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Integration of Hindu Values into Islamic Education System to Foster Tolerant Living (a Case Study at Bali Bina Insani Islamic Boarding School, Indonesia)

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Abstract

This article analyzes the integration of local Hindu cultural values into an Islamic education system in Bali, Indonesia. To collect the data, the researchers adopted observation, interview, and document analysis. After the data were collected, the researchers analyzed them in the light of social construction theory. The results showed that the integration could be explained well from the perspective of social construction. It started with the construction of the integration concept by the founder of the school. The moment of externalization started with the sharing of the concept. Policies on teacher recruitment, curriculum, and social disciplines would have supported the integration. Hindu teachers were recruited to teach at the Islamic school. Some subjects were enriched with points supporting the integration and a set of social disciplines was indoctrinated to the students. This objectivation moment then produced the internationalization of the concepts by the members of the school. Finally, the whole school members could accept and interact with people of other religions in a tolerant manner. The integration itself proved not only that social construction could be done in the education field, but it also gave an example of how to foster tolerance in a country of multi-religion through a multicultural education approach. This was where the research got its significance, i.e. showing the model of education suitable for multi-religious countries to foster tolerant and peaceful living

Keywords: Islamic education system, integration, multicultural education, tolerant living.

1. Introduction

After the Bali bombing in 2002 and 2005, the social life between Muslims and Hindu people in Bali tends to be weak. Many Balinese, who are predominantly Hindu, think that Islam legalizes and supports acts of violence. That led to the assumption among Hindus that Islam was close to acts of terrorism and violence. This was exacerbated by media coverage, which often portrayed Muslims as violent and dangerous individuals.¹

The Bali bombings also resulted in increased surveillance and negative perceptions towards migrants from Java (*nak Jawa*), who are predominantly Muslim. Media coverage often portrayed Muslims as violent and dangerous, further exacerbating negative sentiments towards Muslims in Bali, including those who were not directly involved in the bombings.²

The acts of terrorism that occurred in Bali, however, have left psychological problems and lingering trauma, which until now have not been completely healed.³ This also creates a stigma that Islam is an intolerant religion and is not friendly to Balinese local culture.⁴ However, according to studies of some Indonesianist-anthropologists, Islam in Indonesia has very tolerant characteristics. Kato (2018), for example, found that the tolerance shown by traditional Islam in Indonesia was emphasized with two main areas, namely tolerance of local religious rituals and tolerance of minority groups. The

¹ Bakhruddin Fannani and Moh. Anas Kholish, "Religion, Media and Peacebuilding: How Does Buddhist TV Promote Harmony between Religious Followers in Malang," *Peradaban Journal of Religion and Society* 1, no. 1 (July 17, 2022): 22–30, <https://doi.org/10.59001/pjrs.v1i1.29>.

² Eka Ningtyas, "Mepeed Dan Wacana Ajeg Bali: Sukawati Pasca Bom Bali 2002," *Lembaran Sejarah* 14, no. 2 (May 7, 2019): 119, <https://doi.org/10.22146/lembaran-sejarah.45435>.

³ Garry J Stevens et al., "Long-term Health and Wellbeing of People Affected by the 2002 Bali Bombing," *Medical Journal of Australia* 198, no. 5 (March 2013): 273–77, <https://doi.org/10.5694/mja12.11480>.

⁴ Amin Tohari and Moch. Khafidz Fuad Raya, "THE MEANING OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION ON THE RESILIENCE OF MUSLIM MINORITY IN BALINESE HINDUS," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies* 5, no. 1 (July 28, 2021): 77, <https://doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v5i1.8686>.

relationship between Islam and local culture in other parts of Indonesia has created no problem.

Bali Bina Insani Islamic Boarding School (BBI-IBS) is one of the Islamic education institutions in Bali, a Hindu-dominated society. Its existence is very interesting amid the above situation. It is like an antithesis of the stigma that Islam is an intolerant of Balinese local culture. The Islamic boarding school has integrated a set of Balinese cultural norms called the *Awig awig pawongan* (rules of interaction with fellow human beings) culture into its education system. The norm is a wisdom of Balinese local society which contains a set of Balinese customary provisions and shall be adhered to by *krama* (society). These traditional rules regulate human-human relations to achieve social harmony.⁵

Within the Balinese Hindu community itself, there are several variants of relevant teachings as the basis for the formation of the rules called *Awig-awig*. Among them are *Awig-awig parahyangan* (the code of human-God relationship), *Awig-Awig palemahan* (the code of human-universe relationship), and *Awig-awig pawongan* (the code of human-human relationship) (Saihu, 2021). BBI-IBS has integrated the *Awig-awig Pawongan* into its Islamic education system.

This differs from most other Islamic educational institutions in Bali which have an exclusive tendency. Most Islamic education institutions in Bali ignore the *awig awig pawongan* values. Hence, BBI-IBS would be a good model for integrating two religious values that are seemingly very different, but very much aligned.

In this context, it is important to conduct research on the conceptual basis for integrating Balinese local culture into the Islamic education system. This research also aims to complement studies on the development of interfaith peacebuilding and the Islam-Hindu relationship in Bali. Existing studies on interfaith peacebuilding in Bali are still dominated by socio-anthropological studies. For example, studies on the role of tradition and local wisdom in the development of ethno-religious peace between Balinese Hindus and Muslims

⁵ Tohari and Raya.

(Ningtyas, 2019; Raya et al., 2023; Saihu, 2021; Sulistiono et al., 2019; Suwindia, 2012; Tohari & Raya, 2021). These studies conclude that efforts to build peace between Hindus and Muslims in Bali are supported by the local wisdom of the community, which strengthens the sense of brotherhood, tolerance, respect, and recognition of existing diversity. However, studies on the Hindu-Islam relationship in education have not received adequate attention. Specifically, how Hindu cultural values influence Islamic education in Bali, and how the integration of Balinese local values with existing Islamic education is addressed.

Therefore, this article attempts to analyze the integration of *Awig-awig pawongan* Hindu value into the Islamic education system developed by BBI-IBS. This integrated education system is a good model for integrating two sets of different religious values into an education system that can foster tolerance in society. With this evidence, the researchers argue that religion-based education system has the potential to cultivate tolerant inter-faith life if it sees the universal values of the faiths. In line with it, the present study attempted to answer the following questions regarding: (a) how the integration of Balinese Hindu cultural values and the Islamic education system was constructed as a social reality and (b) what the integration model of the Balinese cultural values into an Islamic education system is like.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Relations of Islam and Culture: A Theoretical Perspective of Islamic Integration and Local Culture

Religion and culture are two entities that are interrelated and can influence each other because they have values and symbols. Religion symbolizes obedience to God, while culture encompasses values and symbols for human life. Religion requires a symbol system; it requires religious culture.⁶ But the two need to be distinguished. Religion is

⁶ Kholish, *Menyemai Pendidikan Fikih Beyond The Wall: Menumbuhkan Living Toleransi Di Tengah Kebinekaan Mazhab Fikih Di Indonesia* (S. Rohmah, Ed.). *Inteligenia Media*, 2021.

something that is final, universal, eternal (perennial) and does not know change (absolute). Meanwhile, culture is particular, relative, and temporal. Islam as a religion that is bound by time and space cannot be denied that Islam has an intimate relationship with culture. It is not right to say that Islam is a cultural product, there are significant epistemological domain differences between Islam as a religion and culture.⁷

So, it is very inappropriate for the Quran to be said by Western orientalist and academics as a cultural product, because the Quran, which is the most authoritative source in Islam, was revealed by Allah to the Prophet Muhammad. The authenticity of its contents and contents is truly from God as the creator, so that it is called the words of God (*kalamullah*). However, at the same level, the Quran is not anti-cultural, because Allah sent it down with a cultural approach.⁸

Muslims believe that the Quran, written in Arabic, is the word of God. The Arabic language is utilized for a range of religious rituals as well. Muslims in various countries hold Arabic in high regard because of religious, educational, socio-cultural, and geographic reasons (Shlowiy, 2022). God's designation of Arabic as the language of the Quran shows the Quran was revealed with a cultural approach. Language is an integral part of culture, and religion often uses a language that is suitable for the culture in which the religion develops to convey its messages. By using language known and understood by the target population of the religion, it can more effectively communicate its teachings and make them more relevant to the understanding and experience of individuals within that culture.

Religion and culture are closely related aspects of human experience. They have a complex and intricate relationship. Culture reflects how humans understand and interact with the world, while religion provides a fundamental framework for understanding the

⁷ Mariam Rawan Abdulla, "Culture, Religion, and Freedom of Religion or Belief," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 16, no. 4 (October 2, 2018): 102–15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2018.1535033>.

⁸ Bassam Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429033513>.

world. Therefore, religion is not isolated from culture but is an integral part of it, influencing and being influenced by cultural developments. Religion can drive cultural expression, while culture also serves as a medium through which individuals can express the purpose and meaning that religion gives them.⁹

Abdurrahman Wahid, an Indonesian Islamic intellectual and former President of Indonesia, expressed his views regarding the relationship between religion (Islam) and culture. He argued that religion and culture have their own independence. Religion is based on revelation and has its own norms. Because it is normative, it tends to be permanent. On the other hand, culture is a human creation and tends to change. This difference does not prevent the possibility of manifesting religious life in cultural forms.¹⁰ It is from this perspective that Wahid (2006) introduced the term *pribumisasi Islam* (indigenization of Islam). This is intended as a productive effort to make Islam a grounded teaching system. Islam must be renewed so as not to lose its relevance to the local demands of the communities where its adherents live.¹¹

However, it is unfortunate when looking at the characteristics of Indonesian Islam which are still dominated by the “Arab centric personality”.¹² Shiddiqi (1997) revealed that Indonesian Islamic culture is predominantly based on customs in the Middle East, which may not in line with the culture of Indonesian society. He further argued that Islam developing in Indonesia is partly Hijazi Islam, shaped by the customs prevailing in the Hijaz, or Islam Mishry, formed based on the prevailing customs in Egypt, or Hindy Islam, formed based on customs prevailing in India. So far, Indonesian Muslims could not perform *ijtihad* (making judicial decision based on an

⁹ Abdulla, “Culture, Religion, and Freedom of Religion or Belief.”

¹⁰ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi*, Cet. 1 (Jakarta, Indonesia: Wahid Institute, 2006).

¹¹ Fathoni Ahmad, “ISLAM NUSANTARA MENURUT GUS DUR: KAJIAN PRIBUMISASI ISLAM,” *Mozaic: Islam Nusantara* 4, no. 1 (April 4, 2018): 21–40, <https://doi.org/10.47776/mozaic.v4i1.120>.

¹² Wahid Rumadi, *Fiqih Madzhab Negara*. LKiS., 2001.

independent interpretation of the Islamic legal sources) to achieve the Islam suitable for their personality.

Islam in Indonesia cannot be separated from Indonesian traditions or culture. Like Islam in Saudi Arabia, Arabism and Islamism coincide in such a way that sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the Islamic values and Arabian culture. Prophet Muhammad with the guidance of the God knew the sociology of Arabian society. So that he immediately used Arabic traditions to propagate Islam. As one example, when the Prophet migrated to Medina, he did not forbade the people there welcome him with the music and a song called *thala 'al-badru' Alaina*.¹³

In contrast to other religions, Islam in Indonesia was so elastic and soft to introduce Islamic symbols (for example, forms of worship buildings) or religious rites. In terms of architecture, the first mosques built resembled local Hindu architecture. Islam is seen as more tolerant of local cultural colors and patterns. Other religions brought their own architecture into Indonesia, for example, Buddha with its stupas and Christian with its Western style church buildings (Qorib, 2010). Islam did not bring in the Arab cultural symbols as one of the Islamic culture characters is open. This leads Islam to continue adopting local cultures which are in line with the main Islamic teachings. The preachers of Islam in the past, known as *Wali Songo* (the Nine Saints), could deliver Islamic teachings flexibly to a heterogeneous society. It did not bring the 'packaging' (say, Arabic culture), but the essence of the religion, in Javanese cultural 'packaging'.¹⁴

2.2 Multicultural Education in Islam: a Conceptual Integration of Islamic Education and Culture in Indonesia

Multicultural education is advocated firstly by an American education expert Prudence Crandall (1803-1890) who intensively

¹³ Qorib, *Solusi Islam: Mencari Alternatif Jawaban Terhadap Problem Kontemporer* (Dian Rakyat, 2010).

¹⁴ Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo* (Pustaka Iman, 2006).

disseminated his views on the importance of students' backgrounds, both in terms of cultural, ethnic, and religious aspects. It can, according to Dickerson in Baidhaw (2007), be facilitated in an educational system that promotes cultural pluralism, social equality in all areas, including the school environment, students admission, and staffing patterns, as well as inclusive curricula.

Regarding multicultural-based Islamic education, Baidhaw (2007) proposes seven main characteristics, namely learning to live in differences, mutual trust, mutual understanding, mutual respect, open thinking, appreciation and interdependence, nonviolent conflict resolution and reconciliation. Living together with other people in differences is something that human beings cannot avoid. The differences could be in terms of ethnicity, religion, etc. For this, people need to learn to develop tolerant attitudes, empathy, and sympathy. This needs emotional maturation, which is difficult to achieve, requires openness and freedom, equality in participants, new social contracts, or rules of life with inter-religion groups.

Mutual trust is the most important social capital in strengthening the cultural civil society. Being too careful to perform social contracts, transactions, relationships, and communications with outsiders (religions and other adherents) may intensify suspicion and lower trust, which in its turn can lead to tensions and conflicts. Understanding does not necessarily mean agreeing. Mutual understanding is the awareness that 'their values' and 'ours' are different, and they may complement each other and contribute to dynamic and lively relationships. Next, mutual respect means respecting and appreciating each other. Such an attitude is a universal value embodied by all religions. The fifth characteristic is open thinking to achieve mature thinking. Next characteristic is appreciation and interdependence in a caring social environment. Finally, there must be reconciliation and nonviolent conflict resolution through mutual forgiveness. In situations of conflict, religion education must be present to foster social integration and social cohesion.

The cultivation of shared values in a multicultural social space is necessary in a plural society. Otherwise, it is likely that an intolerant attitude towards other religions or groups will arise identified that intolerance among religious communities cannot be separated from the role of religious teaching which adopts a normative approach with only ‘wrong or right’ dimension, without focusing on historical and sociological context. Unfortunately, such an approach is still dominant in religious teaching in Indonesia from elementary to tertiary level, and religious differences are still parts of the problems triggering the conflict rather than parts of solutions.¹⁵

Religious education, thus, has a major task in making religion a solution in overcoming conflicts and creating a peaceful life in a pluralistic society. In the Indonesian context, religious values that are important to be developed through religious education are the values of brotherhood, tolerance, multiculturalism, and peace. Cultivating the values of tolerance allows students to have a religious understanding and behavior that runs parallel to their ability to live with other people of different ethnicity, culture, and religion. Indonesian diversity must also serve as a reference to forge a multicultural, multiethnic, multi-religion life that promotes the spirit of friendship and brotherhood inspired by the Indonesian democratic and national values.¹⁶

The study conducted by Rohmah et al. (2018) found that in Islamic education system, there was a chance to develop an education model that leads to tolerance, diversity, and the maintenance of human rights. This is like Abu-Nimer’s thoughts regarding Islamic peace education. Given the context of religious education in Indonesia, such a thought is very relevant. With its adaptive, authoritative, and participatory nature, the Islamic peace education model in Abu-

¹⁵ Abdullah, A., *Agama & Pembentukan Kepribadian Bangsa Di Indonesia*. M. Amin Abdullah, 2010.

¹⁶ Bakhrudin Fannani, Ilham Tohari, and Syamsul Arifin, “MENYEMAI PENDIDIKAN AGAMA ANTI KONFLIK DAN KEKERASAN DI TENGAH KEHIDUPAN MASYARAKAT MULTIKULTURAL,” *NUR EL-ISLAM: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Sosial Keagamaan* 5, no. 2 (October 1, 2018): 1–25, <https://doi.org/10.51311/nuris.v5i2.106>.

Nimer's perspective is likely to be accepted by various groups with minimal tension, including religious groups accused of being conservative.¹⁷

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Before discussing the construction of the integration of local Balinese values into the BBI-IBS education system, the researchers decided on the theoretical framework to answer the research problems. The theory adopted was Peter L. Berger's construction theory. Social Construction Theory is a sociology theory which serves as a theoretical bridge between the social fact theory put forward by Emile Durkheim and the Social Definition Theory proposed by Max Weber. Berger, through his social construction theory, assumes that Durkheim's theory of social facts argues that individual behavior is determined by the structure of society. Weber's social definition theory believes that the behavior of society is influenced and determined by individual behavior. These contrasting theories are then bridged by Berger and Luckmann (1966) through the Social Construction Theory. In the perspective of Social Construction Theory, individuals and society have a reciprocal relationship that does not reduce each other. In their work *The Social Construction*, Berger and Luckmann (1966) state that social reality is built through three main moments: externalization, objectivation, and internalization moments.¹⁸

The process in which a person conveys a message to the outside world is externalization. According to Berger and Lockman (1966), externalization is the process in which a person conveys a message, value, belief, or subjective experience to the outside world. The

¹⁷ Siti Rohmah et al., "Recontextualization of Islamic Peace Education: A Study of the Theory of Mohammed Abu-Nimer in the Indonesian Context," *Fieldwork in Religion* 13, no. 2 (December 20, 2018): 183–202, <https://doi.org/10.1558/firn.37545>.

¹⁸ Bernhard Freyer et al., "Is There a Relation Between Ecological Practices and Spirituality? The Case of Benedictine Monasteries: Ecological Practices in Benedictine Monasteries," *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 31, no. 5 (October 2018): 559–82, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10806-018-9745-4>.

message is based on his/her knowledge and judgment about the surrounding fact/her. Then, other people interpret the message and may take it not as a subjective message but as an objective fact. This moment is called objectivation. Finally, the process reaches its culmination when the result of the externalization and objectivation is received and internalized by society as something objectively true. At this moment, society members accept and internalize the external reality into their own belief and behavior. The belief in the study was about integrating Balinese Hindu values into the Islamic education system at BBI-IBS.

3. Method and Data Collection

3.1 Study design and sampling

The study was qualitative research in which the researchers collected data as verbal description produced by the respondents and the result of observation. This study design was a case study in which the researchers investigate the reason and ways to integrate Hindu values and Islamic values at an Islamic boarding school (BBI-IBS) education system. The respondents were all teachers, management, and students at BBI-IBS. The school was an Islamic Boarding School in Tabanan, Bali, Indonesia. There are 53 teachers, 22 of them were Hindu.

3.2 Data collection and analysis

Primary data collection was done with an interview with respondents and an observation of a typical learning situation at the school. The respondents were the founder of the school and the head of the foundation running the school, director of the school, vice director of the school, and a teacher at the school. Observation was conducted at the sites, mainly in the classroom, to see if the response of the respondent in the interview could be verified at the field. The analysis was done to the result of the interview and observation. A document analysis was also done to the school curriculum. All data were examined and interpreted to gain the understanding necessary to answer the research questions.

4. Finding and Discussion

4.1. The social construction of the Balinese cultural value integration into Islamic education system at BBI-IBS

The findings from the interview and observation showed that the integration of the Balinese Hindu local value into the Islamic education system was done in several steps. First, the founder of BBI-IBS shared his view about the importance of integrating local values into their education system and the compatibility of the values. His view was based on a good understanding of Islam and local values. This can be summarized from the interview transcript.

Excerpt 1.

“Begini, di Bali masyarakat Hindu mempunyai konsep ajaran agama yang disebut dengan *Tri Hita Karana*, di antara tiga konsep itu adalah *Pawongan* artinya hubungan antar sesama manusia. Nah, *awig-awig* itu peraturan yang dibuat untuk mewujudkan konsep dasar tadi.”

[“In Bali the Hindu community has a concept of (three) religious teachings called *Tri Hita Karana*. One concept is *pawongan*, meaning relationships between human beings. Well, *awig-awig* means is a rule drawn to realize the basic concept.”]

This understanding was also shared by the Vice Director of BBI-IBS. He mentioned similar ideas in the interview. In addition, the founder of the school also believed the compatibility of the local Balinese Hindu values with the Islamic values. In the interview, he said as follows.

Excerpt 2. “Yang menjadi acuan dasar kan istilah yang digunakan. Kalau di ajaran Hindu ada *Tri Hita Karana*, salah satunya *Pawongan*, yang artinya melakukan hubungan baik kepada sesama manusia. Jika merujuk pada anjuran berbuat baik antar sesama, dalam Islam banyak dalil ditemukan. Mengintegrasikan antara peraturan lokal dengan Islam secara *sharih* tidak ada ketentuannya, tetapi ketika melihat proses sejarah Islam di era Rasul, budaya-budaya setempat kala itu

juga tidak sedikit dibiarkan bertahan. Ini artinya, bahwa mengintegrasikan dalam budaya lokal tidak menjadi permasalahan selama tidak mencampur adukan ketentuan hukum syari“ah.”

[“The point of reference is the term used. In Hinduism, there is *Tri Hita Karana*, and one of them is *Pawongan*, which means building good relations with fellow humans. Regarding doing good to others, in Islam there are many references found. Integrating local regulations and Islam ones has no provisions in *sharia*, but when looking at the Islam history in the era of the Prophet, (we know that) many local cultures at that time were also allowed to survive. This means that integrating the term of local culture is not a problem as long as it does not mix up the rules of shari’ah law (and other religious laws).”]

Then, he further mentioned that affirms his views that since the school was built within Hindu society, following the Hindu society’s rules is allowed if the local rules correspond with Islamic rules. In a nutshell, according to him, the integration of *Awig awig Pawongan* values and the education system there was a media that united people of varying faiths. It did not regulate the relation between God and humans, and it was not a religious syncretism. This meant that it can be used as a tool for social cohesion.

The result of the interview with the director of the school revealed a similar idea. He even mentioned that Islam should achieve its goals by adopting an approach in line with the local culture by applying the value of Islamic education. This view was shared by the school with the new students. He stated that when new students were admitted, the founder addressed them with the importance of respecting others. Others here mean people of the different and same religions. Differences and diversity were ordained by the God. So, according to him, an Islamic educational institution should respect religious differences and get along with the people of different religion well.

To better achieve the ideal, the schools recruited teachers of non-religion subjects from the local Hindu community. From the interview, it was known that 22 out of 53 teachers are local Hindu teachers, teaching various subjects in the school. The observation also confirmed this, and it was also observed that the security staff was also a Hindu man. Further observation of the typical classes' activities revealed the students respected the Hindu teachers the same way they respected Muslim teachers by kissing their hands at the end of the lesson.

An interview with the school director and vice director of the school also discovered that the curriculum for some subjects is modified to accommodate the Hindu values. From the interview, it was also known that the students are indoctrinated to adopt certain disciplines that support the tolerant life in the society.

4.2 Discussion on the integration as a social construction

The integration as described above can be discussed from three perspectives, namely social construction theory, multicultural education, and moderate school of thought.

The findings about all the facts and steps taken by the school can be discussed in the light of social construction proposed by Berger and Luckmann (1966). There are three important moments of social construction, namely externalization, objectivation, and internalization.¹⁹ Externalization starts from a subjective view. Here, this was a subjective view that combining local Hindu values into the Islamic education system was just ok and not against Islam, therefore it should be performed. This subjective view is owned by the school founder. That the director and vice director of the school shared the same views proved that there was a kind of sharing between them. That the school founder addressed the new students with an

¹⁹ Zetty Ni'mah, "Habitulasi Toleransi Sebagai Upaya Memperkuat Pendidikan Anti Bullying Di Sekolah," *Peradaban Journal of Interdisciplinary Educational Research* 2, no. 1 (March 1, 2024): 22–39, <https://doi.org/10.59001/pjier.v2i1.143>.

encouragement for tolerant living also proved this sharing. Such a sharing is called externalization in the social construction theory.

The next moment was objectivation. This was where the compatibility of local Hindu values and the Islamic values are not only a personal view but an acceptable concept. This moment was marked with the issuance of the policy stating that the school recruited Hindu local teachers. Further, enrichment of the curriculum to facilitate this concept realization was also done.

The educational design developed by BBI-IBS results from objectivation by the leadership of the boarding school. Integration of different religious values was not seen as subjective here. So, that in this context, the leadership tried to adapt the curriculum to the culture of the local Hindu community. One adaptation was to enrich several Islamic religion education curricula with the *awig-awig pawongan* values. Hinduism understood the rules themselves as a code regulating the relationship between humans and humans. The other two codes were the one regarding the relationship between humans and God (*awig awig parayangan*) and another one regarding the relationship between humans and the universe (*awig awig palemahan*). The first code was the most possible to be integrated into the curricula without neglecting the fundamental aspects of each religion. Thus, the recruitment policy and the enrichment of the curricula were proof of the objectivation moment.

In the Islamic boarding school tradition, Muslim students were taught by Muslim teachers. However, at the BBI-IBS, Hindu teachers also taught Muslim students. It is at this moment that a student adapted to social realities, which was quite unusual as compared to the life of the Islamic boarding school students. At last, the students understood and accepted the concepts that respecting other peoples of different religions is a good deed and therefore they could treat Hindu teachers well. The students accepted objectively the choice of BBI-IBS to familiarize them with the *awig awig pawongan* value.

The peak moment for the formation of the students' knowledge system regarding the reality outside of itself is the moment of internalization. In this research, after the students adapted and

determined their attitudes, these attitudes entered their objective knowledge system. The students then began to absorb and experience it so that the result of the externalization and objectivation moment became a system of behaviors. The integration of Islamic education system with the *awig-awig pawongan* value had truly inspired the behavior of the students. They no longer questioned the status of their teachers.

Based on the observations, it was known that the Muslim students respected their Hindu teachers the same way they respected their Muslim teachers. They kissed the Hindu teachers' hands just like they did it to their Muslim teachers. Based on the interview, it was also known that students also did community work together with Hindu people surrounding the school location. This resulted from the internalization moment.

Apart from social construction theory, the integration was also a product of the thought that religion is not the same as culture. Islam and culture are often contradicted diametrically as a dichotomy. As a matter of fact, there are two opposing opinions about Islam and culture. The first sees Islam and culture are two different entities. Culture is the creation of human beings, and it must submit to the supremacy of Islam as the religion of God. If there are cultural values contrary to Islamic teachings, then they must be rejected or adapted to the rules of Islam. This group is characterized by the textualist and conservative Islam. There are also groups who see Islam as a cultural product. Islam as a religion cannot be separated from the portrait of Muhammad as a prophet who brought this teaching. It is assumed that Islam was created by Muhammad, which was taught to the old Arabian community. Therefore, orientalist such as Josep Sacht (1902-1969) called Islam Muhammadanism.²⁰

The findings of this research revealed the thoughts of the founder of the school. From the interview, it was known that the integration

²⁰ Ze'Ev Maghen, "Dead Tradition: Joseph Schacht And The Origins Of 'Popular Practice,'" *Islamic Law and Society* 10, no. 3 (2003): 276-347, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851903770227575>.

was done because there was no contradiction between *awig-awig pawongan* values and Islamic values. This meant that he believed Islam was a revelatory teaching from Allah given to Muhammad through the angel Gabriel. According to BBI-IBS, however, Islam was not anti-cultural as perceived by textualist and conservative groups. Islam was understood a teaching whose revelatory process involved a cultural role. This is in line with Rosenthal's (2005) assertion that the classical heritage on Islamic theology, mysticism, and law cannot be underestimated. The Classical Heritage in Islam reveals that the Muslim adoption of and dependence on classical texts was not blind imitation or a casual compounding of traditions, but an original synthesis and, therefore, a unique achievement.²¹ Polygamous marriage, for example, was a marriage model adopted by pre-Islamic societies. This culture was not then abolished by Islam, but it was adopted and adapted in Islamic teachings, so that the polygamous marriage was adopted and adapted with a limitation to minimize the negative consequences. Hence, Islam is an adoptive and adaptive religion.²²

The above thought was adopted by BBI-IBS with its integration of Balinese Hindu values called *awig-awig pawongan* into its Islamic education system. In the BBI-IBS founder's construction, Hindu culture and tradition were a culture that first existed in Bali before the existence of the school or Islam there. Islam in Bali must not then contradict Islam and Hindu values developed in Bali. *Awig-awig pawongan* values were the cultural values developed by the Balinese Hindu community that regulate human relations with one another. Regulation of human relation was considered by the founder of BBI-IBS a 'meeting point' between the culture of the Balinese Hindu community and Islamic community. Then, BBI-IBS tried to develop its

²¹ Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, Arabic Thought and Culture (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013).

²² Istadiyantha - -, "PRE-ISLAMIC CULTURE AND RELIGION: THE ARABIAN EARLY SOCIAL CHANGES UNDER ISLAM," *IBDA` : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 17, no. 1 (July 20, 2019): 94–105, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v17i1.2747>.

education system by not removing the Hindu culture, but by integrating it into an Islamic education curriculum.

Finally, the integration was also in line with the multicultural education concept promoted by Baidhaw (2007). According to him, religious education in the Indonesian context, which has a very complex diversity character, must be oriented towards the growth and development of an awareness of the values of multiculturalism. The supremacy of human values must take precedence over the interests of ethnic, racial, religious and group primordiality. Otherwise, it can threaten the nation's integrity and the principles of good relationship among human beings and with environment, which are the core principles of Islamic teachings.

Baidhaw's (2007) idea was also strengthened by Abu-Nimer (2017) who said that human values, justice, and compassion were the essence that became the turbine to drive students to have a system of knowledge and affection that prioritized the creation of universal peace. Therefore, these universal values must be able to be internalized in the Islamic education curriculum.

So far, religious education has often been accused of strengthening the walls of religious sectarianism. At the same time, religion by Carles Kimbal (2003) is also accused of being the source of disaster and calamity. It was in this context that Hans Kung said that there would be no world peace without religious peace. That means religion in historical records has carved a blurry portrait that fueled horizontal conflicts. However, Karen Armstrong sees Kimbal and Kung's thesis as not completely valid. According to Armstrong, violence in the name of religion is a myth. She illustrated that religious conflicts that occurred in historical records occurred because they were motivated by the political and economic interest of the power elites. In these contexts, the education system developed by BBI-IBS was a model for similar educational institutions to foster tolerant life within diverse society. From the Islamic point of view, with such education design, Islamic education can be promoted as an agent of peace through within religiously heterogeneous societies.

In conclusion, the integration of Balinese Hindu local values into the Islamic education system of BBI-IBS was achieved through stages as proposed by Berber and Luckmann (1966). The integration was proof that the founders of BBI-IBS believe that culture and religion were not the same things, but they should not be contradicted. In addition, the integration also showed that BBI-IBS was an advocate for the school of thought that consider that Islam is not part of culture. Then, the integration is also in line with the idea of multicultural education idea as proposed by Baidhawiy (2007).

4.3 The integration model of the Balinese cultural values into an Islamic education system

The previous discussion shows that the integration of Balinese Hindu values into the Islamic education system at BBI-IBS was conducted along with the three phases of externalization, objectivation, and internalization. This part presents the discussion on the model of integration. Integration model here means a hypothetical description of a complex process of integration.

From the interview and observation, the process started with the construction of the Hindu and Islamic values compatibility to the achievement of the religious tolerance showed by the students. See Figure 1 for better understanding. The figure shows that the integration proceeded from the construction of BBI-IBS founders. They had an opinion that Islam and culture were separable entities. Values developed by society of different religion could be integrated into Islamic education system as long as they were not contradictory to Islamic values. Then, they studied the existing local community values and Islamic values. There were three codes existing in the society, i.e., code for human relation (called *Awig-awig pawongan*), code for relation between human and God (called *Awig-awig Parayangan*) and code for human relation and the universe (called *Awig-awig palemahan*). Of the three existing codes, it was the first code seen as compatible with Islamic values and therefore it was judged that it was possible to integrate them into the Islamic education system. This was the initial construction.

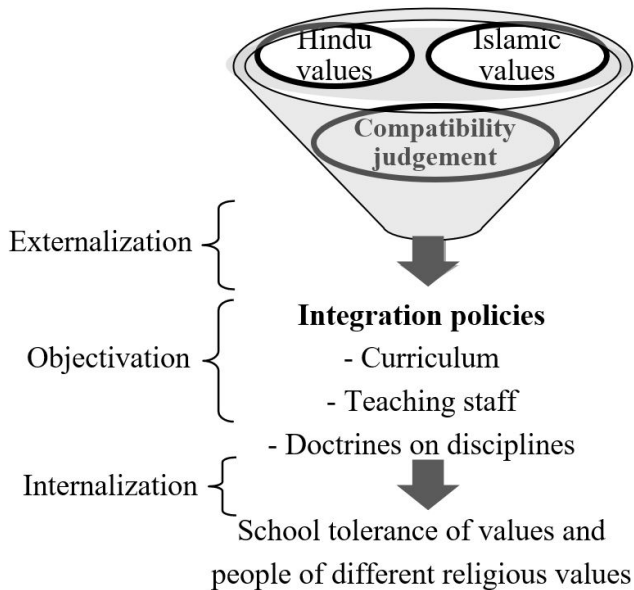


Figure 1. Integration model of Balinese Hindu values into Islamic education system at BBI-IBS

After that, the idea was shared with other important figures at the school and also with the students. The sharing did not happen at the same time. The sharing with the important figures at the school was the first. This was the externalization moment.

After it was agreed, some policies were drawn up regarding the curriculum, teaching staff recruitment, and the doctrines of discipline. This was the objectivation moment. Then, as new students came, the sharing of the idea was done again, and the students were ready for the policy implementation. The policy adoption was an important step in the integration. There were three aspects regulated with the policies, i.e. curriculum, teaching staff recruitment, and discipline doctrines.

4.3.1 Integration through the curriculum (classroom learning)

For the classroom learning, the *Awig-awig pawongan* cultural values are integrated into the subjects of Islamic Education courses, including *Alquran* (the Qur'an), *Hadith* (Prophetic traditions), *Aqidah Akhlak* (Islamic faith and behaviors), *Sejarah Budaya Islam dan Fiqih* (Islamic Cultural History and Jurisprudence). Through these subjects, the values of tolerance and fostering harmony were taught.

Based on the interview, it was known that in the material of Islamic cultural history subject, the emphasis was given on the history of the formation of a society upholding the values of tolerance in the era of the Prophet in Madina. Besides that, there are also fragments of Islamic history that share the values of tolerance and peace, like the ones exemplified by Umar bin Khattab when he conquered Jerusalem and by other Islamic heroes, such as Salahuddin Al Ayyubi, Muhammad Al Fatih and so on.

In the subject of Islamic Jurisprudence, enrichment is given by considering the social conditions of the community, most of which are not Muslims. The enrichment of the teaching material was related to the proposition in Islamic jurisprudence relating to Muslim and non-Muslims relation. This included how Islamic teaching saw saying happy holidays to followers of other religions when they celebrate their religious holidays, such as saying a happy *Galungan* (Balinese new year) or *Nyepi* (absolute silence) holiday to Hindus around the boarding school.

The enrichment of *fiqh* also provided various alternative insights related to implementing worship that were adjusted to the context of the surrounding community. The examples were the choice of sacrifice animal and giving alms called zakat. A goat was chosen as the religious sacrifice animal instead of a cow because a cow was considered sacred by the Hindu community. Zakat was also given to the poor of non-Muslims families.

The enrichment in the material of the Quran and Prophetic Traditions was given when discussing verses and Prophetic sayings related to tolerance, equality, and relations between humans. The emphasis was given to the Quranic verses about no use of force in

religious matters, the obligation to do good to family and neighbors, and so on.

Meanwhile, in the Islamic Faith and Behaviors subject, there was much material enrichment related to social conditions and cultural diversity in Bali. For example, in the discussion about the faith, the explanation was focused on the understanding of the faith that must be held firm by a Muslim. This was important as the students should know the limits and avoid the mixing of religion when they were interacting with non-Muslim people. Whereas in the material of moral behaviors, all material is enriched with explanations regarding the attitudes needed in building peaceful relations with communities of different beliefs.

4.3.2 Integration through social interaction by recruiting Hindu teachers from the surrounding community

The integration of *Awig-awig pawongan* cultural values was conducted not only in the knowledge or cognitive aspects of classroom learning. Various activities that support the internalization of the values by the students were done. One of them was recruiting teachers from the surrounding Hindu community. This allowed the students to get direct learning about tolerance and respect for others in the school by interacting with Hindu teachers. From the interview, it was learned that BBI-IBS had 53 teachers and 22 of them were Hindus. So, it was almost one-half of the teachers in the Islamic education institutions were non-Muslims. The Hindu teachers taught non-Islamic subjects such as the Indonesian language, physics, economics, mathematics, chemistry, and sports. These Hindu teachers did not leave their identity and characteristics as Hindus. Sometimes on certain days, they still wear Balinese clothes when teaching. For example, teachers sometimes wore a Balinese *kebaya* and *shawl* along with the belts and frangipani flowers tucked in their ears (traditional Balinese clothes and accessories).

The students were taught not to differentiate teachers based on the religion. As a result, students showed similar behaviors when interacting with Muslim and non-Muslim teachers, like greeting, shaking hands, and kissing hands of the teachers. This was an

expression of respect for elders or teachers who have given them knowledge.

4.3.3 Imposing a set of worshipping, self, social, and environment disciplines

BBI-IBS had a concept of disciplines as a reference for orientating the students' development. The students shall adhere to the system of conduct in their daily life and interaction. The set included worshipping, self, social and environment disciples. Worshipping discipline promotes good interaction with God, sel-discipline with oneself, social discipline with fellow human beings, and environmental discipline with nature. From the interview and documentary analysis, it was revealed that the discipline sets are as follows.

First, the discipline of worship or the interaction with Allah and His Messenger include (a) the culture of praying together, *dzikr* (remembrance of God) and other recommended rituals, (b) the culture of reciting sentences of faith and understanding the system of Islamic faith, (c) the culture of adhering to Islamic laws, and (d) the culture of avoiding religious prohibitions. Second is self-discipline or the code for interaction with oneself. This includes (a) the culture of wellbeing (physically and spiritually), (b) the culture of independent learning, (c) the culture of time management, and (d) culture of money and personal property management. The next code is regarding social discipline or interaction with fellow human beings. This included (a) the culture of polite and open communication, (b) the culture of mutual tolerance, (c) the culture of mutual helping, and (d) the culture of mutual advice. Finally, the environmental discipline regulates students' interaction with nature and surroundings. This includes (a) the culture of healthy and clean living, (b) the culture of orderly living, and (c) the culture of beautiful living. The evidence described above shows that the social discipline was closely related to integrating the Balinese Hindu values into the Islamic education system at BBI-IBS. The values in the discipline taught to the students reinforced the integration of the local values into the Islamic education system.

5. Limitations

This study only observed the students' and teacher's behavior and there was no proof that the society reacted positively to the integration and the students' and teachers' behavior.

6. Conclusion

Based on the above descriptions, explanations, and discussion, several conclusions can be drawn as follows. The construction of the founder and leadership of BBI-IBS regarding the ideal relation between the school and the local culture served as a cognitive and affective basis for integrating Islamic education with the local culture of the Balinese Hindu community. The integration was a social construction achieved through externalization, objectivation, and internalization moments. Starting with the cognitive construction, the process models advanced towards the internalization of the construction and the students' application of it in social life. The cognitive construction produced a set of principles regarding the compatibility of the two sets of values and policy to support the implementation at the school. The construction was shared through the moment of externalization. Then, policies regarding curriculum, recruitment, and disciplines were drawn up as objectivation moments. Through instruction and curriculum implementation, students and related people internalize the constructed concept and finally the behave in ways relevant to the constructed concept. The social construction by BBI-IBS was a very important model for education in multi-religion countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, and India. Religious tensions that occurred recently in India would be avoidable with such an educational system. Therefore, educational policymakers and educators need to further study and adopt the integration model to improve tolerance and peaceful life in multireligious and multicultural nations.

It is worth noting that this investigation only studied the social construction process, recognizing the limitation to check the result in a systematic way. Future research could investigate the reaction of the surrounding community to such educational system integration to see

the full picture of the effectiveness of the integration to facilitate tolerance improvement in multicultural, multireligious society.

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