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**Editorial Correspondence:**

Editor, IIUM Journal of Religion and Civilisational Studies (IJRCS)

Research Management Centre, RMC

International Islamic University Malaysia

53100 Gombak Campus

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Tel: (+603) 6421 5002/5010

Fax: (+603) 6421 4862

Website: <http://journals.iium.edu.my/irkh/index.php/ijrcs>

Comments and suggestions to: [alwialatas@iium.edu.my](mailto:alwialatas@iium.edu.my)

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## **Madrasa's Social Capital in the Context of Hilly Communities Dynamics: The Case of Madrasa Maarif Kokap in Yogyakarta, Indonesia**

**Ahmad Salim,<sup>1</sup> Nik Md. Saiful Azizi Bin Nik Abdullah,<sup>2</sup> Hairiyah,<sup>3</sup> Riki Perdana,<sup>4</sup> Martalia Ardiyaningrum<sup>5</sup>**

**Abstract:** This article discusses the social capital of Madrasa Maarif Kokap in Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in its dynamic relationship with the surrounding hilly communities. Using Putnam's social capital theory, this study analyses the close relationship between beliefs, norms and networks with the development of the madrasa. Methodologically, this study used observation and in-depth interviews with 14 selected respondents to collect data. The data was then analysed using a qualitative approach that is enriched with a sociological ethno-science strategy. The result of the study shows that social capital affects the madrasa in its development of academic and non academic programmes. The madrasa has to maintain its social capital as an instrument to fulfil its goals. Many madrasa strive to maintain its respective social capital, preserve norms that will become the legacy of its respective community as well as build trust and enlarge its network with its respective community.

**Keywords:** Madrasa, social capital, dynamic, hilly community, Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ahmad Salim* is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Islamic Education, Alma Ata University. He can be reached at [ahmadsalim0305@almaata.ac.id](mailto:ahmadsalim0305@almaata.ac.id).

<sup>2</sup> *Nik Md. Saiful Azizi Bin Nik Abdullah* is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Education at the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), Kuala Lumpur. He can be reached at [nikazizi@iium.edu.my](mailto:nikazizi@iium.edu.my).

<sup>3</sup> *Hairiyah* is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Islamic Education, Alma Ata University..

<sup>4</sup> *Riki Perdana* is a lecturer in the Department of Islamic Education, Alma Ata University.

<sup>5</sup> *Martalia Ardiyaningrum* is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Islamic Education, Alma Ata University.

## **Introduction**

Relations among individuals have implications for social change in society, especially in contemporary society, which is facilitated by advances in information technology that make no insulation and distance between individuals. Changes in one aspect of society will have implications in its socio-cultural, economic, educational, political and other aspects.

As an Indonesian education institution, the madrasa provides education from elementary to high school. Education is part of social change and, where possible, social change needs and can be influenced by education (Tilaar, 2002). The relationship between the madrasa and the community is shown by the extent of education services the madrasa provides to the community, which ultimately is the transformation of community. This means that the link between the madrasa and the community is an inseparable form of unity in which the presence of the madrasa is a necessity in bringing meaningfulness or benefits to the community. On the contrary, the building of community systems has also become the driving force towards the change and development of the madrasa in accordance with its goals.

The impact of globalisation has spread into all aspects of society, including in hilly communities (Hatu, 2011; Fuadi & Suyatno, 2020). This reality can be interpreted as the hilly communities' social and societal expectations from the madrasa. Social changes that occur in the hilly communities have become a strong basis for this since most people view the madrasa as both an education and social institution. This means that in the hilly community, the madrasa is expected to be an agent of change for community transformation; if the madrasa offers no meaning to its existence, the hilly community will abandon it. People have high expectations of the madrasa as an agent of change in various aspects of life. The madrasa is seen as an ordinary educational institution that is not only oriented towards mastering knowledge and upholding the noble values of religion, but is also oriented towards lifestyle in many communities, including the hilly communities (Abdullah, 2019).

The implication of changing people's perceptions of the madrasa is more transparent, especially when competing with other madrasa for public attention. A madrasa that can utilise its social capital will be able

to develop its quality and, in turn, will be made a preference of the community concerned. On the contrary, a madrasa that does not utilise its opportunities to pursue its social capital will be abandoned by the community. There is no lasting certainty in the context of ranking or quality of madrasa—all madrasa have the same opportunity to either develop or go out of business (Abdullah, 2019). There is no guarantee that a successful madrasa today will be able to survive in the following year.

Madrasa Maarif Kokap in Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, is an elementary-level madrasa that has managed to maintain the quality of its management through ranking and accreditation. It has been ranked for producing the best national exam scores at the Kokap Sub-district level for the last five years. With its predicate, the madrasa, which is located in the hills of Kulon Progo Regency, is able to gain the trust of its community evident in the increase of its student body reaching 160 students. Also, the performance and achievements of this madrasa have received appreciation from its surrounding community.

However, many elementary-level education institutions located in the Kokap Sub-district have not had encouraging developments, both in terms of the quantity of students and their academic and non-academic achievements. As a result, the developments of Elementary Madrasa Maarif Kokap cannot be found in other schools and madrasa at the same level, even though they have good relations with the surrounding community. This means that in the context of social relations, not all madrasa can take advantage of relations with the community that surround them which could contribute to their respective further development, as stated above.

### **Purpose of the Study**

This article explores the social capital and the development of Madrasa Maarif Kokap in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, and its dynamic relationships with hilly community. More specifically, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. How does social capital contribute to the development of Madrasa Maarif Kokap within the dynamic of the hilly community?

2. How does Madrasa Maarif Kokap maintain its social capital and sustain its own development?

## Literature Review

### *The Hilly Communities' Dynamic*

Socially, hilly communities have different characteristics from plain communities. Hefner (1994) states that individual land ownership through inheritance is a social feature of the main hilly community in the island of Java compared to people in the plain community who rely more on buying and selling ownership (Hefner, 1994). Social dynamic is considered to be something that is not feasible in the context of hilly society and is only seen by people who live in the plain land, so the resilience of holding mainstream traditions is an identity of this hilly society.

Besides modernity that reaches all aspects of society, the social transformation of society does not only occur in urban society. Modernity, which is marked by the development of technology, primarily transportation and information, has been able to penetrate into the hilly society. Modernity that is parallel to the rapid globalisation has implications for social change in almost all lives of these people. Mukhibat and Effendi (2020) have stated that the rapid progress of globalisation has created many challenges confronting Indonesia, including shifting the nation's original cultural values because of the increasingly rapid flow of globalisation that is sometimes out of control.

Soekanto (1982) states that social transformation in society affects its social values, norms, patterns of behaviour, organisation, authority, social interaction and other aspects. Social transformation or cultural change is common in society because every society definitely experiences some form of it—even though the changes and developments of people are not the same, each society has its own way of accepting these changes (Hatu, 2011). The way a community accepts and responds to such changes depends very much on the perception and readiness of some of the existing sub-systems of the community in accepting the changes that occur. As quoted by Rudi Volti (2004), William F. Ogburn has stated that there is a link between social institutions in social change that affect one another. He further



states that change in the material field is usually faster than in the socio-cultural field.

In the context of the Kokap society, the transformation of attitudes and values can be seen in the dominance of capital, cognitive and rational thinking compared to the way of transcendent thinking that is considered as sacred. Some activities that were once considered sacred have turned into routine, which has distorted their sacredness. One example of this is the activity of *genduri* or praying to God for salvation. This sacred activity of *genduri* has been distorted to become an activity that is more oriented towards distributing alms as a “blessing” to the invited citizens. The procedure for *genduri* is very short and only controlled by a few people who are considered to have mastered the science of religion (Salim, Maragustam & Radjasa, 2018).

Mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) as a social activity, primarily on social care, also appears to have shifted. As changes occur in the livelihoods of people who are not homogeneous in the agricultural and horticultural sectors and there is also the development of community recognition in professional expertise, the involvement of the community in mutual cooperation continues to experience a shift. Mutual cooperation is changing, meaning that service (*rewang*) towards people who have certain needs have declined and is now replaced with experts who receive certain wages, such as masons, decoration experts and cooks. The community cannot flock to do some mutual cooperation activities as described above for various reasons that exist for each individual, including formal work that requires him to go to work on working days. On holidays, there is not enough manpower to do a number of jobs that exist in the community. The research result by Sirait (2016) found that social relations in the Kota Gede society are not based on personal profession, but the relation of function and role. This means that the society, including the Kota Gede society, see *gotong royong* as a fundamental activity that can create solidarity.

*Kromo* (refined speech in Javanese) is an indicator of the respect and courtesy of the younger generation towards older or honourable people. This type of speech has since shifted as many of the younger generation are unable to fluently speak it. Society seems to be more permissive of this reality and accepts that younger people prefer to use Indonesian language to communicate with older people. This reality is certainly

in contrary to the norms held in high esteem by this community in the past, whereby *kromo* was one of the visible indicators that a person is upholding the norms of politeness and respect for his interlocutors.

The above transformation is more influenced by the increasing dialectics of a community and other communities due to the facilitation of information technology and transportation facilities that are increasingly more accessible. Community dialectics impact the mutual influence of values and attitudes among communities and, furthermore, support a transformation of values that are considered to facilitate them. The preference of values and attitudes that they previously adhered to and maintained could fade if the persistence of the values they believed in are not facilitated by a strong socialisation and externalisation of values (Mustakim, Rouzi & Tumin, 2021).

The dominance of rational and cognitive ways of thinking and pragmatic tendencies of a community influences the society's view of the madrasa. The madrasa, which is seen by the community as an Islamic educational institution that produces quality alumni in religious studies, is shifting and moving towards demands that it serves as both an educational and social institution that not only produces religious scholars, but also the same kind of qualifications as conventional schools. Some of the demands addressed to schools by the community also became demands on the madrasa. Government policies have promoted more alignment between madrasa and school, so the community's perspective on madrasa have also changed. All that is demanded from the conventional school is also demanded from the madrasa, mainly related to educational output. Even the society demands more from the madrasa compared to schools since the former has advantages related to religion. The madrasa is expected to be a plus school that is not only competent in religious studies but also in general science and even certain skills possessed by other educational institutions.

### ***The Social Capital of Madrasa***

Social capital—which is defined as a number of components that exist in social organisations, such as beliefs, norms and networks, that can increase the efficiency of society by facilitating some

coordinated actions—has been the strength of the madrasa for a long time (Putnam, 1993). Putnam (1993) also added that trust is needed as a form of willingness to take risks in social relationships. This is based on confidence that other people will do things as expected and will always act in a pattern of mutually supportive actions, so at least they will not act detrimentally to yourself and the group. In Sociology, capital is a source that can be used for productive forces, things that produce, the means of production and the supply of a community's assets (Soekanto, 1985). This means that the madrasa's social capital is an asset owned by the madrasa that pivots on its social status, namely the community. Social capital will always be related to the mutual relationship between the madrasa as an educational institution and its surrounding community (Suwadi, 2017).

Social capital cannot exist and be built without a relationship between the madrasa and its surrounding community. The strength and existence of the madrasa is actually facilitated with its social capital because, basically, its relationship with the community has been supported by social capital, namely trust, norms and networks. With social capital, people are able to achieve an objective that cannot be achieved without good relations and connections (Srimulyani, Afriko, Salim, & Ichwan, 2018). However, the inability of a madrasa in Indonesia to manage social capital will weaken its very existence (Maunah, 2020). H. A. R. Tilaar (2004) reveals that the uniqueness of a madrasa is its closeness to the community, so it would be problematic if the madrasa was unable to manage its social capital. Thus, the social capital of a madrasa is a potential for improving its quality if managed with a relevant approach in line with its surrounding community's demands. The high trust and network of individual madrasa in the community will increase its social capital.

## **Methods**

### ***Research Design***

This study used a case study method with a qualitative approach. Qualitative approach was preferable for describing the social capital of the madrasa in the context of the hilly community dynamic. This approach seemed more effective for this study because it enabled the

research data to be explored in depth. Such research is one of basic traditions in social sciences and it is related to people in their respective language and region (Moleong, 2011).

This study was conducted at Elementary Madrasa Maarif Kokap Kulon Progo in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The main data analysed were qualitative data, namely information from key informants in the form of persons or actors involved in Elementary Madrasa Maarif Kokap and its surrounding area. The number of participants were 14 people, comprising the madrasa principal, three teachers, one staff administrator, four students, the village leader and four residents. The sampling technique used was purposive sampling. The first key informant was asked about his willingness to be an informant and his availability to be interviewed, while the remaining informants were determined by snowball technique. Interview method was conducted in a structured and natural manner, which allowed the participants to convey and express their experience, opinion and honest feelings. Several participants were given interview questions, which they answered in writing using communication technology.

### ***Data Collection Procedures***

The two techniques of collecting data were interviews and participatory observation. The procedure of this study was carried out by using the interview protocol as a guide for conducting interviews, namely the researchers' introduction, interview questions and confirmation of the results of the interview. In the interview questions, the researchers first asked about the impact of trust, norm and networking on the madrasa. The following questions were developed based on the interview guidelines. Ethical procedures in conducting research were carried out by first asking for permission from the regional office of the Ministry of Religion of the Special Province of Yogyakarta as well as schools; permission was also asked from participants concerning their willingness to be interviewed and recorded. There were no obstacles in this permit process. The researchers also reaffirmed that the results of this study would not reveal the identity of the informants.

Participatory observation was conducted on a madrasa academic consultant for more than 6 months and was supported by observation

guides. The data validity was determined through source triangulation method, namely checking data from one informant to another, and from observation and document.

### ***Data Analysis Techniques***

The data analysis technique was carried out according to that of Moustakas (1994), including the manner of describing the results. The researchers then determined the theme—each detailed statement has an equivalent value in the theme and the details were developed without repetition. Grouping the data into meaningful units, the researchers broke down the units and wrote a textual description of their respective experience, including careful examples. Reflecting on the thoughts and by using imaginative variations, the researchers identified all the possible meanings and, through divergent perspectives, considered the frame of reference and constructed how the phenomena were experienced. They then constructed all of their explanations of the meaning and essence of their experiences. This process of expression of the researchers' experience was the initial step, and was followed by the expression of the experiences of all participants. After all these steps were done, the researchers then wrote the combined description.

## **Results**

### ***The Importance of Social Capital towards the Madrasa***

Based on observation, on the whole, the madrasa's status is that of a private institution that is mainly established and developed by the community because, historically, it stood on the initiative of the community in response to the development of conventional schools during the colonisation period. Thus, the madrasa is the product of the community. It was created by large organisations, such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, other Islamic foundations as well as by philanthropic personalities and organisations (Sunhaji, 2017). The existence of such madrasa has a consequence on the uniqueness of this institution when compared to schools in general. The madrasa's closeness to the community is its main capital needed to develop its education at a higher level.

**Trust.** Based on the understanding of trust in Putnam (1993), trust will occur if both parties do their equal share so that there is mutual trust and sense of comfort on both sides. A pattern of trust that only involves one party will certainly weaken that trust. Trust is a form of social capital that is very important in order to improve the relations and dialectics of the madrasa with the community, resulting in the development of the madrasa in their own aspects. Without trust between the madrasa and the community, some programmes that may help improve the madrasa will be difficult to realise, particularly those that are directly related to the community.

Based on the interview with the madrasa principal, who was the key informant and has 23 years' of experience working in the madrasa, the trust that has been built between the madrasa and surrounding community was not instant—it was built ever since the madrasa was established and continues to increase. Of course, this trust does not always develop linearly, but fluctuates in accordance with the context of their relationship. The community's trust will continue to be consistent and become an effective social capital of the madrasa because their expectations of the madrasa can be facilitated. Some of these indicators are related to an increase in the number of students, involvement of madrasa activities by the community, namely prayers conducted before the National Examination, and final exams. The fulfilment of community expectations through some of the programmes implemented in this madrasa also supports strengthening community trust in the madrasa. Furthermore, the community's preference for the madrasa has also increased, even defeating schools at the same level in the Kokap community and surrounding areas.

**The Madrasa's Norms.** As an educational institution under the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organisation, Madrasa Maarif Kokap certainly has norms that are followed by madrasa stakeholders as a pattern of behaviours that are practiced in their daily life. Norms can be used as ethical guidelines for the madrasa and its surrounding communities and will be able to give meaning to the running of madrasa organisations as long as these values are sourced from previously agreed upon noble values and with practices from which they benefit. Otherwise, the norms in the madrasa will not contribute to any effectiveness of its education, and even the existence of the madrasa in certain communities.

Some norms related to the values that serve as a reference for the madrasa's conduct are directly proportional to the norms around the madrasa, an example here being a hilly community that is well known for values or attitudes of mutual respect, courtesy, care and tolerance. These values are also reflected in the norms held by the madrasa as values that must always be built to realise and also achieve harmonisation within the society at large (Izzah, 2013). So, the community's anxiety related to the decline of some values as a result of impending modernity and globalisation is also a concern that the madrasa must respond to so that it can rebuild the values that have become community virtues.

The power of values as a guideline is the sanction imposed on a person or group that violates or does not implement the values correctly. External sanctions are reciprocal and will accept a person or group who does not implement the values. For example, on the value of respect, a person will find it difficult to receive respect from others when he himself never respects them. Someone will find it difficult to get recognition from the community he has been living in if the person concerned has never been directly involved in the social activities of the said community.

**Networking.** As an educational and social institution, the madrasa is an organisation that cannot possibly exist alone without the support of other organisations or the community. As a private educational institution that was founded from the initiation of the community and has its roots in NU, Madrasa Maarif Kokap has an extensive network, both at the local and national levels. Formally, it is under the management of the Ministry of Religion and is also an educational institution owned by NU. The Ma'arif Nahdlatul Ulama Educational Institution (LP Ma'arif NU) is an institution that manages several educational institutions owned by NU, from elementary to secondary levels and even universities. Through the formal structural network above, this madrasa benefits from a fairly extensive ownership by the Ministry of Religion and LP Maarif.

The result of the interviews with participants shows that the madrasa's network is supported by its strong community. It is able to continue to maintain and develop its network at a broader level, for example, by interacting and collaborating with banks, community

health centres and other socio-religious institutions. Through this network, the madrasa can always optimise its existence in the wider community; networking plays a role not only in its symbolic but also collective legitimacy.

In addition, this madrasa also has a non-formal network that is built through the community, namely through Islamic study groups around the madrasa. This network provides a significant contribution to prospective madrasa student candidates through certain policies. Moreover, there are also a number of activities in the madrasa that involve this group.

## **Discussion**

### ***Maintaining Community Trust***

Public trust in the madrasa will be directly proportional to the concrete evidence that is felt by the community in the form of the community's expectations of the madrasa concerned. When a community can benefit from the existence of a madrasa, the strength of the trust in the madrasa will always be maintained. In order to maintain mutual trust between them, Madrasa Maarif Kokap took several steps to convince its surrounding community of its necessity.

The community, especially parents and guardians, know about the activities of the madrasa, including the curriculum implemented, through socialisation. Socialisation is done through several ways, such as meetings between parents/guardians and madrasa committee members, written and oral information conveyed from teachers to parents/guardians through students and the purchase of student worksheets by parents/guardians. Through these various methods, community trust in the madrasa can be nurtured and continuously developed.

The principal has an important role in building community trust in the school. Even in a madrasa that has an established system, the role of the school principal as an actor and public leader has implications for building community trust in the madrasa that he/she leads. The success of the school principal in improving the quality of school education is inseparable from the mastery of his/her competencies and abilities in



playing his/her duties, role and function as headmaster (Khilmiyah, Wiyono, & Suud, 2020). Community trust in the madrasa necessitates community recognition of madrasa stakeholders, and community recognition of the madrasa is manifested in the visibility of the madrasa principal and teachers in several community activities. The benefit of their visibility in the context of the madrasa environment will have implications for the building of community trust in the institution.

The madrasa principal has adequate competency of religious knowledge and is supported by good social competence, so his competency makes it easy for him to socialise in the wider community, be it in the neighbourhood he lives or around the madrasa, which is about seven kilometres from home. Even at the mosque near his house and the madrasa, his involvement as a Friday preacher is a concrete form of community recognition of him. Community recognition of the madrasa principal fosters community trust in the madrasa.

The involvement of teachers in several community activities has certainly also facilitated the improvement of community trust, which ultimately has implications for the madrasa as well. This means that increasing public trust in madrasa stakeholders does not only have implications for them personally, but also has an impact on trust in the madrasa they serve. Madrasa stakeholders do not stand alone as people who are separate from the madrasa they serve, but they will always be integrated with the madrasa concerned (Raihani, 2020). Madrasa teachers are involved in some of the community activities, namely *rewang* (mutual cooperation), primarily in the form of a wedding celebration at a resident's house, either as an emcee, receptionist or spokesperson. The positive perception of the hilly community towards the teaching profession makes it easy for these madrasa teachers to be directly involved in several social humanitarian activities.

The presence of the teachers' roles in several social activities in the community as described above certainly facilitates community trust in them. Community trust in madrasa stakeholders will be maintained from time to time, when their presence benefits the community. The teachers' involvement in several social activities is a tangible manifestation of the community's trust in them for their abilities. The presence of both the principal and teachers as madrasa stakeholders in

some community activities is a form of madrasa socialisation with the community through their personal and social competencies.

The madrasa's academic and non-academic achievements are always related to its quality. Its achievements are integrated into a unified quality that can be seen and felt by the community, especially by parents of students or members of the community. Prominence of one of these achievements will be directly proportional to the madrasa's efforts in its further development based on its vision and mission and elaborated on its achievement plans for a certain year or period.

In line with some of the activities carried out, this madrasa has had several achievements that can increase community trust, at least to gain knowledge of their children at the madrasa concerned. Some achievements—such as excelling in final examination (UN) scores and winning prizes in several competitions—are able to strengthen the trust of parents/guardians of students and the community. The achievements of this madrasa push it towards a superior position and, in turn, prompts an increase in the number of new students from one year to the next. Madrasa students have steadily outperformed students from several other public and private schools in the Kokap Sub-district.

### ***Retention of Values and Norms in the Madrasa***

In the context of Madrasa Maarif Kokap, the internalisation of its core values of respect, courtesy, care and tolerance is carried out through learning activities in the classroom, activities outside the classroom as well as several activities that directly come into contact with the community (Dixon, 1968). In classroom learning, the internalisation of virtues and values is carried out in an integrated manner in all existing subjects, most importantly in Islamic religious learning and Javanese language. The internalisation of values or norms in learning is more dominated by the moral model of existing classroom teachers, although other ways are also implemented, such as having a dialogue with students about grounding virtues and values in them. This approach is carried out by considering the psychological condition of elementary school students who are more motivated by imitation of the activities carried out by others, especially the teacher as a role model. Thus,

duties carried out by the teacher through activities inside and outside of classroom learning greatly affects their attitudes and behaviours.

The teacher's behaviour of calling students with the prefix *mas* for male students and "Miss" for female students as well as using *kromo* is one manifestation of him/her being a role model on respect. In Javanese culture, calling someone's name with the prefix *mas* indicates respect from younger people towards older or honourable people, such as someone who has a higher status than most people in a community. A teacher's behaviour has consequences on the imitation of students since he/she is a role model in the classroom and madrasa. For example, students will at least feel ashamed when the teacher uses *kromo* towards them, while they themselves do not use it (Salim, Maragustam & Radjasa, 2018). This behaviour encourages students to imitate their teacher when they socialise with other teachers or friends.

### ***The Inculcation of Values and Norms by the Madrasa***

One madrasa activity that is intended to inculcate values in the daily lives of students is that of delivering greetings and smiles. This activity is carried out every morning, whereby every student who comes to the madrasa is welcomed by the teachers and principal with greetings, smiles and handshakes. This form of habituation is carried out by the madrasa in order to instil the values of respect and courtesy in younger people towards older people.

The alms programme for students, which occurs on Fridays, is another programmed activity intended to inculcate social care. This activity is full of awareness of the importance of caring for others. There are at least two tasks in this activity intended to instil values, namely collecting money and donating money. The purpose of collecting alms on Fridays is to visit madrasa students who are sick as well as to offer condolences towards parents/guardians of madrasa students. Through this activity, students are encouraged to not only raise money, but also share with others who are in need of help.

The involvement of students in community service—in the form of cleaning the madrasa environment—is one of the madrasa's activities intended to inculcate social care behaviours. This activity is carried out by students from Grades 3 to 6, except in the second semester for class.

It is carried out on the second Saturday every month to internalise the value of sharing and caring for others. Students are invited directly to watch while carrying out ways to work together to fulfil social needs or others; this activity is an actualisation of one's caring attitude. Here, students are required by the teacher to bring equipment, such as brooms, trash bins, sickles and buckets.

The involvement of students in community service also occurs at certain other events, such as the NU's anniversary and religious public holidays. In the context of commemorating the anniversary of NU and religious public holidays, students and teachers perform community service by cleaning the mosque's environment outside the madrasa in the village of Tejokan Walibuko. Community service carried out by involving students is a strategy to instil social care attitudes that connect them directly to the community and not only to the environment around the madrasa. This strategy is in line with an underlying theme in the Ministry of Religion, which is charity, as indicated in the slogan of charity day. Hence, community service involving madrasa students is a manifestation of madrasa charity in the context of social care for the surrounding community.

The inculcation of tolerance for others is done by involving students in madrasa activities that come into direct contact with the community, one example being when a resident living near the madrasa dies. For such an event, the student representatives are invited to offer condolences to the family of those who died, even if the family or the deceased are Christians. The student representatives who participate in this event are usually appointed from Grades 4 to 6, with consideration of the physical and psychological maturity that they possess to carry out this social activity. This activity is a form of the actualisation of caring attitudes that can stimulate the creation of a tolerant attitude, especially if the condolences offered are to a Christian family.

### ***Madrasa Networking***

Madrasa Maarif Kokap maintains a wide network with many formal institutions, such as Elementary School 1 Kokap, Kokap Health Center, Junior High School 1 Kokap, Kulon Progo Resort Police and Kulon Progo Pasar Bank. This collaborative network with several

formal institutions facilitates in building trust and recognition in the madrasa in the public sphere, from which it benefits. In the context of cooperation with Elementary School 1 Kokap, the activities carried out is related to the formulation of teaching materials, while at Junior High School 1 Kokap, it is related to the distribution of student output.

The activities carried out with the Kokap Health Center is in the form of school children immunisation months, health screenings and student-and-teacher health education programmes. The activities carried out with the police is related to the awareness and compliance with traffic rules, while the activities carried out with the Bank are related to savings and loans by madrasa students and teachers. The practice of a savings culture in the madrasa results in savings being channelled directly to this private bank every Friday, where there are officers from the bank who collect student savings from the madrasa. This method has proven to build strong relationships between the madrasa and its wider community.

The madrasa's work relationship with the community has been widely established not only around the madrasa, but even in other regions and across the province. This reality can be seen by the multiple indicators of madrasa students based on the student's regional origin. The Madrasa Maarif Kokap students come mainly from various villages in the Kokap area, and some even come from Purworejo Regency, Central Java. This condition can certainly be interpreted as the widespread of this madrasa network, if we associate it with the geographical condition of the madrasa as a hilly region and the basic level of education provided. Some of the achievements that are recognised about the madrasa by the madrasa stakeholders are enough to contribute to the widespread of its network in the community. Many alumni who hold various positions and social status across various regions have facilitated in building the wide network of the madrasa to the community.

Through various networks in the community, the madrasa can conduct socialisation in the form of several beneficial activities, particularly social and humanitarian activities, that can involve its principal and teachers, which will contribute to its achievements. The involvement of the principal and teachers in offering condolences, *rewang* (mutual cooperation) and other activities in the community is

a tangible manifestation of the madrasa's socialisation with its existing networks in the community.

Community networks are the focal point of madrasa meetings since this concerns the society or community at large, either through existing institutions or private persons. Through this network node, the madrasa can disseminate information about the existence of other madrasa. Socialisation does not have to be only expressed verbally but can also be through concrete actions that meet the needs and expectations of the community concerned.

The relationship between the madrasa and its students' parents/guardians is an unavoidable reality that is essential in order to achieve goals in accordance with the madrasa's vision and mission. The peak of this relationship is realised by optimising the role of the madrasa committee as a forum for the aspirations of the parents/guardians. Suggestions and criticisms from the parents/guardians are channelled through the madrasa committee in the form of committee meetings between both parties. These joint madrasa committee meetings are held at least twice a year, namely during the new school year around July and at the end of the school year in early June. In addition, urgent meetings are also held when required, for example, when a mosque or parking lot needs to be built. In such meetings, several things are discussed that are both related to the progress achieved by the madrasa as well as programmes that need the support of parents/guardians, such as study tour programmes, camps and extracurricular activities.

The relationship between the madrasa and parents/guardians is also shown through the student contact book. This book contains information about the madrasa's past and future activities as well as work notes and achievements of students. The information in the contact book includes, for example, student exam schedule, holidays and assignments that must be prepared and completed by students. Learning difficulties experienced by the students are also monitored by parents/guardians. In this way, a dialogue space between the parents/guardians of students and the madrasa represented by the class teacher is possible. The relationship between the madrasa and parents/guardians is also maintained when madrasa teachers make personal visits to the parents/guardians' homes if they are concerned with a student's learning difficulties. This activity is often carried out if a

student does not attend the madrasa for more than three consecutive days. The class teacher and several student representatives (usually students whose homes are close to the absent student's home) will visit the absent student in his home.

There are several social institutions that network with the madrasa and have contributed greatly to the latter's socialisation to the wider community. The educational organisation of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Hargorejo Branch and Group of Islamic Studies are a few such institutions or groups of people who have networked with the madrasa and have made a major contribution to increasing the quantity of students. Through the three axes of this institution, the relationship between the madrasa and the public can be carried out optimally. These interrelated networks form a node to socialise the existence of Madrasa Maarif Kokap.

The NU Hargorejo branch is an NU organisation at the village level. Through this NU Branch, the madrasa is socialised with a variety of instruments, mainly through a number of preaching/public study sessions. The public study session is a space for interaction between people and, through this activity, the madrasa becomes socialised. The study activity is usually carried out as a top event to commemorate certain events, such as Maulid and Muharram, at the end of the learning process. As a private educational institution owned by several mainstream organisations, namely NU, this madrasa has several advantages, especially in networking with several other institutions under NU. Masyithoh Sambeng Kindergarten is an early age educational institution that contributes greatly to the input of madrasa students. Almost all graduates of Masyithoh continue their study at this madrasa.

Trust is a critical social capital for the development of this madrasa. The relationship between networking and trust is mutually binding and influential, so the two cannot be separated. Through trust, madrasa networks can always be maintained and enhanced and, moreover, building networks can reaffirm people's trust in the madrasa. Through this node, social capital consisting of beliefs, norms and networks can contribute significantly to the development and existence of madrasa. In the context of the current social changes of hilly communities, it is essential to own and maintain this social capital. Without keeping the

relationship between the madrasa and its social capital, the development of madrasa in the context of community change is a steep step that is difficult to be done.

According to Putnam (1993), social networks and norms that are mutually responsive are social capital, physical capital and human capital. Social networks create values, both individually and collectively. Putnam always reforms the social capital theory that he reveals. In the transformation of the theory put forward, social capital is always associated with trust, norms and networks, but there is a renewal of quality in existing aspects. For example, social capital significantly impacts a community, but more so one that has more participation in its development of social capital so as to obtain its full benefits.

In the next stage, Putnam emphasises that networking and norms would have a higher impact on the development of individuals and organisations, provided that they are bound by strong social values, both in the context of bridging or binding. Fraternal bonds and friendships can be defeated by social ties that lead more to building identity and reciprocity or bridging social capital. Social capital in the form of binding will lead to the bond of exclusive identity, maintenance of homogeneity, mobilisation of solidarity and development of specific reciprocity. He further explains that the higher the social capital of a community, the higher the level of democracy in that community and, in the next stage, it will increase the development of the community (Putnam, 1993). Aspects of power relations that exist in society that also affect relations and dialectics of the society at large, do not get a place in Putnam's discussion. The stressing of the language is directed more towards the building of social capital as the basis for developing a democratic society.

Meanwhile, in Bourdieu's context, social capital is associated with efforts to form social agents in the habitus of individuals who construct their world. According to him, social capital is related to fixed relationship capital and provides useful support when needed. According to him, the strength of this network can be used as social capital because it can be converted into material capital. Similar to Putnam, Bourdieu does not elaborate on the details of the subject of social agents who can build and maintain networks into individual habitus, so they can be used firmly as social capital (Dkk, 2005).



The community around Madrasa Maarif Kokap and their power and patronage relations are still visible in the dialectical reality of this society at large. The leader of the NU Branch Office, Islamic boarding school and mosque prayer group is a religious figure (kyai) who has a high social status in the community around the madrasa. As a result, he can use his status to influence the community in the progress of Madrasa Maarif Kokap. The power relations and patronage that occur also facilitate the reciprocity of relations in this hilly community.

In Foucault's (2003) opinion, the role of power relations is played more as a guardian of strength from existing powers. It is not necessarily associated with someone who has a structural position in power over his subordinates, but rather on one's ability to maintain the power relations he has, so that the relationship is maintained with indicators that can affect other individuals without coercive and intimidating pressures. Through the existing power relations node supported by the satisfaction of the surrounding community over the existence of this madrasa, the existing social capital, especially networks and trust, contributes meaningfully to the development of the madrasa. So, the preservation of social capital owned by the madrasa is greatly influenced by the link between several homogeneous domains, especially the mainstream NU organisation. This relationship has an increasingly strong bond because it is facilitated by the conditions of traditional Javanese society.

## **Conclusion**

The findings of this study suggest that social capital consisting of beliefs, norms and networks in the community has strong implications for the development of the madrasa located in Hilly Menoreh Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Structure, trust and networks between the madrasa and its surrounding community contribute to the ease of the madrasa in socialising through a number of its programmes—these two types of social capital will encourage the community to place their trust in the madrasa. This bond of trust and network is strengthened by norms as reinforcements between them. These norms comprise tolerance, respect, appreciation and courtesy, all of which have tied trust and networks to form the madrasa's social capital. In the era of social change, in these multi-dimensions, this madrasa can develop its potential to embrace the vision and mission it has established.

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