The Epistemological Structure of Islamic Education in the Suharto Era: A Postcolonial Perspective

Uuh Buchori*, Ilzamudin Ma’mur*, Agus Gunawan, Ahmad Bazari Syam

Program Pascasarjana Manajemen Pendidikan Islam UIN SMH Banten*1,2,3,4

*1 email: uuhbuchori@gmail.com
*2 email: ilzamudin@uinbanten.ac.id
*3 email: agus.gunawan@uinbanten.ac.id
*4 email: ahmad.bazari.syam@uinbanten.ac.id

Abstract
Indonesia has become one of the largest Muslim countries in the world by paying attention to Islamic education in both concept and policy. The system of government change is inseparable from the history of post-colonialism, including during the Suharto era with fundamental policies towards Islamic education. The Basic Structure of Epistemology as a Design for Understanding Islamic Educational Knowledge
This study aims to explain the basic structure of Islamic education in the era of Suharto’s leadership as President of the Republic of Indonesia. The research uses qualitative methods with a literature review approach. The results show that the leadership of the Suharto era with postcolonialism as a direction or sign has a self-affirming ideology on Pancasila and avoids forms of colonialism. The basic epistemology is the essential determination of the system or policy implemented by considering the expected form and purpose. In education policy, political orientation was emphasised. The basic instrumentation of Islamic education was identified with emphasis on the importance of Islamic religious education, which was included from elementary to tertiary level. The research implication is that the better the foundations of Islamic education, the better the understanding of the objectives of Islamic education through the curriculum.

Keywords: Epistemology, Fundamentals, Islamic Education, Postcolonial, Suharto Era

Abstrak
Indonesia menjadi salah satu muslim terbesar di dunia dengan memperhatikan pendidikan Islam baik secara konsepsi ataupun kebijakan yang direalisasikannya.

**Kata Kunci:** Epistemologi, Era Suharto, Fundamental, Pendidikan Islam, Poskolonial

A. **Introduction**

Islamic education in Indonesia has its characteristics and history in its development, especially during President Suharto’s leadership from 1966 to 1998. At that time, it was called the Orde Baru, which conceptually could be described as the order of life of the nation and state founded on the implementation of Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution is consistent and pure (Hamka, 2018). In the perception of Islamic education in Indonesia, it has its own characteristics and history in its development, especially under the leadership of President Suharto from 1966 to 1998. At that time, it was called the Orde Baru, which conceptually
could be described as the order of life of the nation and state based on the implementation of Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution is consistent and pure. The leadership of the Indonesian people, the leadership of the Suharto era, the Orde Baru, was a system of government in Indonesia that replaced the old system (Orde Lama).

Indonesia has a majority Muslim population, 90% in the 1960s, and the Suharto-era government supported Islamic education by establishing educational institutions and promoting Islamic religious teaching (Alrudiyansah, 2016). Muslims in Indonesia have responded positively, with Islamic religious leaders and Islamic community organisations establishing Islamic educational institutions, including madrasas, Islamic boarding schools and majelis taklim (Yuningsih, 2015).

The Orde Baru under the leadership of Suharto was a state in which Indonesia was in a period of post-colonialism, which meant the end of military occupation in East Asia, including Indonesia, which had gained independence in 1945, after the old order led by Sukarno in 1945-1966 had been replaced by the Orde Baru (Latifah & Putra, 2020). The development of Islamic education shows this. In particular, the government pays a great deal of attention to Islamic education. The existence of an agreement between the Minister of Education and the Minister of Religious Affairs resulted in the issuance of a joint decree (SKB) regulating the implementation of religious education in public schools (both public and private) under the authority of the Ministry of Education (Mumtaz, 2022).

During the 32 years that the old order was in power, apart from fierce political debates, it provided important clues and essential contributions to the policy direction and implementation of Islamic education (Huda, 2022). For this reason, it is necessary to conduct a study of knowledge (epistemology) on how support for education was created in that era and how it can be realised. The epistemological basis of science is an in-depth discussion of all the processes involved in acquiring knowledge. In contrast, according to Nugraha et al. (2017), science is knowledge obtained through specific procedures, known as the scientific
method, which reveal and defend the truth above all else.

The position of Islamic education in Indonesia is characterised by the simultaneous upholding of two different principles: firstly, the upholding of classical Islamic education to maintain the tradition of classical Islamic scholarship, and secondly, the upholding of the national education system with general education. Knowledge. This is because the recognition of the results or products of religious education must be in accordance with the law of the national education system (UUSPN). Because if it is not in accordance with the educational principles recognised by the UUSPN, the products of Islamic religious education will not be recognised, so that legitimacy does not occur, and recognition will not be given in the same way as material intended for general education (Yumna, 2018).

From the perspective of the Western media, Islamic society does not view Islamic educational institutions as a monolithic entity. Islamic educational institutions, especially in Indonesia, present a detailed picture due to their development and modernisation in response to social, political and theological changes and cultural interactions with global concepts. Lubis (2017)’s opinion on the role of Islamic education in the creation of an Islamic society based on Aqidah and Shari‘ah and aimed at the renewal and development of civilisation.

During the Orde Baru era, aspects of government policy encouraged the expansion and development of Islamic educational institutions, including Islamic boarding schools, madrasas and schools. The policy aspects of the Orde Baru era can be characterised as hostile, mutually critical and accommodating. The reform of Islamic education then gained momentum as the Indonesian government worked in synergy with Muslim figures (Parinduri & Zuliana, 2021). These facts prove that political factors significantly influence educational policies, resulting in three paradigms in the development of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia: the formalism paradigm, the mechanism paradigm and the organism paradigm (Adibah, 2020).

For this reason, it is necessary to know how the basic epistemology of Islamic education in the Suharto era
was formed postcollinearly, according to Nata (2017), among others. The first is the most limited, limiting postcolonialism to representations of the postcolonial era. In Indonesia, from the mid-20th century to the present, since the proclamation of 1945. The second is broader, covering all writings since the first arrival of Western nations in Indonesia, starting with the arrival of the Portuguese and Spanish in the early 20th century. This is followed by the arrival of the Dutch in the early seventeenth century. The third is the most comprehensive, beginning before the physical presence of the West in Indonesia, but with pre-existing perceptions of the East.

In the history of the Indonesian state, including the struggle to expel the colonialists, Muslims cannot be separated. As the largest population in the country, Muslims have a moral obligation to lead and develop the nation. Islamic leaders laid the foundations for education, which the colonial government did not consider during the colonial period (Syakur & Yusuf, 2020). Furthermore, Islamic education was not included in the schools built by the colonial rulers. In response, Islamic authorities established schools and provided accommodation for Muslims to receive Islamic religious education.

In a critical review of post-colonialism, Islam and education, Tan (2017) believes that an epistemological perspective in the philosophy of Islamic education provides an educational system that is accepted by the Islamic society, so it is necessary to change the secular educational system brought by the colonialists. The philosophy of Islamic education can change a new paradigm of education that is oriented towards the quality of all interacting activities that are important for the social order of education, which is still essential for Islamic education (Gunawan et al., 2022).

During the Orde Baru era, political, economic, social and educational problems necessitated a complete system change in 1998. During the Orde Baru era, Islamic religious education could not develop, so it was felt that educational reform would allow Islamic education to develop in society (Daud, 2021). Islamic education has not been able to change individual attitudes and actions
for the better. Even in the current era of globalisation, religious education is needed to regulate individual behaviour.

Why is it important to study how Islamic education developed in a post-colonial approach during the Suharto era? The public perception for 32 years led to how close Suharto was to the Islamic world in Indonesia and the world, apart from political aspects. In the context of the interests of Muslims, it is necessary to know the primary basis for the development of Islamic education so that the community can understand it as a reflection of future Islamic education. Based on the above description, this study aims to analyse the structure or basic design of the epistemology of Islamic education during the Suharto era.

B. Research Methodology

Qualitative research methods are interpretive and naturalistic in their approach to the problem. This means that qualitative research examines objects in their natural context and seeks to interpret events in terms of their meaning for society (Pradoko, 2017). Library research is the method used. It refers to the search for a large amount of literature or references relevant to the topic being studied from different perspectives and points of view (Mestika, 2008). Therefore, the main research objectives require data from books and other sources.

This type of research uses library research; then, to obtain data, researchers use documentation, primarily by collecting books and literature related to the topic, using primary and secondary data. As a result, primary sources consist mainly of published works such as books, journals and government reports.

In addition, this study uses three analytical approaches: first, understanding, second, internal coherence, and inference methods are used to reach accurate conclusions with thinking ideas that culminate in the process of text interpretation, and understanding is needed to know the whole text (Kaelan, 2005).

C. Results and Discussion

1. The Orde Baru and Postcolonialism

Understanding the Orde Baru era is one of the stages in the development of Islamic education in Indonesia; in
In this sense, it contains a link to Indonesian post-colonialism, especially post-independence (Hidayati, 2018). The views of the Orde Baru influenced the political conditions that emerged at that time. This shows the importance of the Orde Baru's contribution to post-colonialism in laying the foundations for current government policy.

Understanding postcolonialism is a critical theory of Western domination, hegemony and conquest over the East. This theory emerged from reading and being inspired by Michel Foucault, Jean-Paul Sartre and Jacques Derrida, among other poststructuralist and postmodern thinkers (Tan, 2017). This provides a construction that the Suharto or Orde Baru era signifies a hierarchy of thought developments about efforts to avoid absolute thinking about the goals of the Orde Baru government.

In explaining how Orde Baru demonstrates postcolonialism, there are at least four things that reveal the characteristics of postcolonialism: (1) it examines the reflection of colonialism, (2) it examines the reflection of ideology, (3) it examines the hegemony of power, and (4) it examines hegemony from the perspective of gender (Martayana, 2020). This study influenced the Orde Baru government, in which Suharto's leadership sought to avoid new and growing forms of colonialism in Indonesia.

An overview of postcolonial theory will be given, followed by a discussion of its basic principles, before moving on to the topic of postcolonial theory itself. The term 'postcolonial' is derived from the words 'postal' and 'colonial', while the term 'colonial' is derived from Roman colonial language and means agricultural land or settlements. The term "postcolonial" was first used in the 1960s (Luthfi, 2022). Colonialism is defined as non-capitalist economic restructuring to support colonial capitalism. The colonising nation carries out this kind of forced appropriation in the form of land and economy.

Postcolonial definitions are often associated with cultural constructions of a 'global white' culture. These associations are made from a cultural perspective. The development of other civilisations is usually compared to white culture (Sokowati & Nurnisya, 2022). Human beings, as active actors in the production of meaning, are seen
as alien, backward, superstitious citizens, etc.; therefore, they must be educated and brought up to be equal to other people in the country, especially people from "Western" countries. After independence, the process of creating a culture not limited by the conclusions of the colonial masses continued.

The significance of the 1945 Constitution as a revolutionary constitution implies that the 1945 Constitution is a constitutional text that contains a discourse of resistance to colonialism. This is because the discourse against colonialism was included in the 1945 Constitution (Jhoner et al., 2018). Postcolonial discourse is a term used to refer to discourses that oppose colonialism from a theoretical point of view.

To date, the relationship between colonisers and colonised (or former colonies) has been hegemonic. That is, the colonisers are seen as a group that is superior to the colonised, who are seen as having a lower social status. Domination and subordination arise from the hegemonic relationship between the occupiers and the occupiers. This pattern of relations gives rise to images and prejudices of the colonised society as backward, barbaric, ignorant, uncivilised, strange, mysterious and irrational. Postcolonial discourse is a critique of this kind of representation.

Instead of focusing on populist economics, Suharto was forced by the post-colonial environment to turn his attention to more important matters, such as grand ideals about Indonesia's national identity (Latifah & Putra, 2020). The emergence of anti-colonial and independent nation-states is often accompanied by a desire to forget past experiences of colonialism. This is a phenomenon known as "post-colonial amnesia", which describes the desire to forget the colonial experience.

This desire to forget has manifested itself in different historical contexts and is driven by different cultural and political imperatives. Postcolonial amnesia is a symptom of the compulsion to create one's own history, or the desire to start over by erasing unpleasant memories of colonial conquest. "In principle, postcolonial amnesia is a symptom of the creation of history itself, or the need to start over".

Thus, the Orde Baru or Suharto era leadership with post-colonialism as
a direction or sign of having an ideology that affirms itself in Pancasila and avoids forms of colonialism to form a new pattern interpreted as an ideology in the system of governance in Indonesia.

2. The Fundamental Structure of Epistemology

Epistemology is the philosophical study of the origins, methods, circumstances, limits, validity, and character of knowledge. The epistemology of science includes the sources, facilities and procedures for using these facilities to achieve scientific understanding (Nugraha et al., 2017). The epistemological foundation of science is an in-depth discussion of all the processes involved in acquiring knowledge (epistemology) (Safri, 2021). Similarly, science is knowledge gained through specific procedures known as the scientific method. Above all, to reveal and defend the truth.

The nature of philosophical thought is very complex because the objects studied by philosophy are abstract objects using a rational paradigm, which sometimes cannot be empirically proven (Malik & Maslahah, 2021). It deals specifically with three topics: the thing of philosophy (that is, what is thought), how to acquire philosophical knowledge, and the standard of truth (within) philosophy. The aim of philosophy is to find the ultimate truth. The subject of philosophy can be contemplated, especially everything that exists and can exist (Situmeang, 2021).

According to Abdullah, there are three models of connection patterns that form a basic epistemology, namely parallel, linear and circular, among others (Yulanda, 2020):

1) Parallel relationship model

In a scientist, scholar, activist or religious believer, this model predicts that each type of epistemology will operate separately, without any relationship or contact between different schools of thought. The gains that can be made theoretically and practically from the parallel connection pattern model are minimal. This similar relationship presupposes that three different types of Islamic scientific epistemologies can coexist within one scientist. However, each of these epistemologies is independent and does not discuss and communicate with each other.
2) Representation of relationships that follow a linear pattern.

This pattern of linear relationships is based on the expectation that one of the three epistemologies will eventually become the prima donna. A scientist would ignore all other epistemologies out there because he has an a priori preference for one of the three different kinds of epistemology today. The type of epistemology he chooses is taken to be the only perfect and comprehensive epistemology. Someone who uses this decision model will eventually find himself in a deadlock, such as a dogmatic-theological deadlock, usually characterised by overly ambitious and singular truth claims.

3) Model circular relationships in a system.

Each of the different methods of scientific epistemology can understand the limitations, deficiencies and shortcomings of the other, while at the same time being willing to take advantage of the discoveries made by other scientific traditions and to correct those deficiencies. Peculiar to itself. The rigidity, errors, inaccuracies and anomalies inherent in any epistemology can be reduced and overcome after receiving feedback and criticism from various forms of epistemology such as Bayani, Irfani and Burhani epistemology.

The model of parallel and linear relationship patterns is the model that dominates the educational model in Indonesia and the majority of other Islamic countries from the three models of epistemological relationship patterns described above. This has been the case from the founding of the country to the present day. Of course, the existence of this kind of reality is something that causes concern and anxiety. A scientific discipline cannot stand alone because it is closely related to other subfields in the scientific community. In response to this fact, any scientific building, whether it focuses on religious studies (including Islam and other religions), social sciences and humanities, or natural sciences, cannot stand alone (Waston, 2016).

If a particular scientific discipline claims to be able to stand alone, to be able to solve problems independently, not needing help or contributions from other disciplines, this independence will sooner or later turn into narrowness, not to be confused with fanaticism.
(Suharto, 2012). Ultimately, people will be better equipped to understand the complexities of their lives and to find solutions to the challenges they face through collaboration, mutual greeting, mutual need, mutual correction, and interdisciplinary interrelationships. This will greatly benefit the development of scientific inquiry in general and the study of religion as a field of study.

Thus, the basic epistemology is the essential determination of the system or policy to be implemented by considering the expected form and purpose. The structure or design becomes a parallel, linear, circular relationship pattern model.

3. Islamic Education Policy in the Suharto Era

During the Orde Baru era, the development of Islam, as well as other religions, was widespread. Because it is so easy and costs nothing, Muslims who need help can convert to Christianity without any financial burden. Missionaries try to convert Muslims to their faith while hiding their activities. As a direct result of this mentality, there have been various uprisings, and one of their main aims has been the destruction of churches built near Muslim villages (Adibah, 2020). Arabic language training programmes broadcast on TVRI, the MUI Foundation, the establishment of MAN PK, Da'wah programmes and various other Islamic education initiatives all contribute to the development of Islamic teachings.

Other Islamic education programmes include (Alrudiyansah, 2016):

a. During the Orde Baru era, several Islamic education programmes were implemented, resulting in changes in Islamic education.

b. Under an order issued by the three SKB ministers, former madrasa students can continue their education in public schools.

c. Therefore, the madrasah curriculum must also be balanced with the traditional curriculum.

d. During the Orde Baru era, religious studies became a compulsory part of the curriculum at all levels of education, from primary school to university. Likewise, character education is encouraged as part of the practice of the Pancasila precepts, for which Budiono (2017) emphasises that a person's
character, morals, or personality is created as a result of the individual internalisation of various virtues, which are believed and used as a basis for perspective, thinking, behaviour, and dynamic action. By having a morally responsible character response to a given situation, one's character, morality or personality can be defined as something that results from the internalisation of several different virtues.

During the Orde Baru era, education was characterised by a centralised policy that emphasised economic development supported by political and security stability, underpinned by the power of the government bureaucracy, the armed forces and the conglomerates (Iswantir, 2019). This was done in order to maintain political stability and security. The fact that education is listed as one of the top priorities in the preamble to the 1945 constitution, which is practically unchangeable and is considered the religious foundation of the nation's struggle, proves that the nation's founding fathers attached great importance to education from the perspective of many ideologies. Prior to President Suharto's rule, the incumbent political class had focused heavily on the nation's education system.

The Orde Baru government took the approach of the Islamic education system. It is a system that indoctrinates children with the ideas of a new world order government and requires them to accept these ideas (Muhajir, 2015). Even in primary school, children are required to attend a training called P4, which stands for 'Guidelines for Living and Practicing Pancasila'. This training requires them to memorise the points of Pancasila. This indoctrination led to the birth of Orde Baru ideas and the establishment of an Islamic-based education system. During the Orde Baru era, all manifestations of foreign culture were criticised, regardless of the ethical position of that culture. As a result, the main aim of education during the Orde Baru was not to improve the standard of living of the people or even to improve Indonesia's human resources.

For example, the Orde Baru emphasised political orientation so that everyone obeyed every government policy, including Islamic education policy. This model is a doctrine that the Orde Baru institutionalised in the
Islamic education system in Indonesia. Thus, during the Suharto era, indoctrination on the value of Islamic education was suppressed from primary school to university level.

4. Fundamentals of Islamic Education in the Suharto Era

In the development of a nation, education is the most essential and fundamental component. Education is an effort that aims to shape the future of humanity as a generation, which in turn contributes to the growth and development of a country (Rizal, 2014). The theoretical approach to education and its implementation in the real world must take into account various factors. In line with this, the meaning of education embodied in Indonesia cannot be separated from the political considerations and policies of the Indonesian government. During the Orde Baru period, the prevailing mentality was to strive for autonomy while abandoning all other obligations.

The emergence of a "new generation" of people was necessary before the start of the resistance. This "new generation" consisted of student organisations that came to the conclusion that they could no longer support the ideology of the Orde Baru dictatorship. Students could overthrow the Orde Baru regime by taking the initiative in physical politics. This echoes the attitude of the pioneers who fought for independence; in particular, they oppose all instances of arbitrariness and injustice. In addition, the government began to realise that there was a strong reaction from Muslims, so they adopted policies to encourage the quality of education in madrasas (Fuad Raya, 2018).

The previous presidential decree was included in the Joint Decree (SKB) of the three ministries (Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Education and Culture and Ministry of Interior) No. 1975, issued on 24 March 1975. The publication of this policy was intended to allay the concerns and fears of Muslims about the abolition of the madrasa education system; this step was taken. The SKB discussed here is a solution model that, on the one hand, acknowledges the existence of madrasas.

On the other hand, this work guarantees that it will continue to lead to the development of an integrated national education system throughout
the country. The joint decree (SKB) of the three ministers recognised three levels of madrasas: Ibtidaiyah, Tsanawiyah and Aliyah. The certificates obtained at each level are recognised as equivalent and equal to those obtained at the primary, junior high and high school levels (Safei & Hudaidah, 2020). Graduates can then continue their education in public schools at a higher level, while students can continue their education at the same level.

The fundamental essence of Islamic education during the Suharto era was the first appearance of social and vertical mobility of madrasa students. So far, this has been limited to traditional educational institutions (madrasas and Islamic boarding schools). Second, it provides opportunities for students to enter the world of work in today's industries, which is a significant advantage (Anjasari, 2022). However, this does not mean that there are no problems with the Three Ministerial Decrees. Thanks to the Three Ministerial Decrees, madrasahs have been given the same status as schools and the same educational title. Composition of the curriculum in the madrasah, students study general subjects 70% of the time and religious subjects 30% of the time.

This standardisation of the curriculum results from the political classification. In fact, the madrasas will have to take on more responsibility. On the one hand, madrasas are obliged to raise the level of education they provide. In general, they will have to meet the requirements of educational institutions. On the other hand, given their status as religious educational institutions, madrasas are obliged to uphold the standards of the religious education they provide.

Thus, the virtual instrumentalisation of Islamic education during the Suharto era was identified with an emphasis on the importance of Islamic religious education, which was included from elementary to tertiary level to produce adjustments to the curriculum in public schools, madrasas and Islamic boarding schools.

D. Conclusion

The leadership of the Suharto era
with postcolonialism was a sign of having an ideology that was self-affirming on Pancasila and avoiding forms of colonialism to form a new pattern of government system in Indonesia. The basic structure of epistemology is the essential determination of the system or policy implemented by considering the expected forms and goals in parallel, linear and circular ways. Education policy emphasises political orientation, including Islamic education policy. The basic instrumentation of Islamic education is identified with emphasis on the importance of Islamic religious education, which is included from elementary to tertiary level.

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