Volume 7 Issue 4 (2023) Pages 4764-4774
**Jurnal Obsesi : Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini**
ISSN: 2549-8959 (Online) 2356-1327 (Print)

# Salafi Madrasa, Nation, and (Pseudo-) Nationalism: A Case Study of Two Islamic Education Institutions in Indonesia

**Wahyu Mulyadi[1] , Sangkot Sirait[2], Sabarudin[3]**
Institut Agama Islam Muhammadiyah Bima, Indonesia(1), UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia(2), UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia(3)
DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

## Abstract
This research aims to examine the negotiations between two Islamic movement organizations, Salafi and Jamaah Ansharus Syariah (JAS), as conservative Islamic movements whose main goal is to return to the original sources of Islam, the Qur'an and As-Sunnah. This study uses a qualitative descriptive research design with data collection methods through observation, interactive interviews, and documentation conducted in two educational institutions owned by Salafi and JAS, using primary and secondary data sources. The research findings are as follows. First, it shows that Salafi and JAS, as fundamentalist movement groups, are capable of conducting cooperative negotiations using the concept of political agonism. Second, the negotiation process of Salafi and JAS emphasizes the concept of nationalism for the sake of the operational interests of educational institutions. Third, Salafi and JAS develop their movement ideology among students and their parents. This research portrays the existence of Pseudo Nationalism, positioning themselves in a contemporary style and acting as an anchor for balance, thereby impacting the existence and strengthening of their ideology.

**Keywords:** *Salafi Madrasa; Nation; Islamic Educational Institution; Nationalism*

Copyright (c) 2023 Wahyu Mulyadi, et al.

✉ Corresponding author : Wahyu Mulyadi
Email Address : wahyumul82@gmail.com (Bima, Indonesia)
Received 20 June 2023, Accepted 30 August 2023, Published 30 August 2023

## Introduction
In the national context, education is a mecca in the formation of a spirit of nationalism. Education has an important role in shaping individuals as national cadres who build a strong personality and high spirit of patriotism. Therefore, through education, it is possible to create a great nation and be able to realize the inherent principles of justice (Mursidin, 2019). Developing a complete human being by having a strong national character is the main goal of education in Indonesia (Daulay, 2012). In principle, building a complete human being certainly begins with building the human soul itself. More specifically, Islamic education is an integral part of the locomotive which is expected to be able to provide an inclusive, comprehensive and contextual understanding to support the aspirations of the nation. Specifically, the view of Islam as a comprehensive religion emphasizes that in Islam there is no separation between religion and state. In the Indonesian context, religion and the state should adopt a symbiotic paradigm, in which the two form entities that are interrelated and inseparable, the concept of a democratic state that has a religious dimension (Mutawali, 2015). The application of this view in Islamic education in Indonesia should produce a national spiritual character. Islamic

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

education in Indonesia has a strong formal footing, in which the government since before independence has established institutions to manage religious affairs. Through Islamic education, it is possible to form a young generation who has noble morals and intellectual intelligence. This goal is in line with the vision of Islamic education which manifests national values(Samsuriadi, 2017).

The reform era in 1998 was the beginning of social transformation in all aspects of the Indonesian nation's life which affected the process of transition of knowledge and beliefs of the people so that it gave birth to a new view of religion. The development of this religious perspective can be traced from the emergence of the concept of salafism, Jamaah Ansharusy Syari'ah (JAS) and other religious understandings which have become one of the locomotives for studies in the field of religion and the implementation of Islamic education in Indonesia. This can be seen from the massive development of the religious ideology of Salafism, they succeeded in spreading da'wah with a modern approach with various strategies. For example, Sunarwoto in his research revealed that salafists do among other things, they extensively use modern technology such as television, radio, books, magazines and the internet(Sunarwoto, 2016).

The use of internet technology by salafi as parenting for early childhood is also carried out through the Nusa animation series as a form of spreading da'wah, in which the salafi develops it through a digital application with the term "Nussa and Friends"(Mustakim et al., 2022). This shows the existence of a salafi strategy which is an attitude of political agonism, so that its existence can be socially accepted in social life, so that the spread of the movement can also run well. JAS. are both religious groups (Pos-Islamism) that have an ideological orientation. Especially with regard to the importance of practicing religious traditions based on the Qur'an and As-Sunnah in various aspects of life, including in the implementation of Islamic education (Moch Nur Ichwan & Muhammad Wildan, 2019).

Noorhaidi Hansan stated that the development of Salafi groups and JAS gave birth to new tendencies in Islamic activism in Indonesia, although they showed a different identity and ambition to return to "pure Islam" as practiced by pious predecessors (*salaf al-salih*) (Hasan, 2008). Practically speaking, Salafi understanding is basically an expansion of a transnational ideology that seeks to "negotiate" with the concept of nationalism in Indonesia. Noorhaidi Hasan explains that the presence of Salafi in Indonesia can be traced back from the mid-1980s (Hasan, 2008). Salafis are here to carry out purification of Islamic teachings with the agenda of returning to conservative Islam by adhering to the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah (Muhammaddin, 2013). According to Wiktorowicz, this group seeks to carry out non-violent propagation, purification and education which must be based on the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah (Wiktorowicz, 2006).

JAS is a religious group that has a tendency towards the principle of al-bayan jihad (explanation). By Bayan, what JAS meant was suppressing the use of the media as a communicative means in providing Muslims with an understanding of Islamic law and conveying good and forbidding evil while still adhering to the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah as well as the principles of the correct creed according to the guidance of the Prophet, Khulafaur Rasyidin and salaf al-Salih. In another aspect, Salafi and JAS also have a different firqah from the understanding of traditional Islamic society, which in general, in practicing religious rituals, tends to follow the pattern of education and worship as in the Islamic organization group NU (Nahdatul Ulama). This fact can be seen from the self-exclusiveness of the Salafi and JAS groups, especially in religious activities such as not carrying out prayer and dhikr rituals together after prayer, especially in mosques. This kind of problem can certainly lead to a rigid and suspicious attitude between the Salafi and JAS groups and traditional Islamic society which results in claims of truth regarding the interpretation of religious texts which creates a distance for interaction with people outside their community. Of course, these differences have the potential to give birth to religious problems in people's lives (Mahmudah, 2017).

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

Apart from the differences in religious ideological manhaj, these two religious groups have almost the same beliefs by not believing in the concept of "Nation State" and they do not believe in democratic instruments as a system within the nation state such as elections created to determine leaders in government. This is because the democratic system has no clear history in the history of the development of Islam since the Prophet, Companions, and pious predecessors (salaf al-salih). Meanwhile, the position of the JAS group in determining Islamic holidays did not follow the government before a decision was made from the organizational leader regarding the position of the new moon (Rachman Assegaf, 2017).

Salafi and JAS, theologically tend to want the concept of government violations based on the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah texts as the main guidelines/principles of life for all areas of people's lives. A study related to a similar matter was carried out by Suaib Tahir where in the preaching of salafiayah by using the method of mobilizing the people through the organization, by providing an understanding so that they should return to the Al-Qur'an and Sunah (Tahir, 2019). However, salafi and JAS, in matters of organizing the field of Islamic education, still follow the legal and administrative rules that apply in the Nation State system, such as taking care of licensing for the benefit of their formal educational institutions. Even though there is an ideologically counter-productive side between the concept of a Nation State government based on nationalism and the understanding of the Salafi and JAS groups who seek to restore a conservative way of life by returning to the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah and Salaf Al-Salih (Miftahuddin, 2015). These two religious groups also established formal educational institutions as organizational da'wah institutions in the education sector such as PAUD educational institutions which have obtained operational permits in accordance with legal provisions and laws applicable in the democratic system of the Nation State, including PAUD institutions with Salafi views and JAS. in the Bima area.

The establishment of early childhood education institutions (PAUD) belonging to Salafi and JAS such as RA Imam Syafi'i (Salafi) and TK Al-Iman (JAS) in the Bima area at a glance has similarities with a number of PAUD institutions in general as institutions for the development of motoric learning for young children. early. It's just that, in the applicative realm, if one looks closely, the PAUD educational institutions belonging to the Salafi and JAS groups symbolically seem to be neglectful and far away in displaying posters that reflect nationalism in education providers, such as not displaying photos of the President and Vice President, the symbol of the bird. Garuda, did not carry out the flag ceremony as a form of instilling a spirit of nationalism in early childhood.

This research is focused on analyzing the formal aspects of the process of negotiating Islamic education institutions with a system of nationalism at the level of PAUD institutions owned by salafi and JAS which tend to be conservative. That is, which includes various elements such as communication, negotiations, policies, and interactions with those who represent the system of nationalism. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, research on the negotiation of Islamic education by the Salafi and JAS groups with nationalism in educational studies has not been carried out much, including in the Bima region. Previous studies generally only focused on the existential realm of Islam and nationalism as the ideological basis of education and some research on the history of the integration of Islamic education in the national education system. The final results of this study are expected to provide an empirical picture of symbolic domination related to the negotiation of Salafi and JAS groups with nationalism in the delivery of education, especially at the PAUD level in the Bima area of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB). Because of this, this research is very important to be carried out in order to support public information related to the model of negotiating Islamic education policies of the Salafi and JAS groups with a system of nationalism in the implementation of education in Indonesia.

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

## Methodology

This research uses descriptive qualitative research. This research is intended to describe the basic principles of the process of "Negotiating Islamic Education and Nationalism" in Early Childhood Education institutions affiliated with Salafi and JAS in Bima. This research uses an interdisciplinary approach by combining two scientific disciplines through a sociological perspective and Islamic education. There are two sources of data in this study, namely, primary and secondary data. Primary data is focused on school principals, deputy principals, teachers, administrative staff, parents, and government elements, namely the Bima City education office and the Bima City Ministry of Religion which oversees the legal framework for RA Imam Syafi'i and Al-Iman Kindergarten. While the secondary data sources are documents and reading materials related to school profiles, letters, statements, books, leaflets, brochures, posters, bulletins, and various other written documents that support research results.

This study used three data collection methods, namely, interviews, observation and documentation. While the data analysis technique used is through three processes including data condensation, presenting or displaying data, drawing conclusions and verifying (conclusion, drawing/verifying) (Miles et al., 2014). Presenting data and drawing conclusions or verification, the researchers used the analytical model presented by Miles and Hubermas as shown below; (Miles et al., 2014).

## Result and Discussion

Negotiations between Islamic Education Institutions and Nationalism refer to dialogue involving both parties to reach understanding and agreements related to education, religion and nationalism. The approach used in this negotiation is cooperative negotiation. in this case, both parties focus on individual or group interests and the interests of other parties or other groups to seek common ground in building an agreement. As for the second position of the RA Imam Syafi'i Education Institution and Al-Iman Kindergarten which incidentally are under the auspices of the Social Religious Movement, namely Salafi and Jamaah Anshorus Syariah, they use the concept of a cooperative negotiation approach. The movement built by the salafi and JAS in ensuring its existence by following various government regulations with a textualism persuasive approach. This reflects its commitment to the principles of the national education order with all applicable rules and laws as a prerequisite for being able to carry out the commitment and become the movement's big mission.

Noorhaidi Hasan describes something similar by seeing that in the context of contemporary Indonesia, Islamic movements such as Salafi and JAS adopted education, namely, establishing Islamic schools by embracing a modern education system which then obtained permission from the government through the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Religion (Hasan, 2009). This is a pattern of political agonism carried out by the salafi movement and JAS to perpetuate ideological transformation and social existence. Because of this, this issue is the demand of the salafis in establishing a foundation called the Minhajus Salaf Al-Islami Foundation (Abu Thalhah Bendara Yayasan Minhajus Salaf Al-Islamy Bima, personal communication, June 24, 2021). With this foundation, education was born, starting from the level of early childhood education to the level of Private Aliyah Madrasah Education (MAS).

Syahrudin Secretary of the Minhajus Salaf Al-Islami Foundation also believes that in general in establishing Educational Institutions one must be able to meet the requirements set by the government through the Ministry of Religion (Syahrudin, Sekretaris Yayasan Minhajus Salaf Al-Islami, personal communication, June 24, 2021). From a certain angle, there are various things that must be obeyed by the foundation so that its existence can be maintained. Likewise, the existence of Al-Iman Kindergarten certainly goes through a process of stages determined by the Education and Culture Department with clear requirements regarding the

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

establishment of an early childhood education institution (PAUD) (Indah Dwi Pertiwi Kepala TK Al-Iman, personal communication, July 19, 2021).

In their operations, Salafi and JAS make the national curriculum a guide in developing education that reflects modern education by combining the local curriculum owned by each of these Islamic movement groups. This is also very much needed to legitimize salafi educational institutions and JAS in the eyes of the law. The national curriculum is a curriculum that must be implemented, because developing a local curriculum must also be in accordance with the national education curriculum even though this step is considered an alternative in maintaining existence and recognition (Ernawati, 2022). The above description is in line with what Hayati stated that what is being done by Islamic movements such as Islamic schools in general is not something taboo, where Islamic schools such as salafi combine quality public education with Islamic ethos and morals; for example on Islamic practices such as praying, memorizing hadiths and short verses and efforts to incorporate Islamic principles and values into the curriculum. Hayati also stated that in learning that allows it to be adjusted to the level of development of students, as well as accommodating the fulfillment of learning needs that can be done with integrated learning that combines a concept into several material or thematic learning (Hayati, 2021). This is reinforced by a document owned by the Minhajus Salaf Al-Islami Foundation, that is included in the Foundation's profile regarding the use of the curriculum by adopting the Saudi Arabian curriculum related to Islamic subject matter. However, this is different from the implementation of the local curriculum in TK AL-Iman.

Al-Iman Kindergarten in developing the local curriculum does not directly adopt the curriculum used in Saudi Arabia, but in principle the method used remains the same, in which children are taught through simple concepts by memorizing short verses, short prayers. and reduced drawing of living things and singing except singing using Islamic songs such as songs to memorize hijaiyah letters and others (Indah Dwi Pertiwi Kepala TK Al-Iman, personal communication, July 19, 2021). In the development of operational management systems in educational institutions belonging to the Salafi community, there is generally a dual curriculum used, in which the national curriculum is the most important to use in accordance with the demands of the education law which requires the use of the national curriculum (Yati & Yaswinda, 2019). On the other hand, the use of the local curriculum will also support the mission of the salafi movement by adopting the Saudi Arabian curriculum (Islamy et al., 2022). Of course, the obstacle in developing a management system is relatively there because there is a dualism of curricula used in two different countries.

In principle, at RA Imam Syafi'i did not teach songs or songs that were in accordance with the expectations of the National curriculum, because this was very contrary to the hadith that singing is haram; "Indeed, there will really be among my Ummah a group of people who justify adultery, silk, alcohol and musical instruments". In line with the above, Rodiah Head of RA Imam Syafi'I said, that to divert children from playing music and singing, they will focus on memorizing, playing musical instruments, replaced with hitting tables and bottles to train their hearing with the theme Five Idra (K. R. I. S. Rodiah, personal communication, 05 2021). For example, suppose in the "Carnival" activity where the government requires schools to get involved in it as a form of celebrating big holidays such as Independence Day, Bima's birthday. So, RA Imam Syafi'i was not directly involved in supporting the program, because it was considered that there were no examples of what Salafus Salih had done. Things that don't have examples from Salafus Saleh should not be implemented, because the harm is greater than the benefits.

In contrast to what was conveyed by RA Imam Syafi'i, that which was applied to Al-Iman Kindergarten actually supports it by always being involved in activities such as carnivals in welcoming the big day of independence, Bima's birthday by involving students to enliven it. So, Al-Iman Kindergarten continues to take part in it, in her presentation Dwi Indah Lestari emphasized that in every government activity or program that requests that schools be involved in it, the school is fully supported, because Al-Iman's existence is indeed under the

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

control of Education and Culture. and teach the spirit of nationalism to students (Indah Dwi Pertiwi Kepala TK Al-Iman, personal communication, June 15, 2021).

Obedience to leaders for Salafis is the most important thing, because it is part of the purification of Islam which should be emulated by Muslims in general. The argument for obedience to leaders is clear, both contained in the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah. However, in essence, in educational programs when there are no examples of Salafus Salih, such as Carnivals, Parades, and even Flag ceremonies, then they will not be carried out. This has led to alienation and self-isolation from national relations, even though in essence, however, the state has become a blunt point in all activities, because every institution is of course regulated by the state and the foundation does not appear to be conservative in drawing conclusions. In general, the educational model found in RA Imam Safi'i is indeed very different from the educational model found in Al-Iman Kindergarten. Which in RA Imam Syafi'i is more specifically the center for the development of the religious model of the Manhaj Salaf (Irham, 2016). In developing his manhaj, Salafi uses two learning methods with exclusive models (Saada, 2018).

The antagonism and agonism played by Salafi and JAS in developing educational institutions for the sake of harmonizing and maintaining ideology and existence, namely by adopting national demands, such as using a set curriculum, operational permits, school accreditation and those related to other administrations is by playing imaginary nationalism so that it can it is believed that they are in it (Kaur, 2018). In carrying out the education program that is nationalism, the RA Imam Syafi'i educational institution and TK Al-Iman, were impressed by the messages representing the idea of nationalism, which had indeed been determined and agreed upon through the foundation formed, namely the Minhajus Salaf Al-Islamy (Salafi) foundation. and the Subulussalam Foundation (JAS) (Alkatiri, 2014). Other things that support the level of public trust in their social activities, is the ability of educational institutions to create educational outputs that can convince the public of the quality obtained.

**Table. 1 Negotiation of Islamic Education and Imaginary Nationalism at Ra Imam Syafi'i;**

| No | Aspects Observed | Agonism | Antagonism |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Involved in the democratic process (election of President and Vice President, DPR, and Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors) | | √ |
| 2 | Deed of Establishment of Educational Institutions | √ | |
| 3 | Operational license | √ | |
| 4 | PAUD Operational Assistance (BOP) | √ | |
| 5 | Curriculum | √ | |
| 6 | Local Curriculum | | √ |
| 7 | School Accreditation | √ | |
| 8 | Flag Ceremony | | √ |
| 9 | Carnival During National Holidays | | √ |
| 10 | National Day Ceremony | | √ |
| 11 | Celebrating Bima's birthday | | √ |

The table 1 conservatively shows that RA Imam Syafi'i, clearly shows their non-involvement in national events, namely part of the democratic process in the context of the election of the President and vice president, election of the DPR and DPRD as well as the election of the governor/deputy governor, the election of the regent/deputy Regent and Mayor/Deputy Mayor. But on the other hand, in the educational institutions they control, they are able to play the role of cooperative negotiation by borrowing ideas and ideas designed by the state through symbols of nationalism. As can be seen in the table above, the concept of nationalism, such as their (Salafi) involvement in making the deed of establishment, starts with the deed of the foundation in the field of education as a non-profit organization with a legal entity, and then goes down to the management of the deed of establishment of the educational

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

institution, operational permits, usage the national curriculum, as well as the accreditation of educational institutions by the National Accreditation Board for Early Childhood Education (BAN PAUD), all of which are of course processed with the concept of nationalism. This is part of the ability of Salafis through educational institutions to carry out cooperative negotiations. Mouffe is of the view in this regard, even in Islamic political power that is carried out by Salafis through the RA Imam Syafi'i educational institution, namely not opposing but they will just face it or in terms it is called political agonism (Mouffe, 2013).

**Table. 2 Negotiation of Islamic Education and Imaginary Nationalism in Al-Iman Kindergart**

| No | Aspects Observed | Agonism | Antagonism |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Involved in the democratic process (election of President and Vice President, DPR, and Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors) | | √ |
| 2 | Deed of Establishment of Educational Institutions | √ | |
| 3 | Operational license | √ | |
| 4 | PAUD Operational Assistance (BOP) | √ | |
| 5 | Curriculum | √ | |
| 6 | Local Curriculum | √ | |
| 7 | School Accreditation | √ | |
| 8 | Flag Ceremony | √ | |
| 9 | Carnival During National Holidays | √ | |
| 10 | National Day Ceremony | √ | |
| 11 | Celebrating Bima's birthday | √ | |

At the Al-Iman Kindergarten educational institution, the table above shows that conservatively it is not too much different from RA Imam Syafi'i which clearly shows their disengagement from national events as described above, that is they are not much involved in any part of the process. democracy in the framework of Presidential and Deputy Presidential Elections, DPR and DPRD Elections as well as Governor/Deputy Governor Elections, Regent/Deputy Regent and Mayor/Deputy Mayor Elections. However, when there is pressure that requires them to be involved, then they will also be involved in the democratic process in the sense that in the presidential election contest when an opponent's victory can threaten the Islamic faith, then they will be present as democratic participants to win a champion who can save the Islamic faith.

From the table above, it also shows that Al-Iman Kindergarten does not present too much with an antagonism approach, but always uses political agonism, by carrying out all the administration that is determined and becoming a consensus in the world of education. Included in the receipt of Educational Operational Assistance (BOP), they always receive and utilize BOP funds, including among other things for honorariums for teachers (Umul Inayah Guru TK Al-Iman, personal communication, Mei 2021). Celebrating the birthday of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17 1945, the school always celebrates it at school with various competitions (Indah Dwi Pertiwi Kepala TK Al-Iman, personal communication, June 15, 2021).

A social theory put forward by Imre Lakatos in the philosophy of science quoted by Rustam Ibrahim, that in a scientific paradigm in which anomalies occur, it will still be able to maintain its existence if it has three things; first, the progressive research program, namely movement groups or educational institutions that remain progressive in all socially acceptable programs. Second, full fruit, namely movement groups or educational institutions can provide many useful results for social life. Third, a protective belt, namely if its existence from educational institutions or movement organizations can be accepted and protected by the community (Ibrahim, 2014).

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

From this theoretical approach, this study observes that the existence of the educational model in TK Al-Iman and RA Imam Syafi'i still exists with cooperative abilities and has good programs and can be accepted by stakeholders by showing outputs that are considered quality by society as a whole. social. This research elaborates on the above theory in the context of Al-Iman Kindergarten and RA Imam Syafi'i which are essentially educational institutions under the auspices of social-religious movement groups as inheritors of puritan theological da'wah which are considered conservative, but are able and still exist in the midst of a very high current of education. modern with the demands of the world of education in the era of society 5.0, namely education that emphasizes character, moral and exemplary education.

The existence of the educational model at TK Al-Iman and RA Imam Syafi'i is generally assessed by stakeholders from both the government and parents as consumers of education who are very positively accepted by looking at the quality of the output or alumni produced. As stated by Saprijal, alumni from Al-Iman Kindergarten are very satisfying for the community, especially for parents who directly as consumers get results from children's development that are better than expectations. Even children at the PAUD level who shouldn't be too demanding to be able to read, but at Al-Iman Kindergarten, they have been able to produce alumni who can memorize short verses and short prayers (Saprijal, Bidang Pembina Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini dan Pendidikan Non Formal Kota Bima, personal communication, November 29, 2021). The same thing was also conveyed by Maria Ulfa, that she as a parent representative felt very satisfied with the educational model carried out by Al-Iman Kindergarten that their children went beyond the development of children of the same age as their age (Maria Ulfa, Wali Murid TK Al-Iman, personal communication, July 21, 2021).
Stakeholder satisfaction is of course very influential on community support for the existence of the educational model that is carried out, so that it will be protected from disturbances that can threaten its existence from things that are not desirable, namely threats that arise from various irresponsible parties (Tasyah et al., 2021). The characteristics of good leadership will produce better quality education, its role as a leader in carrying out its functions must be able to provide services in improving and developing educational organizations and institutions to human resources, because the leadership carried out by the mudir is always oriented towards quality and educational programs (Ginting & Haryati, 2012). In the organization of the Salafi movement it is indeed different from JAS, Salafi in essence does not have an organizational structure like JAS which in its structure starts from a chairman, secretary and treasurer as well as members. However, Salafis are still able to coordinate their members by forming emotional bonds that are born from a single understanding and ideology through the recitations held.

Negotiations are carried out as a process to strengthen cooperative relationships that are carried out to maintain existence in a movement to achieve the mission of an organization, it will be necessary to display politeness. Thus, the mission and goals will run smoothly according to maximum expectations. In the negotiation theory that people will use politeness strategies, as stated by Jhon Thibaut and Harlod Kelley that when people want to get to the top of their goals he suggests interacting politely (Settle, 2018). Al-Iman Kindergarten in convincing stakeholders of the implementation of education by using relatively good interactions by continuing to try to carry out programs of activities according to the orders of the Education Office such as using operational permits, continuing to use the national curriculum, accredited schools, and other programs from the Office as a form of cooperative by reflecting the attitude of nationalism. Apart from that, RA Imam Syafi'i also showed more to the public to ensure his existence with the Al-Qur'an Education service program by getting into the habit of memorizing short verses, prayers and short hadiths..

Political agonism as a strategy used in the educational program of RA Imam Syafi and TK Al-Iman is very clear, which, when viewed from the point of view of Thibaut and Kelley, is that they are involved in a "sequence of behavior", or a series of actions designed to achieve their goal. This sequence is at the core of what Thibaut and Kelley conceptualizes as the

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

exchange of social interests (Settle, 2018). RA Imam Syafi'i and TK AL-Imam with a political agonism approach, to achieve goals even if they are contrary to the goals of opponents, they will always carry out education and religion as described above. This is because it is the most urgent thing to influence behavior, because incorporating basic moral concepts into each individual can influence mass behavior. Moral concepts and religious teachings also have some connection with belief systems (Sirait, 2016a).

Sangkot Sirait emphasized that it is not surprising that in turn these concepts play an important role in changing the behavior and beliefs of the community or stakeholders in what is being done. Despite the controversy, people generally seek information to substantiate their stance and they don't take sides. In this case, the moral teachings obtained will be the sole determinant (Sirait, 2016b). Islamic education which is a concept and applied science to change society from certain conditions to be better based on cultural and moral values, can be played to convince the public of the existence of educational institutions so that their existence is in demand and protected. Sangkot Sirait in Islamic Education in the Perspective of Islam Nusantara states that the highest traditions embedded in society from the start are wise behavior, life balance, accommodating, and maintaining peace, while moral values are concepts rooted in Islam and rationality (Sirait, 2016b).

Salafi and JAS try to reveal their nationalist background, but still maintain their mindset and ideology. The same thing was conveyed by Zaini Tamin AR that in preaching through educational institutions, Salafis always offer a mindset that is manhaj salaf to other institutions by using the "clothes" of other institutions but still holding opinions with their own ideology (Ar & Riduwan, 2020). Other efforts made by the Salafi and JAS through educational institutions to ensure that education can be accepted, especially in terms of the implementation of religious education in Bima. In general, the Islamic community, especially in Bima, really wants their children to be the best generation who don't waste their time on most useless things.

## Conclusion

From the analysis above, it can be concluded that the salafi groups and Jamaah Ansharusy Syariah (JAS) negotiate with the government through the establishment of educational institutions, such as Raodatul Athfal (RA) Imam Syafi'i and TK Al-Iman, under the supervision of the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education and Culture. Even though both are fundamentalist conservative groups, the negotiations that took place were cooperative, especially in the aspect of education with a political attitude of agonism. However, in a political context, both salafi and JAS reject aggregate democracy and do not participate in the election of leaders. Decisions should have been taken through deliberations based on Al-Qur'an Surat Asy-Syura verse 38. Thus, these negotiations demonstrate cooperation in education despite having political differences and views on democracy

## Acknowledgment

Thank you especially to the Postgraduate Director of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Prof. Dr. H. Abdul Mustaqim, S.Ag., M.Ag., Head of Postgraduate Islamic Studies Study Program (S3) UIN Sunan Kalijaga Ahmad Rafiq, S.Ag., M.Ag., Ph.D and to Mohammad Fauziddin, Swasti Maharani and the other team as editors and reviewers of the Journal of Obsession: Journal of Early Childhood Education who have provided constructive input in writing this article.

## References

Abu Thalhah Bendara Yayasan Minhajus Salaf Al-Islamy Bima. (2021, June 24). *Proses Negosiasi Pendidikan Islam Dan Nasionalisme Pada Ra Imam Syafi'i* [Wawancara di Kantor Yayasan Jam. 10.00].

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

Alkatiri, Z. (2014). Pseudo Nationalism of the Commercial Companies on the Commemoration of Indonesian National Holidays through Non-Commercial Advertising in Print Media in the Years of 1980 to 2008. *Advances in Historical Studies*, *03*(03), 155–169. https://doi.org/10.4236/ahs.2014.33014

Ar, Z. T., & Riduwan, R. (2020). Resistensi Dakwah Salafi terhadap Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah di Sidoarjo. *SANGKéP: Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan*, *3*(1), 51–68. https://doi.org/10.20414/sangkep.v3i1.1881

Daulay, H. P. (2012). *Pendidikan Islam Dalam Sistem Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (I). Kencana.

Ernawati, F. (2022). Penjaminan Mutu Calon Guru Anak Usia Dini di Perguruan Tinggi Kota Surakarta. *Jurnal Obsesi : Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini*, *6*(6), 6296–6308. https://doi.org/10.31004/obsesi.v6i6.3245

Ginting, R., & Haryati, T. (2012). *Kepemimpinan Dan Konteks Peningkatan Mutu Pendidikan*. *2*.

Hasan, N. (2008). *Laskar Jihad; Islam, Militansi, dan Pencarian Identitas di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*. Pustaka LP3ES.

Hasan, N. (2009). 9 The Salafi Madrasas of Indonesia. *Amsterdam University Press*, 247–274.

Hayati, M. (2021). Pengembangan Program Pembelajaran Tematik Berbasis Nilai-Nilai Keislaman untuk TK/RA. *Jurnal Obsesi : Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini*, *6*(1), 457–472. https://doi.org/10.31004/obsesi.v6i1.938

Ibrahim, R. (2014). Eksistensi Pesantren Salaf di Tengah Arus Pendidikan Modern. *Analisa*, *21*(2), 253. https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v21i02.19

Indah Dwi Pertiwi Kepala TK Al-Iman. (2021, June 15). *Pengembangan Kurikulum Lokal TK Al-Iman* [Wawancara].

Indah Dwi Pertiwi Kepala TK Al-Iman. (2021, July 19). *Pentingnya Generasi Umat dan Eksistensi Lembaga Pendidikan Formal* [Wawancara].

Irham, I. (2016). Pesantren Manhaj Salafi: Pendidikan Islam Model Baru Di Indonesia. *Ulul Albab Jurnal Studi Islam*, *17*(1), 1. https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v17i1.3252

Islamy, M. R. F., Sumayana, Y., & Tantowi, Y. A. (2022). Membangun Imunitas Anti Radikalisme pada Anak Usia Dini melalui Pembelajaran Berbasis Nilai-Nilai Pesantren. *Jurnal Obsesi : Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini*, *6*(6), 7093–7104. https://doi.org/10.31004/obsesi.v6i6.2219

Kaur, D. K. (2018). New Narratives Of Nationalism And Media Interventions. *Pramana Research Journal*, *8*(2249), 7. https://www.pramanaresearch.org/gallery/prj_c_d_28.pdf

Mahmudah, H. (2017). Transmisi Ideologi Fundamentalisme Dalam Pendidikan. *TAJDID: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman dan Kemanusiaan*, *1*(2), 200–216. https://doi.org/10.52266/tadjid.v1i2.45

Maria Ulfa, Wali Murid TK Al-Iman. (2021, July 21). *Dampak Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini pada TK Al-Iman* [Wawancara di SMP 5 Kota Bima tempat Ngajar Maria Ulfa].

Miftahuddin, M.-. (2015). Nasionalisme Indonesia: Nasionalisme Pancasila. *Mozaik: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, *4*(1). https://doi.org/10.21831/moz.v4i1.4386

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (Third edition). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Moch Nur Ichwan, & Muhammad Wildan. (2019). *Islamisme Dan Pos-Islamisme dalam Dinamika Politik Indonesia Kontemporer* (1st ed.). SUKA-Press Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

Mouffe, C. (2013). *Agonistics: Thinking the world politically*.

Muhammaddin. (2013). Manhaj Salafiyah. *Jurnal Ilmu Agama: Mengkaji Doktrin, Pemikiran, Dan Fenomena Agama*, *14*(2), 147–161.

Mursidin, M. (2019). Pendidikan Agama Islam Berbasis Nasionalisme. *Ta'dib: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, *8*(1), 566–576. https://doi.org/10.29313/tjpi.v8i1.4515

DOI: 10.31004/obsesi.v7i4.4879

Mustakim, B., Hasan, N., & Lessy, Z. (2022). Popular Islamist Authoritative Parenting: A Contest of Identity in Islamic Education for Early Childhood. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, *19*(2), 179–192. https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.2022.192-01

Mutawali, M. (2015). Islam Dan Negara (Kedudukan Dan Hubungan Agama/Syari'ah Dan Negara). *Al-Ittihad*, 1(2). https://e-journal.stisbima.ac.id/index.php/ittihad/article/view/13

Rachman Assegaf, Abd. (2017). Gerakan Transnasional Islam Dan Globalisasi Salafi Di Islamic Center Bin Baz Yogyakarta. *Millah*, *16*(2), 147–172. https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol16.iss2.art1

Rodiah, K. R. I. S. (2021, 05). *Pengembangan Kurikulum Lokal RA Imam Syafi'i* [Wawancara di Lingkungan Ponpes Salaf Imam Syafi'i Kota Bima].

Saada, N. (2018). The Theology of Islamic Education from Salafi and Liberal Perspectives. *Religious Education*, *113*(4), 406–418. https://doi.org/10.1080/00344087.2018.1450607

Samsuriadi, S. (2017). Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *TARBAWI : Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, *2*(02), 181–190. https://doi.org/10.26618/jtw.v2i02.1038

Saprijal, Bidang Pembina Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini dan Pendidikan Non Formal Kota Bima. (2021, November 29). *Ijin Operasional Lembaga Pendidikan* [Wawancara di Kantor Dikbud Kota Bima].

Settle, Q. (2018). Introducing Communication Theory: Analysis and Application. *Journal of Applied Communications*, *102*(3). https://doi.org/10.4148/1051-0834.1223

Sirait, S. (2016a). Islamic Education in the Perspective of Islam Nusantara. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, *5*(1), 133. https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2016.51.133-148

Sirait, S. (2016b). Moderate Muslim: Mapping the Ideology of Mass Islamic Organizationsin Indonesia. *Journal of Islamic Studies and Culture*, *4*(1). https://doi.org/10.15640/jisc.v4n1a14

Sunarwoto. (2016). Salafi Dakwah Radio: A Contest for Religious Authority. *Archipel*, *91*, 203–230. https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.314

Syahrudin, Sekretaris Yayasan Minhajus Salaf Al-Islami. (2021, June 24). *Penerapan Kurikulum Pada Lembaga Pendidikan RA Imam Syafi'i* [Wawancara di Kantor Yayasan].

Tahir, S. (2019). Gerakan Dakwah Salafiyyah dan Pokok-pokok Pemikirannya. *Mumtaz: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an dan Keislaman*, *1*(2), 143–158. https://doi.org/10.36671/mumtaz.v1i2.15

Tasyah, A., Septiya, S., Jasriyani P. S., Fernanda, A. R., & Azani, C. P. (2021). Best practice kebijakan e-government dalam mengimplementasikan pelayanan publik di era new normal. *Jurnal Studi Ilmu Sosial dan Politik*, *1*(1), 21–33. https://doi.org/10.35912/jasispol.v1i1.163

Umul Inayah Guru TK Al-Iman. (2021, Mei). *Pentingnya Lembaga Pendidikan Formal Bagi Generasi Islam* [Wawancara].

Wiktorowicz, Q. (2006). Anatomy of the Salafi Movement. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *29*(3), 207–239. https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100500497004

Yati, F., & Yaswinda, Y. (2019). Penerapan Model Evaluasi CIPPO dalam Mengevaluasi Penyelenggaraan Lembaga PAUD. *Jurnal Obsesi : Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini*, *4*(1), 30. https://doi.org/10.31004/obsesi.v4i1.238