraduate program at IAIN Surabaya frankly states that the program imitates that of McGill University. And other IAINs also have similar programs. Some even say, by way of illustration, that these IAINs ring the bell as McGill does to mark the interval between one session and another.

IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta, whose directorships have been handed to McGill alumni (Harun Nasution at Jakarta and Mukti Ali at Yogyakarta), have become centres of excellence for the IAINs and STAINs in the other provinces, as was explained in chapter 1. The postgraduate programs at both institutions produce alumni who then get strategic posts at their local campuses. When asked what most influences their studies, these alumni invariably mention Harun Nasution and Mukti Ali.

MAKING SENSE OF ISLAM THROUGH RATIONAL
AND MODERN PERSPECTIVES

As a prominent figure at IAIN Jakarta, Harun Nasution played a significant role. Not only did he serve as rector twice and as director of the postgraduate program for several terms, but his publications have become textbooks for all IAIN students. These books constitute a project to communicate his ideas concerning the methods for teaching Islamic studies. According to Nasution, Islamic subject matter at the IAIN was still limited by an approach to studying Islam that was oriented toward *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).⁵ Furthermore, influence on the teaching of religious matters such as philosophy, mysticism, and history was still limited to certain traditional outlooks on Islamic interpretation. This kind of understanding fostered only biased and narrow-minded perspectives among students. Therefore, Nasution proposed a handbook that presents Islam comprehensively. His proposal favoured considering Islamic studies from various perspectives to be included in the national curricula for Islamic education.⁶

Nasution's religious thought was not at first well received and became a source of controversy.⁷ Some people, particularly those trained in traditional Islamic thought, regarded his ideas as having been influenced by Western tradition, which is not, they contended, compatible with traditional religious discourse.

Nasution's influence on the development of Islamic thought in the postgraduate program at IAIN Jakarta has taken many forms. First, his books have become a primary resource for courses on the modernization of Islamic thought. Second, as the director of the postgraduate program, he had significant involvement in determining the program's education policy. Third, as a senior lecturer on Islamic thought, he greatly influenced the topics and themes that his students chose for their dissertations. If measured in terms of the subject matter of dissertations at IAIN Jakarta, his influence is readily apparent, as about 60 per cent of the graduate students' dissertations discuss Islamic thought.

When asked about Harun Nasution's influence on the development of the local IAINs, the alumni of IAIN Jakarta's postgraduate program tend to focus on three things:

(1) Nasution's character and his impressive stature within Indonesia's academic tradition. In the words of one alumnus of the program, who is now a vice rector of administrative affairs at IAIN Antasari Banjarmasin:

Harun Nasution's influence on his students was his personal academic attitude. He was a man of his word. In appreciating different opinions, he was also consistent, though sometimes there were serious and contentious debates. He did not refute his students' arguments but actually wanted to know how they had developed them. He was also very concerned with what the student said and examined its validity. This attitude influenced us, and it is felt when we are teaching our students.⁸

(2) Nasution's perspective on Islamic thought. His rational approach to understanding religion had a strong impression on his students. At a certain level, the idea of modernization questions the concepts and arguments behind Islamic religious understanding and practice that have been taken for granted.

(3) Nasution's desire that Muslims accustom themselves to different opinions and increase their consciousness of the various approaches to understanding Islam.

Unfortunately, the latter of these influences is often challenged by local Islamic understanding, which is not yet ready to receive contemporary religious perspectives. To address this problem, local students seek to articulate the reformation of Islamic thought in such a way as to facilitate its reception in their local communities, where people are not yet familiar with rational and liberal modes of thinking. In this attempt, they employ several methods, one being an emphasis on differentiating between various societies. In the academic world, discussing rational and liberal perspectives is possible. However, local Muslim communities cannot accept Nasution's rational thought. Therefore, it is necessary to look for another way to present this rational discourse. For example, to facilitate understanding, one can communicate Nasution's ideas by incorporating a traditional perspective. Ilham Masykuri, who pursued both his undergraduate and postgraduate studies at IAIN Jakarta, says:

To be honest, the content of any religious speech delivered here in Banjarmasin is quoted from Harun's thought. Of course, I do not translate his thought literally as can be done in Jakarta. I have to employ simple language and analysis so that [the students] are not reluctant to receive it. In any speech examined, the ideas treated touch on the spirit of Harun's rational and modern thought.⁹

If this is so, it must be said that the modernization of Islamic thought at the IAINS and STAINS is the influence of IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta. Those who have been active in advocating the modernization of Islamic thought are indeed those who have been guided, either directly or indirectly, by Harun Nasution. Ilham Masykuri explains:

My colleagues' observation at Majlis Taklim [a religious forum in the mosque] and at the Educational Institution for the Cadres of Islamic Mission [LPKD/Lembaga Pendidikan Kader Dakwah], where I teach in Banjarmasin, is that there is a higher tendency toward rationality in the content of my speeches. The reason for this has to be that I am an alumnus of IAIN Jakarta, where this characteristic is strong. Thus IAIN Jakarta has influence.¹⁰

In addition, Masykuri asserts that the level of influence among alumni of IAIN Jakarta cannot be regarded as uniform. There are those who are highly influenced and those who are less influenced. This is likewise observed in numerous other locales, such as Bandung and Ujung Pandang. Some contend that if Nasution's thought influences some of his students, then it must necessarily influence all of his students. But perhaps the different level of influence among them depends on the extent of their involvement and contact with the ideas developed at IAIN Jakarta. As Masykuri says:

There is an initial factor that encourages the Ciputat *mazhab* [school of thought] to develop.¹¹ The duration and intensity of the dialogue of [IAIN Jakarta's] adherents (BA, MA, and PhD students) with scholars like Harun and Cak Nur [a popular nickname of Nurcholish Madjid] are very influential. The dialogue happens not only during courses, but also at discussion forums, through reading his works, etc.¹²

COMPARATIVE RELIGION:
SEEKING THE ROOTS OF TOLERANCE

As did Harun Nasution in Jakarta, at IAIN Yogyakarta, Mukti Ali plays a vital role. He presently serves as rector and director of the postgraduate program at IAIN Yogyakarta. And, most significantly, he supports Harun Nasution's ideas about providing local Muslims with materials that will introduce them to various perspectives on Islam. He also supports the inclusion of Harun Nasution's core thoughts in the national curricula of all the IAINs.

Mukti Ali's influence in the field of Islamic studies, however, may not be as marked as Harun Nasution's. For example, comments from students at IAIN Yogyakarta indicate that his influence on them is generally not as strong as Nasution's influence at IAIN Jakarta. This is perhaps because Mukti Ali's influence is more apparent in his personal attitude than in his academic ideas. Nasution's influence is clearly a result of the brevity with which he expressed controversial opinions, whereas Mukti Ali's influence is more obvious in his contribution to deepening research into Islamic subject matter.

The study of comparative religion at the IAIN is the result of Mukti Ali's obsession with increasing interreligious dialogue in order to reduce religious communities' suspicions of one another. In effect, Mukti Ali shares Nasution's core belief in the need to encourage openness toward differences, including religious differences.

As a religious institution, the IAIN occupies a strategic position in the development of this inclusive attitude. Although it may be true that religion frequently becomes a source of conflict, such conflict arises, according to Mochtar Buchori, because the "religious leadership here in Indonesia is easily provoked." In the effort to improve relations between religions in Indonesia, the IAIN plays a vital role. As Mochtar Buchori explains:

[I]n the future [...], religious leaders must make counselling Indonesian society the objective of their religious vocation. When religious leaders find Indonesian people impoverished and being abused, they should be [...] concerned. At present, religion is treated as though it were separate from politics. This is not true. In fact, many people use religion to further their political interests. Ideally, religion should guide political leaders toward social engagement. What is needed in Indonesia are religious leaders whose thought

is comprehensive. This cannot be achieved without effort; we have to do something, and the answer is education. By training religious leaders to think comprehensively, institutes of Islamic higher education can contribute to the stability of the Indonesian people.¹³

Viewed from this perspective, Mukti Ali's introduction of comparative religion at the IAIN was very strategic. And, in this respect, his influence on his students should be understood not in terms of his expression of his opinions, but in terms of his attitude and of his affiliation with the project of promoting religious tolerance.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATE STUDENTS AT IAINS JAKARTA AND YOGYAKARTA

That both IAIN Jakarta and Yogyakarta influence the other IAINS is demonstrated by the distribution of their graduate students. Student enrolment lists at the two IAINS indicate that their students come from IAINS and STAINS throughout Indonesia.

As the oldest IAINS, Jakarta and Yogyakarta serve as model institutions, guiding students from the other IAINS and STAINS in their quest for knowledge and experience. With CIDA's commitment to the development of the IAIN's postgraduate program, both institutions are being increasingly acknowledged as important centres for Islamic studies. With scholarships for graduate programs, students not only benefit from a higher level of education, but also gain expertise that will assist them in their careers when they return to their hometowns. In Banjarmasin, for instance, graduates from IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta hold central positions, such as those of rector, dean, and head of local religious affairs, among others.

The will of these graduates to incorporate the pedagogy encountered at both IAINS in their own courses is clear from their serious attempts to reformulate their institutions' curricula, teaching methods, and use of contemporary references. They also write books and publish their writings in academic journals and in the mass media. The intellectual influence of these graduates, moreover, is furthered in academic discussions both on campus and off.

Improvements in teaching include the introduction of class discussions and seminars in undergraduate courses at the local IAINS, techniques that the lecturers experience as graduate students at IAINS

Jakarta and Yogyakarta. Undergraduate students at the local IAINs feel that lecturers who are MA or PhD alumni of IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta demonstrate a superior ability to employ numerous and comprehensive references. This, in turn, exposes these students to new problems and varied academic perspectives, broadening discussion of otherwise conventional topics.

These developments, unfortunately, are not complemented by the quality of the IAINs' libraries. Most students are dissatisfied with this situation. Although, in comparison to past years, the IAINs' libraries have developed their collections and professionalized their management, several libraries remain in severely poor condition or worse. For example, IAIN Banjarmasin's library has burned down, and very little of its collection survives.

When students and lecturers were asked about the libraries that are supposed to support their academic activities, they noted the insufficient training of librarians and their staff. IAIN Bandung's respondents stated that teaching quality is highly dependent on library conditions.

Concerning the matter of the improvements to teaching quality introduced by MA and PhD alumni, a new phenomenon should be noted: the appearance of discussions and writings on contemporary religious issues, such as gender, civil society, democracy, and human rights. By comparison, the older approach to Islamic studies at the IAIN covered only *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).

In turn, religious debates on contemporary issues have encouraged the emergence of study groups within both the IAIN and various nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that deal with or advocate for social change, as discussed in chapter 5. Their formation is mentioned here to illustrate that improvements in teaching quality influence other academic activities at the IAIN – as do the articles and books produced by the IAIN's lecturers and alumni.

In keeping with Harun Nasution's ideas on the need for the renewal of Islamic thought, religious discourse at Islamic universities seeks to be compatible with the development of national discourse. Nasution confronted his fellow Muslims' inclination to be closed-minded as well as fatalistic about supporting the efforts at modernization being conducted by the Indonesian government at the time. It is not an exaggeration to say that the change in people's attitudes at the IAIN was one of Harun Nasution's personal achievements.

Freedom of thought on religious issues allows Muslims to articulate divergent ideas that would previously have been rejected. People have started writing from new – and sometimes controversial – perspectives. On the gender issue, for instance, women lecturers are speaking up and offering new interpretations of Qur’anic verses that relate to women. On Qur’anic verses that justify men’s domination of women, some women intellectuals have argued for revision based on the fact that several verses were originally interpreted by male, rather than female, exegetes.

The rational and modernist models developed at IAIN Jakarta and then disseminated through its postgraduate program give Muslims confidence to initiate discussions with other scholars teaching at universities in the city. The impression and stereotype has long been that Muslims who live in villages are unfamiliar with urban culture because of their education as *santri* (Muslim students) in *pesantrens* serving agricultural communities. When the IAIN, as the primary institution of Islamic higher education for *santri*, was still bound by traditional modes of thinking, the acceleration of its students’ upward social mobility was likewise restricted and thus negligible. For example, only a few *santri* who finished their studies at IAIN Jakarta stayed in the city and made their lives there. This trend was consistent with the tendency of *santri* to return to their own villages upon completing their studies at the *pesantren*.

However, since the middle of the 1980s, the tendency of students to return to their villages after finishing their studies at IAIN Jakarta has diminished. An increasing number of students are choosing to stay in the city and familiarize themselves with urban society. The upward mobility of these students resulting from their introduction to the idea of Islamic renewal is evident in every aspect of life. The role of IAIN Jakarta’s alumni in disseminating the idea of reformation is readily apparent and a significant factor in the momentum of state development. This phenomenon of upward mobility is experienced by graduates not only of IAIN Jakarta, but also of the other IAINs and STAINs.

The accelerated social mobility of the IAINs graduates entices people from outside the *pesantren* system – the main supplier of the IAIN’s and STAIN’s students – to pursue the study of Islamic higher education. The educational backgrounds of the parents of these new students vary. They have been educated not only at various *pesantrens* or

madrasah aliyahs, (Islamic high schools) but also at secular high schools. The divergence between these students' educations and those of their parents is also an indication of the upward mobility of students graduating from the IAINs and STAINs.

Changes in mobility are also seen in the academic sphere. The environment of discussion and social interaction at the IAINs and STAINs is not confined to campuses, but influential within a larger intellectual context.¹⁴ This change is a result of the equal view of one another that students from distinct communities develop at the IAINs and STAINs – a view that in turn makes possible the discussion of new ideas with a broader audience. The improved mobility of *santris* graduating from the IAINs and STAINs throughout Indonesia is considered an indication of these institutions' success in changing the framework for thinking about Islam – and thus the general perception of Islam – during the past two decades.

LOCAL INTERPRETATION

As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, the IAINs and STAINs in the provinces are not immune to the influences of local culture and religious practice. The development of teaching methods and curricula at an IAIN or STAIN has to consider local religious interests. Thus rarely is the source of an IAIN's or STAIN's success in one locale automatically the key to success for institutions in other locales. This is because local religion has a significant bearing on a community's perspective. As this is the case, the influence of the postgraduate alumni of IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta tends to differ from one place to another.

At IAIN Bandung, for example, according to lecturers and students, the influence of IAIN Jakarta's postgraduate alumni is strongly felt although their presentation of modern and rational thought does not take the same form as has emerged at IAIN Jakarta. Meanwhile, the influence of IAIN Yogyakarta's MA and PhD graduates is not as strong as that of their counterparts from IAIN Jakarta. Even in comparison to the MA and PhD alumni from the University of Padjadjaran, the influence of IAIN Yogyakarta's alumni is still reported to be weaker.

In Surabaya, the influence of IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta is not apparent even though many of the alumni from these institutions

play important roles at IAIN Surabaya and STAIN Malang. This is so because religious tradition in East Java exerts a stronger influence than do modern and rational ideas. As the basis of Islamic thought, particularly given the existence of *pesantrens* in East Java, this tradition has become a reservoir of long-established local teachings.

In addition, adherence to the practices of the *tarikats* (Sufi orders) in East Java contributes to the minor influence of modern and rational thought at IAIN Surabaya and STAIN Malang. In East Java the *tarikats* are very active and have many dedicated followers. There are several *tarikats* in the cities, such as Tarikat Tijaniyah Naqshabandiyah Qadiriyyah, but the basis of their support resides with people from the villages. In the cities, the influence of the *tarikats* is more moderate and thus not nearly as restrictive as the more formally organized *tarikats* of the villages, where it is not easy to interpolate modern and rational thought into the established religious tradition.

In Banjarmasin, the religious outlook that dominates people's understanding of Islam can be classified as traditional Islam. Such an understanding is strongly supported by the *tuanku guru*, the local nickname for *kyai* (religious leaders). A great number of people participate in religious sermons delivered by Tuanku Guru Ijai, a nickname of Tuanku Guru Zaini Ghani, a religious teacher and Hadrami descendent. Their deep regard for Tuanku Guru Ijai is clearly evident in their actions toward him in respect to their religious understanding of *barakah* (blessing). Almost all of the shops and markets owned by Muslims have a photo of Tuanku Guru Ijai. Displaying his photo is thought to promise a *barakah* from him. In short, people's resistance to ideas different from those espoused by Tuanku Guru Ijai should not be surprising.

The authority of Muslim intellectuals in Banjarmasin is not as strong as the authority of Tuanku Guru Ijai, so they lack the cultural potency needed to mobilize the community for change. In the context of Banjarmasin's traditional Islam, Harun Nasution's rational thought is difficult to instill, although many of the efforts explained above have been made. Aware of the situation, IAIN Jakarta's MA and PhD alumni do not directly address the issue of rational thinking in Banjarmasin society; instead, they introduce this kind of thought in their courses. As a graduate from the doctoral program at IAIN Jakarta says: "In my class, I give students freedom to express anything. They

are also trained to use rational thinking, even in the practice of Qur'anic interpretation. But they soon go back to society, where it is better if they practise religion as people generally do."¹⁵ When asked to give a religious sermon on Friday, he is reluctant to employ the rational approach, frightened that people are not yet ready to receive modern ideas. It seems that rational thinking is confined to the academic community and that very few unconventional approaches can be applied in broader society.

In Ujung Pandang, the local religious culture has responded to Islamic modernization differently. The people of Bugis and Makassar are relatively open to ideas from outside, perhaps because they are familiar with maritime culture, and thus have demonstrated a willingness to receive the reformation of Islamic thought. However, their ability to incorporate new ideas is often limited. As a lecturer says:

[T]here is great development of [Islamic thought], but sometimes the discourse on campus traps them. Then they are astonished and revert back to the initial tradition. They go [to IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta for postgraduate studies] to expand their views and knowledge, and they in fact experience a change in mental attitude through their communication with campus intellectuals, which strengthens the synergy between them. But afterward they come back here, and, perhaps because the atmosphere [socio-religious environment] is different, often the new ideas cannot be applied.¹⁶

In this case, the social environment plays an obvious role in determining the application of ideas encountered at IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta.

Because of this phenomenon at the various IAINs and STAINs, almost all of the institutions agree on the need for local lecturers to adapt their orientation to local contexts. One of the rectors has criticized the fact that IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta are given priority for development, whereas local IAINs and STAINs do not receive the same attention. Indeed, this is an issue of some importance. If the local IAINs are to be developed, priority must be given to the problems found in the local IAINs themselves. Attempts to solve the problems of one IAIN by applying one's experience of another IAIN will be met with great difficulty. For this reason, as a means of boosting the quality of their lecturers, local IAINs expect strong support in establishing postgraduate programs of their own like those at IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta.

A similar criticism has also been directed at the IAIN's lecturer exchange program. Although the idea was fully supported, as indicated by the great number of lecturers sent to IAINs in Java to enhance their students' knowledge, the response of lecturers at Java's IAINs has often indicated dissatisfaction. Of concern is the fact that only a few lecturers from Java return to their local IAINs or STAINs following their studies at IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta. This phenomenon has strengthened the conviction at IAINs in Java that they must take steps to develop their own institutions. Thus it is no surprise that they would like to develop their own postgraduate programs.

Besides the bearing that distinct socio-religious environments has on the responses of local communities to modernization, internal factors such as local social organizations also have an effect on the development of Islamic thought. Horizontal mobilization (interaction and exchange with institutions outside of the IAIN system and also with other societies) and vertical mobilization (partnerships with government and international organizations) are more evident at IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta, for example, than they are at the local IAINs. The high degree of such mobilization at both institutions has intensified efforts toward their development. Increased funding for both IAINs as well as for certain local IAINs and STAINs has made it possible for them to enhance their communities' perspectives on Islamic thought. As a result, those programs at both IAINs that focus on discussion, studies, training, research, and societal activity have flourished. And their emergence has developed the discourse on Islamic thought considerably.

Local IAINs and STAINs do not share these merits. Although local IAINs are often partners with their local governments in social empowerment programs, local resources alone are not sufficient to ensure intensive mobilization at the local IAINs and STAINs. Even lecturers sent to these institutions become their financial burden, and finding fundraising from outside of the province remains difficult. Consequently, local lecturers are frequently sent to secular universities in their own provinces to enhance their knowledge. At these universities, they learn social sciences related to the science of religion such as education, law, anthropology, guidance and counselling, management, and literature. In turn, the development in the provinces of faculties related to social sciences has increased. For example, when asked to rank the faculties at IAIN Banjarmasin according to influence,

students indicated the following from most to least important: Education (Tarbiyah), Islamic Law (Syari'ah), Social Empowerment (Dakwah), Theology (Ushuluddin), and Literature (Adab). In contrast, students ranked the faculties at IAIN Jakarta as follows: Education, Theology, Law, Literature, and Social Empowerment.

According to the leaders of the local IAINs and STAINs, graduate studies have become a necessity in their own locales. They admit that they have limited resources but at the same time believe that this shortcoming can be covered by inviting qualified lecturers from either IAIN Jakarta or Yogyakarta to teach at their institutions. The creation of graduate programs at local IAINs has several benefits, including increased mobilization at these institutions – which ensures improved local access to higher education – as well as the development of Islamic thought in ways consistent with the varieties of local Islam.

Enrolment at the IAINs and STAINs comprises approximately 20 per cent of all the students in Indonesia who pursue their studies at public institutions of higher education. As a result of the mandate to grant autonomous status to the local IAINs and STAINs, the absorption of local students by these institutions has increased. As local rectors admit, however, the impact of this mandate has been both positive and negative. On the one hand, these local IAINs and STAINs are now able to recruit far more students than they were in the past. On the other hand, students living nearby who would have previously thought it better to pursue their studies at IAIN Jakarta or Yogyakarta – where their exposure to modern ideas would be greater – are now choosing to study at local IAINs and STAINs because of the uniformity of status among the institutions.

CONCLUSION

As institutions of Islamic higher education, the IAINs and STAINs function as agents of social reform in the field of religion. The teaching of Islam at the IAIN and the STAIN is expected to play a role in developing Islamic religious discourse. Local IAINs and STAINs strive to be centres of excellence in Islamic thought for religious institutions under their jurisdictions, such as *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*. To become centres of excellence, local IAINs and STAINs must improve the quality of

their teaching and of their institutions themselves. Sending their lecturers to IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta for postgraduate studies has thus become common practice among the IAINS and STAINS in Indonesia, enabling local lecturers to enrich their perspectives and to envision progressive means for the development of local higher education.

Research indicates that MA and PhD graduates from IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta have contributed significantly to the improvement of local IAINS and STAINS, an improvement evident at these institutions in three respects: (1) in the development of a religious perspective that is more inclusive, rational, and tolerant of different interpretations of Islamic teachings; (2) in the emergence of a personal attitude that is more appreciative of new pedagogical approaches, such as discussions and seminars, and more inclined toward the dissemination of academic ideas in articles and books; in addition, these graduates are more consistent and responsible in their main role as educators, an effect apparent in their preparation of course materials, application of improved teaching methods, and actualization of modern Islamic thought in their classrooms; and (3) in the influence of these graduates on the local institutions themselves, both in terms of their initiation of group studies, research, and training at their institutions and in terms of their promotion to strategic posts within these institutions, which has afforded them an important role in determining administrative policy.

The significant local effect of MA and PhD alumni from IAINS Jakarta and Yogyakarta is also evident in the improved horizontal and vertical mobilization at their institutions. Through their academic encounters both inside and outside of the IAIN system, and through their interactions with government and international bodies, many of them have become authorities not only on religious matters, but also on contemporary social and political issues.

However, as noted, the degree of these graduates' influence is not the same at all the local IAINS. Local religious environments strongly determine the form their influence can take. The unique characteristics and pedagogical nuances of the local IAINS and STAINS mirror the distinct characteristics and doctrinal nuances of their communities' local religious traditions. Often the tenor of local religious perspectives is not conducive to – in fact, in several cases, is a hindrance to – the

development of modern and rational thinking. Yet, even in these cases, the influence of the graduates from IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta is felt and thus regarded as enriching the study of Islamic thought in the context of local Islamic understanding.

NOTES

- 1 Interview with Aswadi Syukur in Banjarmasin.
- 2 Interview with a respondent in Banjarmasin.
- 3 Interview with Fasli Djalal in Jakarta.
- 4 Interview with a student in Banjarmasin.
- 5 Saiful Mujani, "Mu'tazilah and the Modernization of the Indonesian Muslim Community: Intellectual Potrait of Harun Nasution," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1 (1994): 104.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 103.
- 7 After fifteen years, some people who had rejected Nasution's ideas concerning changes to the curriculum for introductory Islamic studies accepted and adopted them.
- 8 Interview with Aswadi Syukur in Banjarmasin.
- 9 Interview with Ilham Masykuri in Banjarmasin.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 Ciputat is the name of the district in which IAIN Jakarta is located.
- 12 Interview with Ilham Masykuri in Banjarmasin.
- 13 Interview with Mochtar Buchori in Jakarta.
- 14 In Banjarmasin, IAIN lecturers have joined other intellectuals from outside of the IAIN system to form an institution for studies on Islam and society known as LK3 (Lembaga Kajian Keislaman dan Kemasyarakatan). This institution treats both contemporary Islam, with reference to democracy, civil society, and human rights, and classical Islam, as presented in *kitab kuning* (Islamic school books used in the *pesantren*.)
- 15 Interview with a lecturer in Banjarmasin.
- 16 Interview with a lecturer in Makassar.

PART TWO

THE IAIN: POLITICAL POLICY
AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

3 Striving for Modernization: The Indonesian Government's Policy on Islam

The policy of the Indonesian government on the development of Islam is largely determined by the prominent role of IAIN alumni in the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). Historically, the establishment of the IAIN, especially of IAIN Jakarta, was motivated by the state's interest in producing civil servants possessing practical religious expertise. Thus it is not surprising that today many of the key positions in MORA – such as that of secretary general, director general, and director – are filled by IAIN alumni. Moreover, it should be noted that the majority of civil servants in MORA are IAIN alumni or graduates from similar institutions.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs was established on 3 January 1946 to manage the religious affairs of communities in Indonesia. It was created with the primary objectives of administering religious institutions, proliferating religious education, and encouraging religious harmony among believers. Its task, however, is merely to organize the development of religious life and society. The ministry is not involved in the dissemination of faith and in acts of devotion. According to the government, these are matters properly left to individual religious adherents.

Formally, the Indonesian government recognizes the existence of five religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism.¹ This recognition does not entail an official position on the “true” doctrine of each religion but is intended only to acknowledge its rightful existence. Historically and sociologically, each religion has a significant number of followers in Indonesia. Based on current data, out of a population of more than 200 million, 87.21% are Muslims,

6.04% are Protestants, 3.58% are Catholics, 1.83% are Hindus, and 0.31% are Buddhists.² In this national context, all policies issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs should be seen as an indication of the government's commitment to supporting the modernization process within all religious communities.

This chapter will look at government policies intended to promote the process of modernizing Indonesia Muslim communities, whose members comprise the majority of the population. In particular, three areas of policy will be analyzed: (1) the implementation of religious education in public schools; (2) the improvement of the quality of the *madrasahs* as facilitated by their integration into the modern school system; and (3) the strengthening of religious harmony in Indonesia as a pluralist state.

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Indonesia's constitution explains that the country is neither a religious state nor a secular state. Nevertheless, the government has persisted in regarding religion as a key means of promoting values in Indonesian society – as is evident in its careful attention to religious education in public schools as well as to the development of Islamic educational institutions. These include *madrasahs*, *pesantrens*, and institutions of Islamic higher education.

There are two categories of religious education in Indonesia. The first comprises that offered from kindergarten through the senior grades at public schools, which are required by the government to include religious education in their curricula. Indeed, the government strives to ensure the quality of religious education at public schools through the combined efforts of the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, especially as overseen by the directorate for development of religious education in public schools. The second category of religious education comprises that offered at all institutions oriented principally toward religious studies. In this category, the Indonesian government includes educational institutions such as the *pesantrens*, *madrasahs*, State Colleges of Islamic Studies (STAINS), and State Institutes for Islamic Studies (IAINS), all of which, as will be examined later, are subject to policies formulated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

From the beginning, the government has implemented policies requiring that all students at public schools be given instruction in their respective religions. Since the early years of independence, the importance of religious education at public schools has grown steadily. This process began with an agreement between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs (now the Ministry of National Education) in 1947 and was formalized in 1989 by State Regulation No. 2 on the National Education System. Moreover, since 1966, religious education has been regulated based on assessments provided by the People's Consultative Assembly and according to the broad parameters stipulated by state directives.

Government Regulation No. 2 (chapter 9, section 39) explains that the curricula of every system and level of education must include religious instruction. This regulation also explains that "religious education is an effort to strengthen faith and piety toward God in accordance with each student's beliefs and to encourage respect for the faiths of others in order to improve religious harmony among believers in society and to create national unity." With these aims, religious education seeks to teach a body of religious knowledge as well as to address secular matters.

In short, the government's national education policy, as outlined in Government Regulation No. 2, has two basic aims: (1) to "sharpen [students'] national consciousness"; and (2) "to develop [in students] an ideal and truly Indonesian disposition" characterized by "religious piety, noble qualities, a good personality, independence, a progressive outlook, stamina, intelligence, creativity, competence, discipline, industriousness, professionalism, accountability, and productivity."³

By its nature, Islamic education in public schools functions as a means of developing the quality of students' faith and piety. However, it is intended to fulfil the demand not only for religious education, but also for the development of Indonesia's human resources. Although Indonesia is not a theocratic state, the significance of religious values in the populace's daily life has made faith an influential factor in the quality of human resources. In effect, from both a community and a government perspective, religious studies are equated

with self-improvement. Therefore, in terms of its basic contribution to character building through the encouragement of faith and piety, religious education in public schools in fact occupies a central position in learning activities.

From the early 1970s to the end of the 1980s, religious education in public schools was text-based and designed to encourage the implementation of religious doctrine in daily life. With this aim, the curriculum for religious education succeeded, on the one hand, in enhancing students' faith and piety, while contributing, on the other hand, to the development of religious understanding outside of the institutions of Islamic higher education. This religious understanding, however, was basically exclusive – if not fundamentalist. The strongest indicator of this characteristic was the appearance of many circles for religious studies – commonly known as *harakahs* (movements) – with a bias toward exclusiveness at a number of prestigious public universities, including the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, the Bogor Agricultural Institute, and the Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB). The exclusive tenor of the religious understanding shared by these *harakahs* indicates the influence upon the students of a scriptural perspective, rather than the influence of analysis and rational perspectives.⁴

Religious education in public schools underwent a significant change in orientation when a consortium of experts in religious studies, led by Harun Nasution, set about transforming the IAIN from an institution focused on religious community development into an academic institution. With a team of IAIN lecturers, such as Prof. Mastuhu M. Ed, Nasution sought to promote inclusive religious education. From such a perspective, religious doctrine is: (1) taught as a set of human values harmonious with the values of other groups and other religious traditions; and (2) subjected to rational analysis. This approach is supported by the Ministry of Religious Affairs' effort to improve the quality of religious-studies lecturers at the universities by giving them opportunities to pursue further studies in master's and doctorate programs.⁵ In the public higher education system, lecturers in religious and Islamic studies are encouraged to complete master's and doctorate degrees at IAIN Jakarta, where Harun Nasution was director of the postgraduate program. As a result of this initiative, Islamic liberalism and Islamic rationalism have proliferated at Indonesia's universities.

Regarding improvements in graduate-studies scholarships, starting in 1991 and through five years of scholarship program development, the Ministry of Religious Affairs provided scholarships for 87 public university lecturers teaching courses in Islamic studies. A further year of development saw an additional 35 such lecturers receive financial assistance to undertake master's programs in Islamic studies. Thus, as of 1997, 122 public university lecturers had completed their master's programs at IAIN Jakarta. Meanwhile, as of 1997, the ministry had awarded 16 public university lecturers scholarships to pursue their doctorate degrees at IAIN Jakarta. Also, during the period 1991-96, 200 lecturers from public universities received additional training and 54 others received research fellowships in Islamic studies.⁶

The data above indicate that the type of inclusive Islamic understanding promoted at the IAIN has also spread to public universities. As a result of this phenomenon, Islamic education in public universities has adopted a new orientation, one that seeks to ensure the modernization of religious understanding.

Government policies on religious education in public schools are not limited merely to legislating curricular content, but also include regulations on issues of educational management, such as school holidays and school uniforms. Concerning the former, from the time of Dutch colonialism until the end of the Old Order regime, the government held that the fasting month of Ramadan – regarded by Muslims as a holy month – should be a holiday. This policy was reversed in 1973 when Dr Daoed Yoesoef was appointed minister of education and cultural affairs for the early New Order regime. Initially, the change was resisted by some Muslim communities, but in time they came to understand its intentions. In a further development, when Dr Yahya Muhaimin was appointed minister of national education, it was declared that public schools should recognize a legal holiday and suspend all educational activities during the fasting month of Ramadan. Although this policy was seen as a means of encouraging Muslims to develop their devotion to religion, it evoked controversy and was met with resistance from parts of the Muslim community. This response indicates a shift in Muslims' orientation toward the fasting month. The majority of Muslims do not in fact regard Ramadan as a time only for observing religious activities. Thus they do not make it a point to avoid activities such as those associated with the learning process but rather pass the fasting month engaged in meaningful

pursuits. As a result, Yahya Muhaimin's policy on Ramadan has, from its inception, been a constant source of controversy.

On the matter of school uniforms, state regulations have not always been in line with the aspirations of the Muslim community. The Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs initially prohibited female students throughout Indonesia from wearing veils while attending public secondary schools and public high schools. Because the veil is regarded as a means by which Muslim women differentiate themselves from non-Muslims, the policy evoked strong protest from parts of the Muslim community. In response, the government changed the policy in the early 1990s and now allows students to wear the veil in public schools.⁷

ISLAMIC LEARNING INSTITUTIONS

The development of Islamic learning institutions in Indonesia has deep historical roots. Before Indonesian independence, there were Islamic learning institutions such as *pesantrens* and *madrasahs*, which, because of their long interaction with the modern education system propagated by the Dutch colonial government, eventually became part of Indonesia's system of modern educational institutions.⁸ Nevertheless, despite their presence in all provinces and their strong recognition, these two traditional Islamic learning institutions have weaknesses, especially in the quality of their management and in their approach to the learning process.

In the past thirty years, the *pesantren* has experienced tremendous development in both villages and cities. Data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, for example, indicate that in 1977/78 the total number of *pesantrens* was 4,195 with a total of 677,384 students. By 1981/82 these numbers had increased to 5,661 *pesantrens* with 938,397 students. In 1985/86 there were 6,239 *pesantrens* with 1,084,801 students, and in 1997/98, 9,388 *pesantrens* with 1,770,768 students. Thus, during the period 1977-98, the number of *pesantrens* increased by 224 per cent, and the number of students by 261 per cent. These data show both the rapidity of the *pesantren's* development and the significant position it has attained in the process of national development.

In general, each *pesantren* manages its own *madrasah*, the majority of which are privately owned. A comparison of the total number of

students in private *madrasahs* – including those managed both by *pesantrens* and by foundations – with the total number of students in publicly owned *madrasahs* and public schools reveals the significant position of private *madrasahs* in society. Data from the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs for the period 1994-95 indicate that this ministry oversaw the operation of 149,646 public elementary schools with a total of 26,200,023 students as well as the operation of 19,442 public secondary schools with a total of 6,392,417 students. During the same period, the Ministry of Religious Affairs oversaw the operation of 24,232 Islamic elementary schools (607 under public management and 23,625 under private management) with a total of 3,521,836 students as well as the operation of 8,129 Islamic secondary schools (582 under public management and 7,547 under private management) with a total of 1,353,229 students.

Because of the role of private *madrasahs* in Indonesia's education system, it is important that the quality of these Islamic learning institutions be improved, particularly in respect to the following: (1) the need to ensure adherence to the government's nine-year compulsory education program, given the large number of students affected; (2) these *madrasahs'* lack of interaction with modern institutions, given that the majority are located in remote areas; and (3) the demand for a religious curriculum sensitive to the traditions of rural society, given that the communities served by almost all of these *madrasahs* depend heavily on agriculture for their economic wellbeing.

Efforts by the Ministry of Religious Affairs to develop the quality of the *madrasahs* are related, in part, to efforts aimed at modernizing Indonesia's Islamic learning institutions. In other words, improving the *madrasahs* will serve to harmonize traditional education with the national education system. As a result of this process, the quality of the *madrasahs* is expected to improve as they absorb more of the national system's modern educational approaches.

Efforts to modernize the *madrasahs* have also been carried out by several Indonesian Muslim scholars. In 1907, for instance, Abdullah Ahmad built the Adabiyah School in West Sumatra, which was transformed in 1915 into Hooge Inlander Skool (HIS/High School for Natives) Adabiyah. This transformation marked the first instance in Indonesia of a traditional educational institution being transformed into a modern educational institution. (In 1905 the Mambaul Ulum

madrasah had been established in Central Java, but it had continued to apply an approach to the learning process based on the classical system.) In 1912 Muhammadiyah, a modernist Islamic social organization, was also established. Although it did not include *madrasahs* in its educational institutions, Muhammadiyah too introduced educational perspectives consistent with modernity.⁹ Clearly, Muslim communities have been engaged in efforts to modernize Islamic educational institutions for some time, leaving Islamic education in Indonesia in a more-or-less constant state of change for much of the twentieth century.

The process of modernizing the *madrasahs* began in the era of the Old Order regime, during which the changes enacted were both cultural, coming from within Muslim society itself, and structural, as conceived by the government. These structural changes were systematically carried out by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the majority of whose officials were IAIN graduates.¹⁰ Some of these graduates, moreover, had been further educated in postgraduate programs abroad.

The main problem faced by Islamic educational institutions during the era of the Old Order regime was the issue of legitimization. Although religion was among the regime's issues of primary concern, the government planned to integrate Islamic educational institutions into the national education system as a means of avoiding a dual agenda in the national management of education. This dual agenda arose from the fact that both the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs (now the Ministry of National Education) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs claimed authority to manage issues related to education in Indonesia. Integration would have consolidated authority within a single ministry – that is, within the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. Efforts toward full integration, however, were opposed by many Muslim communities, whose members defended the Ministry of Religious Affairs' role in managing the *madrasahs*.

Although the Old Order regime failed to integrate the *madrasahs* into the national educational system, the government continued to play a role in, as well as to subsidize, the development of the *madrasahs* in the hope of ensuring their modernization. The government's official acknowledgment of Islamic educational institutions came in 1950 with the issuing of Basic Regulations on Education No. 5, which affirmed that learning activities in the *madrasahs*, as overseen by the

minister of religious affairs, fulfilled the government's basic educational requirements. Although the regulation strengthened the legitimacy of the *madrasahs*, the government still regarded them as special educational institutions operating at a level inferior to that of schools under the management of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs.

During the era of the New Order regime, there was substantial change in the government's position on the status of the *madrasahs*, especially after the issuing of the Three Ministers' Letter of Decree in 1975, formulated by the minister of religious affairs, the minister of education and cultural affairs, and the minister of internal affairs. This letter decreed that certificates issued by the *madrasahs* should be regarded as equal to those issued by public schools offering courses at the same grade level. Thus it is possible for *madrasah* graduates to pursue further studies at public schools as well as for public school graduates to pursue further studies at *madrasahs*. As a result of this decree, the *madrasahs* were required to restructure their curriculum, committing only 30 per cent of their course work to religious studies – rather than the usual 100 per cent – and their remaining course work to general subject matter.

In 1989, with the issuing of Regulation No. 2 on the National Education System, the *madrasahs* took a monumental step toward modernization. Under this regulation, the *madrasahs* and other Islamic educational institutions are regarded as comprising a subsystem of the national education system. Therefore, the *madrasahs* are required to follow a compulsory nine-year education program. Moreover, the regulation recognizes religious study as a basic subject matter for both elementary school and higher levels of education. And, clearly, the regulation accommodates the role of Islamic educational institutions in the process of national character building.

Regulation No. 2's most significant effect on the *madrasah* has certainly been the transformation of its identity. Under the regulation, the *madrasah* – previously regarded as an Islamic learning institution – was transformed into a public school with an Islamic identity. As noted above, this transformation entailed changes to the *madrasah's* curriculum to ensure its equivalence to that of public schools under the management of the Ministry of National Education. However, to differentiate *madrasahs* from other public schools, the directorate general

for the management of Islamic educational institutions issued a policy mandating the publication of books offering guidance on how to approach general subject matter based on Islamic values. As a complement to the *madrasah's* retention of Islamic subject matter, this policy will ensure the *madrasah's* distinctive competence as an Islamic learning institution. The implication for the *madrasah's* students of its reorientation is that they are now required to cover a broader range of subjects than are public school students taking courses at the same grade level. To respond to this reality, the IAIN has reinstated its *tadris* (science and humanities) courses in the Faculty of Islamic Education (Tarbiyah), such as mathematics, biology, and geography, which had been cancelled in 1990 for administrative reasons.

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Indonesia has long been known as a pluralistic nation because of its varied religions, ethnicities, cultural traditions, artistic forms, and ways of life. In many respects, this plurality could become a positive and constructive force within the country, especially if it is managed accordingly. However, it could also become a negative and destructive force if poorly managed. For this reason, the founding fathers of Indonesia – after a long process of constitutional debate – did not choose to fashion Indonesia as a theocratic state. Rather, they decided to construct Indonesia based neither on religion nor on secularism but on Pancasila (the state's five core principles: belief in one supreme God, humanitarianism, nationalism expressed in the unity of Indonesia, consultative democracy, and social justice).

Since its independence in 1945, Indonesia has established constitutional principles intended to free all citizens to perform religious services based on their own religions and their own tenets of faith. The constitution of 1945 is explicit in this respect: "Indonesia is based on the belief in God. The state permits all citizens to honour their own religions and to perform their own religious services and acts of faith."

In general, state policy on religious affairs has two aims: (1) to guarantee freedom of religion within the context of Indonesia's religious pluralism; and (2) to develop respectful attitudes among believers from different faiths in the interest of achieving religious harmony as an important factor of social stability.

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON RELIGIOUS SERVICES

The Ministry of Religious Affairs administers religious institutions and matters related to religious practices for all the citizens of Indonesia. Adherents of the nation's five formally recognized religions are given the opportunity to broadcast religious programs on national television as a means of character building in their own religious communities. However, the religious services provided for Muslims, as the country's religious majority, are much more substantial than those provided for other communities. A good example of such a service is the government's involvement in organizing the pilgrimage to Mecca. Since 1945 and the beginning of the Old Order era under then president Sukarno, the government has developed initiatives in support of the pilgrimage, enshrining its recognition within national policy and ensuring its professional management through the adoption of modern management principles. Administration of the pilgrimage by the government has increased the number of Indonesian Muslims undertaking the journey to Mecca. During Pelita V, the Old Order government's five-year religious development program, 20,500 Indonesians performed the pilgrimage each year. By 1994 the number of pilgrims had increased to 120,000,¹¹ and by 1997 the maximum quota of 200,000 pilgrims had been reached.

Because the government's support of the pilgrimage is regarded as a national policy, all governors and all the officials of related institutions, in cooperation with the Ministry of Religious Affairs, play a role in providing administrative and technical services for those performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. For instance, to facilitate the orderliness and devoutness of pilgrims before they depart for Mecca and after their return, dormitories and hostels have been built to accommodate pilgrims in many big cities. Moreover, to ensure effective coordination of the pilgrimage, since the 1970s the Ministry of Religious Affairs has prohibited private companies from participating in the transportation of pilgrims to Mecca, except in the case of *umrahs* (pilgrimages at times other than during the annual pilgrimage).

The government's involvement in the religious life of Muslim communities is also reflected in its policies on such issues as marriage, divorce, reconciliation, inheritance, and the donation of property for religious or community use. During the New Order era under Suharto, the state's handling of these issues improved. Concerning religious

judicial procedures, in 1991 Presidential Instruction No. 1 on the Socialization and Compilation of Islamic Family Law mandated that all cases of law related to marriage, divorce, reconciliation, inheritance, or donated property be solved by religious courts throughout Indonesia based on a single book of guidance. Before this compilation of Islamic law was issued, legal decisions in similar cases could differ from one region to another due to a lack of standardization. The compilation of Islamic law issued during Munawir Sjadzali's term as the minister of religious affairs (1983-93) was supported by experts on Islamic law from the IAIN and by experts on law from Indonesia's universities.

Before instating the compilation of Islamic law, the government, with the agreement of the Indonesian legislative assembly, issued Regulation No. 7 on Religious Courts in 1989. The regulation explains the status, role, and authority of religious courts. Under Regulation No. 7, all sentences decided by religious courts are considered final and need not be strengthened by the state court as before. Moreover, religious court judges are appointed by the president, rather than by the minister of religious affairs. Theoretically, a religious court judge could be chairman of the Supreme Court.¹² It is important to note here that when a draft of Regulation No. 2 was debated in the Indonesian legislative assembly, there were numerous objections from various interest groups. In their opinion, the draft did not reflect a legal system familiar to people in the Malay Indonesian Archipelago and included laws that are foreign to Indonesia. Finally, owing to support from the Group of Functionaries, a military faction within the Indonesian Parliament, and from the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Penganguran), the draft was legalized because it enabled the government to address the judicial needs of the Muslim community while still, the government countered, respecting concepts unique to the archipelago.¹³

On behalf of the Muslim community, the government of Indonesia also undertakes the following: (1) organizing a national competition for Qur'anic recitation, held once every two years in a different province, whose governor is responsible for its orchestration; (2) perpetuating Islamic festivals, such as those commemorating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, the miraculous flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Jerusalem, and the revelation of the Qur'an, which are staged in

the National Palace and in the Istiqlal Mosque; and (3) the establishment of houses of worship for religious communities, of which the government built as many as 380,000 during the first years of its five-year religious development program, the total having reached 653,000 by 1994.¹⁴

Finally, as a socio-religious service to the Muslim community, the government requires food and beverage producers and packagers to include labels on their products guaranteeing that each is *halal* (permitted by Islamic law). This policy, supervised by the Council of Indonesian Ulama, provides Muslims the reassurance that they are not consuming unlawful and perhaps dubious goods.

All of these governmental policies comprising religious services for Muslim communities can be understood from two perspectives. First, from the New Order's political perspective, these policies are the government's effort to obtain political support from the Muslim community. In addition, they enable the government to assert state hegemony in the community's religious life. Second, from the Muslim community's perspective, these policies reflect the growing number of well-educated Muslims who are pursuing their studies in institutions of higher education.¹⁵ Many of these students, now scholars within the Muslim community, have employed strategic and diplomatic tools in their struggle with the government to have the community's religious interests addressed. Many institutions responsible for religious community life are dominated by IAIN graduates, particularly the Ministry of Religious Affairs, many of whose IAIN graduates also completed postgraduate studies at McGill University's Institute of Islamic Studies, at Leiden University, at other universities abroad, in the IAIN's postgraduate program, or in other postgraduate programs at numerous universities throughout Indonesia.

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON DEVELOPING HARMONY AMONG RELIGIONS

During the eras of Sukarno, Suharto, B.J. Habibie, and K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, the government has consistently given priority to issues of religious freedom and religious harmony, organizing conferences and discussions to promote interreligious dialogue among Indonesians. For example, in February 2000 the government held a

conference entitled "Sharing Perspectives of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism on State and Religion."¹⁶ The conference, which focused on the issue of religious harmony and served to emphasize the government's committed attention to religious matters, was held in Jakarta and attended by religious leaders of the three faiths under discussion, both from Indonesia and abroad.

During the Sukarno era, although there were threats to religious harmony, none were ever fully realized. For example, as a result of a coup by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI/Partai Komunis Indonesia) in September 1965 (Gerakan 30 September PKI/30 September Communist Movement), religious harmony – especially in the late 1960s and the early 1970s and particularly between the followers of Islam and Christianity – was seriously undermined. Specifically, Muslims objected to the evangelical efforts undertaken by Christians within Muslim communities, such as their conversion of former PKI members to Christianity¹⁷ and the use by Christian missionaries of financial and other material support to entice Muslim converts. In the view of the Muslim community, the Christian missions were improper, as they sought to proselytize the followers of other religions through the dispensation of material commodities. In response to this situation, in 1967 the then minister of religious affairs, K.H.M. Dachlan (1967-71), organized a conference of religious leaders, including Muslims and Christians. The aim of the conference was to calm the tension between religions, particularly between Islam and Christianity. However, the conference produced no significant results because the Christians refused to sign a charter prohibiting any efforts toward proselytizing the followers of another religion.¹⁸

At this time, the government was aware of the need to create a situation as conducive as possible to developing religious harmony, which has always been a significant objective of the government's policy on religion. To oversee and implement this policy, the government eventually appointed Dr A. Mukti Ali minister of religious affairs (1971-78), replacing K.H.M. Dachlan. Mukti Ali, a graduate of McGill University, is a renowned professor of comparative religion at IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta. Based on his expertise in religious studies, he was considered the right person to develop policy efforts aimed at maintaining religious harmony in Indonesia. Since Mukti Ali's appointment, religious harmony has become one of the coun-

try's most important and sensitive issues. Of particular interest has been his evaluation of the appropriateness in the Indonesian context of five concepts regarded as consistent with the development of religious harmony: syncretism, reconceptualization, synthesis, substitution, and agreement-in-disagreement.

Syncretism

Mukti Ali's concept of syncretism is based on the assumption that all religions are the same. According to syncretism, all human action is a manifestation of the existence of one being, an emanation from an ultimate self-radiant source, a materialization of one substance, like the waves of one sea. Syncretism finds echoes in pantheism, wherein God is regarded as identical with the material universe; in pancosmism, wherein everything (pan) that exists is thought to be present in nature (cosmos); in Universalism, which sees all beings as necessarily inseparable from God; and lastly in the theophanic notion of God as visibly present. Syncretism, however, has not been embraced by Indonesian people because, according to Islam, the *khalik* (creator) is distinct from *makhluk* (creation). In effect, this perceived relation between the *khalik* and *makhluk* imposes a boundary between the worshipper and the worshipped.

Reconceptualization

The concept of reconceptualization reflects Mukti Ali's belief that the followers of all religions should possess sufficient knowledge with which to critically evaluate their faiths in relation to one another's. This idea, as promoted by W.E. Hocking, emphasizes the essential sameness of all religions and is rooted in Hocking's conviction that understanding the commonalities between the world's religions would enable the development of one religion for one world – that is, lead to a reconceptualization of all religions. A new world religion of this sort would derive its main doctrines from various religions – for example, the doctrine of love from Christianity, the doctrine of God from Islam, the doctrine of humanity from Confucianism, and the doctrine of contemplation from Hinduism. Reconceptualization encourages one to adhere to his or her own religion while also adopting doctrines

from other religions. However, this concept is also regarded as incompatible with the beliefs of Indonesians, who view religion not as a human construct, but as a set of rules for personal conduct originating with God.

Synthesis

By synthesis, Mukti Ali is referring to the incorporation of various religious doctrines within a single religion, which would, he argues, improve interreligious harmony by ensuring the creation of a new faith representative of each of its adherent's original religions. But this approach, too, is not acceptable to the Indonesian people because every religion has a unique history from which it cannot be separated and by which its values are strongly defined.

Substitution

The concept of substitution is inherent in the actions of those who, viewing their religion as the only true religion, seek out converts among the followers of other religions, attempting thereby to substitute one religion for all others as a means of arriving at religious harmony. Practitioners of this approach are not interested in seeing other systems of religious belief flourish. As Mukti Ali emphasizes, substitution is unacceptable in Indonesia's religiously, ethnically, and culturally pluralistic society. Rather than serving to develop religious harmony, substitution would encourage every manner of proselytizing, giving rise to serious competition and potential conflict between the various religions of Indonesia.

Agreement-in-Disagreement

The concept of agreement-in-disagreement emphasizes the importance of recognizing the mutual veracity of otherwise seemingly disparate religions. This recognition, although based on an acknowledgment of similarities between religions, does not disregard religious differences and is thus considered by Mukti Ali to be the approach most likely to foster understanding and cordial relations both between religions and between intrareligious groups.¹⁹

According to Mukti Ali, agreement-in-disagreement encourages the practitioners of every religion to embrace the truth of their own faith without discounting the beliefs of others. The conviction that one's religion is true does not mean that another's religion is false. An inclusive theology of this sort, in nurturing the coexistence of religious differences, is considered essential to the development of religious harmony in Indonesia.

As formulated by Mukti Ali, the concept of agreement-in-disagreement has become a platform in Indonesia for efforts toward achieving religious harmony. Recently, among the followers of the country's various religions, a greater understanding of and appreciation for each other's distinct religious perspectives have been in evidence. Mukti Ali is regarded as the first minister of religious affairs to have set up an adequate conceptual foundation for an interfaith dialogue in Indonesia – a dialogue that has had a significant impact in terms of building interreligious comprehension and cooperation.

THE ETHICS OF RELIGIOUS PROSELYTIZATION

A significant source of interreligious conflict in Indonesia is the practice of religious proselytization by evangelical missionaries, especially when their efforts are aimed at the followers of another established religion. In 1978, as a means of alleviating potential hostilities between religious communities, then minister of religious affairs Alamsjah Ratu Prawiranegara (1978-83) introduced Decree No. 70, which provides guidance for all of Indonesia's religious leaders on matters of religious proselytization. The main tenets of this decree are as follows:

1. Religious harmony is a condition necessary to the unity, stability, and security of the nation.
2. In the interest of maintaining religious harmony, the government is obliged to oversee all efforts at religious development and religious proselytization.

The decree comprises comprehensive and detailed guidance on how each religion should conduct its efforts at proselytization within Indonesia's religiously pluralistic society. Some aspects of this guidance are as follows:

1. In the interest of national stability and the advancement of religious harmony, religious proselytization should be conducted in the light of religious tolerance and understanding and via an appreciation of each other based on the soul of Pancasila.
2. Religious proselytization should not:
 - a. Be directed at people who already practice a religion.
 - b. Be conducted by providing money, clothing, food, medicine, or other goods as a means of rewarding one's interest in another's religion.
 - c. Be conducted through the spreading of pamphlets, bulletins, journals, books, and the like in the regions and/or houses of another's religion.
 - d. Be conducted by directly approaching the houses of another religion's followers for any reason.
 - e. If there is evidence that efforts at religious proselytization have violated the above restrictions and have thus negatively impacted religious harmony, the government will administer punishment according to the Bill of Religious Proselytization.
 - f. All staff of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, at both the national and local levels, are obliged to enforce the decree and to coordinate consultation between the ministry and local religious figures.²⁰

REGULATION OF FOREIGN SUPPORT
FOR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

In 1978, after introducing Decree No. 70's guidelines for religious proselytization, the Ministry of Religious Affairs also introduced Decree No. 77, which provides guidance for all of Indonesia's religious organizations on matters of foreign support. The need for this decree is explained as follows:

1. To consolidate the unity of the nation and to ensure national defence and stability, religious life must be guided and oriented in such a way as to promote religious harmony and maintain relations between the government and the leaders of Indonesia's various religions.
2. Foreign support for religious organizations in Indonesia, in contributing to the development of Indonesia's religious life, must be directed by the government in order to avoid negative consequences for national unity, religious harmony, and national stability.

Decree No. 77, article 1, provides a detailed explanation of foreign support as well as a definition of a religious organization:

1. Foreign support comprises expertise, materials, and/or financing provided by other governments, institutions, and/or individuals to religious organizations or individuals in Indonesia of any sort with the apparent aim of assisting in the development of religious proselytization.
2. A religious organization is an institution, association, body, foundation, or the like whose primary aim is to develop and proselytize a religion that is officially under the authority of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Article 2 of the same decree explains that a religious organization can accept foreign support only after receiving permission from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In addition, article 3 outlines the use of foreign expertise in the conduct of religious proselytization in Indonesia. The decree also emphasizes that a religious organization must have a training program to ensure the replacement of foreign expertise with that of Indonesians. In detail, article 3 reads as follows:

1. To maintain, develop, and guide religious communities, it is necessary to constrain the use of foreign expertise in matters of religious proselytization.
2. If, in the application of foreign expertise unrelated to religion, one accidentally conducts religious activities, permission can be obtained retroactively from the Ministry of Religious Affairs.
3. A religious organization may use foreign expertise in the pursuit of religious activities only after receiving permission from the Ministry of Religious Affairs.
4. A religious organization is obliged to provide education and training for its followers as a means of replacing foreign expertise.
5. Education and training programs for the replacement of foreign expertise must commence within six months of the decree's being signed and must finish within two years of commencement.²¹

Article 4 of the decree explains that if a religious organization uses foreign support in a manner not in accordance with the decree, the government will exact punishment under the law. Punishments also apply to foreign experts who are not in compliance with the decree.

Authority for administering the decree resides with the Ministry of Religious Affairs' director general of guidance for Muslim communities and pilgrimage affairs and with the ministry's directors general for Protestant, Catholic, and Hindu/Buddhist affairs. The same authority also resides with the ministry's provincial offices, whose heads are obliged to maintain correspondence with the ministry concerning religious life at the provincial level.

In 1979, to ensure the decree's enforcement, the minister of religious affairs, Alamsjah Ratu Prawinegara, signed a letter of joint cooperation with the minister of internal affairs, H. Amir Mahmud. Formally recognized in Letter of Agreement No. 1, this cooperation harmonizes the two ministries' policies on religious proselytization and foreign support for religious organizations. The involvement of the the Ministry of Internal Affairs strengthens the decree in terms of its content and the scope of its perspective and improves its effectiveness by guaranteeing the support of all the governors and district offices.

In addition to the government instruments mentioned above, the Ministry of Religious Affairs also introduced a policy guiding all religious communities in the building of houses of worship. Under this policy, a religion is prohibited from establishing a house of worship in any area populated by a different religious majority without permission. This policy originated with K.H.M. Dachlan, the minister of religious affairs during the Old Order regime, and in 1969 was first formalized in Cooperation Instruction between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs No. 1.

RULES FOR MUSLIMS ATTENDING THE CHRISTMAS CELEBRATION

Sometimes Muslims in Indonesia are invited by Christians to participate in celebrating Christmas. Throughout both the Sukarno and Suharto eras, this situation often arose. In response, in 1981 the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI/Majelis Ulama Indonesia) introduced a *fatwa* (religious decree) prohibiting Muslims from attending Christmas celebrations. According to the MUI, the participation of Muslims signified their recognition of the Christian religion and their acceptance of Jesus as the Son of God. Such recognition is not in accordance with Islamic doctrines.

In its efforts to develop religious harmony, the government at the time, while not encouraging Muslims to participate in Christmas celebrations, did not in fact forbid it, especially if that participation entailed mere ceremony rather than religious ritual. In issuing his *fatwa*, Hamka, the then MUI chairman, made plain his disagreement with the government's policy on this issue as overseen by the minister of religious affairs, Alamsjah Ratu Prawiranegara. In response, the government asked that Hamka cancel his *fatwa*. Shortly thereafter he resigned as MUI chairman, citing his declining health. It was later revealed that he had resigned because of his conflict with the Ministry of Religious Affairs over his Christmas *fatwa*.²²

Government policy then became the source of guidance for Muslims on matters related to participation in Christmas celebrations. Acting on a suggestion from the Council of Religions, on 2 September 1981 the Ministry of Religious Affairs introduced a decree detailing those Christmas activities categorized as ritual and those categorized as ceremony. As a result of the decree, all Indonesians now have sufficient information concerning which interreligious activities they can and cannot attend.

ADVANCING RELIGIOUS HARMONY

Through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Government of Indonesia has established the Forum for Interreligious Consultation (WMAUB/Wadah Musyawarah Antar Umat Beragama). Each of Indonesia's officially recognized religions – Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism – has representatives in this forum. The WMAUB is primarily concerned with furthering dialogue as a means of arriving at concrete solutions to crucial problems that frequently emerge in relation to religious life.

During Munawir Sjadzali's term as minister of religious affairs, government attention to religious harmony increased, with Sjadzali emphasizing the Forum for Interreligious Consultation as an important means of preventing religious conflict. In particular, he pledged more financial support for activities related to interreligious cooperation and for governmental visits to regions in which religious harmony was at risk. According to Sjadzali, a program for the promotion of religious harmony in Indonesia is not merely a choice, but a measure

that cannot be avoided. Sjadzali has stated that the arrival of various religions in Indonesia was peaceful and that, as a result, religious plurality has not negatively affected the country's religious life. This point of view is based on three factors: (1) All of Indonesia's religions were introduced to the country without the use of military force, such that no one religion can be regarded as either victim or victor in the quest for religious influence in Indonesian society; (2) Because religious plurality emerged peacefully in Indonesia, no cultural problems arose between religious communities, which have demonstrated instead an accommodative attitude in their interreligious relations; (3) Indonesia is known as a peaceful nation in whose history there has never been a war based on religion. Rather, religion played a positive role in motivating the nation in its revolution against colonialism. According to Sjadzali, this is evidence that Indonesia's religious communities are an important factor in motivating the Indonesian government to take action on matters of national development.

The government has been consistently involved in efforts to further religious harmony in Indonesia. In 1993, for example, then minister of religious affairs Dr Tarmizi Taher (1993-98), established the Indonesian Institute for the Study of Religious Harmony (LPKUB/ Lembaga Pengkajian Kerukunan antar Umat Beragama).²³ This institute has two primary aims: (1) to study and develop religious thought on harmonious relationships between members of different religions; and (2) to contribute to the government's understanding of the issue. The institute's main office is located in Yogyakarta, with branches in Ambon, which is the capital of the eastern province of Moluccas, and in Medan, which is the capital of North Sumatra in the western part of the country.²⁴

Following the institution's establishment, Taher also took steps to emphasize the importance of religious harmony in the development of Indonesia as a nation. In various speeches both at home and abroad, he pointed out the importance of religious harmony in Indonesia as a component of the nation's ideology of Pancasila. In his writing, he also urged avoidance of social conflict based on religious factors, noting the danger inherent in interreligious strife. Moreover, Taher believed that the religious harmony developed under the ideology of Pancasila could serve as a model for building religious harmony in other countries.²⁵

In 1991, to ensure that Indonesians understand the essence and the direction of the government's program for the development of religious harmony, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, through the publisher Badan Litbang Agama, produced a book entitled *Bingkai Teologi Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama di Indonesia* (Framework for the theology of interreligious harmony). This book, which was distributed in communities throughout Indonesia, presents theological analyses based on the religious perspectives of Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism in an effort to demonstrate correlations between each of these perspectives' religious texts and Indonesia's national philosophy of Pancasila. By means of its analysis of these theological perspectives, the book articulates the need for world religions to live together in harmony, while also emphasizing the importance of religious harmony in maintaining national unity.

The contribution of IAIN graduates to the formulation of government policy on religious harmony is not readily apparent. However, this is only because, throughout Indonesia's modern history, such policy has come directly from the ministers of religious affairs. In reality, IAIN graduates serving in the ministry as both directors and directors general have greatly influenced the government's religious policy. Without their involvement, this policy could have been neither properly formulated nor effectively implemented. Thus it can be said that a symbiotic relationship exists between the IAIN and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. On the one hand, the IAIN provides the ministry with human resources possessing expertise in religious fields. On the other hand, in employing these resources, the Ministry of Religious Affairs enables the IAIN to further its aim of modernizing religious life and Islamic education in Indonesia.

NOTES

- ¹ Presidential Decree No. 1 (1965). In a recent development, under President Abdurrahman Wahid, the Indonesian government has granted the followers of Confucianism the freedom to express their religious beliefs.
- ² See Tarmizi Taher, *Aspiring for the Middle Path: Religious Harmony in Indonesia* (Jakarta: PPIM-CENSIS, 1997), 13.
- ³ State Regulation No. 2 on the National Education System (1989), 17.

- ⁴ See Azyumardi Azra, *Pergolakan Politik dalam Islam* [The political struggle in Islam] (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996).
- ⁵ Although, in general, lecturers in Islamic studies at public universities are IAIN graduates, their social background is different from that of the majority of IAIN students. Therefore, developing the quality of lecturers is not limited to giving them an opportunity to pursue master's and doctorate degrees, but also entails providing training and research fellowships. See *Pedoman dan Pengembangan Pendidikan Agama di PTU* [Guidelines and religious education development at public universities] (Jakarta: Ditperta Depag, 1997).
- ⁶ Data cited from *Pedoman dan Pengembangan Pendidikan Agama di PTU*, especially chapter 3.
- ⁷ The change in policy was not based merely on the reaction of various Muslim communities, but also reflected a growing trend toward the so-called "santrinitization" of Indonesia's state bureaucracy, as indicated by the increasing appearance of Muslim scholars in strategic government positions. The momentum behind this phenomenon has been the establishment of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI/Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia). See Nasrullah Ali-Fauzi, *ICMI antara Agama dan Demokratisasi* [ICMI between religion and democracy] (Bandung: Mizan, 1994).
- ⁸ Steenbrink writes about the *pesantren's* and the *madrasah's* interaction with the modern educational system before and after the independence of Indonesia. See Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* [Pesantren, madrasah and public school Islamic education in modern times] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974).
- ⁹ On modern Islamic educational institutions, see also Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam Indonesia* [History of Islamic education in Indonesia] (Jakarta: Mutiara Sumber Widya, 1995).
- ¹⁰ In its early years, the IAIN's function was to equip officials for service with the Ministry of Religious Affairs. See chapter 2.
- ¹¹ See *Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara* [State guidelines] (Jakarta: BP-7 Pusat, 1996), 105.
- ¹² See Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam dan Tata Negara* [Islam and state law] (Jakarta: UI Press, 1990), 200.
- ¹³ See Bahtiar Effendy, "Munawir Sjadzali: Pencairan Ketegangan Ideologis" [Munawir Sjadzali: The soothing of ideological tension], in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam, eds, *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI:*

Biografi Sosial-Politik [The ministers of religious affairs of Indonesia: Social and political biographies] (Jakarta: PPIM-IAIN Jakarta dan Litbang Depag, 1998), 408-9.

- 14 The development of houses of worship was carried out by the Yayasan Amal Bakti Muslim Pancasila (Pancasila Muslim Charity Foundation), headed by then president Suharto.
- 15 Nurcholish Madjid, a prominent Indonesian Muslim intellectual who graduated from IAIN Jakarta, said that because of the IAIN Indonesian Muslim communities have experienced a so-called "boom in scholars." Quoted from Dadi Darmadi's interview with Nurcholish Madjid in Bogor, 11 March 2000.
- 16 The conference, whose organization involved a number of IAIN lecturers and graduates, was opened by President K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid at the Presidential Palace, Jakarta, 14-19 February 2000.
- 17 Data for the period 1966-71 indicates that Christian missionaries – especially through their provision of education, health care, and material subsidies – successfully converted about 2 million former members of the PKI in East Java and Central Java. See Avery T. Willis, *Indonesian Revival: Why Two Million Came to Christ* (South Pasadena: William Carey, 1980).
- 18 The conference was attended by a number of Christian leaders, including T.B. Simatupang, Ben Mang Reng Say, and A.M. Tambunan, and by a number of Muslim leaders, including K.H. Mansyur, M. Natsir, and Dr H.M. Rasyidi. In his speech, K.H.M. Dachlan suggested that all participants should strive not to increase the number of their religious followers, but to improve their quality. See Kamal Muchtar, "K.H. Mohammad Dachlan: Departemen Agama di Masa Orde Baru" [K.H. Mohammad Dachlan: The Ministry of Religious Affairs in the New Order], in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam, eds, *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI*, 259.
- 19 Mukti Ali, *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama* [The study of comparative religion] (Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 1988). This book was published in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the study of comparative religion at IAIN Yogyakarta.
- 20 See Ministry of Religious Affairs Decree No. 70 (1978).
- 21 See Ministry of Religious Affairs Decree No. 77 (1978).
- 22 Azyumardi Azra, "Prof. Dr Hamka: Pribadi Institusi MUI [Prof. Dr Hamka: Institutional figure at MUI], in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful

Umam, eds, *Tokoh dan Pimpinan Agama: Biografi Sosial-Intelektual* [Religious leaders and figures: Social-intellectual biographies] (Jakarta: PPIM and Litbang Depag, 1998), 25.

²³ This institute is led by Burhanuddin Daya, Jam'annuri, Musa Asy'ari, and a number of experts on comparative religion at IAIN Yogyakarta.

²⁴ Tarmizi Taher, *Aspiring for the Middle Path*, 19.

²⁵ Ibid.

4 The IAIN and Reform of the Islamic Education System: The *Pesantren* and the *Madrasah*

The IAIN is a primary component of the Islamic education system in Indonesia. It was created in the early 1960s to offer Islamic higher education to students in the country's traditional Islamic schools – namely, the *madrasahs* (both elementary and secondary) and the *pesantrens*. These educational institutions, which emerged in response to Muslims' idea of the archipelago as an indigenously Islamic region, were established to impart Islamic teachings to Indonesian society.¹ Thus the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* have developed most fully in those areas populated by Muslim communities.² The IAIN, moreover, was formed to meet the government's need for well-educated Muslim employees with expertise in Islamic studies. These IAIN graduates could serve in the Ministry of Religious Affairs as well as help to further develop the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs*, which had been subordinated and thus rendered ineffective during the Dutch colonial period and Japanese occupation and further weakened following the Independence Revolution.

As a component of Indonesia's Islamic education system, the IAIN, in addition to educating employees for the Ministry of Religious Affairs, greatly influences developments at the *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*. At both the State Higher Islamic College (PTAIN/Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri), which formed the embryo of IAIN Yogyakarta, and the State Academy of Religious Studies (ADIA/Akademi Dinas Ilmu Agama), which was later developed into IAIN Jakarta, students received training as teachers for the country's various Islamic educational institutions, especially for the *madrasahs* – a need that the IAIN continues to fulfil.

Currently, there are fourteen IAINs and thirty-three State Colleges of Islamic Studies (STAINs), each of which plays an important role in maintaining the strong relationship forged by the PTAIN and the ADIA between Islamic higher education and the various *pesantrens* and *madrasahs*. Those teachers employed by the public *madrasahs* are regarded as government employees with the Ministry of Religious Affairs. However, because of the increasing number of IAIN and STAIN graduates, the majority of alumni cannot be absorbed as ministry employees – whether as staff or as teachers at public institutions. Nonetheless, those alumni who are not hired by the government still serve within the Islamic education system as teachers in the private *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*.³

Over the past thirty years, the IAIN's relationship with the *madrasahs* and *pesantrens* has enabled it to make a significant contribution to the development and reformation of the Islamic education system in Indonesia. This contribution entails not only its training of teachers, but also its creation of a broader understanding and interpretation of Islamic teachings that takes into account the various local contexts in which Islam is practised. At present, significant institutional, intellectual, and curricular transformations can be observed at the *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*. Before Indonesia gained its independence, the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* were centres for producing *ulama* and for safeguarding Islamic traditions, the focus being on the ritualistic and spiritual aspects of Islam. By comparison, changes at the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* have facilitated the development of a broader understanding of Islam, one that takes into account not only the ritualized spiritual life of Muslims, but also the religion's social and material aspects.

In addition to the traditional disciplines of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tasawuf* (Islamic mysticism), *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), and *akhlak* (ethics), studies at the *madrasahs* now comprise other sciences consistent with the demands of the modern world, such as mathematics, physics, biology, and the English language. Similar changes have also been implemented at the *pesantrens*. In addition to maintaining a traditional Islamic curriculum, the *pesantrens* now offer vocational training for the economic development of rural society; many *pesantrens* have also established *madrasahs* that offer natural and social sciences. These changes are a direct result of an expanded

understanding and interpretation of Islamic norms that has enabled the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* to address the context-specific needs of their diverse Muslim communities. In the implementation of such changes, the IAIN has served as a mediator, bringing modern thought to bear on traditional Islam as it seeks to transform religious understanding.

This chapter explains the role of the IAIN in developing and reforming the Islamic education system, paying particular attention to the *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*. Such reform has emphasized a rationalization of religious thought and understanding within Indonesian society, which in turn has served to support the transformation of educational institutions through the introduction of a curriculum at the *madrasahs* and *pesantrens* that meets the needs and demands of the contemporary social context. Specifically, this chapter provides a general description of the history of the *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*, including a discussion of the IAIN's contribution to the modernization process at these institutions and their changing role in society. Also examined is the extent of the IAIN's ongoing and potential future involvement in this process.

THE MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATION AT THE *PESANTRENS*

The *pesantren* has a strong foundation in traditional Indonesian society. M. Dawam Rahardjo states that the *pesantren* is a cultural symbol of Indonesia's indigenous education system. Historically, the approach to education developed at the *pesantren* has its roots in the traditional religious instruction that predominated when Hinduism and Buddhism were prevalent in Indonesia.⁴ The intensive process of Islamization that began in the archipelago at the beginning of the thirteenth century introduced an Islamic perspective to this educational culture, which in turn gave rise to the *pesantren*. Thus students of the *pesantren* are known by the Indian term *santri*, which refers to a person well versed in the holy books of the Hindu religion or, less specifically, to a person with expertise in religious doctrine. The term *santri* is also related to the Sanskrit term *shantri*, which refers to a person who lives in a *miskin* (poor) house or religious building in general.⁵

The identification of the *pesantren's* origins with traditional Hindu and Buddhist religious education is justified by those elements common

to centres of religious learning that indeed shape the culture of education at the *pesantren*: namely, dormitories for the students; a mosque where religious rites and religious learning take place; the education of *santri*, who come to the *pesantren* to study religious sciences; the instruction offered by *kyai* (religious scholars), who guide the students in religious matters and serve as an example to all; and the study of *kitab kuning*, classical Islamic texts on religious principles and related teachings, such as *nahw* and *saraf* (Arabic grammar), *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *usûl al-fiqh* (Islamic legal theory), *hadith* (prophetic tradition), *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), *akhlak* (ethics), and *tasawuf* (Islamic mysticism).⁶ These five elements form the basic institutional structure of all the traditional *pesantrens* in Indonesia – that is, those *pesantrens* that focus their educational activities on *tafaqquh fi al-dîn* (expertise in religious studies), which comprises the deepening of religious experience, the broadening of religious knowledge, and the mastery of Islamic thought.

The five elements that characterize the *pesantren* are predominant not only in Java, but also in similar institutions in Aceh and West Sumatra, regions in which the term *pesantren* is not as popular. In Aceh there are at least three institutions with similarities to the *pesantren* – the *meunasah*, the *dayah*, and the *rangkang* – while in West Sumatra such institutions are called *suraus*. Originally, the *meunasah* functioned as a place of respite for travelling men who were far from their wives or for unmarried young men. *Meunasahs* are usually led by *teungkus*, teachers who provide religious instruction for those spending the night. The tradition of reading *hikayats* (stories) or *ratibs* (biographies of religious figures) is also maintained through activities at the *meunasahs*. In addition, the *meunasah* is a place where people from the surrounding area perform religious rituals. By comparison, the *dayah*, which is also a place of ritual activities and religious learning, plays a greater role in the process of religious transmission. The *rangkangs*, which have dormitories for use by students from outlying areas who are not accommodated at the *meunasahs*, are most similar to the *pesantrens* since religious education is also provided there by *teungkus*.

The *surau* in West Sumatra is most comparable to the *pondok*, a common place for local people to pursue religious knowledge. Such a place usually has a dormitory and, at the same time, serves as a locus of religious learning, ritual activities, and the practice of *tasawuf*

(Islamic mysticism) or *sulûk* (Islamic deeds). The *surau's* mosque, which is usually located in the surrounding area, is used only for ritual activities, such as prayers (five times daily), feast prayers, and Friday prayers.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century and particularly since Indonesian independence, the *pesantren* has experienced significant institutional changes. Although the five core characteristics of the *pesantren* remain, new elements have been introduced. For example, the *pesantren* now offers formal schooling that incorporates the modern West's use of grade levels and serves as an institute for social development; several *pesantrens* even have a health centre and a commercial institution that promotes economic growth for the community. Some *pesantrens*, too, are no longer traditionally organized, with only one person, usually the *kyai*, overseeing the administration. Instead, these *pesantrens* have adopted a relatively modern system of management in which authority and responsibility for policy decisions are shared among many individuals. Several *pesantrens* have even been granted legal status as foundations.

Through the course of its history, the *pesantren* has experienced both continuity and change. While preserving its traditional functions, the *pesantren* has also managed to respond to the challenges presented by the changing needs of Indonesian society. Although a traditional institution, the *pesantren* has exhibited cultural flexibility and has thus been able to survive and develop within the communities it serves. The *pesantren's* transformation, however, has not reduced its role as an institution of Islamic education. Indonesian Muslims send their children to the *pesantren* to study Islam (*tafaqquh fî al-dîn*), expecting that in time they will become good Muslims (*kâffah*) who consistently adhere to Islamic teachings in their daily lives. Moreover, many parents hope that their children will become religious leaders (*kyai* or *ulama*) and eventually establish *pesantrens* in their respective regions. In its traditional role, the *pesantren* is generally understood to serve three important functions in Indonesian society: (1) the transmission of traditional Islamic sciences; (2) the maintenance of Islamic traditions; and (3) the education of future *ulama*.⁷

Thus, over the past two centuries, the *pesantren's* role in Indonesia has not declined. In fact, the *pesantren* has not only maintained its existence, but also attracted an increasing number of students. This

trend can be seen from the growth in the number of *pesantrens* since the 1970s. Data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, for example, reveal that in 1977/78 there were 4,195 *pesantrens* with 677,384 students. By 1981/82 these numbers had grown significantly to 5,661 *pesantrens* and 938,397 pupils. In 1985/86 there were 6,239 *pesantrens* with 1,084,801 students. And the data for 1997/98 show yet a further increase to 9,388 *pesantrens* and 1,770,768 students.⁸ Thus, from 1977 to 1998, the number of *pesantrens* increased by 224 per cent and the number of students by 261 per cent.⁹ These figures demonstrate a significantly high acceptance of the *pesantren* within Indonesian society.¹⁰

Table 4.1
Growth of the *pesantren*, 1977 to 1998

| YEAR | NUMBER OF <i>PESANTRENS</i> | NUMBER OF STUDENTS |
|---------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1977/78 | 4,195 | 677,384 |
| 1981/82 | 5,661 | 938,397 |
| 1985/86 | 6,239 | 1,084,801 |
| 1997/98 | 9,388 | 1,770,768 |

The most recent mapping of the *pesantrens'* locations, which was carried out by the Ministry of Religious Affairs in 1999, reveals that 85 per cent of the *pesantrens* are located in a core area comprising only ten provinces: Special Capital Region (DKI/Daerah Khusus Ibukota) Jakarta, West Java, Yogyakarta, Central Java, East Java, West Nusa Tenggara, South Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, South Celebes, and Lampung. In these ten provinces, there are 6,015 *pesantrens*, the majority of which (85.3%) are located in rural villages, while only 13.9 per cent are located in cities and the remainder (0.8%) are located in suburban areas. Clearly, the most fertile areas for the *pesantren's* growth are the villages, where the attention of rural communities to religious education is extremely high. For rural residents, the *pesantren* plays an important role in meeting the demand for religious education.

The same mapping also indicates that most *pesantrens* are located in areas with an agricultural economic base (64.58%). Almost all of the remaining *pesantrens* are found in mountainous (14.3%), industrial (7.36%), and coastal (3.7%) environments. Another 10.06 per cent

have not been categorized. The great number of *pesantrens* in agricultural areas indicates that the majority of their constituents are farmers. Clearly, as shown by data on both geographical location and economic environment, the *pesantren* is one of the prominent educational choices of Indonesia's rural, agriculture-based communities.

Table 4.2
Geographical locations of the *pesantrens* in ten provinces

| LOCATION | NUMBER OF <i>PESANTRENS</i> | % |
|----------------|-----------------------------|------|
| Urban areas | 837 | 13.9 |
| Rural areas | 5,126 | 85.3 |
| Suburban areas | 52 | 0.8 |
| TOTAL | 6,015 | 100 |

Table 4.3
Environments of the *pesantrens* in ten provinces

| ENVIRONMENT | NUMBER OF <i>PESANTRENS</i> | % |
|--------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Coastal | 221 | 3.7 |
| Mountainous | 860 | 14.3 |
| Agricultural | 3,885 | 64.58 |
| Industrial | 443 | 7.36 |
| Other | 606 | 10.06 |
| TOTAL | 6,015 | 100 |

During Indonesia's economic depression of the 1950s and early 1960s, reform of the *pesantren* dealt primarily with the teaching of practical skills, particularly those needed for agriculture, which was expected to provide students with a foothold in life and, moreover, to support the economic life of the *pesantren* as well. The most significant step toward furthering the *pesantren's* involvement in the economy was taken in the early 1970s when the Ministry of Religious Affairs, together with the Ministry of Agriculture, introduced agricultural business activities at the *pesantren*. This step was further supported by the involvement of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), such as the Institute for Research, Education, and Development of the Economy

and Society (LP3ES/Lembaga Pengkajian Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Ekonomi dan Sosial), which, initiated by M. Dawam Rahardjo, undertook the establishment and development of a program at the *pesantren* to assist in building the people's economy. This effort has involved many students from the *pesantren* in community-development training programs. Instated first at Pesantren Pabelan (in Central Java) and then at Pesantren Maslakul Huda (in Pati, Central Java), the program eventually spread to numerous *pesantrens*.

Amongst those figures initiating the program, many IAIN alumni played an important role, particularly because of their familiarity with *pesantren* culture. The involvement of the IAIN's graduates became even more significant in 1983 when the Muslim figures of various NGOs, particularly those with ties to the Nahdlatul Ulama (the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia), established the Centre for Pesantren and Community Development (P3M/Pusat Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat). The majority of this organization's founders and executives were IAIN alumni.

Those *pesantrens* involved in community development initiated programs related to economic activities in the fields of agriculture and agricultural business. In Pabelan this greatly facilitated the formation of cooperatives (a Dutch term to describe local community-based economic institutions) for employees and rural residents and resulted in the creation of economic training programs to increase people's incomes through the Organization for Development of the Pesantren and Society (BPPM/Badan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat). The *pesantren's* participation in these areas was understandable, as each *pesantren* sought to become a self-supporting and self-financing institution. Many *pesantrens* in rural areas – for example, in Rejoso, East Java – directed their students to become involved in vocational activities in the field of agriculture, such as planting rice, coconut, tobacco, and coffee. The profits from this trade are still used to finance individual *pesantrens*. At the same time, larger *pesantrens* such as Gontor, Tebuireng, Denanyar, Tambakberas, and Tegalrejo began to build and develop cooperative economic institutions. Through the founding of local community-based economic institutions (cooperatives), the students' interest in entrepreneurship is aroused and subsequently directed toward developing both the economic management of the *pesantrens* and the economic wellbeing of their communities.

According to the Ministry of Religious Affairs' 1999 mapping of 6,015 *pesantrens* in ten provinces, 3,789 (or 63%) of these *pesantrens* are engaged in business activities, the majority in co-op work (48.51%) and agriculture/gardening (15.04%). Other initiatives include livestock farming (5.65%), fishing (5.38%), services (8.58%), home industries (5.83%), and repair shops (0.82%).

Table 4.4
Business activities of the *pesantrens* in ten provinces

| BUSINESS ACTIVITIES | NUMBER OF PESANTRENS | % |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-------|
| Repair shops | 31 | 0.82 |
| Home industries | 221 | 5.83 |
| Services | 325 | 8.58 |
| Co-op work | 1,838 | 48.51 |
| Agriculture/gardening | 570 | 15.04 |
| Livestock farming | 214 | 5.65 |
| Fishing | 204 | 5.38 |
| Other | 386 | 10.18 |
| TOTAL | 3,789 | 100 |

The *pesantren's* involvement in economic activities and community empowerment has been highly successful, as indicated both by the wide range of efforts undertaken and by the rate of turnover and volume of business conducted within the *pesantren's* programs. Following are three examples of *pesantrens* that have adapted to meet the economic needs of their communities.

Pondok Pesantren al-Falah, Pamekasan, East Java

Pesantren al-Falah was established in 1924 by the late K.H. Mohamad Toha Jamaluddin, who received his early education at the *pesantren* and pursued Islamic studies in Mecca. This *pesantren* is now led by his son, K.H. Luthfie Toha, an alumnus of IAIN Sunan Ampel, located in Malang, East Java. Under Luthfie's leadership, Pesantren al-Falah quickly expanded both its institutional and economic initiatives. Institutionally, in addition to establishing a corporate body in the form of a foundation, this *pesantren* has established formal *madrasahs* at the elementary, (*ibtidaiyah*), secondary (*tsanawiyah*), and high school (*aliyah*) levels.

Pesantren al-Falah's economic activities and economic empowerment of the community have included the creation of a small-scale savings and loan cooperative, established in 1989. Since 1993, in conjunction with the Pamekasan branch of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI/Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia), this cooperative has functioned as a *bayt al-mal wa al-tamwil* (credit and savings institution). Organized according to a profit-sharing system, this cooperative body is the only financial institution in the village of Kadur, Pamekasan. As well, in 1980, Pesantren al-Falah established the Pondok Pesantren Co-op (Koppontren, Koperasi Pondok Pesantren), which functions as a grocery store supplying students with such necessities as stationary and daily supplies.

In addition, Pesantren al-Falah has undertaken activities in agricultural business, services, and small-scale industry. This *pesantren* has 1.4 hectares of land, which it uses only for growing corn. It is also planning to found services in public and goods transportation, which, according to K.H. Luthfie, will provide job opportunities for the young generation living in the surrounding area. Finally, Pesantren al-Falah has developed a conventional garment industry with posted revenues of approximately Rp 33,959,795 and a handicrafts industry with revenues of approximately Rp 73,060,705.⁹

Pondok Pesantren Hidayatullah, Balikpapan, Kalimantan Timur

Steps toward the foundation of Pesantren Hidayatullah were first taken in 1971 in Jalan Karang Bugis, Kota Balikpapan. Between 1972 and 1975 this *pesantren* gradually opened new areas of land in Gunung Tembak, East Kalimantan. The minister of religious affairs, Prof. Dr Mukti Ali, announced its official establishment in 1976. This *pesantren* was founded by K.H. Abdullah Said, a former student of IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, together with four of his friends: Hasan Ibrahim, a graduate of Pesantren Krapyak; A. Latief Usman, an alumnus of IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta; Hasyim, a graduate of Pesantren Darusalam, Gontor; and Nasir Hasan, a graduate of Yogyakarta's *ulama* training program.

From the beginning, Pesantren Hidayatullah was designed to participate in efforts toward formulating the *pesantren's* teaching of the basic values of the Islamic community (*jama'ah Islamiyah*). Such a

community (*jama'ah*) is characterized by the well-established, homogeneous cultural patterns of its daily life and by the particulars of its cultural make-up in comparison to the larger society of which it is a part. The community is loyal to a single leader and independent in all things. And the conduct of its members must be based on the principles of Islamic law (*shari'ah*) as they are understood. At Pesantren Hidayatullah, ensuring that community members implement a little Islamic knowledge in their daily lives is regarded as more important than providing too much knowledge with little chance of practical implementation. According to Abdullah Said, the *pesantren* should concern itself not only with intellectual tradition, but also with building the character and culture of the local community.

Throughout its history, Pesantren Hidayatullah has overseen formal *madrasah* education at all levels, from prep-schools (*raudhatul athfal*) to elementary (*ibtidayah*), secondary (*tsanawiyah*), and high (*aliyah*) schools. However, the students of Hidayatullah *madrasahs* are still limited to religious pupils (*santri*); the *madrasahs* are not open to the community in general. This being the case, the students are not subject to any costs, and their living expenses are guaranteed by the *pesantren*.

In addition the *pesantren* has initiated productive economic activities and has improved the socio-economic condition of the surrounding community. Among its economic efforts is the publication of the magazine *Suara Hidayatullah*. Founded in 1986 this magazine is distributed throughout Indonesia at the *pesantren's* various branches. The magazine's circulation has reached 15,000 copies per month, its revenues exceeding Rp 500,000,000. In the field of trade, the *pesantren* owns the CV. Hudaya, which runs self-service shops and sells agricultural products produced by the *pesantren*. Since the CV. Hudaya's establishment in 1993, its assets have reached Rp 250,000,000, with monthly revenues of approximately Rp 80,000,000. The CV. Hudaya's commerce is organized through a cooperative set up by the *pesantren* in order to fill the needs of the people in the surrounding community. This co-op's total assets have reached Rp 200,000,000, with monthly revenues of approximately Rp 40,000,000.

Pesantren Hidayatullah's business activities also cover sectors such as services and agriculture. In the service sector, this *pesantren* has many institutions, such as the CV. Hudaya. Another, Dhu'afa, which deals with construction services, has operated since the end of 1980,

providing for the regions around East Kalimantan and Bontang. The assets of this enterprise have reached Rp 600,000,000. Other services overseen by the *pesantren* include public transportation in the city and on the route from Balikpapan, the provincial capital, to the village of Gunung Tembak, where the *pesantren* is located. In addition, the *pesantren* provides telecommunication services through the operation of about ten small-scale telecommunication shops located around the *pesantren* and in the city of Balikpapan. Their total assets have reached Rp 60,000,000, with monthly revenues of Rp 15,000,000.

In the agro-business sector, this *pesantren* has more than 10 hectares of cultivated land, with 500 pepper trees, 250 candlenut trees, 1,000 clove trees, and 500 coffee trees. There are currently no available data on this land's rates of production and trade. This *pesantren* has also started livestock and fishing companies. On 10 hectares of land, the livestock bred include 120 cows per year and 3,000 chickens per month.

Pondok Pesantren Maslakul Huda, Pati, Central Java

Pesantren Maslakul Huda was established by K.H. Mahfudh Salamayah, the father of its current leader, K.H.M.A. Sahal Mahfudh, who is also the general chair of the Central Board of the Nahdlatul Ulama. Long before becoming leader of this *pesantren*, Sahal Mahfudh was aware that Pesantren Maslakul Huda, in general, had always paid attention to the needs of the surrounding community – although this attention was sometimes sporadic, temporary, and unorganized. The *pesantren's* initiatives included yearly aid for the poor and for orphans, efforts undertaken by many *pesantrens*. Reasoning that institutionalization would render these types of activities more effective, Sahal Mahfudh reorganized the *pesantren's* community development program in 1977, creating a program that would later become the Organization for Development of the Pesantren and Society (BPPM/ Badan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat).

In particular, Pesantren Maslakul Huda pays great attention to rural community development. According to Kyai Sahal Mahfudh, the community's members must first be provided not with money, but with the knowledge and skills needed to help themselves. They must first be able to build enterprises and to manage and market their businesses in such a manner that they can be competitive. When

establishing a cooperative institution, community members are provided with financial assistance in the sum of Rp 20,000,000. This financial incentive, however, addresses the merely formal matters of running a business. Developing the community's economic skills and knowledge is the key to furthering its economic activities. In the view of the *pesantren's* leader, the community's members would not be able to make the best use of these funds without the commercial skills that will help them to manage their businesses properly.

In order to realize the ideals of community development, Sahal Mahfudh has overseen the development of a number of economic institutions, one being the People's Credit Bank (BPR/Bank Pengkreditan Rakyat) of Artha Huda Abadi, opened on 1 October 1996. Professionally managed by a staff of nine, the bank has focused its efforts on establishing a client base of small-scale traders, who now comprise 70 per cent of the bank's customers. In addition, the bank serves a self-supported group of farmers and members of small industry known as the Self-financing Community Group (KSM/Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat) who comprise 15 per cent of the bank's business. Starting with an initial capital investment of Rp 150,000,000, of which Rp 43,500,000 came from the *pesantren*, the bank saw its revenues rise to Rp 227,985,000 at the beginning of 1997.

In the sector of trade, the *pesantren* owns a shop managed by the Pondok Pesantren Co-op (Koppondren, Koperasi Pondok Pesantren). Set up in 1996 to provide the *pesantren's* students with daily necessities, stationary, and books, the shop's initial capital investment was raised through a loan of Rp 35,000,000 from the State-Owned Corporation (BUMN/Badan Usaha Milik Negara) and a loan of Rp 20,000,000 from Kanindotex, a private national enterprise established in Jakarta.

In the area of services, the *pesantren* has operated a small-scale publishing house since 1986, providing for the needs of community members, educational institutions, and the many cooperatives and enterprises in the area. The press's initial capital investment of Rp 15,000,000 was obtained through a personal loan that has since been paid back in full. It is interesting to see that, without financial assistance from any bank and with only three administrative staff, this publishing house has achieved monthly revenues of Rp 10,000,000.

In the agricultural sector, the *pesantren*, in cooperation with sixty-three local residents, has developed a project to cultivate *rambutan binjais* (a tropical fruit similar to the lychee). Undertaken in September

1993 with an initial capital investment of Rp 57,000,000 from the Ministry of Agriculture, this project oversees the cultivation of 5,000 trees on 50 hectares of land. Under a fifteen-year profit-sharing agreement, all products derived from the trees within the first five years belong to the *pesantren*. From the sixth year to the fifteenth, the *pesantren* is entitled to 20 per cent of the profits, the remainder going to the local residents.

In addition, the *pesantren*, in cooperation with the Garuda Peanut Factory, has undertaken a peanut-farming operation. The *pesantren* encourages the local residents to grow peanuts, ensuring them that their product will be bought by the factory at market price, while the factory loans them the initial capital. The residents benefit in the arrangement from the knowledge they gain of modern technology, and the factory saves itself the expense of having to import raw materials. For its part, the *pesantren*, which provides local farmers with the necessary training, collects a share of the profits from the peanuts sold. To date, the land being utilized for peanut production is about 200 hectares of the 500 hectares required by the factory to meet its demand for raw material.

As the above accounts of the development and transformation of three *pesantrens* illustrate, the *pesantren* cannot be regarded only as an institution of religious education, for it is also an agent of educational and economic empowerment in rural communities. While some of the *pesantrens* still hold to the old model, focusing primarily on religious studies (*tafaqquh fi al-dîn*), others have enacted the institutional transformation detailed herein. Having taken on these roles not usually expected of a religious institution, the *pesantren* of the past three decades cannot properly be seen as a monolithic institution.

Research conducted in 1977, for example, by the Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM/Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat)¹² shows three types of *pesantren*. The first model adheres to a curriculum of religious studies (*tafaqquh fi al-dîn*), motivated by a conviction to spread and reproduce the Islamic legacy. All other activities are directed in such a way as not to impede the main objective of providing students with a religious education.¹³ The second model is concerned primarily with socio-economic development within the local community. From their inception, some *pesantrens* were designed to address socio-economic issues. At these institutions, the study of the

classical Islamic books (*kitab kuning*), although still part of the curricular activities, is not necessarily a priority. More important than ensuring that students master (and, in turn, are equipped to teach) the *kitab kuning*, which must be read in the original Arabic, is the need to enable them to undertake initiatives in their communities in the area of socio-economic development.¹⁴ The third model's approach marks a convergence of religious education and socio-economic development. Whereas the first two models of *pesantren* tend to be diametrically different, this third type seeks to combine their opposing agendas. Traditionally defined, a *pesantren* is an institution for religious studies (*tafaqquh fi al-dîn*), but many *pesantrens* are now equally concerned that their students understand social realities. Therefore, in addition to studying the religious sciences, the students of these *pesantrens* are given the opportunity to gain practical skills through their involvement in the activities of these *pesantrens'* economic institutions or through hands-on training in such enterprises as garages, agricultural operations, and co-ops.¹⁵ Through these initiatives, this kind of *pesantren* engages in efforts toward the modernization of Islamic education.

The developments mentioned above do not, however, compromise the *pesantren's* traditional role as an institution for Islamic studies, particularly in the sense of *tafaqquh fi al-din*. On the contrary, these developments have both enriched and supported the *pesantren's* objective of transmitting the traditional Islamic sciences of the *kitab kuning*. These developments have also broadened the scope of the *pesantren's* services, enabling it to meet the needs and demands of rural communities, particularly in the field of formal education, but also in ways that have increased these communities' economic wellbeing. In other words, the modernization process undertaken by the *pesantren* has affected its role as both an educational and a social institution.¹⁶

THE ROLE OF THE IAIN IN THE TRANSFORMATION AND MODERNIZATION OF THE *PESANTREN*

As an institution of Islamic higher education, the IAIN has contributed to the transformation and modernization of the *pesantren* in at least three important ways. First, the IAIN is one of the main means by which students of the *pesantren* can achieve upward social mobility through education. Second, a large number of IAIN alumni become

teachers or *kyai* (religious leaders) at the various *pesantrens*. And third, the IAIN promotes a modern and liberal perspective on Islamic studies.

The IAIN and the Educational Options for Pesantren Students

Within Indonesia – that is, leaving aside opportunities for Islamic higher education abroad in Egypt (at al-Azhar University), Mecca, and Medina – the IAIN is one of the main choices of *pesantren* alumni seeking a higher Islamic education. In fact, for many such alumni, it is their only choice for a higher education, as enrolment at a public university requires that one hold a certificate from either a public high school (administered by the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs) or an Islamic high school (administered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs). In addition, when applying for positions at public universities, *pesantren* alumni must compete with students from the public and Islamic high schools, who have received training in mathematics, physics, biology, English, and social sciences. Because these subjects are not studied at the *pesantren*, its alumni are often unable to secure admittance to public universities.

Therefore, for *pesantren* alumni who cannot enrol at a Middle Eastern university, the IAIN holds the only opportunity for further study. Until 1993 these alumni (whose certificates from the *pesantren* were deemed equivalent to those earned at Islamic high schools) were readily admitted to the IAIN. The enrolment test required of students applying for admission presents no difficulties for *pesantren* alumni, who acquire the general knowledge covered by the test while studying at the *pesantren*. In addition, especially because of their understanding of the classical Islamic texts, these alumni have enough basic knowledge to enable their participation in research and studies conducted at the IAIN.

Nevertheless, in 1993 the Ministry of Religious Affairs promulgated a new regulation on the conditions for selection of new IAIN students. Under the new admission requirements, a certificate from the *pesantren* was declared insufficient for admittance to the IAIN's entrance exam. Rather, candidates for admission must hold a certificate from an Islamic high school or its equivalent, such as a certificate issued by

a public high school or other academy. This new policy was introduced in order to meet the regulations of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, particularly following ratification of the 1989 Law of the System of National Education No. 2, which rendered the IAIN's status equivalent to that of other institutions of higher education. These changes, however, have not decreased the opportunity of *pesantren* alumni to enrol at the IAIN. Indeed, since the 1993/94 academic year, the Ministry of Religious Affairs has permitted *pesantren* alumni to take an examination equivalent to that required for a certificate from an Islamic high school without obliging them to take additional formal courses.

It is thus difficult to ascertain to what extent "pure" *pesantren* alumni are being admitted to the IAIN. Since an official certificate was introduced as the requirement for sitting the IAIN's entrance exam, *pesantren* alumni have had to take the equivalency exam and are therefore listed in the existing data as having been certified by either a public or an Islamic high school. Complicating matters, too, is that *pesantren* students are no longer solely motivated by the desire to become religious scholars. Rather, they learn the principles of religious knowledge with an eye to pursuing a higher education. They are preparing themselves for work in fields other than religion. Many students, therefore, besides studying religious sciences, pursue studies at formal schools (particularly *madrasahs*) located near their *pesantrens*.

Information gathered in 1998/99 by the Institute for Educational Research, the Research Centre of IAIN Jakarta, and the Institute for Religious Research and Development of the Ministry of Religious Affairs shows that in twenty-seven districts spread throughout six provinces a significant number of *pesantrens* operate *madrasahs*. Of the 3,217 *pesantrens* surveyed, 894 had established formal *madrasahs* at various levels: elementary (*ibtidaiyah*), secondary (*tsanawiyah*), and high school (*alijah*). These *pesantrens* understand that a formal education plays an important role in enabling their students to pursue further studies at institutions of higher education.

Seeking an Islamic curriculum compatible with that developed at the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs*, the alumni of these institutions are drawn to the IAIN. Very few are admitted to public universities run by the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs.

Table 4.5
Pesantrens with affiliated *madrasahs* in six provinces

| PROVINCE AND DISTRICT | NUMBER OF PESANTRENS | NUMBER OF AFFILIATED MADRASAHs |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| South Lampung | 60 | 22 |
| West Java | | |
| Serang | 181 | 36 |
| Lebak | 140 | 19 |
| Pandeglang | 140 | 20 |
| Tasikmalaya | 549 | 74 |
| Garut | 497 | 62 |
| Ciamis | 240 | 36 |
| Bandung | 126 | 70 |
| Central Java | | |
| Brebes | 43 | 10 |
| Tegal (Kodya/Kab.) | 27 | 7 |
| Kebumen | 54 | 8 |
| Pati | 41 | 28 |
| Rembang | 49 | 4 |
| Kendal | 100 | 11 |
| East Java | | |
| Lamongan | 95 | 57 |
| Trenggalek | 23 | 14 |
| Bangkalan | 148 | 30 |
| Kediri | 82 | 27 |
| Banyuwangi | 154 | 28 |
| Malang | 201 | 43 |
| Situbondo | 52 | 24 |
| Jombang | 38 | 29 |
| West Nusa Tenggara | | |
| Lombok Barat | 33 | 51 |
| Lombok Tengah | 47 | 66 |
| Lombok Timur | 37 | 72 |
| South Kalimantan | | |
| Banjarmasin | 42 | 30 |
| Hulu Sungai Utara | 18 | 16 |
| TOTAL | 3,217 | 894 |

IAIN Alumni Becoming Kyai and Ustadz at the Pesantren

As noted by Nurcholis Madjid, a prominent Muslim scholar with a *pesantren* and IAIN background, the IAIN's graduates are relatively well educated and are able to find employment in various social sectors.¹⁷ Just the same, a great many make a point of returning to their rural

communities and to the *pesantrens* from which they have graduated. Indeed, the percentage of IAIN alumni returning to teach within the *pesantren* system (and their subsequent acceptance within that system) is quite significant.

A study conducted in 1999 on “The Role of the *Pesantrens* in Administration and Acceleration of Nine-Year Compulsory Study” showed that of the 130 *pesantrens* examined, 27 (20.8%) were run by *kyai* who had graduated from the IAIN. This study by the Institute for Educational Research (in cooperation with the Research Centre of IAIN Jakarta and the Institute for Religious Research and Development) also indicated that an even larger number of the *pesantrens*’ leadership (36, or 27.7%) were graduates of Islamic high schools (*MA/madrasah aliyahs*) or schools for the instruction of religious teachers (*PGA/pendidikan guru agama*). Another 30 *kyai* (23.1%) had received only an elementary school (i.e., *pesantren*) education. Although, at the time of the study, the influence of the IAIN’s graduates was second to that of those *kyai* who had graduated from MAS, PGAS, and *pesantrens*, they nevertheless comprised a greater presence than the *kyai* who were alumni of al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt (11.5%); Ummul Qurra University, Mecca, Saudi Arabia (7.7%); and the University of Medina, Medina, Saudi Arabia (3.8%).

Table 4.6
Educational background of the *kyai* at 130 *pesantren*

| EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND | NUMBER OF KYAI | % |
|--|----------------|------|
| IAIN | 27 | 20.8 |
| Public university | 7 | 5.4 |
| al-Azhar University (Cairo) | 15 | 11.5 |
| Ummul Qurra University (Mecca) | 10 | 7.7 |
| University of Medina (Medina) | 5 | 3.8 |
| MA/PGA | 36 | 27.7 |
| Elementary school (<i>pesantren</i>) | 30 | 23.1 |
| TOTAL | 130 | 100 |

The same study also compared the number of *ustadz* (religious teachers) at the *pesantrens* who were IAIN alumni to the number who were graduates of other institutions. The data indicate that of the 729 *ustadz* at the 130 *pesantrens*, 263 (36.08%) were IAIN graduates. This figure represents a significant majority, with only 189 *ustadz* (25.91%)

coming from MAS and PGAS, 156 (21.4%) from elementary schools, and 73 (10.01%) from al-Azhar University, Ummul Qurra University, and the University of Medina. This high proportion of IAIN alumni in the ranks of the *pesantren*'s teachers marks an important stage in its acceptance of modern perspectives on religious education.

Table 4.7
Educational background of the *ustadz* at 130 *pesantren*

| EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND | NUMBER OF <i>USTADZ</i> | % |
|--|-------------------------|-------|
| IAIN | 263 | 36.08 |
| Public university | 48 | 6.58 |
| al-Azhar University (Cairo) | 26 | 3.56 |
| Ummul Qurra University (Mecca) | 31 | 4.25 |
| University of Medina (Medina) | 16 | 2.2 |
| MA/PGA | 189 | 25.91 |
| Elementary school (<i>pesantren</i>) | 156 | 21.4 |
| TOTAL | 729 | 100 |

Indeed, the above figures would suggest that the IAIN's model of Islamic studies has become the predominant influence within the *pesantren* system. It is thus hoped that in time a type of religious leadership will emerge at the *pesantren* consisting of what Mochtar Buchori has referred to as "comprehensive *kyai*": leaders characterized by intellectual learning, wisdom, tolerance, and the ability to advocate for social change. According to Buchori, a well-known Muslim scholar who is currently an active member of Parliament with the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP/Partai Demokrasi Indonesai Perjuangan), all horizontal conflict between religions is caused by a lack of broad theological knowledge on the part of the religious leaders involved. In Buchori's view, rather than furthering such conflict, comprehensive *kyai* will support social harmony: "Religious leaders who can think comprehensively are urgently required. This kind of religious leader will not come about naturally, but he is to be born via educational institutions such as the IAIN. Through the type of understanding developed at the IAIN, Islam will have comprehensive religious leaders."¹⁸

The number of IAIN alumni who have become *kyai* or *ustadz* at the *pesantren* is significant, giving rise to hope that a new, modern, con-

textual, liberal, and rational Islamic culture such as that envisioned at the IAIN will one day take hold. Through the impact of the IAIN alumni's contributions to education, Indonesian Muslims, who form the majority of the country's population, will come to understand the importance of modernity: the idea of progress, the notion of pluralism in social life, and the principal of tolerance for other religious beliefs. By teaching a religious understanding that encourages inclusiveness, the IAIN will eventually produce, as expected by Mochtar Buchori, alumni capable of becoming "comprehensive *kyai*": leaders willing to direct Indonesia's Muslim communities toward a modern perspective on Islam.

Bringing a Modern Perspective to Islam

As an institution of higher education, the IAIN adheres to the same academic principles and scientific views as those honoured at secular universities. In comparison to traditional Islamic institutions such as the *pesantren*, the IAIN's area of study – namely, Islamic knowledge – differs little. Instead, it is the IAIN's methodology and perspective on Islamic knowledge that marks the difference. At the *pesantren*, for example, all areas of Islamic study – such as *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), *hadith* (prophetic tradition), *akhlak* (ethics), *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), and *tasawuf* (Islamic mysticism) – are approached dogmatically and according to a specific school of religious thought (*madhhab*). If, for instance, a teacher is a Shafi'ite and follows the *sunni* theology (*ahlussunnah wal jama'ah*),¹⁹ he will most definitely instruct his students in the precepts of that particular *madhhab*. At the same time, he will not permit the study of any differing theologies. Indeed, at some *pesantrens* – especially those affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), one of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia – study of the *shii*ite theology is prohibited. In addition, scientific views at the *pesantren* are based on theology; no distinction is made between faith (*akidah*) and knowledge. As a result, knowledge is often perceived as something sacred that must be obeyed with uncritical obedience, rather than as a necessarily contingent product of human cultures.

Obviously, such a narrow-minded academic view fails to appreciate the existing differences in Islamic thought. Worse, it promotes a fanatical faith in the precepts of certain *madhhab*. Consequently, there

is a tendency among both students and teachers toward an exclusive and intolerant regard for other schools of Islamic thought and other religions. Indeed, differing systems of belief are judged to be wrong. From this perspective, social plurality is also considered a threat. A study conducted by the Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM/Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat) in cooperation with the Ministry of Religious Affairs shows that most Muslim leaders tend to be intolerant of, inflexible toward, and suspicious of other religions.²⁰

At the IAIN, by comparison, the various disciplines related to Islamic studies are treated as academic and scientific subjects. Islamic knowledge is regarded neither as ahistorical nor as comprising a series of doctrines that must be obeyed uncritically. The various schools of Islamic thought are taken in context so that their unique characteristics can be analyzed and understood from an academic perspective. To this end, the IAIN has included many of the modern sciences in its curriculum, using philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and history as tools with which to investigate Islamic teachings. By these means, the IAIN's students are encouraged to approach Islam from a modern perspective.

According to Azyumardi Azra, the rector of IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, the model of Islamic education promoted at the IAIN is "liberal Islam":

As an academic institution, although the IAIN teaches only Islamic education, the Islam studied here is liberal Islam. This means that the IAIN does not teach its students to adhere strictly to a certain *madhhab* or to the ideas of certain Muslim figures but urges the students to study all Islamic *madhhabs* and the teachings of prominent Muslim figures from a modern perspective. To support this, the IAIN's students are invited to study other religions outside of Islam fairly, openly, and without prejudice. Therefore, the subject of comparative religion is an essential discipline at the IAIN.²¹

This approach to Islamic studies broadens the views of the IAIN's students, who are generally *pesantren* or *madrasah* graduates. At first, of course, it is difficult for them to embrace the IAIN's educational model, but they are eventually able to understand the importance of studying Islam from a modern perspective. Moreover, as Azyumardi

Azra notes, the liberalization of Islamic studies at the IAIN has also changed its students' views on the general sciences:

At the *pesantren*, the students perceive a dichotomy between Islamic sciences (which focus on *naqliyyah* [writings in the Qur'an] and religiosity) and non-Islamic sciences (which are regarded as secular and profane), whereas at the IAIN they are required to learn that there is no such dichotomy. They are permitted to study sociology, anthropology, history, and psychology, for example, which are placed on an equal footing with *tafsir* [Qur'anic exegesis]. Even these non-Islamic sciences are useful for enriching their understanding of *tafsir*. Thus the IAIN does not teach students what is called the "Islamization of science" because all sciences are the same in terms of their status and advantages for human life.²²

In general, the educational model adopted by the IAIN has succeeded in transforming the approach to knowledge and the worldviews of the *pesantrens'* and *madrasahs'* graduates. According to Nurcholis Madjid, the IAIN thus produces liberally educated alumni capable of taking on any role within society that they may desire.²³ One result of this liberal education is the ability of IAIN alumni to formulate an approach to Islam compatible with the real-life contexts of contemporary society. This ability, in turn, facilitates the transmission of the IAIN's modern perspective on Islam within rural communities, especially by those alumni who return to teach at the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* where they received their early educations. Indeed, one of the most important factors in the recent process of transformation and modernization of the education system at the *pesantren* has been the active participation and influence of IAIN alumni in their capacities as institutional leaders (*kyai*) and teachers (*ustadz*).

The liberalizing influence of IAIN alumni at the *pesantren* has been significant. For example, at Pesantren Darussalam, in Sumedang, West Java, a new method of studying Islam has emerged that differs considerably from that employed at the *pesantren* in general. According to Dr Syamsul Falah, one of the *kyai* at Pesantren Darussalam, the IAIN alumni teaching there are less rigid in their interpretations of the Qur'an and in their explication of the prophetic tradition (*hadith*), lending a distinct nuance to Islamic studies at the school: "Lessons on the Qur'an and hadith are not conveyed rigidly and are not limited

only to linguistic explanations, but also examine the meaning of interpretations and the purposes or aims of the laws [*maqâsid al-shar'iyah*] implied in the Qur'an and *hadith*." Moreover, says Dr Syamsul Falah, the IAIN alumni teaching at Pesantren Darussalam foster a more liberal environment for the study of Islam: "They do not instruct students to obey the teachings of Islam without understanding their reasons. So Islam is placed in context [...] They also include recent issues in the subject matter they teach so that the students can understand modern developments."²⁴

The changes at Pesantren Darussalam show that efforts undertaken by IAIN alumni to transform and modernize Islamic knowledge at the *pesantren* are being accepted. In turn, this modern perspective has fostered increased openness to context-specific social realities within the *pesantren*'s rural Muslim communities. Since 1970 there has been a general trend within the *pesantren* toward moderation both of its institutional practices and of its approach to religious education. Moreover, many *pesantrens* have organized economic activities intended to support the development of their rural societies and have established modernized religious schools (*madrasahs*) – all of which has been facilitated by the strong influence of IAIN alumni, both as *kyai* and as *ustadz*, who have taken on a direct role in community development projects.

THE MODERNIZATION OF MADRASAH EDUCATION

The *madrasah* constitutes a continuation of traditional Islamic education in Indonesia, namely that offered at the *pesantren*. In effect, the *pesantren*, which was first established in the seventeenth century, can be regarded as the embryo of the *madrasah*. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the traditional institutions of Islamic education in Indonesia – the *pesantren*, *surau*, *dayah*, and *rangkring* – were still predominant.

In 1865, during the Dutch colonial era, changes occurred when the indigenous society of Indonesia, particularly in Java, was introduced to a new model of education by the East Indies government. This model was intended to prepare Indonesians for various postings within the East Indies government. Consequently, the system of education practised at this time had more in common with the Christian

missionary schools found in Minahasa and Maluku than it did with the Islamic education system previously developed in Indonesia. This unwillingness to adopt the traditional Islamic education system stemmed from the colonial government's belief that the approach to teaching within Islamic education was inadequate. According to J.A. van der Chijs, a Dutch colonial administrator of Islamic affairs in Batavia, despite agreeing to incorporate some indigenous customs – that is, some elements of the *pesantren's* education system – the colonial power regarded the *pesantren* tradition of reading and memorizing Arabic texts as an antiquated approach and inappropriate for inclusion within the new school curriculum.²⁵

At the beginning of the twentieth century, following the colonial government's efforts toward modernization, some prominent Muslim educators began to recognize that the *pesantren's* education system was not suited to the social development of Muslim communities.²⁶ From this time, steps were taken to modernize Islamic education in Indonesia, including the introduction of *madrasahs* as a means of reforming traditional educational practices – particularly those of the *pesantrens* in Java and of the *suraus* in Minangkabau, West Sumatra. Through the *madrasah* system, Islamic education in Indonesia began to incorporate secular subject matter and the didactic approach favoured by the Dutch. *Madrasah* students, unlike their counterparts at the *pesantren* and *surau*, were instructed not only in religious subjects, but also in secular subjects such as English, Dutch, and other areas of study that were, at the time, only taught at schools founded by the colonial government.²⁷

The characteristics of the *madrasah* model in use today have their roots in these developments of the early twentieth century, when Muslim leaders began to adopt aspects of the colonial government's education system. As a result, during this period, the idea of modernization and social development became synonymous with *madrasah* education. Indeed, the *madrasah's* founding was a concrete example of Muslims' aspirations to remain in step with their changing world. As Nurcholis Madjid notes, the system introduced at the *madrasah* throughout the early twentieth century was clearly very modern.²⁸

From this point, a dualism appeared in Indonesia's education system. With the end of colonial rule, those schools established by the colonial government were further developed by the Ministry of Education

and Cultural Affairs, while the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* were overseen by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In time, this dualism was further exacerbated by the education policies introduced as part of President Soekarno's new socio-political order, which emphasized development of the colonial schools to the detriment of the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs*. As a result, in terms of progress, the *madrasah* was often left behind, impeding improvements in the quality of both its curriculum and its management.

In response to this widening gap between Indonesia's secular and religious schools, the Ministry of Religious Affairs introduced various policies intended to strengthen the teaching of modern, secular sciences at the *madrasah*. The most significant of these policies was introduced by Kyai Fathurrahman Kafrawi, the New Order regime's minister of religious affairs from 2 October 1946 to 3 July 1947. Heeding a suggestion by Kyai Hajar Dewantara, chair of the National Council of Education Consideration (Majelis Pertimbangan Pendidikan Nasional), Kafrawi instated a policy requiring all *madrasahs* to teach modern, secular sciences. Although the *madrasah* faced difficult challenges, continued steps were taken to enhance its progress toward modernization. In 1958, for example, the Ministry of Religious Affairs introduced a model of Basic Madrasah Education (MWB/Madrasah Wajib Belajar) to be implemented over an eight-year period. This model was characterized by a curriculum that integrated the teaching of religion, secular sciences, and vocational skills. Up to this point, however, the *madrasah* still was not well organized or standardized.

During the early years of Soekarno's regime, although a dualism persisted in the education system, efforts to modernize the *madrasah's* educational system were carried out more systematically than had previously been the case. These efforts, however, were mostly limited to strengthening the *madrasah's* structure, rather than directed at improving its curriculum, as the government was still bound by the Laws of National Education No. 4 (1950) and No. 12 (1954), which were not supportive of the *madrasah's* aspiration to be fully integrated into Indonesia's national education system.

During the 1970s two noteworthy initiatives were undertaken by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The first involved formalizing the *madrasah's* institutional structure by converting some private *madrasahs* into public *madrasahs*, particularly *madrasah ibtidaiyahs*, which offer a

basic *madrasah* degree. The second involved standardizing and perfecting the *madrasah*'s basic-instruction subjects in order to meet the national education requirements. This policy was implemented to ensure that the *madrasah*'s subject matter was consistent with that offered at public schools. This newly refined curriculum was known as the 1973 Curriculum and included not only religious subject matter, but also secular sciences and vocational education.

The curriculum had three key results: (1) the introduction of standardized *madrasah* education that could be implemented at every level of study and at all private *madrasahs*; (2) the establishment of specific requirements to be covered in each subject area, thus ensuring pedagogical consistency with the basic principles for modernizing the *madrasah* system; (3) the formal instatement of secular subjects and vocational training to an extent greatly exceeding that achieved by earlier reformers. The long-term objective of these efforts to both formalize and nationalize *madrasah* education was to create the conditions by which the *madrasah* could develop into an educational institution whose curriculum and management were equivalent to those of the secular schools overseen by the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs.

The government, however, overreached in its efforts to solve the problem of the existing dualism in Indonesia's education system when it shifted responsibility for *madrasah* education from the Ministry of Religious Affairs to the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. This change was set out in Presidential Decree No. 34 (1972) and further clarified by Presidential Instruction No. 15 (1974), but the new policy received strongly negative reactions from some Muslim communities, especially those with private *madrasahs*. In response, the Committee of Consideration for Education and Religious Teaching (MP3A/Majelis Pertimbangan untuk Pengajaran dan Pendidikan Agama), in cooperation with the minister of religious affairs, Dr Mukti Ali, devised a compromise intended to retain some measure of authority for the Ministry of Religious Affairs in the administration of the *madrasah*.

Specifically, in order to address anxiety within some Muslim communities that the *madrasah* education system would be eliminated as a result of Presidential Decree No. 34, the government issued a Letter of Joint Decree (1973) signed by the minister of religious affairs, the minister of education and cultural affairs, and the minister of internal

affairs. This letter, which detailed the parameters of a policy concerning the “advancement of the quality of *madrasah* education,” specified that both the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs would play a role in furthering the *madrasah*’s development. The latter would be responsible for public and general education at the *madrasah*, while the former would be responsible for religious education. The letter, moreover, outlines an agreement concerning what proportion of the *madrasah*’s curriculum should cover secular subjects (70%) versus religious subjects (30%).

For a while this arrangement provided an adequate solution to the problem of dualism within the education system, a means of enhancing the *madrasah*’s development, and a compromise that would address the concerns of Muslim groups initially opposed to the new measures set out in Presidential Decree No. 34. In short, the Letter of Joint Decree was a strategic and wise step toward the *madrasah*’s integration into the national education system. As a consequence of the letter, despite the Ministry of Religious Affairs’ continued involvement in its management, the *madrasah* was formerly recognized and defined as a distinct educational institution equivalent in every respect to secular schools. Indeed, the *madrasah* was now regarded as an institution that taught not only religious, but also secular, subjects. The letter, moreover, enabled the Ministry of Religious Affairs to control the *madrasah*’s quality in terms of both its administrative structure and its implementation of the national curriculum. Thus, as a result of the Letter of Joint Decree, the *madrasah*’s equal standing relative to the secular schools was ensured.

The letter’s success pushed the government continuously to modernize the *madrasah*. Indeed, efforts to integrate the *madrasah* within the national education system had to be considered an inseparable part of the modernization of Islamic education. Nevertheless, the most important step following the issuing of the Letter of Joint Decree was the government’s ratification of the Law of the National Education System (UUSPN/Undang-undang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional) in 1989. Under this law the *madrasah* was no longer defined as a “religious school” but as a “school with Islamic distinctiveness.” This official redefinition was very important because it recognized the *madrasah* as a modern institution of Islamic education with full legitimacy as part of the national education system. Moreover, the law applied to

the management not only of formal schools, but also of informal institutions, such as those offering professional, vocational, or religious education. The law was therefore enthusiastically accepted both by Muslim communities and by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, whose responsibilities include developing both the *madrasah* in particular and Islamic educational institutions in general.

In a further development, the *madrasah's* redefinition and advanced status necessitated adjustments to its curriculum. Specifically, it had to adopt secular subjects such as math, history, chemistry, physics, and English. At the same time, however, the *madrasah* continues to offer religious subjects in keeping with its traditional role as an institution of religious education. Given the *madrasah's* definition as a "school with Islamic distinctiveness," the curriculum continues to facilitate the transmission of Islamic values, ensuring that *madrasah* students acquire both Islamic and secular knowledge.

In 1994, following the ratification of the Law of the National Education System, a new national curriculum was formulated. At a glance, it might appear that the most significant part of this new curriculum was the "elimination" of 30 per cent of the religious subject matter that had been taught at the *madrasah* since implementation of the 1975 curriculum. The term "elimination," however, is misleading, as this Islamic subject matter did not vanish but was "reformulated" within the teaching of the *madrasah's* various subjects. That is, some Islamic teachings are no longer presented formally within the context of religious subjects but are wholly integrated into the teaching of secular subject matter. Implementation of this change was fostered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which published a guidebook for *madrasah* teachers on how to treat secular subject matter while retaining Islamic nuances.

In 1993 the ministry had anticipated the 1994 curriculum by issuing Ministry of Religious Affairs Decree No. 372, which set out the Curriculum of Basic Education with Islamic Distinctiveness. The decree declared that elementary-level *madrasahs* (MI/*madrasah ibtidaiyahs*) and junior-secondary *madrasahs* (MT/*madrasah tsanawiyahs*) should apply the national curriculum of elementary and junior-secondary schools. Thus the MI and MT curricula contain not only religious subjects, but also secular subjects such as the moral education of Pancasila (which covers the five basic principles underlying the Republic of Indonesia), the

Indonesian language, math, natural sciences, social sciences, vocational studies, art, and some local subject matter. The decree also stipulated that this type of curriculum should be applied at the senior-secondary *madrasahs* (MA/*madrasah aliyahs*).

The 1994 curriculum's "reformulation" of *madrasah* education also emphasized the need for students to specialize in a discipline chosen from the available subjects. Thus those students studying social subjects are expected to acquire a foundation of knowledge in the social sciences. Similarly, those interested in pursuing Islamic studies are expected to choose a range of courses appropriate to their field. This insistence on specialization ensures that *madrasah* students are fully qualified upon graduation. In effect, the 1994 curriculum can be regarded as a further development and refinement of the changes mandated in the Letter of Joint Decree issued by the Ministries of Religious Affairs, Education and Cultural Affairs, and Internal Affairs. In particular, specialization in the sciences has become a central aspect of the *madrasah's* developing program.

The *madrasah's* "reformulation" has also entailed its participation in the Nine-Year Compulsory Education Program (WAJAR/Wajib Belajar Sembilan Tahun), which seeks to ensure that the larger society has access to basic education. Specifically, since 1996/97 the Ministry of Religious Affairs has overseen the establishment of open junior-secondary *madrasahs* (*madrasah terbuka*), which use radio broadcasting media to disseminate a curriculum similar to that of the regular *madrasahs*. The main target of these *madrasahs* is the students of the rural *pesantrens*, who have had years of strictly religious education without any formal instruction in either public schools or regular *madrasahs*.

In general, we can conclude that the *madrasah* has undergone a process of modernization and been integrated into the national education system. As a result, the *madrasah* has the same responsibilities as other schools. Unfortunately, the integration process – which started in 1974 and continued to 1989 – was not supported by appropriate funds from the education budget. The *madrasah's* integration and achievement of a status equivalent to that of other schools was brought about through changes to its structure and curriculum rather than through changes to its financing. Funding for the *madrasah* is provided only by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which budgets less for

education than does the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, from which the public schools receive their allocated education funding.

A study conducted by the Asian Development Bank in collaboration with the Comparative Education Center of the University of Hong Kong shows the significant difference between the Indonesian government's budgeted expenditures for *madrasah* education and its expenditures for those schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. The funding for elementary-level public schools is Rp 190,000/student/year on average, and the maximum is Rp 304,000, while the funding for elementary-level public *madrasahs* is Rp 139,000/student/year on average, and the maximum is Rp 225,000. This difference is even more apparent if we look at the funding for private elementary-level *madrasahs*, which is Rp 87,000/student/year on average, the maximum being Rp 163,000. Likewise, the funding for junior-secondary public schools is Rp 418,000/student/year on average, and the maximum is Rp 615,000, while junior-secondary public *madrasahs* receive only Rp 324,000/student/year on average, and the maximum is Rp 572,000. Again, this disparity is even more conspicuous if we look at the funding for private junior-secondary *madrasahs*, which is Rp 185,000/student/year on average, the maximum being Rp 380,000.²⁹

As the data indicate, government policy concerning the *madrasah* is still discriminatory. Therefore, a significant improvement in education quality at the *madrasah* cannot be expected even though the *madrasah* has been integrated into the national education system. The proportion of school-age children attending the *madrasah* is relatively low. At the elementary and junior-secondary levels, the *madrasah* serves approximately 17.6 per cent of all school-age children nationally. Table 4.8 illustrates a steady increase in the number of students studying at the various *madrasahs*.

Table 4.9 compares the number of secular schools administered by the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs (now the Ministry of National Education) to the number of Islamic schools administered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

It is important to note here, however, that the majority of *madrasahs* were founded by their communities and are privately owned. According to data for 1998/99, private *madrasahs* comprise more than 85% of the *madrasahs* at all levels. Public elementary *madrasahs* comprise only

Table 4.8
Number of students and teachers at the *madrasahs*, 1989/90 to 1993/94

| DESCRIPTION | YEAR | NUMBER OF SCHOOLS | NUMBER OF STUDENTS | NUMBER OF TEACHERS |
|--------------------------------|---------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Madrasah ibtidaiyah</i> | 1989/90 | 21,364 | 3,056,300 | 112,086 |
| | 1990/91 | 22,151 | 3,060,400 | 118,757 |
| | 1991/92 | 23,097 | 3,252,000 | 120,057 |
| | 1992/93 | 23,198 | 3,258,800 | 122,401 |
| | 1993/94 | 24,979 | 3,379,734 | 123,580 |
| <i>Madrasah tsanawiyah</i> | 1989/90 | 6,610 | 1,040,945 | 71,181 |
| | 1990/91 | 7,269 | 1,078,399 | 74,990 |
| | 1991/92 | 7,376 | 1,117,201 | 76,338 |
| | 1992/93 | 7,526 | 1,164,900 | 78,801 |
| | 1993/94 | 8,081 | 1,241,983 | 114,495 |
| <i>Madrasah aliyah</i> | 1989/90 | 2,154 | 307,522 | 26,241 |
| | 1990/91 | 2,371 | 332,422 | 29,481 |
| | 1991/92 | 2,543 | 360,896 | 31,270 |
| | 1992/93 | 2,716 | 398,750 | 31,799 |
| | 1993/94 | 2,923 | 409,463 | 33,801 |

Table 4.9
Number of schools administered by the Ministry of National Education (MONE) and by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA), 1994/95 to 1995/96

| MINISTRY | 1994/95 | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|---------|---------|--------------------------|---------|--------|
| | ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS | | | JUNIOR-SECONDARY SCHOOLS | | |
| | PUBLIC | PRIVATE | TOTAL | PUBLIC | PRIVATE | TOTAL |
| MONE | 138,044 | 10,213 | 148,257 | 8,062 | 10,233 | 18,295 |
| MORA | 599 | 22,599 | 23,198 | 647 | 6,879 | 7,526 |
| TOTAL | 138,643 | 32,812 | 171,455 | 8,709 | 17,112 | 25,821 |
| | 1995/96 | | | | | |
| MONE | 138,723 | 10,219 | 148,942 | 8,114 | 10,469 | 18,583 |
| MORA | 607 | 24,372 | 24,979 | 582 | 7,499 | 8,081 |
| TOTAL | 139,330 | 34,591 | 173,921 | 8,696 | 17,968 | 26,664 |

6.1% of all *madrasahs*, or 1,435 of 23,298. Meanwhile, public elementary schools comprise 92.5% of all such schools, or 139,889 of 151,298. Public junior-secondary *madrasahs* comprise only 11.5% of all such *madrasahs*, or 1,141 of 9,846. Meanwhile, public junior-secondary schools comprise 43.8% of all such schools, or 9,002 of 20,544. Public senior-secondary *madrasahs* likewise comprise only 16.3% of all such *madrasahs*, or 553 of 3,392. Meanwhile, public senior-secondary schools comprise 31% of all such schools, or 2,479 of 8,065. These data show that the participation of Indonesian society in developing the *madrasah*, which is administered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, is higher than society's participation in the development of those schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs.

A significant trend indicated by the data gathered on *madrasah* enrolment is that the number of female students is higher than the number of male students. Table 4.10 compares the number of male and female students enrolled at both the private and public *madrasahs* at all levels of study between 1995 and 2000. At the elementary level (*madrasah ibtidaiyah*), the average number of female students was 50% of the total enrolment; at the junior-secondary level (*madrasah tsanawiyah*), the number was 52.3%; and at the senior-secondary level (*madrasah aliyah*), 52.9%. These figures suggest that a considerable portion of Indonesians choose the *madrasah* for their daughters' educations.

Between 1995/96 and 1999/2000, the majority of school-age children enrolled at the *madrasah* at all levels of study were female. On average the number of female students enrolled was 4.8% higher than the number of male students. If a distinction is made between the public and private *madrasahs*, we see that the difference between the number of female and male students enrolled was greater in the public *madrasahs* (7.4%) than in the private *madrasahs* (4.2%).

Table 4.11 shows a high participation rate of female students in the pursuit of a formal education, which indicates that women have the same opportunities as men to receive an education. Moreover, the high enrolment of female students at the *madrasah* suggests the importance that Indonesian Muslims place on the formal education of their daughters. The table's data, therefore, stand in opposition to the common assumption that the majority of Muslim societies grant only their

Table 4.10
Number of male and female *madrasah* students, 1995/96 to 1999/2000

| DESCRIPTION | YEAR | PUBLIC SCHOOLS | | | | TOTAL |
|----------------------------|-------|-----------------|------|-----------|------|-----------|
| | | M | % | F | % | |
| <i>Madrasah ibtidaiyah</i> | 95/96 | 224,738 | 55.3 | 181,754 | 44.7 | 406,492 |
| | 96/97 | 156,111 | 48.6 | 164,726 | 51.3 | 320,837 |
| | 97/98 | 128,739 | 49.8 | 129,579 | 50.2 | 258,318 |
| | 98/99 | 129,601 | 49.7 | 130,859 | 50.3 | 260,460 |
| | 99/00 | 137,686 | 51.1 | 132,155 | 48.9 | 269,841 |
| <i>Madrasah tsanawiyah</i> | 95/96 | 261,002 | 49.1 | 269,646 | 50.9 | 530,648 |
| | 96/97 | 173,487 | 40.1 | 260,230 | 59.9 | 433,717 |
| | 97/98 | 197,668 | 42.0 | 273,406 | 58.0 | 471,074 |
| | 98/99 | 223,968 | 46.9 | 252,776 | 53.1 | 476,744 |
| | 99/00 | 236,000 | 47.9 | 256,937 | 52.1 | 492,937 |
| <i>Madrasah aliyah</i> | 95/96 | 97,526 | 42.5 | 131,789 | 57.5 | 229,315 |
| | 96/97 | 81,102 | 40.0 | 121,653 | 60.0 | 202,755 |
| | 97/98 | 92,702 | 43.2 | 121,968 | 56.8 | 214,670 |
| | 98/99 | 92,939 | 41.9 | 129,043 | 58.1 | 221,982 |
| | 99/00 | 92,417 | 39.9 | 138,928 | 60.1 | 231,345 |
| DESCRIPTION | YEAR | PRIVATE SCHOOLS | | | | TOTAL |
| | | M | % | F | % | |
| <i>Madrasah ibtidaiyah</i> | 95/96 | 1,747,454 | 49.9 | 1,702,512 | 48.6 | 3,449,966 |
| | 96/97 | 1,484,124 | 40.5 | 2,184,533 | 59.5 | 3,668,657 |
| | 97/98 | 1,453,111 | 49.0 | 1,509,599 | 51.0 | 2,962,710 |
| | 98/99 | 1,281,230 | 49.6 | 1,302,014 | 50.4 | 2,583,244 |
| | 99/00 | 1,311,813 | 49.9 | 1,312,474 | 50.1 | 2,624,287 |
| <i>Madrasah tsanawiyah</i> | 95/96 | 677,672 | 47.0 | 763,835 | 53.0 | 1,441,507 |
| | 96/97 | 743,548 | 52.3 | 666,916 | 47.3 | 1,410,464 |
| | 97/98 | 632,153 | 49.6 | 641,815 | 50.4 | 1,273,968 |
| | 98/99 | 594,924 | 45.5 | 713,609 | 54.5 | 1,308,533 |
| | 99/00 | 643,222 | 48.7 | 676,976 | 51.2 | 1,320,198 |
| <i>Madrasah aliyah</i> | 95/96 | 135,945 | 45.3 | 164,080 | 54.7 | 300,025 |
| | 96/97 | 122,735 | 46.2 | 143,056 | 53.8 | 265,791 |
| | 97/98 | 128,338 | 47.3 | 142,787 | 52.7 | 271,125 |
| | 98/99 | 130,813 | 47.4 | 145,274 | 52.6 | 276,087 |
| | 99/00 | 134,517 | 47.2 | 150,348 | 52.8 | 284,865 |

Table 4.11

Number of male and female students enrolled at public and private *madrasahs* at all levels of study, 1995-2000

| DESCRIPTION | MALE | % | FEMALE | % | TOTAL |
|--------------------------|------------|------|------------|------|------------|
| Public <i>madrasahs</i> | 2,325,686 | 46.3 | 2,695,452 | 53.7 | 5,021,138 |
| Private <i>madrasahs</i> | 11,221,599 | 47.9 | 12,219,827 | 52.1 | 23,441,426 |
| TOTAL | 13,547,285 | 47.6 | 14,915,279 | 52.4 | 28,462,564 |

sons the opportunity to pursue a broad education. Clearly, in the Indonesian context, opportunities for formal study are provided equally to both the daughters and sons of Muslim families.

THE ROLE OF THE IAIN IN THE MODERNIZATION OF *MADRASAH* EDUCATION

The role played by the IAIN's alumni in the modernization of the *madrasah* was obviously significant, especially from the 1970s until the 1990s, a period during which the *madrasah* experienced several important changes. In the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the majority of policy makers involved in the modernization of the *madrasah* were IAIN alumni.³⁰ These alumni oversaw the systematic modernization of both the *madrasah's* structure and its curriculum with the aim of ensuring that the *madrasah* offer an education equivalent to that of other schools. This process of modernization could not have occurred if these IAIN alumni had not shared a modern vision concerning Islamic education. And this shared vision of modern Islam would not have been possible if these policy makers had not been well educated in a milieu such as that provided by the IAIN, which seeks to develop "liberal Islam" and to be receptive to modern ideas.

Moreover, one of the most important factors in the process of modernizing the *madrasah* has been the role played by the vast number of IAIN graduates who teach at the *madrasahs*. As the majority of IAIN students come from the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs*, a significant number return to these original milieus and devote themselves to teaching upon finishing their IAIN studies. Data on the educational background of

madrasah teachers show that a high proportion of IAIN alumni participate in *madrasah* education at all levels of study. Data for 1999/2000 indicate that more than 56.5% of all *madrasah* teachers were IAIN alumni. At the elementary level (*madrasah ibtidaiyah*), the total was 49.79%, or 5,522 of 11,090 teachers; at the junior-secondary level (*madrasah tsanawiyah*), the total was 53.4%, or 9,498 of 17,791 teachers; and at the senior-secondary level (*madrasah aliyah*), 66.28%, or 10,880 of 16,415 teachers.³¹

Table 4.12
Educational background of *madrasah* teachers in twenty-six provinces, 1999/2000

| INSTITUTION | BACKGROUND | MALE | FEMALE | TOTAL | % |
|----------------------------|------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|
| <i>Madrasah ibtidaiyah</i> | SLTA/PGA | 823 | 1,469 | 2,292 | 20.67 |
| | PGSD | 833 | 1,669 | 2,502 | 22.56 |
| | PGSL | 107 | 276 | 383 | 3.45 |
| | IAIN | 2,181 | 3,341 | 5,522 | 49.79 |
| | PTU | 167 | 224 | 391 | 3.53 |
| | TOTAL | 4,111 | 6,979 | 11,090 | 100 |
| <i>Madrasah tsanawiyah</i> | SLTA/PGA | 1,127 | 725 | 1,852 | 10.4 |
| | PGSD | 73 | 42 | 115 | 0.6 |
| | PGSL | 315 | 426 | 741 | 4.2 |
| | IAIN | 4,721 | 4,777 | 9,498 | 53.4 |
| | PTU | 2,832 | 2,753 | 5,585 | 31.4 |
| | TOTAL | 9,068 | 8,723 | 17,791 | 100 |
| <i>Madrasah aliyah</i> | IAIN/STAIN | 5,937 | 4,943 | 10,880 | 66.28 |
| | PTU/PTS | 2,262 | 1,325 | 3,587 | 21.85 |
| | PGA/MA | 1,138 | 810 | 1,948 | 11.87 |
| | TOTAL | 9,337 | 7,078 | 16,415 | 100 |

Note: MA, *madrasah aliyah*; PGA, *pendidikan guru agama*/religious teaching academy; PGSD, *pendidikan guru sekolah dasar*/elementary school teaching academy; PGSL, *pendidikan guru sekolah lanjutan*/high school teaching academy; PTS, *perguruan tinggi swasta*/public university; PTU, *perguruan tinggi umum*/public university; SLTA, *sekolah lanjutan tingkat atas*/junior high school.

In general, the number of male and female teachers at the various *madrasahs* is relatively equal. Although there are more female than male teachers, the difference is not significant (0.58%): Female teachers comprise 50.29% and male teachers 49.71% of the total. It is important to note, however, that the difference is accounted for by the large

number of female teachers at the elementary level (62.93%). By comparison, at the upper levels, there are fewer female than male teachers.

Table 4.13
Number of male and female *madrasah* teachers, 1999/2000

| DESCRIPTION | MALE | % | FEMALE | % | TOTAL |
|----------------------------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| <i>Madrasah ibtdaiyah</i> | 4,111 | 37.07 | 6,979 | 62.93 | 11,090 |
| <i>Madrasah tsanawiyah</i> | 9,068 | 50.97 | 7,078 | 43.12 | 16,415 |
| <i>Madrasah aliyah</i> | 9,337 | 56.88 | 7,078 | 43.12 | 16,415 |
| TOTAL | 22,516 | 49.71 | 22,780 | 50.29 | 45,296 |

There can be no doubt that the significant role played by IAIN alumni teaching at the various *madrasahs* has been one of the most important factors in determining the *madrasah's* accommodative attitude toward modernization. It is hard to imagine that *madrasah* teachers of the 1970s would have been receptive to 1989's Law of the National Education System or to the 1994 curriculum, which specified that all instruction be provided within the context of secular subjects. At the same time, the *madrasah* was still expected to maintain its Islamic characteristics. The smooth and successful implementation of changes necessary to modernizing the *madrasah* was made possible by the willingness of the *madrasah's* teachers themselves to develop their educational institutions.

NOTES

- ¹ Since the beginning of the era of independence in 1945, all Islamic educational institutions, which were established according to the idea of a Muslim society, have been supervised and developed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. At first, both the *pesantren* and the *madrasah* taught only Islamic sciences, such as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), *hadith* (prophetic tradition), *tasawuf* (Islamic mysticism), and the Arabic language.
- ² During the era of independence, which began in 1945, schools established and developed by the Dutch colonial government were transformed into public schools by the Indonesian government. These schools were administered and developed by the Ministry of Education

and Cultural Affairs, which became the Ministry of National Education in 1999. These public educational institutions, comprising elementary schools, secondary schools, high schools, and higher level universities and institutes, teach modern sciences such as mathematics, biology, physics, economics, sociology, and anthropology.

- ³ In fact, since the beginning of the 1980s, the spread of IAIN alumni has become wider in scope and is no longer limited to the Islamic educational sphere (as overseen by the Ministry of Religious Affairs). Rather, IAIN alumni have also penetrated other sectors of society, such as the mass media and nongovernmental organizations. Currently, there are no data permitting an accurate comparison of the number of IAIN alumni serving as teachers in the *madrasah* and the *pesantren* to the number working in other sectors. However, given that the competency of IAIN alumni is primarily in the area of Islamic studies, it can be assumed that most of them are employed in activities associated with religious affairs.
- ⁴ M. Dawam Rahardjo, ed., *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren: Membangun dari Bawah* [The struggle of the *pesantren*: Developing from the bottom up] (Jakarta: P3M, 1985).
- ⁵ Departemen Agama RI, *Sejarah Perkembangan Madrasah* [History of the development of the *madrasah*] (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pembinaan Kelembagaan Agama Islam, 1999/2000), 95.
- ⁶ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* [The tradition of the *pesantren*: A study of the *kyai*'s way of life] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), 46-53.
- ⁷ Martin van Bruinessen, "Pesantren dan Kitab Kuning: Pemeliharaan dan Kesenambungan Tradisi Pesantren" [The *pesantren* and *kitab kuning*: Maintenance and continuity of the *pesantren* tradition], *Ulumul Qur'an* 3, no. 4 (1994): 73.
- ⁸ *Data Potensi Pondok Pesantren Seluruh Indonesia Tahun 1997* [Data on the potency of the *pondok pesantren* in Indonesia] (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pembinaan Kelembagaan Agama Islam, Departemen Agama, 1997).
- ⁹ Research report on "Peran Pesantren dalam Penyelenggaraan dan Akselerasi Program Wajar 9 Tahun" [The role of the *pesantren* in administrating and accelerating the program of nine-year basic education] (Jakarta: Puslit IAIN Jakarta, Institute for Educational Research dan Balitbang, Departemen Agama, 1999).

- ¹⁰ It should be noted that the number of students indicated here is limited to students living in *pesantren* dormitories. Not included are those students living outside of the dormitories and *madrasah* students. If these students were added to the number of students living in *pesantren* dormitories, the data would certainly show a greater number of students.
- ¹¹ At the beginning of 1997, 1 rupiah was worth 0.0005805 Canadian dollars; thus Rp 33,959,795 was the equivalent of Cdn\$19,713.66. By the end of 1997, following the *krismon* (monetary crisis), 1 rupiah was worth 0.0002628 Canadian dollars; thus Rp 33,959,795 was the equivalent of Cdn\$8,924.63. By the end of 2000, 1 rupiah was worth 0.0001557 Canadian dollars; thus Rp 33,959,795 was the equivalent of Cdn\$5,287.54.
- ¹² Laporan Tentang, "Kajian Landasan Syari'ah dan Kelembagaan Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Rakyat melalui *Pondok Pesantren*" [Research on the the *shari'ah* basis for the institution of the people's economic empowerment through the *pondok pesantren*] (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat [PPIM] IAIN Jakarta bekerjasama dengan Departemen Pertanian RI, 1997), 63.
- ¹³ Ibid., 65.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., 67.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., 70.
- ¹⁶ Azyumardi Azra, "*Pesantren: Kontinuitas dan Perubahan*" [*Pesantren: Continuity and change*], preface to Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren* [Rooms of the *pesantren*] (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1997), x-xi.
- ¹⁷ Interview with Prof. Dr Nurcholis Madjid, 11 March 2000.
- ¹⁸ Interview with Dr Mochtar Buchori, Jakarta, 25 January 2000.
- ¹⁹ Most commonly embraced by Indonesian Muslims are the Shafi'i school and the *sunni* theology.
- ²⁰ Laporan Penelitian, "Kerukunan Hidup Antarumat Beragama" [Research on religious harmony among the adherents of different religions] (Jakarta: PPIM, IAIN Jakarta, 1997).
- ²¹ Interview with Prof. Dr Azyumardi Azra, 9 March 2000.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Interview with Prof. Dr Nurcholis Madjid, 11 March 2000.
- ²⁴ Interview with Syamsul Falah, one of the *kyai* at Pesantren Darussalam, Sumedang, West Java, 20 February 2000.
- ²⁵ J.A. van der Chijs, quoted in Karel Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah dan*

Sekola [Pesantren, madrasah, and school] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986), 136.

- ²⁶ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* [The history of Islamic education in Indonesia] (Jakarta: Mutiara, 1995), 25.
- ²⁷ Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia: 1900-1942* [The modernist Muslim movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1984), 50-1.
- ²⁸ Interview with Prof. Dr Nurcholis Madjid, 11 March 2000.
- ²⁹ For more details, see Mark Bray and Murray R. Thomas, eds, *Financing of Education in Indonesia* (Philippines: Asian Development Bank, 1998).
- ³⁰ Among these policy makers were Zakiyah Darajat and Zaini Muchtarom, both of whom graduated from PTAIN Yogyakarta, and Djohan Effendy, an alumni of IAIN Yogyakarta.
- ³¹ Given that there are more private than state *madrasahs*, it is possible that the number of IAIN alumni participating in *madrasah* education is even higher than these figures indicate. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the exact number.

PART THREE

THE IAIN AND ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS
IN INDONESIA

5 Expanding the Horizon of Islamic Thought: The IAIN and Indonesian Islamic Intellectual Discourse

The history of Islam in Indonesia has seen the development of various patterns of religious thought – from Sufism to traditional, revivalist, modernist, and postmodernist strains of Islam – each of which has clearly bolstered the richness of the Islamic legacy in Indonesia. This array of approaches to Islam indicates that diverse influences have found their way into Islamic discourse in Indonesia and spread throughout the archipelago.¹ In terms of the history of intellectual development, this diversity of religious perspectives also reveals that Indonesian Muslims' religious thinking has undergone a process of alteration and reorientation.

Martin van Bruinessen, a Dutch scholar of Indonesian Islam, points out that the predominant form of Islam during the religion's early development in Indonesia was Sufism. The precepts of this mystical approach to Islam strongly influenced Indonesia's early Muslim scholars: "The face of Islam in Indonesia is varied, and the way in which Muslim communities in this country practise their religion is also diverse. However, there is one extraordinary thing in the history of this archipelago: the chain of mysticism that is strongly embedded in its Islam! The earliest writings of Indonesian Muslims are characterized by the spirit of Sufism."²

In more modern times, the exposure of Indonesian society to Western ideas greatly influenced the outlook of Indonesian Muslims, especially the views of Muslim intellectuals. During this period, Islamic teachings were reinterpreted in relation to specific social contexts, the focus being on Islamic understandings and a religious vision rooted

in empirical and historical imperatives. This trend is described by Richard C. Martin, Mark R. Woodward, and Dwi S. Atmaja: "Indonesian Muslim intellectuals are increasingly concerned with the questions of the proper role of Islam in national development and how Islamic values can be reconciled with Western rationalism, rather than with the nature of an Islamic state [...] What distinguishes thinkers associated with this movement from earlier modernists is the combination of empirical and historical approaches they employ in formulating a vision of an Islamic society."³

Undeniably, the early change in vision and orientation among Indonesian Muslims was in line with advances in Islamic reform, which were largely carried out by modernist Muslim groups. Nevertheless, the development of Islamic intellectual discourse described by Martin, Woodward, and Atmaja marks a new phase, a movement toward utilizing empirical and historical methodologies in response to various Islamic and social issues. This pragmatic approach to Islam is the most significant aspect of the IAIN's pioneering role in the development of Islamic intellectual discourse and has greatly contributed to expanding the horizon of Islamic thought in Indonesia.

SHIFTING THE VISION AND ORIENTATION OF ISLAM

As an institution of Islamic higher education in Indonesia, the IAIN has long been regarded as the best hope for many Indonesian Muslims who want to continue their Islamic studies after they graduate from either *madrasah aliyahs* (Islamic high schools) or the *pesantren*. In fact, according to Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, for many Muslims, especially rural-based Muslims, an institution such as the IAIN is often their only choice, or in his own words, "the best offer you can get."⁴

Of course, during its early formative years, the IAIN was not a strongly academic and scientific institution. Thus the IAIN's professors were not granted much space in which to participate in intellectual discourse. In comparison to well-educated scholars at the public universities, who had a more prominent and influential role in academic discussions, the IAIN's intellectuals were largely marginalized, as Nurcholish Madjid acknowledges:

At the time that I was a student at Ciputat [IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta], the IAIN seemed to be a pitiful, marginalized, and peripheral institution, especially when seen from the perspective of intellectual participation. It was a very young institution compared to other public higher-education institutions, which were commonly a continuation of colleges or universities established during Dutch colonial rule and which thus had a venerable intellectual tradition. In fact, these institutions were already acquainted with various civil movements, such as Budi Utomo.⁵

As further elaborated by Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, young Muslim students from geographically rural areas were not exposed to an adequate intellectual tradition. Thus a new consciousness, a desire to become a “creative minority,”⁶ has arisen out of their encounters with colleagues at the IAIN. This awakening, for instance, was revealed in a growing conviction that instead of continuing to emphasize the missionary aspects of the IAIN, a new academic and intellectual tradition should be developed. The rise of the IAIN as a place where new Islamic ideas can flourish has finally instigated renewed intellectual discourse on religious thought in Indonesia.

In fact, for the IAIN community, this transformation has had a significant impact not only in the religious domain but also at the state level because it has given a face to Islam that is no longer ideological but intellectual. “As an intellectual phenomenon,” asserts Abd A’la, a lecturer at IAIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya, “Islam is no longer regarded as an emotionally unifying factor or as a mass-mobilizing force, as is often the case when it is presented as an ideology. Rather, it is directed toward intellectual enrichment and toward a dialogue to seek the truth in order to discover the real meaning of religious teachings.”⁷

The IAIN’s unique approach to Islam is considered by many to be the key to its role in enhancing the intellectual discourse on Islam in Indonesia. The IAIN’s focus is on a “broad definition and understanding of Islam.”⁸ This approach to Islamic thought is clearly evident, for instance, at IAIN Jakarta (Ciputat), an institute that is well recognized as a “reform campus”⁹ with a mandate to “liberalize Islamic thought.” This liberal outlook of the Ciputat intellectual community has become so firmly rooted that it evokes for some a particular understanding of Islamic and social thought called the “Ciputat school of thought.”¹⁰

THE ROOTS OF THE IAIN'S INTELLECTUAL TRADITION

Within a decade of the IAIN's establishment in Indonesia, the general public had been gradually introduced to various stimulating ideas on Islam by the IAIN's lecturers, alumni, and students. One of its pioneers was Nurcholish Madjid, who has been known as a leader and activist since his early days as an IAIN student. He was chairman of the Indonesian Muslim Student Association (HMI/Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam) – one of the largest and most influential Indonesian student associations – from 1966-69 and again from 1969-71. Since the 1970s his critical ideas have been presented in various newspapers, such as the *Tribun*, the *Pos Bangsa*, and the *Mimbar*. His writings in the early 1970s caused a stir in Indonesian public opinion and were frequently dismissed as “intellectual fuss.” He was known for being responsive to various social and religious challenges faced by Indonesia at the time.¹¹ After he completed his doctoral degree at the University of Chicago in 1984, Nurcholish Madjid's aptitude as one of the most prominent Indonesian Muslim scholars was increasingly unquestioned.¹²

Previously, Muslim communities, especially those with a well-educated populace, had been introduced to ideas on Islamic reform by Harun Nasution,¹³ the former rector of IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, and by Mukti Ali,¹⁴ a well-respected professor of Islam and comparative religion at IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, who subsequently became the minister of religious affairs.

Harun Nasution has undoubtedly been one of the most influential reformist thinkers among educated Muslims in Indonesia. He studied in Cairo at both al-Azhar University and the American University of Cairo, where he finished his baccalaureate in social sciences. He then continued his studies at Dirasat al-Islamiyah, a private educational institution headed by Professor Abu Zahrah, a well-known Muslim scholar in Egypt. Further studies eventually took him to the West, where in 1968 he finished his MA and PhD in Islamic Studies at the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University. During his career at IAIN Jakarta, he served as rector twice between 1973 and 1983 and was the dean of Postgraduate Studies, a position that he occupied until his death on 18 September 1998.¹⁵

Among many educated Muslims, Harun Nasution is most well known for his liberal ideas.¹⁶ He offered a more rationalistic, open,

and scientific approach to Islamic studies in his major works, most of which are widely read by students at Islamic colleges and at universities such as the IAIN.¹⁷ In this liberal framework, Harun Nasution developed a tradition of Islamic studies, especially at IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, that focuses on academic values and rational approaches.

For his part, Mukti Ali became known as a critical and influential Muslim intellectual among educated Muslim students in Yogyakarta long before he was appointed minister of religious affairs.¹⁸ He is counted among the few Indonesian Muslim intellectuals who have developed studies on various religions and is recognized as the pioneering expert on comparative religion. He received his early education at the *pesantren*, then continued his studies at the University of Karachi, Pakistan, where he completed his PhD in Islamic history in 1955. In addition, he also went to Canada, where he pursued further work in Islamic studies and comparative religion at the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University, completing an MA in 1957.¹⁹ Upon returning to Indonesia, he became a professor in the Faculty of Ushuluddin (Islamic Theology) at IAIN Yogyakarta before being appointed minister of religious affairs in 1971.

Shortly after his arrival in Yogyakarta in 1963, Mukti Ali attracted many student activists, especially those involved in the Indonesian Muslim Student Association (HMI/Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam), and he soon established a discussion forum called the “limited group.”²⁰ Nurcholish Madjid recognizes Mukti Ali as probably the best example of a well-educated Muslim scholar who has studied in the West.²¹ Later, some of the students who had participated in Mukti Ali’s group discussion, such as Djohan Effendi,²² Ahmad Wahib,²³ and M. Dawam Rahardjo,²⁴ emerged as influential Muslim intellectuals promoting Islamic modernism in Indonesia.

THE PROLIFERATION OF MUSLIM GRADUATES

Although it is clear that the influence of such scholars as Harun Nasution, Mukti Ali, and Nurcholish Madjid was inevitable, other factors explain the emergence of an intellectual tradition among well-educated Muslims, especially within the IAIN education system. Ihsan Ali-Fauzi refers to “unintended consequences” – a term that is frequently

used by Nurcholish Madjid – in describing the results of the long process of intellectual and identity struggles undertaken by educated Muslims.²⁵ According to Nurcholish Madjid, such “consequences” are closely related to the concept of education as understood and developed within the IAIN education system:

Education is primarily seen not only in terms of its *intended consequences* – such as someone going to the Institute of Technology Bandung to become an engineer – but also, and maybe more importantly, in terms of its *unintended consequences*, such as becoming an educated person. As an educated person, one can become anything. The phenomenon is such that many IAIN graduates choose to pursue various professional careers unrelated to the religious field, which is similar to many graduates of the Bogor Agricultural Institute choosing to become bankers. This is what *unintended consequences* are all about. This phenomenon may become even more widespread as the intellectual tradition of Islamic studies is further developed. In the beginning, students went to the IAIN to become *modins*, Muslim chaplains. Now, however, because their intellectual capacities have been developed, IAIN graduates have the potential to pursue any professional career. That is exactly the importance to society of having an educated populace.²⁶

For many IAIN students, the influence of this kind of thinking, as expressed by Nurcholish Madjid, is immensely significant. Such influence is not only evident among students within the educated communities at IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta, but has also spread to other IAINs throughout the country. As a student from IAIN Antasari, Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, explains: “Cak Nur’s [Nurcholish Madjid’s] writings reflect his ability to discuss and implement Islamic values in the context of universal questions on social issues. This means that he has ascended to a universal concept of Islam. Islam can be appreciated by many different groups with diverse worldviews. That is because of the universal nature of Islamic teachings.”²⁷

Interestingly, two of the three important intellectuals under discussion (Harun Nasution and Mukti Ali) – who are considered the pioneers of the IAIN’s intellectual tradition – were influenced by the academic atmosphere found at the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University.²⁸ For his part, Nurcholish Madjid, who has been renowned for his rigorous intellectual approach to Islam since the early 1980s,

also advanced his teaching and research at McGill University as a visiting professor in 1991/92.²⁹ The involvement of each of these intellectuals with the Institute of Islamic Studies is not merely a coincidence but reflects the significant influence of McGill University. Directly or indirectly, the Institute of Islamic Studies has played an important role in planting the seeds for a new intellectual tradition among young, educated Muslims in Indonesia.

RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE WITHIN THE IAIN

The development of a dynamic intellectual approach to Islamic education at the IAIN has not been limited to such figures as Harun Nasution, Mukti Ali, and Nurcholish Madjid. Rather, the IAIN's development has been continued by various students of the younger generations. A number of young thinkers and activists have emerged to carry on the legacy. Particularly interesting is that intellectual discourse at the IAIN has become increasingly varied, in keeping with contemporary intellectual developments. This trend toward ever more diversity is well documented, for instance, by Fachry Ali and Bahtiar Effendy, both of whom are graduates of IAIN Jakarta. In a joint study they have examined the reconstruction of Indonesian Islamic thought during the New Order regime,³⁰ noting the emergence of various approaches to Islam – including modernist, neomodernist, universalist, social-democratic, and transformative modes of thought – in response to fast-changing cultural, religious, and political trends in Indonesian society.

The themes explored in the publications of recent IAIN graduates likewise indicate the younger generations' rigorous intellectual enthusiasm in approaching the development of Islamic discourse. In such publications, Islam is discussed in the context of human rights, social justice, gender equity, civil society, and democracy (see Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 below). In addition to Fachry Ali³¹ and Bahtiar Effendy,³² there are now a number of renowned and prolific writers in Indonesia who received their educations within the IAIN's liberal, intellectual milieu, including Komaruddin Hidayat,³³ Saiful Mujani,³⁴ Masdar F. Mas'udi,³⁵ and Abdul Munir Mul Khan.³⁶

More recently another contingent of talented writers has emerged from the IAIN system, many of whose articles circulate extensively in

various national newspapers. Among these IAIN graduates are Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, A. Najib Burhani, Sukidi, Al-Zastrouw, and Syafiq Hasyim.³⁷ The predominance of these writers is not surprising given that, at least since the late 1980s, an increasing number of IAIN graduates have pursued work in the media industries.

The development of a broader approach to Islamic discourse has also spread to some of the postgraduate studies programs at various regional IAIN campuses. Evidence of this trend can be seen in the subject matter treated in the dissertations of IAIN graduates. Research conducted by such scholars as Suaidi Sa'ad,³⁸ Muhammad Nurhakim,³⁹ H. Aqib Suminto,⁴⁰ Kautsar Azhari Noer,⁴¹ and M. Ali Haidar,⁴² for example, demonstrates the intellectual tenor of Islamic discourse among IAIN scholars. The work of IAIN scholars not only focuses on the normative teachings of Islam, but also extends to the empirical study of Islam, utilizing social-science approaches and other modern methodologies.

Meanwhile, for many young IAIN intellectuals, such wide-ranging issues as religion and pluralism, gender equity, and civil society have become dominant areas of interest. Consider, for instance, the typical perspective of one such IAIN graduate, Syafiq Hasyim, on the need to move toward a mutual understanding between religious adherents:

Muslim communities must be content to abandon their notions of religious superiority, but without assuming an inferior position in relation to other religions. And the West must be fair and democratic in providing opportunities for the pre-industrial countries to access science and technology [...] Political demystification is also very important. With this demystification, we can safeguard religion from political exploitation [...] Religion is adequate for offering responses to the problems of human existence.⁴³

A number of IAIN graduates have written about religion and politics. Sudirman Tebba, for instance, regards the important contribution of Muslim voices to the 1997 general election as an extension of the "Islamic project" developed by the New Order regime, which gave Muslims more influence in their relations with the government.⁴⁴ Such steps toward greater opportunities for the political mobility of Muslims have included the founding of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI/Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-

Indonesia) in 1990 and the establishment of Bank Muamalat Indonesia (BMI), which has become the umbrella organization for such flourishing *syari'ah*-oriented (Islamic-law-oriented) banks and financial institutions as Bank Perkreditan Rakyat (BPR) and the Asuransi Takaful, an Islamic-oriented insurance program. In addition, the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI/Majelis Ulama Indonesia) has played an important role in overseeing the certification program for *halal* food, beverages, and cosmetics (those permitted by Islamic law). This latter initiative was also made possible by cooperation between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Health.

In the context of religion and politics, Bahtiar Effendy, too, has noted the significant role played by various Islamic mass organizations.⁴⁵ Along with other intellectuals – such as Fachry Ali, Nurcholish Madjid, and Azyumardi Azra – Bahtiar Effendy is widely known as a political observer whose work has continued to strengthen the developing intellectual legacy of IAIN graduates. Many IAIN alumni have participated as well in the ongoing discussion about the relation between religion and the state,⁴⁶ offering their perspectives on Islam's role in such contemporary issues as human rights, democracy, social justice, and pluralism.

These positive intellectual contributions by IAIN alumni are a strong indication that the intellectual tradition among IAIN graduates has developed more quickly in recent years. The areas of concern and expertise pursued by those IAIN alumni doing postgraduate studies both in Indonesia and overseas have become increasingly extensive. With increased opportunities for further study in the Middle East and in the West, numerous IAIN graduates have successfully completed PhDs in a wide range of fields. Among these individuals are Azyumardi Azra,⁴⁷ M. Atho Mudzhar,⁴⁸ M. Din Syamsuddin,⁴⁹ Bahtiar Effendy, Masykuri Abdillah,⁵⁰ and Mulyadhi Kartanegara,⁵¹ graduates of IAIN Jakarta; M. Amin Abdullah,⁵² Akhmad Minhaji,⁵³ and Faisal Ismail,⁵⁴ of IAIN Yogyakarta; Syafiq Mughni⁵⁵ and M. Thoha Hamim,⁵⁶ of IAIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya; Abdurrahman Mas'ud⁵⁷ and A. Qodri Azizi,⁵⁸ of IAIN Walisongo, Semarang; and Ahmad Nur Fadil Lubis,⁵⁹ of IAIN Sumatera, Utara.

With support from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, especially under the leadership of Minister Munawir Sjadzali,⁶⁰ the IAIN has initiated various cooperative educational programs with European and

North American universities. In this respect, Munawir Sjadzali has played a significant role in creating opportunities for the younger generations of IAIN graduates to study in the Western world. According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier, his colleague at the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Munawir Sjadzali achieved this objective by convincing the Indonesian government of the significance of the IAIN's contribution to the development of "Islamic intellectualism" in Indonesia. Islamic intellectualism, it is argued, must be combined with "national intellectualism" through a program enabling educated Muslims to continue their studies in respected universities in the West – just as some of Indonesia's experts on economics, political science, and sociology have been able to pursue their doctoral degrees abroad. In addition, the further education of IAIN alumni at Western universities facilitates more extensive and effective communication between Muslim intellectuals and other intellectuals within Indonesia.⁶¹ For these reasons, the IAIN established the Pembibitan Calon Dosen program in the late 1980s, which provides IAIN alumni with academic and language training in preparation for postgraduate studies overseas.⁶²

PUBLICATIONS BY IAIN ALUMNI

One of the strongest indicators of the development of an intellectual tradition within the IAIN education system has been the growing number of quality publications by IAIN alumni. This trend has been consistent with the emergence of publications on Islam in significant numbers since the early 1980s.⁶³ In particular, the latter half of the 1990s saw the extensive publication by IAIN alumni of books, newspaper articles, and academic-journal articles on Islam.

Newspaper Articles

A bibliographic survey of various publications by writers associated with the IAIN, including lecturers, alumni, and students, revealed that between 1995 and 2000 these writers published at least 222 articles in Indonesia's seven national newspapers: *Kompas*, *Pelita*, *Media Indonesia*, *Jawa Pos*, the *Jakarta Post*, *Merdeka*, and *Republika*.⁶⁴ Of the various themes addressed, the most predominant were religion, ethics, and spirituality (22.07%), religion and politics (20.27%), religious pluralism and culture (17.56%), and religion and social justice (11.71%).

Table 5.1
Themes of 222 articles by IAIN-affiliated writers published in seven national newspapers,
1995-2000

| THEMES | NUMBER OF ARTICLES | % |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| Religion, human rights, and democracy | 6 | 2.7 |
| Religion and social justice | 26 | 11.71 |
| Gender equity | 16 | 7.2 |
| Civil society | 10 | 4.5 |
| Religion and politics | 45 | 20.27 |
| Islam and modernity | 20 | 9 |
| Religion, ethics, and spirituality | 49 | 22.07 |
| Religious pluralism and culture | 39 | 17.56 |
| Other | 11 | 4.95 |
| TOTAL | 222 | 100 |

Note: Included are only those articles that explicitly mention the writer's status as an IAIN student, lecturer, or alumnus. The seven newspapers referenced are *Kompas*, *Pelita*, *Media Indonesia*, *Jawa Pos*, the *Jakarta Post*, *Merdeka*, and *Republika*.

Of the 222 articles identified in the survey, the vast majority (143 articles, or 64.41%) were produced by writers associated with IAIN Jakarta. On the one hand, these figures are a strong indication of Jakarta's dominance as a centre for the emergence and proliferation of IAIN-affiliated writers in Indonesia. On the other hand, given that six of the country's national newspapers are based in Jakarta – the exception being *Jawa Pos*, which is based in Surabaya – these figures may suggest a geographical bias in favour of those Islamic intellectuals drawn to the nation's capital. In addition to its five undergraduate faculties, IAIN Jakarta has strong MA and PhD programs, which attract a significant number of graduate students from the various regional IAIN campuses. It is likely, therefore, that articles attributed to writers affiliated with IAIN Jakarta were indeed produced by individuals originally from the regional IAINs.

The second-highest proportion of articles (22, or 9.9%) were produced by writers associated with IAIN Yogyakarta, the oldest of the IAINs. Like IAIN Jakarta, IAIN Yogyakarta has a strong intellectual tradition; such prominent Muslim scholars as Mukti Ali, Simuh, and M. Amin Abdullah have taught there. It is most likely that the number of articles published by writers with ties to IAIN Yogyakarta is much higher than indicated in the survey, especially given that articles appearing in Yogyakarta's local and regional newspapers were not taken into

account. As noted above, the survey only documented the participation of IAIN-affiliated writers in disseminating Islamic thought at the national level.

The third-highest proportion of articles (18, or 8.1%) were produced by writers associated with IAIN Walisongo, Semarang. In this respect, the survey revealed an interesting phenomenon, as previously the academic contributions of IAIN Semarang had not been well known. Clearly, the 1990s saw the significant development of an intellectual tradition at IAIN Semarang. A number of the remaining articles were produced by writers with ties to IAIN Sunan Djati, Bandung (11 articles, or 4.95%), IAIN Medan, North Sumatra (8 articles, or 3.6%), and IAIN Alauddin, Makassar (5 articles, or 2.25%).

Table 5.2
IAIN and STAIN affiliations of the writers of 222 articles published in seven national newspapers, 1995-2000

| IAIN/STAIN OF ORIGIN | NUMBER OF ARTICLES | % |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------|
| Jakarta | 143 | 64.41 |
| Yogyakarta | 22 | 9.9 |
| Semarang | 18 | 8.1 |
| Bandung | 11 | 4.95 |
| North Sumatra | 8 | 3.6 |
| Makassar | 5 | 2.25 |
| STAIN Mataram | 4 | 1.8 |
| STAIN Malang | 4 | 1.8 |
| Surabaya | 3 | 1.35 |
| Banjarmasin | 2 | 0.9 |
| Aceh | 2 | 0.9 |
| TOTAL | 222 | 100 |

An examination of the status of the authors of the 222 articles under discussion reveals another interesting phenomenon: The number of articles written by IAIN lecturers (79, or 35.58%) was almost identical to the number produced by IAIN students at all levels of study (86, or 38.73%). The remainder, still a significant output, were written by IAIN alumni (57, or 25.67%). From these figures it is clear that IAIN students, especially those doing graduate work, have become the most prolific contributors to the dissemination of ideas developed at the IAIN. What this suggests, moreover, is that the atmosphere of intellectual

development at the IAIN, especially at IAINs Jakarta and Yogyakarta, is strongly maintained by the students themselves.

Table 5.3
Status of IAIN-affiliated writers of 222 articles published in seven national newspapers, 1995-2000

| IAIN STATUS | NUMBER OF ARTICLES | % |
|-------------|--------------------|-------|
| Students | 86 | 38.73 |
| Lecturers | 79 | 35.58 |
| Alumni | 57 | 25.67 |
| TOTAL | 222 | 100 |

When the authorship of the survey's 222 articles is viewed from the perspective of gender, a wide gap is revealed between the number of male and female writers. Only 13 of the articles (5.85%) were written by women. The remaining 209 articles (94.15%) were written by men. As these figures indicate, despite a strong trend toward higher participation by women in the IAIN education system, both as students and as teachers, there is still very little gender equity. Nevertheless, the emergence of this small number of female writers affiliated with the IAIN is certainly a positive development for the institution. Two decades ago, the fostering of such female writers would not have been possible.

Table 5.4
Gender of IAIN-affiliated writers of 222 articles published in seven national newspapers, 1995-2000

| GENDER | NUMBER OF ARTICLES | % |
|--------|--------------------|-------|
| Male | 209 | 94.15 |
| Female | 13 | 5.85 |
| TOTAL | 222 | 100 |

Articles in Academic Journals

A survey of articles appearing in *Studia Islamka*⁶⁵ – a respected international journal published in Indonesia and specializing in the study

of Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia – has documented the predominance of IAIN-affiliated writers among the journal's contributors. An important vehicle for the dissemination of these writers' academic work, *Studia Islamika*, whose editor-in-chief is Azyumardi Azra, has long enjoyed a reputation as the only such journal regularly subscribed to by various overseas libraries and universities. One of the strengths of *Studia Islamika* is its commitment to publishing articles in Arabic, English, and Indonesian.

The survey indicated that between 1994 and 1999, IAIN-affiliated writers contributed 88, or 60.69%, of the 145 academic articles published in *Studia Islamika*. This figure provides strong evidence that the ideas of many of these writers have found public and international exposure and are thus readily available to those interested in the development of Islamic intellectual discourse in Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

Table 5.5
The origin of articles on Islam published in *Studia Islamika*, 1994-99

| ORIGIN | NUMBER OF ARTICLES | % |
|----------|--------------------|-------|
| IAIN | 88 | 60.69 |
| Non-IAIN | 57 | 39.31 |
| TOTAL | 145 | 100 |

Academic Books on Islam

The number of books on Islam that have been either written, edited, or translated by IAIN-affiliated authors in recent years provides another indication of the intellectual and academic development of these writers. A survey of the books on Islam produced by seven nationally recognized publishing houses until early 2000 showed that at least 143 of 418 titles – or more than one-third (34.21%) – were generated by IAIN-affiliated authors.

The survey also revealed the emergence of publishing houses committed to the publication of books by these writers. Among the seven publishing houses surveyed – Paramadina, Mizan, Logos, Pustaka Hidayah, Djambatan, UI Press, and Gramedia – both Logos (98.8%) and

Paramadina (78.05%) drew heavily upon IAIN-affiliated writers for books on Islam. Between 1995 and 2000, these two publishers became an important vehicle for the development and dissemination of Islamic thought by members of the IAIN's intellectual community.

Table 5.6

Books on Islam written, edited, and/or translated by IAIN-affiliated authors as a percentage of all Islam-themed publications

| PUBLISHERS | NUMBER OF BOOKS ON ISLAM | % |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------|
| Paramadina, Jakarta | 32 of 41 | 78.05 |
| Mizan, Bandung | 43 of 195 | 22.05 |
| Logos, Jakarta | 51 of 52 | 98.08 |
| Pustaka Hidayah, Bandung | 4 of 103 | 3.89 |
| Djambatan, Jakarta | 2 of 3 | 66.67 |
| UI Press, Jakarta | 9 of 20 | 45 |
| Gramedia, Jakarta | 3 of 4 | 75 |
| TOTAL | 143 of 418 | 34.21 |

It is imperative to note here that some well-recognized publishers of books on Islam, such as Mizan and Pustaka Hidayah, show a lower percentage than, for instance, Gramedia, only because these Bandung publishers produce a high volume of Islam-oriented works by non-IAIN Muslim writers. A significant number of these books are translated from either English or Arabic.

ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA

Study Clubs

Students – being one of the most important components of an educated society – have a considerable impact on the advancement of a nation. In the context of modern Indonesia, students have shown themselves to be at the forefront of social and political change. The 1966 student movement contributed to the collapse of the Old Order regime, and during the 1998 reformation movement, students became a moral force for the overthrow of Suharto's New Order regime.

The intellectual tradition among Indonesian students has generally been very critical, anti-establishment, and independent. Such a tradition,

however, does not exist as a given but often arises out of some kind of intensive struggle accompanied by the emergence of open-minded criticism. With the gradual accumulation of critical thought within the student populace comes the desire to enact these new ideas through social uprisings such as demonstrations and strikes.

At the IAIN, where religious factors play a considerable role in shaping students' actions, the intellectual atmosphere is necessarily somewhat different from that developed on the campuses of Indonesia's various public universities. The IAIN environment, however, has fostered the development of study clubs in which students share their intellectual perspectives. Although the vision and orientation of these clubs' members may differ from those in evidence at the public universities, many of the IAIN's study clubs are quite well respected within Indonesia's broader network of universities.

Several study clubs at IAIN Jakarta, for instance, became well recognized during the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as Formaci, Forum Mahasiswa Ciputat (Ciputat Student Forum), Piramida Circle, and Respondeo.⁶⁶ At IAIN Yogyakarta various student discussion forums, such as al-Jami'ah in the 1980s and more recently the Institute for Islamic and Social Studies (LKIS/Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial),⁶⁷ have been very influential in the social and academic development of Yogyakarta's students. Formaci and al-Jami'ah are particularly well known for having produced a number of young, progressive, influential Muslim scholars engaged in academic, intellectual, and cultural activities in Indonesia. Many such individuals were prominent among the 1980s generation of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals, including Saiful Mujani, Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, Budhy Munawar-Rachman, and Ali Munhanif in Jakarta and Samsurizal Panggabean and Taufik Adnan Amal in Yogyakarta.⁶⁸

The Rise of Various Centres for Islamic Learning

Since the 1980s the phenomenon of an emerging middle-class of Indonesian Muslims has had many interesting effects on Islamic discourse. There now exists a class of culturally urban, educated Muslims who are strongly committed to Islam and extraordinarily eager to learn more about Islamic teachings.⁶⁹

As a consequence, participation in religious gatherings (*pengajian*), which has long characterized the practice of Islam among traditional

Muslims, has become prevalent among urban Muslims as well. Whereas traditional Muslims typically hold these religious gatherings in *mushallas* (buildings for holding prayers that are smaller than mosques), in mosques, or in fields, inviting popular Muslim preachers, urban Muslims by contrast hold their religious gatherings in fancy hotels and offices.⁷⁰

Given the urban cultural background of the participants at these gatherings, the approach to Islam reflects a more urban, intellectual understanding, one that is open-minded, inclusive, and nondoctrinal. It is not surprising, therefore, that many IAIN lecturers and intellectuals are increasingly invited to these gatherings to discuss their understanding of Islam and its various contexts.

Among the many clubs or centres for Islamic learning that have arisen in response to the growing needs of middle-class Muslims, one of the first was the Islamic foundation Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina. This foundation was established in Jakarta on 31 October 1986 by a number of prominent Muslim intellectuals and activists, including Nurcholish Madjid, M. Dawam Rahardjo, and Utomo Danandjaya.⁷¹ Although more recently Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina has become known as a learning centre for modernist Muslims, its original mandate was “to preach and develop the notion of an inclusive and tolerant Islam.”⁷² To this end, especially in its formative years, the foundation often invited speakers from “other” groups, such as traditionalist Muslim intellectuals associated with the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU/Awakening of Religious Scholars). Indeed, those who have attended Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina’s religious and study gatherings have tended to come from various, even non-Muslim, backgrounds.⁷³

Among those to have presented speeches and papers at the foundation are such prominent Muslim intellectuals as Nurcholish Madjid, Komaruddin Hidayat, Quraish Shihab, Din Syamsuddin, Kautsar Azhari Noer, Nasaruddin Umar, M. Amin Suma, and Zainun Kamal – all of whom are lecturers and professors at IAIN Jakarta. These scholars have frequently been invited to speak about various Islamic issues from their own perspectives and based on their own expertise. As a result, audiences in attendance at Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina’s discussions have grown accustomed to, and have thus been influenced by, the liberal approach to Islamic discourse developed within the IAIN education system. Through their participation in this foundation, IAIN academics have played a significant role in shaping the public’s understanding of Islam.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ongoing efforts toward the development of religious thought among Indonesian Muslim communities is not limited, of course, only to educated Muslims such as IAIN students, alumni, and professors. A growing number of Muslim intellectuals affiliated with the non-IAIN public universities have also played a significant role in the development of Islamic thinking in the country. Indeed, the paradigm shifts in Islamic thought occurring within the IAIN education system – as indicated by the growing number of publications by IAIN-affiliated writers – has been in line with social and cultural changes in the whole of Indonesian society.

Because of its modern approach to Islamic studies, the IAIN is regarded as a relatively “secular” institution of Islamic higher education. Since the late 1980s, in particular, this image has been reinforced by changes in policy and study orientation that have seen an increasing number of young IAIN graduates and lecturers taking up studies at Western universities.

The preliminary study presented here cannot fully convey the shifting paradigms within Islamic studies and the current developments in the learning process at the IAIN. Further research and more specific studies are inevitably required. The IAIN, however, as this chapter illustrates, has clearly undergone a number of changes in its orientation and vision as an Islamic educational institution. Most of these changes have been implemented by a new generation of educated Muslims in Indonesia. Equally influential in shaping the patterns of the new paradigm for Islamic studies has been the emergence of several methodologies for approaching Islamic discourse, including – as the various writings by IAIN graduates doing work at foreign universities can attest – modes of Islamic thought arising both in the Middle East and, increasingly, in the West.

The empirical data presented here has taken into account at least five indications of the IAIN’s role in influencing Islamic intellectual discourse in Indonesia: (1) its development of a variety of approaches to religious discourse; (2) the increasing number of IAIN graduates, especially with master’s and doctoral degrees; (3) the increasing number of books, newspaper articles, and academic-journal articles published by IAIN-affiliated writers; (4) the flourishing of study groups

among IAIN students; and (5) the emergence of various centres and foundations in urban communities for the study of Islam. In each of these regards, the IAIN's contributions have expanded the horizons of Islamic thought.

NOTES

- ¹ For example, Azyumardi Azra points to strong evidence of the influence of networks of Middle Eastern Muslim scholars in the process of Islamic reform in Indonesia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See, Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-akar Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia* [The *ulama* network of the Middle East and Indonesian Archipelago in the 17th and 18th centuries: Tracing the roots of Islamic reform in Indonesia] (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1994).
- ² Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia: Survey Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis* [The Naqshabandiyya Sufi Brotherhood in Indonesia: Historical, geographical, and sociological surveys] (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1992), 15.
- ³ See Richard C. Martin, Mark R. Woodward, and Dwi S. Atmaja, *Defenders of Reason in Islam: Mu'tazilism from Medieval School to Modern Symbol* (Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 1997), 148.
- ⁴ Interview with Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, 11 March 2000.
- ⁵ Interview with Nurcholish Madjid, 11 March 2000. In 1969 Nurcholish Madjid completed a degree in Arabic literature in the Faculty of Adab (Arts), IAIN Jakarta. Previously he had done Islamic studies both at Pesantren Darul Ulum, Rejoso, Jombang, and at KMI Pondok Modern Darussalam, Gontor, Ponorogo, East Java.
- ⁶ Interview with Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, 11 March 2000.
- ⁷ Abd A'la, "Islam Indonesia di Pergantian Abad dan Prospeknya" [Islam in Indonesia at the turn of the century and its prospects], *Kompas*, 4 February 2000, 4-5. Abd A'la, a PhD graduate of IAIN Jakarta, is currently a social and religious observer living in Sumenep, Madura, East Java.
- ⁸ This view is held by many. Here I am quoting Richard G. Kraince, a PhD candidate of Ohio University who is currently conducting research on the IAIN and the modernization of education in Indonesia. Interview

with Richard G. Kraince, 23 February 2000.

- ⁹ While IAIN Jakarta has become known as the campus for the “reform of Islamic thought,” IAIN Yogyakarta is commonly identified as the “centre for comparative religion.”
- ¹⁰ For example, during the 1980s and ‘90s, especially among the activists of IAIN Jakarta’s Formaci student group, the importance of a “Ciputat school of thought” was frequently noted. This term gained greater legitimacy with the publication of books and articles by students and intellectuals affiliated with IAIN Jakarta. See Edy A. Effendy, ed., *Dekonstruksi Islam Mazhab Ciputat* [The deconstruction of Islam in the Ciputat school of thought] (Bandung: Zaman Wacana Mulia, 1999). This book contains essays by the following Muslim intellectuals with ties to IAIN Jakarta: Nurcholish Madjid, Azyumardi Azra, Komaruddin Hidayat, Fachry Ali, Kautsar Azhari-Noer, Budhy Munawar-Rachman, Saiful Mujani, Hendro Prasetyo, Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, and Ahmad Sahal.
- ¹¹ To discern young Nurcholish Madjid’s thoughts, see his book of articles, compiled by Agus Edi Santoso, ed., *Pikiran-pikiran Nurcholis ‘Muda’: Islam, Kerakyatan dan Keindonesiaan* [The thoughts of ‘young’ Nurcholish: Islam, populism, and Indonesianness], 2nd edition (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1994).
- ¹² A great number of Nurcholish Madjid’s columns and articles appeared in various Indonesian media, and he presented his papers at various seminars and discussions, both nationwide and overseas. Some of his writings published in various books include: “The Issue of Modernization among Muslims in Indonesia: A Participant’s Point of View,” in Gloria Davis, ed., *What is Modern Indonesian Culture* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University, 1978); “Islam in Indonesia: Challenges and Opportunities,” in Cyriac K. Pullapilly, ed., *Islam in the Modern World* (Bloomington, Indiana: Crossroads, 1982); and “In Search of Islamic Roots for Modern Pluralism: The Indonesian Experience,” in Mark. K. Woodward, ed., *Toward a New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona State University, 1996). Some of his books include: *Khazanah Intelektual Islam* [Islamic intellectual legacy] (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang/Obor, 1984); *Islam, Kemoderenan dan Keindonesiaan* [Islam, modernity, and Indonesianness], edited by Agus Edi Santoso (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1988); *Islam, Kerakyatan dan Keindonesiaan* [Islam, populism, and Indonesianness] (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1987/88); *Islam Doktrin dan Peradaban* [Islam:

Its doctrines and civilization] (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992); *Pintu-pintu Menuju Tuhan* [Gates to God] (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1994); *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan* [Islam: A humanist religion] (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1995); *Islam Agama Peradaban* [Islam: The religion of civilization] (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1995); *Dialog Keterbukaan* [Dialogue of openness] (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1997); and *Cendekiawan dan Religiositas Masyarakat* [Intellectuals and common religiosity] (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1999).

- ¹³ For an extensive description of the intellectual biography of Harun Nasution, see *Refleksi Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam: 70 Tahun Harun Nasution* [A reflection on the renewal of Islamic thought: Seventieth anniversary of Prof. Dr Harun Nasution] (Jakarta: LSAF, 1989); Saiful Mujani, "Mu'tazilah Theology and the Modernization of the Indonesian Community: Intellectual Portrait of Harun Nasution," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1 (1989): 91-131; Arief Subhan, "Prof. Dr. Harun Nasution Penyemai Teologi Islam Rasional" [Prof. Dr. Harun Nasution: The nature of rational Islamic theology], in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam, eds, *Tokoh dan Pemimpin Agama: Biografi Sosial-Intelektual* [Religious leaders and figures: Social-intellectual biographies] (Jakarta: Balitbang Depag and Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat, 1999); and Richard C. Martin, Mark R. Woodward, and Dwi S. Atmaja, *Defenders of Reason in Islam*, especially chapter 2, "Harun Nasution and Modern Mu'tazilism."
- ¹⁴ For further elaboration on the biography of Mukti Ali, see Ali Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali: Modernisasi Politik-Keagamaan Orde Baru" [Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali: Religio-political modernization of the New Order], in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam, eds, *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik* [The ministers of religious affairs of Indonesia: Social and political biographies] (Jakarta: PPIM-IAIN Jakarta and Litbang Depag, 1998).
- ¹⁵ Arief Subhan, "Prof. Dr. Harun Nasution Penyemai Teologi Islam Rasional."
- ¹⁶ For instance, Taufik Abdullah, one of the most prominent Indonesian historians, presents this view in "The Formation of a New Paradigm? A Sketch on Contemporary Islamic Discourse," in Mark R. Woodward, ed., *Toward a New Paradigm*, 73.
- ¹⁷ Harun Nasution has written extensively on rational Islamic theology,

especially the theology of Mu'tazilah and Muhamad Abduh. See, for instance, *Teologi Islam: Aliran-aliran, Sejarah, Analisa Perbandingan* [Islamic theology: Schools, history, a comparative analysis] (Jakarta: UI Press, 1972); *Muhammad Abduh dan Teologi Rasional Mu'tazilah* [Muhammad Abduh and the rational theology of Mu'tazilah] (Jakarta: UI Press, 1987). Both of these books were translated from chapters of his previous PhD dissertation at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1968. Many have suggested that Harun Nasution's masterpiece is his two-volume *Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya* [Islam viewed from several perspectives] (Jakarta: UI Press, 1974).

- ¹⁸ See Ali Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali."
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Interview with Nurcholish Madjid, 11 March 2000.
- ²² Djohan Effendy, a graduate of the Faculty of Syari'ah (Islamic Law), IAIN Yogyakarta, is known as one of the pioneers of the Islamic reform movement in Indonesia. For further analysis of his thoughts (together with those of Nurcholish Madjid, Ahmad Wahib, and Abdurrahman Wahid), see Greg Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia: Pemikiran Neo-Modernisme Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendy, Ahmad Wahib dan Abdurrahman Wahid* [Liberal Islam in Indonesia: The neomodernist thoughts of Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendy, Ahmad Wahib, and Abdurrahman Wahid], translated by Nanang Tahqiq (Jakarta: Paramadina and Pustaka Antara, 1999).
- ²³ The late Ahmad Wahib is remembered as a young, liberal, Muslim thinker. For a deep elaboration of his provocative thoughts, see his diary notes, edited by Djohan Effendi and Ismet Natsir, *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam* [The struggle for Islamic thought] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1981).
- ²⁴ M. Dawam Rahardjo is a renowned Muslim intellectual as well as a professor of economics at Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang and the rector of Universitas Islam "45," Bekasi. He is also a chair of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI/Ikatan Cendekia-wan Muslim se-Indonesia), the chairperson of the National Mandate Party (PAN/Partai Amanat Nasional), and the director of the Institute for the Study of Religion and Philosophy (LSAF/Lembaga Study Agama dan Filsafat).
- ²⁵ Interview with Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, 11 March 2000.
- ²⁶ Interview with Nurcholish Madjid, 11 March 2000.

- 27 Interview with Abdul Halim, a sixth-year student of the Faculty of Tarbiyah (Education) at IAIN Antasari, Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, 17 February 2000.
- 28 At the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Harun Nasution earned his PhD in 1968, and Mukti Ali earned his MA in 1957. See Arief Subhan, "Prof. Dr. Harun Nasution Penyemai Teologi Islam Rasional," and Ali Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali."
- 29 Nurcholish Madjid served as a visiting professor under the auspices of the McGill-Indonesia IAIN Development Project.
- 30 See Fachry Ali and Bahtiar Effendy, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru* [Tracing the new Islamic path: The reconstruction of Indonesian Islamic thought in the New Order] (Bandung: Mizan, 1986).
- 31 Fachry Ali received his BA from the Faculty of Adab (Arts), IAIN Jakarta, specializing in Islamic history and civilization. He then completed his MA at Monash University, Australia. He is undoubtedly one of the pioneers of the IAIN's intellectual tradition and has been a prolific writer and researcher at LP3ES, a very respected and influential social research institute in Indonesia since the early 1980s.
- 32 Bahtiar Effendy did Islamic studies at Pabelan Islamic Boarding School, Central Java, prior to completing his undergraduate studies in the Faculty of Ushuluddin (Islamic Theology), IAIN Jakarta. Interestingly, he was one of the few – if not the only – *santris* (Islamic boarding school students) to participate in the AFS (American Field Service) exchange program between Indonesia and the United States, attending a high school in Columbia Falls, Montana. He finished his MA at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. In 1994 he earned his PhD in political science from Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, where he wrote a dissertation entitled "Islam and the State: The Transformation of Islamic Political Ideas and Practices in Indonesia." This work was translated into bahasa Indonesia in 1998. See Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998).
- 33 Komaruddin Hidayat is a graduate of the Faculty of Ushuluddin (Islamic Theology), IAIN Jakarta, and earned his PhD in philosophy from Middle Eastern Technical University (METU), Ankara, Turkey. At IAIN Yogyakarta he continued his studies with M. Amin Abdullah, who also received his PhD from METU.

- ³⁴ Saiful Mujani graduated from the Faculty of Ushuluddin (Islamic Theology), IAIN Jakarta, and was one of the young, influential, Muslim intellectuals of the late 1980s and early 1990s. A keen observer of social, political, and religious issues, Mujani has written extensively in the Indonesian media. He is currently finishing his PhD in political science at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, where he works with Professor William Liddle. For an interesting elaboration on his struggle with the questions of Islam, see Ihsan Ali-Fauzi and Haidar Bagir, *Mencari Islam: Biografi Intelektual Generasi Muslim 1980an* [Searching for Islam: Intellectual biographies of the 1980s Muslim generation] (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1990).
- ³⁵ Masdar F. Mas'udi, a 1979 graduate of the Faculty of Syari'ah (Islamic Law), IAIN Yogyakarta, was one of the most prominent, young Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and NGO activists. He became well known for his new and radical interpretation of the issue of *zakat* (alms giving) and government tax. A perceptive observer of religious and gender issues, he is the director of the Centre for Pesantren and Community Development (P3M/Pusat Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat), Jakarta.
- ³⁶ Abdul Munir Mul Khan, who received his PhD from the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM), is a lecturer at IAIN Yogyakarta. He is known as a prolific writer on religious, social, and cultural issues.
- ³⁷ The effort to mention some specific writers here may seem geographically biased in favour of Jakarta and Yogyakarta. However, it must be acknowledged that these writers have frequently been published in the national media. Undoubtedly, a similar and interesting phenomenon can be seen at the regional IAIN campuses, and this deserves further research.
- ³⁸ Suaidi Sa'ad, "Islam Menghadapi Tantangan Kemerdekaan: Pandangan Mohammed Arkoun" [Islam and the challenge of freedom: Mohammed Arkoun's views], MA thesis, IAIN Jakarta, 1995.
- ³⁹ Muhammad Nurhakim, "Rekonstruksi Warisan Intelektual: Studi Kritis atas Paradigma Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam Hassan Hanafi" [The reconstruction of an intellectual heritage: A critical study of Hassan Hanafi's paradigm of Islamic reform], MA thesis, IAIN Jakarta, 1995.
- ⁴⁰ H. Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia-Belanda: Het Kantoort Voor Inlandsche Zaken 1899-1942* [The East-Indies' politics of Islam: Office for Native Affairs] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985).

- ⁴¹ Kautsar Azhari Noer, "Wahdat al-Wujud ibn Arabi dan Panteisme" [The unity of being of *ibn Arabi* and pantheism], PhD thesis, IAIN Jakarta, 1993.
- ⁴² M. Ali Haidar, *Nahdlatul Ulama dan Islam di Indonesia: Pendekatan Fiqih dalam Politik* [Nahdlatul Ulama and Islam in Indonesia: *Fiqh* approach es to politics] (Jakarta: Penerbit Gramedia, 1994).
- ⁴³ Syafiq Hasyim, "Islam dan Tantangan Komunikasi Global" [Islam and the challenge of global communication], *Media Indonesia*, 12 July 1996. Syafiq Hasyim graduated from the Department of Islamic Theology and Philosophy, the Faculty of Ushuluddin (Islamic Theology), IAIN Jakarta, in 1996. He is known as one of the young, progressive Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) intellectuals and worked as a researcher at the Centre for Pesantren and Community Development (P3M/Pusat Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat), Jakarta. His interests include Islam and gender issues, and he is the editor of *Menakar Harga Perempuan* [Gauging the price of women] (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1999).
- ⁴⁴ Sudirman Tebba, "Pemilu dan Umat Islam" [General elections and the Muslim community], *Republika*, 5 April 1997.
- ⁴⁵ Bahtiar Effendy, "Pasang Surut Ormas Islam" [The ups and downs of Islamic mass organizations], *Republika*, 21 February 1997.
- ⁴⁶ Some senior IAIN intellectuals, such as Nurcholish Madjid, Fachry Ali, and Bahtiar Effendy, have frequently engaged in such discussions. However, some young Muslim thinkers have recently shared their views on the subject. See, for example, Rumadi, "Agama Tanpa Negara" [Religion without the state], *Kompas*, 4 February 2000. Rumadi is a PhD student at IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, and a researcher at the Institute for the Study and Advancement of Civil Society, Jakarta. He has engaged in discussions on religion and the state with various writers and activists, such as Denny J.A. and H. Ahmad Soemargono.
- ⁴⁷ Azyumardi Azra is a graduate of the Faculty of Tarbiyah (Education), IAIN Jakarta. He was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to continue his postgraduate studies in the Department of History, Columbia University, New York, where he completed his PhD. He has written numerous books and articles on Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, but his most important book, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, originated with his PhD dissertation.
- ⁴⁸ M. Atho Mudzhar graduated from the Faculty of Tarbiyah (Education), IAIN Jakarta. He served as secretary to the minister of religious affairs,

Munawir Sjadzali, before deciding to continue his Islamic studies in the United States. He earned his PhD from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), where he wrote his dissertation on "Fatwas of the Council of Indonesian Ulama: A Study of Islamic Legal Thought in Indonesia 1975-1988." When he returned to Indonesia, he wrote *Belajar Islam di Amerika* [Studying Islam in America] (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1992).

- ⁴⁹ M. Din Syamsuddin is a graduate of the Faculty of Ushuluddin (Islamic Theology), IAIN Jakarta, and earned his PhD from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in Islamic studies. He is currently one of the chairpersons of Muhammadiyah, the second-largest Islamic mass organization, and was the head of research and development for Golongan Karya, the New Order's ruling party.
- ⁵⁰ Masykuri Abdillah is a lecturer in the Faculty of Syari'ah (Islamic Law), IAIN Jakarta. He earned his PhD in Islamic studies in 1995 from Hamburg University, Germany, where he wrote a dissertation entitled "Responses of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals to the Concept of Democracy 1966-1993."
- ⁵¹ Mulyadhi R. Kartanegara received his PhD from the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago, in 1996.
- ⁵² M. Amin Abdullah completed his PhD at Middle Eastern Technical University (METU), Ankara, Turkey. He is currently a professor of Islamic philosophy and the rector of IAIN Yogyakarta. He is well known as a Muslim intellectual and Muhammadiyah activist.
- ⁵³ Akhmad Minhaji graduated from IAIN Yogyakarta and earned his PhD from the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, in 1997.
- ⁵⁴ Faisal Ismail graduated from the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, in 1995. One of his works is "Pancasila as the Sole Basis for all Political Parties and all Mass Organizations: An Account of Muslims' Responses," *Studia Islamika* 3, no. 4 (1996): 1-92.
- ⁵⁵ Syafiq Mughni earned his PhD from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).
- ⁵⁶ Thoha Hamim earned his PhD from the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, in 1996.
- ⁵⁷ Abdurrahman Mas'ud earned his PhD from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1997.

- ⁵⁸ A. Qodri Azizi finished his PhD in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago, in 1996.
- ⁵⁹ Nur Ahmad Fadhil Lubis earned his PhD from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). He is currently the dean of Postgraduate Studies, IAIN Medan, North Sumatra. For an example of his work, see "Institutionalization and the Unification of Islamic Courts under the New Order," *Studia Islamika* 2, no. 1 (1995): 46-73.
- ⁶⁰ In 1983 Munawir Sjadzali was chosen by President Suharto to serve as the minister of religious affairs for two terms. He attended Madrasah Mamba'ul Ulum in Surakarta, Central Java. He continued his studies in England and later earned his MA in political science and international relations from Georgetown University, Washington, DC, in 1959. Before being appointed minister of religious affairs, he had been a senior diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for more than thirty years. He is recognized as having had a significant impact on changes in the vision and orientation of the IAIN education system. As a consequence of his efforts, the IAIN is more open to modernization and advancement and thus participates in various cooperation programs with foreign universities. One of the results of this cooperation has been the creation of fellowships for young IAIN graduates to study overseas. Two respected universities in Islamic studies in the West, Leiden University in the Netherlands and McGill University in Canada, have received many students from the IAIN wishing to pursue postgraduate studies. For Munawir Sjadzali's biography, see Bahtiar Effendy, Hendro Prasetyo, and Arief Subhan, "Munawir Sjadzali, MA: Pencairan Ketegangan Ideologis" [Munawir Sjadzali, MA: A mediator of ideological tension], in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam, eds, *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI*.
- ⁶¹ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Intellectualization of Islamic Studies in Indonesia," *Indonesia Circle*, no. 58 (June 1992): 26-41.
- ⁶² More appropriately, the Pembibitan Calon Dosen program is referred to by Zamakhsyari Dhofier as a "pre-departure training programme for overseas post-graduate studies for IAIN graduates" (ibid., 31-2). From 1988 until 1998 the program provided training courses for some 320 young lecturers (BA graduates) from IAINs all over Indonesia who were interested in pursuing graduate studies overseas, especially in the West. In 1997 the program introduced training courses in Arabic for those wishing to pursue studies in the Middle East. Approximately 40

to 50 per cent of the program's participants (nearly 150 students) were successfully admitted to various universities abroad, such as McGill University (through McGill-IAIN cooperation), Leiden University (through IAIN-INIS cooperation), and some universities in the United Kingdom (through the British Chavering Awards), the United States (through the Fulbright and Humprey Fellowships), Germany (through DAAD fellowships), and Australia (through AusAid and previously the ASTAS program). Some participants who were not admitted overseas chose to continue their graduate studies in Indonesia at such institutions as the IAIN, the Institute Pertanian Bogor (IPB/Bogor Agricultural Institute), the University of Indonesia (UI), and the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM).

⁶³ This trend has been supported by the rise of publishing houses that specialize in books on Islam. Since the early 1980s, these have included such publishers as Mizan, Pustaka (Bandung), and Shalahuddin Press (Yogyakarta). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a number of new publishers of Islamic books emerged.

⁶⁴ See *Daftar Tulisan Mahasiswa, Dosen dan Alumni IAIN sejak Tahun 1995-2000 di Tujuh Media Cetak* [A list of writings by IAIN students, lecturers, and alumni from 1995-2000 published by seven national newspapers] (Jakarta: Tim Peneliti Impact Study LPIU, IAIN Jakarta, 2000).

⁶⁵ *Studia Islamika*, an academic journal dedicated to the study of Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, is published three times a year by IAIN Jakarta. Overseen by Dr Azyumardi Azra since 1994, this journal has regularly published articles on Islamic subjects, and many prominent scholars on Islam in Indonesia have contributed to the journal: Martin van Bruinessen (Netherlands); Howard M. Federspiel, Robert W. Hefner, and John R. Bowen (United States); Greg Barton (Australia); and Andrée Feillard (France). Although its audience is generally limited to those who have a serious interest in the study of Islam in Indonesia, *Studia Islamika* is widely read and frequently used as a primary reference by students, especially those doing postgraduate studies. This journal is also subscribed to by as many as eighty centres and universities in North America, Europe, Africa, and Southeast Asia.

⁶⁶ At present, both Formaci and Piramida Circle still exist, most of their activists coming from IAIN Jakarta. While Respondeo is no longer active, the last few years have seen the emergence of new study clubs at IAIN Jakarta, such as Makar and the Indonesian Studies and Advocacy Center (ISAC).

- ⁶⁷ In the last decade LKIS has become a locus for the development of more progressive, and frequently liberal, ideas among young Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) activists. A significant number of its participants are students and alumni of IAIN Yogyakarta. Moreover, LKIS has emerged as one of the most important publishers of books on Islam and social issues, especially those dealing with the NU, Abdurrahman Wahid, civil society, and democracy, which have been interesting themes in the intellectual development of Islam in contemporary Indonesia. At the Thirtieth NU Congress in Lirboyo, Kediri, at the end of 1999, some young NU activists held an additional “contested congress,” which featured forum discussions on some issues not addressed by the official congress. Some of these young NU activists were concerned about the rather antipathetic response from older NU *kyai* (religious scholars) to their cultural movement, some of whom have referred to LKIS not as the Institute for Islamic and Social Studies (Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial) but as “an institute whose contents are the devil’s” (Lembaga Koq Isinya Setan). Some of LKIS’s activities are recorded in Hairus Salim and Muhammad Ridwan, *Kultur Hibrida: Anak Muda NU di Jalur Kultural* [The hybrid culture: The young NU generation in the cultural movement] (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1999).
- ⁶⁸ For examples, see Ihsan Ali-Fauzi and Haidar Bagir, *Mencari Islam*, which was produced in cooperation with Formaci.
- ⁶⁹ For an outstanding exploration of this topic, see M. Syafi’i Anwar, *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Politik tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Orde Baru* [The thoughts and actions of Islam in Indonesia: A political analysis of the New Order’s Muslim intellectuals] (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995).
- ⁷⁰ Many observers have referred to this new phenomenon, rather recklessly, as an “Islamic resurgence.” See, for example, a rebuttal of this idea by Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, “Kebangkitan Islam: Apanya?” [Islamic resurgence: Which?], *Kompas*, 14 June 1994.
- ⁷¹ Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, *31 October 1986 – 31 October 1996: A Ten Year Profile* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996).
- ⁷² Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State: The Transformation of Islamic Political Ideas and Practices in Indonesia*, PhD thesis, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1994, 60.
- ⁷³ A regular non-Muslim participant in Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina’s gatherings was the late Rev. Victor Tanja, one of the most prominent Indonesian Protestant intellectuals.

6 Community Empowerment: The New Orientation of IAIN- Based Islamic Movements

As noted in the previous chapter, IAIN students, alumni, and lecturers have played an important role in community development through their participation in the various religious and social organizations that have emerged in Indonesia with a focus on social empowerment. As an institution of Islamic higher education, the IAIN has contributed either directly or indirectly to the dynamic intellectual environment of these organizations. Thus Muhammadiyah, one of the largest urban-based Islamic organizations, has remained consistently active in social and religious life. And the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU/Awakening of Religious Scholars), through its revival of the 1984 *khittah* (commitment), has chosen to stay out of real politics. Developments of this kind are a result of the academic, IAIN-based foundations of these Islamic movements. For example, Nurcholish Madjid's controversial stand of the early 1970s, "Islam Yes, Islamic Political Parties No,"¹ influenced the orientation of modern Islamic organizations. An IAIN graduate who continued his education at the University of Chicago, Madjid is firmly rooted in the intellectual tradition developed at the IAIN.

The emergence of these IAIN-based Islamic organizations can be fully understood, therefore, only by considering some important aspects both of the IAIN's orientation and of Islam in Indonesia in general. As detailed in earlier chapters, the IAIN has undergone significant developments since the early 1990s. Its human resources have been greatly improved through the contributions of its numerous graduates, many of whom have pursued further formal studies both at home and abroad. A number of intellectuals educated at the IAIN have played an influential role in shaping social, political, and religious discourse

in Indonesia. Moreover, as a result of the IAIN's incorporation of modern sciences in its curriculum, many IAIN graduates are now active not only in religious fields, but also in nonreligious careers. In effect, the IAIN's approach to Islam has become the basis for a broader understanding of Islam within Indonesian society at large, which in turn has given rise to an Islamic discourse in Indonesia that converges with the country's actual social problems.

This chapter deals with the IAIN's involvement in the development of Islamic movements in Indonesia since the 1970s. Of particular interest are: (1) the emergence of a cultural movement among Islamic organizations, especially within Muhammadiyah and the Nahdlatul Ulama; (2) the dissemination of the idea of a civil society, especially by Islamic nongovernmental organizations (NGOs); and (3) the feminist movement, which has sought to increase consciousness of women's rights within the Indonesian Muslim community.

THE NEW DIRECTION OF THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT:
SUPPORTING COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

The development of the IAIN cannot be understood without taking into account political, social, and religious contexts in Indonesia during the New Order regime. Soon after the New Order government came to power in 1965, it implemented a number of political and economic policies oriented toward "development" (*pembangunan*). Instead of focusing on ideological and political imperatives, as the Old Order government had done, the New Order regime initiated a number of programs focused on the real problems of the community. Economic recovery and income improvement became the main goals of the New Order's economic program.

Through the promotion of development-oriented policies, the New Order regime introduced a number of ideas that ran counter to those of the Old Order government. In time these ideas created a new consciousness within Indonesian society, especially among urbanites, who understood the importance of embracing Western ideas if Indonesia was to be transformed into a modern state. In particular a mode of thinking that favoured pragmatism over politicization and ideology came to dominate social and political discourse in Indonesia. eventually, this emphasis on pragmatism became the model for urban,

middle-class Muslims, who were later referred to as “middle-class Muslim *santri*.”²

Through its development programs, the New Order government successfully implemented important changes affecting the quality of life of Indonesia’s Muslim community. These programs provided more opportunities for upward social mobility among Muslims, thereby serving to better integrate the Muslim community into modern society. Under the New Order regime, Muslims became more directly involved in the social and political processes affecting decision making in Indonesia.

The most important factor in this sharp increase in the social mobility of Indonesian Muslims was the New Order government’s policy of introducing measures to ensure increased access to a modern education for all Indonesians, including Indonesian Muslims. Between 1971 and 1985 the number of educated Indonesians rose significantly. Whereas 93.2% of the population had graduated from elementary school in 1971, this figure had risen to 98.2% by 1980; by 1985 it had dropped again to 83.5%. Similarly the number of junior high school graduates rose from 4.5% in 1971 to 5% in 1980; by 1985 it had further increased to 8.9%. The number of senior high school graduates also increased, rising from 2% in 1971 to 4.3% in 1980; by 1985 the figure stood at 6.8%. There were increases in the number of university graduates as well. In 1971 only 0.3% of the population were university educated. By 1980 this figure had risen to 0.5%, and by 1985 to 0.8%.³

The modernization of Islamic educational institutions, especially of the elementary, secondary, and high school *madrasahs*, has had an impact on the Muslim community. In the 1980s the proportion of school-age children absorbed by the *madrasahs* increased from 9% to 15% at the elementary and secondary levels.⁴ By 1994 this figure had risen to 17%. The number of students studying at IAINs throughout Indonesia in 1994 was also substantial. Of the country’s approximately 195,994 university students, as many as 28,122 (14.3%) were pursuing studies at the IAIN.⁵ Under the New Order regime, Islamic educational institutions began to assume a far greater role in the country’s education system.

This role was further strengthened by policies of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs (now the Ministry of National Education)

that recognized the *madrasah* and the IAIN as equivalent to secular educational institutions. This process toward ensuring equal status for Islamic schools began with the Letter of Joint Decree of 5 June 1975, signed by the minister of religious affairs, the minister of education and cultural affairs, and the minister of internal affairs. This decree was instrumental in integrating Islamic educational institutions into the national education system,⁶ which in turn made it possible for Muslims – who had previously been concentrated in the *madrasahs* – to continue their studies in the secular education system.

As a result of this and other important developments, Indonesian Islam has witnessed the emergence of a newly educated middle class intensely committed to the precepts of modernity. These middle-class Muslims have entered modern Indonesian life through careers as bureaucrats, professionals, and intellectuals. Whether traditionalist or modernist, all members of the Indonesian Muslim community now have an equal opportunity to pursue studies in the modern education system and thereby to assume a role in modern Indonesian society.

Evidence of a rural-based process of upward social mobility among Indonesian Muslims can be seen in the fact that the majority of IAIN students, especially the new generation of *santri*, now come from rural communities. Through studies at the IAIN, economically marginalized and religiously traditional Muslims have now entered a new phase of modernity. At IAIN Yogyakarta, for example, of the 637 students admitted in 1997/98, 72% (461 students) came from rural communities, and only 28% came from urban areas.

Since the mid-1970s the emergence of prominent Muslim intellectuals has consistently followed the implementation of social, economic, and educational changes. Among these intellectuals are Nurcholis Madjid, Djohan Effendy, Muslim Abdurrahman, Aswab Mahasin, Komaruddin Hidayat, Azyumardi Azra, and Bahtiar Effendy, each of whom has made significant contributions to the development of Islamic discourse in Indonesia.⁷ In particular IAIN-educated Muslims have shaped Islamic discourse through their involvement in religious and social organizations.

A number of IAIN-affiliated intellectuals, for instance, hold important positions in Muhammadiyah. Among those who have influenced the development of this organization are: Din Syamsuddin, a lecturer

at IAIN Jakarta and a member of the central executive board of Muhammadiyah; Hajriyanto Y. Thohari, a graduate of IAIN Semarang and a former chief of the Muhammadiyah Youth; Yunan Yusuf, Faturrahman Djamil, and Sudarnoto Abdul Hakim, all of whom are lecturers at IAIN Jakarta and members of the central executive board of Muhammadiyah; and Amin Abdullah, a lecturer at IAIN Yogyakarta and a member of the Commission of Tarjih (the Commission for Religious Decision Making). The involvement of these IAIN-affiliated figures in Muhammadiyah has directly affected the organization's mandate. Din Syamsuddin, for instance, is credited with establishing community empowerment, as opposed to ideological politics, as Muhammadiyah's main agenda.

In Yogyakarta and Padang, West Sumatra, IAIN-affiliated intellectuals have held more than 75 per cent of all key positions within the organizational structure of Muhammadiyah. This is not surprising given Muhammadiyah's deep roots in both of these communities. Muhammadiyah was founded in Yogyakarta, to which it has a historical and cultural attachment. For its part, Padang has long been associated with Islamic reformism, which has become a primary objective of Muhammadiyah. The religious elite of both of these communities are strongly affiliated with Muhammadiyah and, at the same time, have emerged as influential figures within the IAIN itself.

In other regions as well the IAIN has played a significant role in Muhammadiyah's development. In West Java, for instance, approximately 75 per cent of all positions on the executive board have been held by IAIN-affiliated intellectuals. Muhammadiyah's focus on social and religious activities is consistent with the IAIN's orientation as an institution for social and religious reform. The IAIN's influence within Muhammadiyah, moreover, has roots in its student organization, the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM/Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah). Most of IMM's former activists later became members of Muhammadiyah's executive board in West Java.

Similarly, in Medan, North Sumatra, a number of prominent IAIN-based Muslim intellectuals have served on Muhammadiyah's board of executives. Bahtiar Ibrahim, for example, is both an IAIN lecturer and chair of the board in North Sumatra. Another prominent figure on the board is Ahmad Nur Fadhil Lubis, a graduate of the IAIN and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). Even in Surabaya,

East Java, which is known to have a strong core of Nahdlatul Ulama supporters, many IAIN graduates hold positions on Muhammadiyah's executive board.

Like Muhammadiyah, the Nahdlatul Ulama disseminates the ideas for social and religious reform developed at the IAIN. In Surabaya more IAIN-affiliated intellectuals are involved with the NU than in any other region in Indonesia. Most of the important positions on the NU's executive board are held by IAIN lecturers or alumni. Thus it is not surprising that the NU's activities in East Java, including its strategies for community empowerment, are supported by the IAIN community in Surabaya.

In Medan, North Sumatra, the involvement of IAIN-affiliated intellectuals in the NU is also relatively high. Rifai Siregar, an IAIN lecturer, was the leader of the NU in this region before taking up a position on the NU's executive board in Jakarta. In Medan other IAIN graduates on the NU's executive board include Ridwan Lubis and Shahrin Harahap, both of whom have played a significant role in bringing a new orientation to the NU's activities in North Sumatra. In Yogyakarta and Bandung, West Java, IAIN graduates are likewise prominent on the NU's executive boards.

In Medan, where both the NU and Muhammadiyah are well established, another organization, Al-Wasliyah, has also made important contributions to shaping North Sumatra's social and religious discourse. In this region registered members of the NU and Muhammadiyah have close ties to Al-Wasliyah. Similarly, in Padang, West Sumatra, IAIN students are involved not only in Muhammadiyah, but in various other religious and social organizations. One of these institutions is Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah (United Islamic Education). Founded on 5 May 1928, this organization has become highly influential in the development of Islam in Indonesia, especially in West Sumatra.

Another organization of note is the Association of the United Indonesian Mosque (IMMIM/Ikatan Masjid Mushala Indonesia Mutahadiah) in Ujungpandang, South Sulawesi. This institution, founded on 1 January 1964, participates in community empowerment through its missionary activities (*dakwah*), such as sending preachers and religious authorities to conduct Friday prayers at the mosques throughout South Sulawesi. According to IMMIM's weekly agenda of 28 January

2000, which appeared in *Pedoman Rakyat*, one of the region's largest newspapers, IMMIM sends as many as 250 preachers to all the mosques in Ujungpandang. Through these preachers, IMMIM conducts socialization programs aimed primarily at Indonesian Muslims. One of its activities entails the training of new preachers. As well, in cooperation with AusAid of Australia, IMMIM trains advocates for HIV awareness, who are then sent to the mosques throughout South Sulawesi.

Another important institution in Ujungpandang is the House of Missionary Activities and Guidance (DDI/Darud Da'wah wal-Irsyad). Founded on 7 February 1947, DDI is highly influential within South Sulawesi's educational institutions, almost 50 per cent of which are DDI owned and operated. Within DDI itself, almost 40 per cent of the executive board are affiliated with the IAIN, a figure that continues to grow because DDI recruits a large number of IAIN graduates for positions as teachers at its educational institutions. Through their involvement with both IMMIM and DDI, IAIN graduates clearly have a significant influence among Muslim communities in the South Sulawesi region.

Those IAIN-affiliated intellectuals who have been so prominent within Indonesia's various social and religious organizations were educated at the *pesantren*. To the arena of Islamic discourse in Indonesia, they have brought ideas that differ considerably from those of the older generation, who are usually referred to as "old *santri*." The modernization of education within the IAIN, together with economic, political, and social changes in Indonesia, has given rise to ideas among the new generation of *santri* that are based on the imperatives of modern life. Thus it is not surprising that the younger generation's social and religious thought should differ so significantly from the ideas of the older generation.

The most significant difference between the old and new *santri* resides in the political orientation of each. Whereas the older generation is still inclined toward a political Islam steeped in religious symbols and sacred texts, the new *santri's* orientation is predominantly cultural, the emphasis being on the application of the substantive values of Islam to modern life.

Only in this context can we fully understand Nurcholish Madjid's statement, "Islam Yes, Islamic Political Parties No," which once ignited a long debate. In an article written in 1970, Madjid made this state-

ment while discussing the importance of a new cultural orientation within the Islamic movement in Indonesia.⁸ As a proponent of the new *santri*'s ideas, he argued that the political orientation of the old *santri* had been engaged with the narrow concerns of the Islamic movement, especially with sectarian politics, that consumed far too great a proportion of Muslims' intellectual power. As a result, Indonesia's Muslims lacked the intellectual and technological competence necessary for involvement in modern social and political life. It was argued, therefore, that the Islamic movement should concern itself first and foremost with ensuring that such competence was achieved within the Indonesian Muslim community.

It is important to emphasize here that new *santri* also emerged within traditionalist Muslim organizations. In Jakarta during the 1980s, for instance, a number of young intellectuals associated with the Nahdlatul Ulama began to participate in NGOs founded by their modernist Muslim counterparts. These included the Centre for Pesantren and Community Development (P3M/Pusat Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat) and the Centre for Research and Human Resource Development (Lakpesdam/Lembaga Kajian dan Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia). As a new generation of *santri* these young NU intellectuals advocated community empowerment and the implementation of substantive Islamic values in community life, rather than focusing on the strictly doctrinal concerns of the old *santri*. A new generation of young NU intellectuals, such as Masdar Farid Mas'udi, has flourished in the NU with a new interpretation of Islam.

With the emergence of these new *santri* within both modernist and traditionalist organizations, new movements oriented toward community empowerment received more attention than they had before. As a result, an even greater number of new *santri* became involved in NGO activities, a large proportion being absorbed by such institutions as P3M and the Institute for Research, Education, and Development of the Economy and Society (LP3ES/Lembaga Pengkajian Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Ekonomi dan Sosial). As Aswab Mahasin notes, a new commitment to social change came to characterize the younger generation of Muslim intellectuals:

Finally, when the area of concern is no longer confined to sectarian politics, the question is not how to divide the political benefits and to demand

promises. In a large cultural arena, the issue now is how to create and enrich. There are so many people who are waiting for our help. After we remove these obstacles, we can walk together toward the new horizon of Indonesia, where people have been waiting for so long for attempts to realize real sovereignty and the release from poverty and economic disparity. The road to this horizon is curving and steep. We probably need several generations to reach the end of our struggle. But a generation is not raised to solve all the problems. Like the call to prayer from the minaret, they come here just to begin.⁹

As this passage indicates, finding solutions to the Muslim community's social and economic problems became the main objective of the new Islamic movement in Indonesia. Political competition within the Muslim community itself was no longer regarded as an effective way of meeting the needs of Indonesian Muslims. For this reason, the new Islamic movement became an important force in disseminating criticism of the New Order government's authoritarianism. In effect, many of the new *santri*, especially those involved with various modernist NGOs, coalesced into a single, powerful group opposed to the New Order regime's politics.¹⁰ These young intellectuals, frequently referred to as "transformative Muslims," criticized the New Order's economic policies for increasing income disparity between the rich and the poor. They proposed that initiatives facilitating community empowerment be implemented through political processes.

THE IAIN AND NGOS:
DEFINING THE AGENDA OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The development of a discourse on civil society in Indonesia has involved many Muslim intellectuals. Indeed, the very presence of the idea of a civil society is an extension of the new *santri's* orientation of the Islamic movement toward community empowerment. The discourse on civil society, or more precisely the spirit of civil society, that characterized Muslim intellectuals of the New Order has been maintained by those who are usually categorized as "transformative Muslims," or as the supporters of "socialist-democrat Muslims," or as "transformative-socialist Muslims."¹¹ The escalation of the idea of a civil society among Indonesian Muslims has its roots in the critical tradition

of thought that originated with transformative Muslims. Thus it is necessary here to elaborate more fully the bases of this intellectual Muslim tradition.

Generally, the foundation for the ideas advocated by transformative Muslims is the assumption that Islam's primary mission is the spread of humanistic values. Islam is regarded as capable of providing solutions to all the problems of human beings, whether economic, cultural, social, or political. Thus community empowerment, the promotion of human rights, and the enforcement of justice comprise the main objectives of transformative Muslims. Instead of focusing on the precepts of Islamic doctrine, as many Muslims do, transformative Muslims approach the interpretation of Islamic thought with the aim of addressing the backwardness of the Muslim community. Arguing that traditional teachings take a relatively neutral position on social problems, they advocate a redefinition of Islamic theology that would render it directly relevant to, and supportive of, the social needs of the Muslim community. According to transformative Muslims, the Islamic movement in Indonesia must focus on bringing about economic, social, and political change as a means of achieving a democratic society.

Among the leading transformative Muslims were M. Dawam Rahardjo and Sudjoko Prasodjo. In the early 1970s these intellectuals were intensely involved in transformative social programs. Both were activists with the Indonesian Muslim Student Association (HMI/Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam) in Yogyakarta and later moved to Jakarta to pursue their professional careers. In Jakarta, Prasodjo, among others, became involved with the organization for Islamic Higher Education and Missions (PTDI/Pendidikan Tinggi Dakwah Islam). Rahardjo, a graduate of the Faculty of Economics at the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM), pursued a career at the Bank of America before joining LP3ES. Through this institution and other NGOs that he had previously founded in collaboration with his colleagues, he introduced some of his transformative ideas.

In the late 1970s, Adi Sasono, one of the leading student activists at the Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB/Institut Teknologi Bandung), adopted the transformative model of the Islamic movement. At the beginning of his career, he worked as a general manager for the Krama Yudha Company, a well-known automotive assembly plant in

Indonesia. Deciding to follow his intellectual calling for, in a very broad sense, social transformative politics, he resigned from his lucrative job. In 1978, together with his colleagues, he founded the Centre for Developmental Studies (LSP/Lembaga Studi Pembangunan). Like Rahardjo at LP3ES, Sasono disseminated his social agenda through LSP, first undertaking several research and policy studies relevant to the programs he planned to implement.

In essence, transformative Islam is highly political. One of its primary objectives is the development of a strong infrastructure capable of providing a real political basis for the grass roots and, thereby, of supporting a participatory political system. This goal is consistent with Rahardjo's transformative approach to Islam. In one of his articles, Rahardjo writes:

The tendency of the Muslim community to observe Islam as a system of faith, law, ethics, and spiritualism is no longer acceptable. This approach must be modified. Muslim people should regard their worldly affairs, social and cultural setting, and the concept of universal culture as the guiding factors in defining their religious principles. *Fiqh* [Islamic law], which is in fact taken by the Muslim community as its source of guidance, is no longer applicable to solving the problems arising from all the changes that have occurred in the course of human history and from the advancement of science. Traditional Muslims have standardized all religious problems, so when they face real life, they can find no answers at all.¹²

For Rahardjo, changing the Muslim community's perception of religious doctrine and its social and political views is one of the Islamic movement's most important aims. To this end, he proposes a theological reformation within the Muslim community, emphasizing that "religious thoughts that reflect humankind's responses to the revelation of God"¹³ must be reformulated in accordance with the problems of life. Through such a process, it is argued, the Muslim community will be able to create a dynamic intellectual life for itself and thus release its members from a religious point of view that continues to imprison them. Creating an independent society, rather than an Islamic state, is thus regarded as essential to the development of the Islamic community. However, the state, Rahardjo contends, as in most developing countries, has become increasingly stronger, while NGOs and the Muslim community's economy have become weaker.¹⁴

To achieve the goals of the Islamic movement, Rahardjo, together with a number of transformative Muslim intellectuals, endeavoured to increase political and social awareness within the Muslim community and to develop its potential. Specifically, the strategy has entailed supporting the Indonesian Muslim middle class in its efforts to become more autonomous and stronger vis-à-vis the state. The presence of both an autonomous middle class and a strong civil society in a state like Indonesia is essential for a democratic political system to function.

Based on this consideration, in the mid-1970s Rahardjo, together with Sudjoko Prasodjo, Tawang Alun, Adi Sasono, and other colleagues, initiated several development programs. Some programs aimed at strengthening small-scale industries and others at improving traditional Islamic schools, particularly the *pesantren*. These programs would not have been successful if they had been implemented along partisan lines. Indeed, their success was determined by the ability of the programs' initiators to secure support from various individuals and diverse institutions.

Notably, Rahardjo sought the participation of government officials in the Ministries of Industry, Cooperation, and Religious Affairs. He was particularly successful in convincing Mukti Ali, the minister of religious affairs and his former mentor in a discussion forum at IAIN Yogyakarta called the "limited group," to make the *pesantren* development program a national project.

Reforming the *pesantren* was a significant undertaking because, especially in Java, the *pesantren* remained a largely traditionalist Islamic educational institution. The initiators of this reform program understood the importance of increasing cooperation with other traditionalist Islamic organizations, such as the Nahdlatul Ulama, which had considerable access to, and influence within, the *pesantren*. NU figures recruited by Rahardjo to assist in the *pesantren's* reform included, among others, Nashihin Hasan and Abdullah Syarwani.¹⁵ Such attempts to bridge the gaps between modernist and traditionalist Muslims, in terms both of theology and of social and political perspectives, served to successfully draw traditionalist Muslims into the reform process.

Among the most prominent figures in this initiative during the 1980s was Abdurrahman Wahid. Through his efforts a greater number of young NU intellectuals became intensely involved in community development programs and in the reform activities of NGOs in general.

United by the same economic and social problems, these young intellectuals – including Masdar F. Mas’udi, M.M. Billah, Ison Basuni, and Enceng Shobirin – intensified their cooperation with modernist and non-Muslim groups in Indonesia.

Abdurrahman Wahid also directed LP3ES’s *pesantren* reform program, overseeing the provision of aid to a number of *pesantrens*, such as Pesantren Nuquyyah in Guluk Guluk, Madura, East Java (led by K.H. Abdul Basith) and Pesantren Maslakul Huda in Kajen, Central Java (led by K.H. Sahal Mahfudz). Reform efforts at both of these *pesantrens* have been directed primarily at addressing the needs of the economically depressed communities in which they are located. Other *pesantrens* that obtained aid from LP3ES during these early years of reform included Pesantren Tebuireng in East Java, Pesantren Cipasung in West Java, and Pesantren Paiton in Probolinggo, East Java.¹⁶

In the meantime, the *pesantren* development program was strengthened by the increased involvement of international funding agencies. Two such agencies, which have a long history of funding LP3ES programs, were Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNS) of Germany and NOVIB of the Netherlands.¹⁷ In addition, a new institution for the development of the *pesantren* was founded: the Centre for Pesantren Development and Society (P3M/Pusat Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat). Established in 1983, P3M was initially set up to distribute *pesantren* aid collected from international funding agencies, especially FNS. According to its own rules, FNS is only permitted to fund a particular activity for a maximum of ten years. Thus its ongoing funding of the *pesantren* development program had to be redirected through P3M. In effect, P3M was founded for pragmatic reasons. Eventually, however, it became a highly effective organization in its own right, even surpassing LP3ES in involving traditionalist Muslims in NGO activities.

Although P3M is not formally related to the organizational structure of the Nahdlatul Ulama, this NGO became the primary vehicle for the NU’s involvement in community empowerment programs. Among P3M’s founders were a number of NU-affiliated *ulama* (Islamic scholars), including K.H. Yusuf Hasyim and K.H. Sahal Mahfudz. Eventually, Masdar F. Mas’udi, an NU intellectual, was appointed P3M’s director. Thus it is not surprising that most of P3M’s activities have been directed at the NU community – that is, at those *pesantrens* with

ties to the NU. The most important of these activities include management and organization training, the introduction of modern technology, and increased dialogue with *pesantren ulama*.

As a nongovernmental organization, P3M's activities are oriented mainly toward community development initiatives. Thus issues such as community empowerment, human rights, justice, gender equality, and community political awareness have dominated P3M's agenda. Most prominent among its objectives, therefore, and a goal taken up by traditionalist Muslims in general, has been the development of a civil society.

Mas'udi notes that "since the end of the 1980s, community development programs aimed at increasing political awareness have obtained the momentum."¹⁸ He further explains that because of these programs, the NU community began to have serious concerns with issues associated with the problems faced by the Indonesian nation, such as "democracy, political oppression, people's rights, law enforcement, gender equality, the guarantee of human rights by the state, political participation and public freedom."¹⁹ Even among *ulama* in the NU, these themes are now discussed intensely. Mas'udi is convinced that "this phenomenon cannot be separated from Abdurrahman Wahid's contribution to raising political awareness in a substantive manner among the *pesantren* community."²⁰

However, as Mas'udi notes, to avoid controversy and resistance from the *pesantren* community, "the themes of discussion and training in most P3M workshops were still taken from classical Islamic literature."²¹ He emphasizes this point in his account of P3M's initiation of its training activities and critical studies concerning political affairs at the *pesantren*:

We tried to convince the *kyai* [religious leaders], especially in Java, to accept a program of political studies at the *pesantren*. By identifying this program with advocacy based on religious thought and regular publications, we wanted to retain the discourse relating to classical Islamic literature as the primary system of reference among the *pesantren* community. That is to say, we use a modern method of training to provide a critical-analysis framework for generating a theory of transformation based on religious thought rooted in Islamic tradition. Therefore, we are not accepting or rejecting the existing concepts a priori. We prefer to conceptualize them in relation to the current

situation and the existing political discourse in Indonesian Islam. In this way, P3M's agendas for social transformation will be carried out within the context of enhancing political awareness among the NU community.²²

P3M also initiated a program within the *pesantren* for the advancement of *fiqh siyasah* (Islamic jurisprudence on political affairs). In the words of Muslim Abdurrahman – an intellectual and NGO activist with a Muhammadiyah background who became the main supporter of community transformation through *pesantren* development – this program arose in response to “the concern of NU intellectuals with the New Order government's injustice against the people.”²³ The program is conducted as a workshop for *santri* and for leaders within both the *pesantren* and the broader Muslim community. These workshops, which are held at intervals throughout the year and last from three to six days, derive their subject matter from *kutub al-mara-ji'* (classical Islamic texts) related to political matters. The facilitators consist of *kyai*, who are competent with Islamic references on politics, as well as political scientists. As Mas'udi explains:

Because the program is expected to enhance political awareness among the community, we invite speakers and facilitators with competence in classical Islamic texts and social sciences. This is because the political awareness of the NU community is basically derived from its understanding of classical Islamic literature. At the same time, we need other tools that will enable us to sharpen our analysis of our contemporary political situation. For this reason, P3M invites other speakers, such as political scientists, cultural experts, and other intellectuals, so that they can provide a new perspective for understanding the contents of classical Islamic literature.²⁴

Mas'udi notes that while the political overtones of the Islamic renewal movement are consistent with the Islamic political discourse of mediaeval Islam, serious effort is required to interpret this discourse and apply it in modern political institutions. The religious thought developed by such prominent Muslim scholars as Al-Ghazali, Al-Baqillani, and Ibn Taimiyya as well as by other Muslim political thinkers needs to be interpreted in the light of Indonesia's contemporary situation. Mas'udi provides this assessment:

Most *kyai* realize that when Islam is directed at discussing social problems, it is impossible for them to rely only on classical Islamic literature. They explain that those classical Islamic texts, big or small, that are common to the *pesantren* community have not yet been useful for elaborating social problems. For problems pertaining to ritual and *mu'amalah* [religious and social practices], classical Islamic literature may have a great significance. On the community's relationship to cultural expression, state institutions, social movements, and other political phenomena, it does not offer appropriate guidance. Thus we have been induced to explore more deeply the concepts related to political issues in the light of modern social sciences.²⁵

According to Mas'udi, classical Islamic literature does offer an extensive elaboration of issues pertaining to power and state leadership. However, "in medieval Islam power had not yet been institutionalized."²⁶ For instance, Al-Ghazali's *Nasihah al-Mulk* (Guidance of kings) contains his advice to a powerful, just, and eligible king, or sultan, and to those who are in power, on how to establish social order. Legitimate political power is attained only through a leader's capacity to maintain order and accordingly to ensure that people are able to carry out their religious obligations. In this sense, power is only an individual problem. Consequently, because of the absence of discourse on contemporary political issues in classical Islamic literature, such as models of democratic government and human rights, the modern effort to enhance political awareness among Indonesian Muslim communities, which are basically still shaped by traditional political thoughts, must be driven to address two main concerns: (1) the need to establish a democratic government; and (2) the need for an articulation of ideas and political practices that respect the rights of citizens.

It has been said that the effort to enhance political awareness among Muslim communities was basically undertaken in the spirit of fostering Indonesian civil society. Most of the proponents of this program of social transformation understood that the problems faced by the NU community were related to the basic nature of its political attitude to the New Order government's policies. Nevertheless, "neither the facilitators nor the participants regarded this unfavorable relationship between the NU and the government as their main intellectual concern."²⁷ Instead, "they were more concerned with solving concrete

problems facing the Indonesian community in general, most of whom are Muslims.”²⁸ In this respect, Mas’udi notes that “due to the critical approaches we introduced in the training sessions, the participants, and of course P3M itself, became aware of the consequences of the New Order government’s policies on economic, social, and political life. By stressing national political stability, the New Order government had sacrificed both political participation and socio-economic justice for Indonesian communities.”²⁹ For this reason, developing the discourse on civil society is central to P3M’s program for enhancing political awareness among the Muslim community, which in turn will empower Indonesian society vis-à-vis the state.

A number of IAIN graduates were involved in the various institutions established to promote the development of a civil society. As community development programs spread among the new generation of NGO activists, the new generation of IAIN graduates became active in some institutions that had broader concerns. In Yogyakarta the Institute for Islamic and Social Studies (LKis/Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial), founded in 1989, involved several IAIN graduates in its activities. At present LKis is active mostly in publishing books on Islam, particularly critical studies on established Islamic doctrines, which are generally considered old-fashioned or at least in need of some reinterpretation and redefinition if they are to be brought to bear on the current conditions of the Muslim community. In addition LKis publishes materials promoting political awareness, human rights, and other issues of relevance to contemporary Indonesian Muslims.

Two similar institutions have also been founded at IAIN Medan. One is the Islamic Foundation for Humanity (Yasika/Yayasan Islam untuk Kemanusiaan), which is actively involved in promoting the idea of human rights, and the other is the Centre for Antiracism (Laras/Lembaga Anti Rasialisme). Yasika was established to undertake development projects aimed at children in rural areas, a segment of the population that is often overlooked by government programs. Yasika has organized a number of activities, such as training and publishing, in cooperation with various international funding agencies. Laras’s programs are directed at human rights, democracy, and civil society issues among the Muslim community in North Sumatra.

Through their participation on the executive boards of various Islamic institutions, IAIN-affiliated intellectuals have played a key role in the

promotion of ideas concerning the development of a civil society in Indonesia. Among these intellectuals two prominent figures must be mentioned: Nurcholish Madjid, a graduate of IAIN Jakarta, and AS Hikam, a graduate of IAIN Yogyakarta, both of whom went on to pursue further studies in the United States. These two Islamic scholars have offered differing ideas on the issue of creating a civil society in Indonesia. Madjid interprets civil society as *masyarakat madani* (civic society), while Hikam interprets it as *masyarakat sipil* (civilian society). In the Indonesian context, both of these ideas of a civil society, which have their origins in the West, have been redefined to accord with Islamic and Indonesian values. This is an important fact since subsequent publications concerning civil society have followed from the ideas presented by these two scholars.

The following is Madjid's understanding of a civil society: "*Masyarakat madani* [...] follows the patterns of a community with particular qualities, such as civility and openness. Civility necessitates tolerance, which is the commitment of individuals to accept various distinct social and political attitudes. This means that no single party, including the state, has the authority to impose its attitudes and will, whether through co-optation [or] regimentation [...] which in turn leads to lawlessness with high social costs."³⁰ As this statement makes clear, for Madjid civility is an important component of a civil society. Civility is a psychological state whereby the individual and the community are able to concede that nobody is perfect and that everything is relative. In the spirit of such civility, everyone and every group is expected to avoid humiliating others because it is recognized that the humiliated may, in some respects, be superior to the one who humiliates.³¹ Unfortunately, this civility is sometimes lacking in modern life, especially in developing countries. It is therefore understandable that many people should hold the belief that community empowerment initiatives, such as democratic reform, will not succeed because of the absence of civility in such countries.³²

A somewhat different idea of civil society is proposed by Hikam. His interpretation of civil society as *masyarakat sipil* implies that such a society should constitute a movement mobilized to exert critical power in fighting state hegemony. In one of his works he explains that "the meaning of civil society that I use in this book is very eclectic, although the meaning is exactly that introduced by de Tocqueville. Civil society

can be defined as the spheres of social life that are well organized, characterized by voluntarism, self-generating, self-supporting, independent vis-à-vis the state, and highly committed to norms, values, and the law of the public.”³³ Of particular note in this statement is that Hikam – in a manner consistent with a traditionalist Islamic understanding – regards a civil society as a group committed to fighting against the state. His characterization of such a group as “independent vis-à-vis the state” is compatible with the conditions and aspirations of traditionalist Muslims. Thus Hikam’s understanding of a civil society served not only to criticize the hegemony and despotism of the New Order regime, but also to define the orientation of the Islamic movement.

Madjid’s and Hikam’s ideas on civil society – precisely their divergent interpretations of the concept as either *masyarakat madani* or *masyarakat sipil* – came to influence further critical studies on civil society by several IAIN scholars. Some, like Rifai Siregar, a lecturer at IAIN Medan and a member of the Nahdlatul Ulama’s executive board in North Sumatra, have dismissed the controversy outright. As suggested by the organizations in which he is active, Siregar can be regarded as a traditionalist Muslim. However, on the notion of a civil society, he states: “The term is debatable. But it is not the issue that we should be arguing about. The important thing is its substance. The first term [*masyarakat madani*] is in fact civil society. Those who reject this term are of course non-Muslim believers, and they do so because it has connotations related to the Medina community built by the Prophet Muhammad. For me it does not matter at all as long as its substance is clear.”³⁴

Muhammad Abdurrahman, the head of the organization for Islamic Unity (Persis/Persatuan Islam) and a lecturer at IAIN Bandung, offers a different interpretation. Although he would prefer not to be involved in such a controversy, if forced to choose, he would rather adhere to the second term: “I prefer to choose *masyarakat warga* [community of citizens] because the term ‘civil society’ sounds Western. Even so, I definitely agree with the term *al-mujtama’ al-madani*, *masyarakat madani*, because its roots are found in the Medina community built by the Prophet.”³⁵

Without even hinting at the controversy, the same opinion is presented by Udji Asiah, an Islamic preacher and graduate of IAIN Surabaya.

According to Asiah, who is also an active member of the NU, *masyarakat madani* refers to the community developed by the Prophet in Medina. Furthermore, he argues, the most important thing to recognize in the concept of a civil society is the balance between the ruled and the ruler. Such a balance is compatible with the Islamic concept of political authority, which encourages the ruler, or power holder, to provide the people with services and, at the same time, expects the people to control those with authority.³⁶ Regardless of the controversy and the diverse interpretations of civil society, it is of utmost importance that the idea of civil society be widely developed within the IAIN.

THE IAIN AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

In addition to community development initiatives and contributions to a discourse on civil society, the IAIN has been instrumental in addressing feminist causes and advancing the women's movement – or, as it is frequently called, the women's empowerment movement – in Indonesia. In Jakarta P3M has played the most prominent role in undertaking efforts toward women's empowerment. P3M's program, known as *fiqh perempuan* (Islamic thought on women), is designed to increase the public's awareness of gender inequality issues affecting the Indonesian Muslim community. Although the program has no direct impact on government policy concerning women, it has generated a discourse about gender-based power relations that has served to further awareness of gender-related issues among Indonesian Muslims.

The program at P3M is part of an umbrella project for training and advocacy on reproductive health. With the support of several international funding agencies, especially the Ford Foundation, this project's initiatives toward women's empowerment include training, research, the publication of books and brochures, and the distribution of educational pamphlets. The training sessions are conducted very much like a workshop and are attended by *santri*, *pesantren* alumni, and activists with Fatayat, an NU-affiliated young women's organization. After completing the training program, the participants create a network for disseminating new ideas on gender and reproductive health within the NU-affiliated *pesantren* community.³⁷

From close examination, it can be concluded that this program is mainly concerned with effecting a transformation in gender awareness

within the NU community, an objective that is both egalitarian and emancipatory. Given that the community's understanding of gender is shaped by classical Islamic literature, it is unthinkable that the training would ignore traditional references to gender in Islam. It can also be noted that the New Order regime's success in constructing a discourse on gender that did not allow for women's involvement in the public domain forced this program's initiators to directly confront the state's position. According to Lies Marcus, one of the program's founders, "the New Order government interfered very powerfully in the public's affairs, controlling relations between men and women in family and public life as though there were a dichotomy between men's and women's roles. Men's roles were considered public, and women's roles domestic. There was an agenda behind this: Women were not to play politics; their role was restricted to social life."³⁸ Given this specific context and the complexities of engaging in a process of transformation aimed at ensuring gender equality, the program's supporters had to master classical Islamic scholarship, which had long been the main source of reference for the *pesantren* community, while at the same time contextualizing that scholarship within the discourse on gender that had come to characterize the New Order era.

Thus, in cooperation with the *pesantren* and various NU-affiliated women's organizations, at the beginning of the 1990s, P3M undertook a number of initiatives aimed at generating a discourse on gender equality and improving women's awareness so that they could begin to take on a greater role in public life. As Marcus notes, "the agenda of social transformation was highly influenced and informed by the ethics of public emancipation. In this context, it means that the spirit of emancipation among Indonesian women has been constructed by the discourse on gender shaped by Islam and the state."³⁹ From the outset, P3M realized that "these programs could not be implemented using merely academic and tutorial approaches. Their success was determined by the abilities of the tutors to reinterpret the current discourse in terms of classical Islamic literature concerning women."⁴⁰

Concerning the effectiveness of P3M's efforts to produce a substantive and rational discourse on gender equality, Marcus notes that "it is difficult to measure the success of the training we have done."⁴¹ However, in terms of generating a new discourse on gender issues, it can be said that P3M's contribution has been truly incredible. As the

following account by Marcus illustrates, a new awareness of gender inequality has clearly taken hold within the NU community:

There is one influential book on this problem. That is a book written by Imam Nawawi of Banten, *Uqud al-Lujain fi Huquq al-Zaujain* [The commitment of couples to the rights of husband and wife]. This book is used as guidance. Besides discussing the book, we also do some important cultural analysis. For instance, at this moment, they [women] are abused and forced to do all the domestic work, from cooking to raising children. So we introduce them to human rights, including those belonging to women. We try to present persuasive arguments or to offer the opinions of *ulama* who support our ideas. After that they become more open-minded concerning certain ideas about the relationships between men and women in family life. At this stage members of the *pesantren* community have in fact become more open-minded about accepting new ideas as long as those ideas are developed from their own intellectual tradition.⁴²

In effect, P3M's programs for women's empowerment have been recognized as an attempt to nurture a more humane perspective regarding women. The primary objective of these programs has been to foster "the growth of a new discourse that respects the social roles of women, the most genuine understanding of which covers their roles in family, public life, and politics."⁴³

In Yogyakarta women's development programs have been undertaken primarily by three institutions, each of which was founded by IAIN-affiliated intellectuals: Rifka al-Nisa, Yasanti, and the Foundation of Fatayat Welfare (YKF/Yayasan Kesejahteraan Fatayat). A number of IAIN intellectuals have had intensive involvement with these institutions, many holding significant administrative positions. In Rifka al-Nisa such figures include Ruhaini Dzuhayatin and Nurhasin S.Ag, both of whom are IAIN lecturers. In Yasanti another such figure is Amin Muftianah, and in YKF there is Masruchah, both of whom are IAIN graduates.

Like P3M, these institutions undertake a number women's development activities through programs funded by international agencies. Besides training and advocacy initiatives, Rifka al-Nisa also publishes a journal, *Rifka Media*, as a means of disseminating ideas concerning women's rights. The July 1999 edition of *Rifka Media*, for instance,

provided coverage of violations against women in Indonesia. The journal, moreover, emphasizes the need to organize the community to protect women from any sort of violation and harassment. The October 1999 edition stressed the importance of community participation in women's development programs, including the involvement of men.

Similar efforts are undertaken by YKF through its publication of *Mitra* magazine, which is specifically designed as a vehicle for advocacy on women's rights and the promotion of gender awareness within the Muslim community. Its fall 1999 edition published articles elaborating the importance of organizing women's empowerment programs. Yasanti, too, publishes a periodical, *Annisa*, which is likewise concerned with the women's empowerment movement in Indonesia.

NOTES

- ¹ Nurcholish Madjid, "Keharusan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam dan Masalah Integritas Umat" [The need for the reformation of Islamic thought and the problem of integrating the Muslim community], in *Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam* [The reformation of Islamic thought] (Jakarta: Islamic Research Centre, 1970).
- ² See M. Syafi'i Anwar, *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam* [Islamic ideas and actions] (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1990), 64.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 116-17.
- ⁴ *Ibid.* See also Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "Lembaga Pendidikan Islam dalam Perspektif Nasional" [Islamic educational institutions from a national perspective], *Prisma*, no. 9 (September 1983): 13-20.
- ⁵ Anwar, *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam*, 116-17.
- ⁶ Dhofier, "Lembaga Pendidikan Islam," 20.
- ⁷ On the ideas of these intellectuals, see Fachry Ali and Bahtiar Effendy, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam* [Opening the new path of Islam] (Bandung: Mizan, 1988), especially chapter 4. See also Anwar, *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam*, 121-9.
- ⁸ Madjid, "Keharusan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam," appendix. See also Ali and Effendy, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam*, 122-34, and Kamal Hassan, *Muslim Intellectual Responses to the Modernization of the New Order* (Kualalumpur: Percetakan Bahasa, 1982).

- ⁹ Aswab Mahasin, "Marhaban" [Welcome], *Prisma*, special issue (1984): 2.
- ¹⁰ Regarding the authoritarianism of the New Order, see Mochtar Mas'od, *Ekonomi dan Struktur Politik Orde Baru* [The economy and political structure of the New Order] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1989).
- ¹¹ Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia* [Islam and the state: The transformation of ideas and Islamic political practices in Indonesia] (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998), especially 164-74.
- ¹² M. Dawam Rahardjo, "Umat Islam dan Pembaharuan Teologi" [Muslims and theological reformation], in Bosco Carvallo and Dasrizal, eds, *Aspirasi Umat Islam Indonesia* [The aspirations of the Indonesian Muslim community] (Jakarta: Lappenas, 1983), 117; Ali and Effendy, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam*, 120.
- ¹³ Rahardjo, "Umat Islam dan Pembaharuan Teologi," 117.
- ¹⁴ See M. Dawam Rahardjo "Gerakan Rakyat dan Negara" [The people's movement and the state], *Prisma*, no. 11, (1985): 3-11.
- ¹⁵ See Martin van Bruinessen, *NU Tradisi Relasi-Relasi Kuasa: Pencarian Wacana Baru* [The NU and power relations: In search of a new discourse] (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1994), 239.
- ¹⁶ Ali and Effendy, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam*, 165-6.
- ¹⁷ van Bruinessen, *NU Tradisi Relasi-Relasi Kuasa*, 246.
- ¹⁸ Interview with Masdar F. Mas'udi, 9 February 2000.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Quoted from a speech presented by Muslim Abdurrahman at a workshop on "Penelitian Potensi Masyarakat Muslim Perkotaan dan Pertumbuhan Wacana Civil Society" [Research on the potencies of the urban Muslim community and the growth of discourse on civil society] (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat), PKBI, Jakarta, 10-11 February 1999.
- ²⁴ Interview with Masdar F. Mas'udi, 9 February 2000.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Ibid.

- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Nurcholish Madjid, "Islam dan Politik: Suatu Tinjauan atas Prinsip-prinsip Hukum dan Keadilan" [Islam and politics: A study on the principles of law and justice], *Paramadina* 1 (July-December 1998): 50, as quoted by Ahmad Baso, *Civil Society versus Masyarakat Madani* (Jakarta: Lakpesdam, unpublished monograph, 1999), 256-7.
- ³¹ Nurcholish Madjid, "Memberdayakan Masyarakat Menuju Negeri Yang Adil, Terbuka dan Demokratis" [Empowering the community: Toward a just, open, and democratic country], in *Cita-cita Politik Islam Era Reformasi* [The Islamic political ideals of the reformation era] (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), 170-2.
- ³² Nurcholish Madjid, "Dinamika Budaya Pesisir dan Pedalaman" [The dynamism of coastal and inland culture], in *Islam, Kemodernan dan Ke-Indonesiaan* [Islam, modernity, and Indonesia] (Bandung: Mizan, 1987), 296.
- ³³ AS Hikam, *Demokrasi dan Civil Society* [Democracy and civil society] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), 3.
- ³⁴ Interview with Prof. Rifai Siregar of IAIN Medan, 21 January 2000.
- ³⁵ Interview with Dr M. Abdurrahman of IAIN Bandung, 1 March 2000.
- ³⁶ Interview with Dra. Udji Asiah of IAIN Surabaya, 26 February 2000.
- ³⁷ According to most observers of women's affairs, this program has been very successful in reducing youth marriage, promoting the use of birth control, and increasing awareness of the inequity of men's and women's traditional roles in the family. Because of this success, the Ford Foundation has made P3M's Islamic thought on women (*fiqh perempuan*) program the pilot project for similar programs conducted by NGOs in other parts of the Islamic world, such as Egypt, Pakistan, and Malaysia.
- ³⁸ Interview with Lies Marcus, 20 December 1999.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid.

