REINFORCING RELIGIOUS MODERATION THROUGH LOCAL CULTURE-BASED *PESANTREN*

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ABSTRACT

The study aims to explore the diversity of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in Soppeng Regency, Indonesia. The regency is known as a place for multicultural education based on local culture which is expected to strengthen religious moderation. This research is qualitative with a phenomenological approach. The object is selected purposively; four *pesantren* institutions in Soppeng Regency, Yasrib (Nahdhatul Ulama), Muhammadiyah Lajoa, Al-Irsyad (Darud Da'wah wal Irsyad) Pattojo, and Al-Ihsan Appanang (Jamaah Tablig). The results of the study show that the diversity of *pesantren* serves as a place for multicultural education. *Pesantren* may reflect the diversity of society, founding organizations, institutional typologies, and networks. The local culture-based *pesantren* is designed to promote multicultural education model which was developed by applying several local culture values: *sipakatau* (mutual respect), *sigunakannge'* (reminding each other), *sipakalebbi* (mutual glorification), and *sipammase-mase* (mutual love). Those values are used as the principles of multiculturalism which is carried out with the ethos of *siri* (respect themselves) in the life of the *pesantren* community. Multicultural education model strengthens the principle of *wasaṭiyah* (moderate) religious moderation through the ideology of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*. Religious moderation facilitates the society to accommodate local culture, express strong national commitments, and grow tolerance in the spirit of egalitarianism.

Keywords: Local Culture, Multicultural Education, *Pesantren*, Religious Moderation.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis keberagaman pesantren di Kabupaten Soppeng, Indonesia sebagai wadah pendidikan multikultural berbasis budaya lokal dan implikasinya terhadap penguatan moderasi beragama. Jenis penelitian ini kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi yang objeknya dipilih secara purposive; empat pesantren di Kabupaten Soppeng, Yasrib (Nahdhatul Ulama), Muhammadiyah Lajoa, Al-Irsyad (Darud Da'wah wal Irsyad) Pattojo, dan Al-Ihsan Appanang (Jamaah Tablig). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan, keberagaman pesantren sebagai wadah pendidikan multikultural terlihat dalam keberagaman masyarakat, organisasi pendiri, tipologi kelembagaan, dan jaringannya. Model pendidikan multikultural pesantren berbasis budaya lokal dikembangkan dengan menjadikan nilai-nilai sipakatau (saling menghargai), sipakainge' (saling mengingatkan), sipakalebbi (saling memuliakan), dan sipammase-mase (saling mengasihi) sebagai prinsip multikulturalisme yang dijalankan dengan etos siri (harga diri) dalam kehidupan masyarakat pesantren. Implikasi model pendidikan multikultural terhadap penguatan moderasi beragama penguatan prinsip wasaṭiyah (moderat) dalam beragama melalui ideologi Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah. Prinsip moderat lebih akomodatif terhadap budaya lokal, berkomitmen kebangsaan yang kuat, dan tumbuh sikap toleransi dalam semangat egalitarianisme.

Kata Kunci: Budaya Lokal, Moderasi Beragama, Pendidikan Multikultural, Pesantren

INTRODUCTION

The discourse of multiculturalism is widely discussed along with the rapid progress of science and technology which breaks down boundaries between countries (Todorović, 2019; Tollerton, 2015). Intercultural exchanges are inevitable (Ward et al., 2018). Recognition of differences is necessary in multiculturalism (Taylor, 2012) so that everyone can live side by side with minorities, people with different political views, religions, and ideologies. It can be achieved by promoting dialogue and mutual understanding (Sarraj et al., 2015; Haque, 2010). This discourse is getting more interesting with the implementation of democratic parties for the change of state leaders in various parts of the world. France, the United States, and Indonesia have shown that ethnic identity in the name of culture plays a role as a dominant discourse in the election of a head of state (Mietzner, 2020; May, 2016; Grosfoguel, 2012). Claims as owners of indigenous cultures are so intensively voiced on behalf of certain groups or religions in order to support the legitimacy of territorial authorization (Prawoto, 2021; Hervik, 2012).

The emergence of various Islamic groups movements has attracted worldwide attention because they are not only spiritual movements but also socio-political movements that bring changes in the political scenario in a country (Zarkasyi, 2008). This socio-political movement also occurred in Indonesia, even quite prominent and interesting to observe because the religious understanding of those groups is very literal and its actions tend to be radical (Azra, 2005). Radical movements in the name of Islam certainly tarnish the reputation of Islam as a religion of peace (compassion for all beings). The notion of religious radicalism that has led to radical movements indicates a lack of instilling values of diversity in religious education, especially Islamic education (Au, 2017; Maulana, 2017). Meanwhile, the most effective method for instilling diversity values is through the field of education by implementing multicultural education (Miftah, 2016; Arifin, 2016; Hakiemah, 2007).

The implicit multicultural paradigm is one of the concerns of Indonesia's Law No. 20/2003 concerning the National Education System, in which education must be carried out democratically, based on non-discriminatory manner by upholding human rights, religious values, cultural values, and national diversity. In other words, the main purpose of multicultural education is to instill an attitude of sympathy, respect, appreciation, and empathy for adherents of different religions, religious teachings, and cultures (Budirahayu & Saud, 2021; (Zubaedi, 2006).

Since the beginning of 2000, many education experts have voiced and even agreed to campaign the importance of multicultural education in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Islamic education, both as an institution and material & process, has generally been criticized by observers of Islamic education in Indonesia for practicing education that does not touch the ethical aspects of diversity and multicultural values (Rahmat, 2018). Islamic education observers view such an educational process occurs in Islamic education institutions, such as madrasas, Islamic schools, and even *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools). The indicators can be seen in the process of education and religious teaching in general which becomes more exclusive. Religion is taught by denying the right to live in different religions or sects (Karacabey et al., 2019; Zainiyati, 2007). Religious education should be used as a vehicle for developing universal morality that exists in every religious teaching, while, at the same time, developing an inclusive and pluralist spirit (Amri, Tahir, & Ahmad, 2017). Therefore, it is important for educational institutions in a multicultural society to teach peace and conflict resolution to a pluralistic society as desired in multicultural education (Marzuki et al., 2020; Noorhayati, 2017; Raihani, 2012).

Facing the reality of pluralism, violence in the name of ethnicity and religion, mutual hostility between and within religious communities, the emergence of prejudiced attitudes, and

ethnocentrism attitudes is interesting phenomena in Indonesia. In responding to these phenomena, long-term preventive actions are needed through the Islamic education pathway (Latif & Hafid, 2021; Muliadi, 2012). Islamic education as one of the important instruments of Islamic civilization needs to be optimized by utilizing social concepts and theories, especially multiculturalism concepts and theories in educational institutions in order to reinforce religious moderation (Ramdhani et al., 2021; Irham, 2017; Muntaha & Wekke, 2017).

Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) as one of the Islamic educational institutions are required to play an active role in socializing and building peace to respect and love each other through education and moderate religious attitudes (Latif, 2016; Zubaedi, 2006). The multicultural education paradigm is very relevant to *pesantren* because this institution has many dimensions related to plural matters, which are not uniform and do not have a single guideline. *Pesantren* appears to have a uniform pattern, but they are diverse; look conservative, but they are adaptive to keep pace with the times (Amri, et al., 2018).

Pesantren is a classical and traditional (indigenous) educational institution that maintains local cultural values as its characteristics. However, they keep surviving and are considered an alternative in the current globalization era (Burga et al., 2019; Wahid, 2010). Therefore, *pesantren* becomes an object of a study that attracts the attention of education experts. Various relevant studies have been conducted in the form of books, scientific journals, and final academic research.

Numerous books and research articles on multicultural education have been published, including: Pendidikan Multikultural (Ainurrofiq, 2006); Pendidikan Multikultural: *Konsep dan Aplikasi* (Naim & Sauqi, 2008); Multicultural Education is an Effort to Strengthen National Identity: Concepts, Principles, and Implementation (Suryana & Rusdiana, 2015); Multicultural Education: Innovative Learning Strategies in the Plurality of Indonesian Society (Alhakim, 2018); Multicultural Education Transformation in Schools (Nurcholis, 2019). These books and research articles only discuss and examine multicultural education methods, concepts, and theories as well as their implementations in general educational institutions. Meanwhile, a book by Sapsuha (2013) discusses the importance of integrating multicultural education in religious education based on cultural counseling as an effort to anticipate and reduce conflict.

Along with books, there are also final academic studies and relevant articles, including Fahmi's (2019) dissertation discusses multicultural education's concepts, implementation, and contribution in *pesantren* as an adaptation strategy in Muslim minority areas. Furthermore, Rahmat (2018) wrote an article examines the plurality of *pesantren* as a place for multicultural education and its implication to teach the values of multicultural education in *pesantren*.

The present study discusses multicultural education in *pesantren*. It takes into consideration that previous studies on strengthening religious moderation have not been comprehensively studied. Therefore, this study is very important because it becomes a benchmark for the success of *pesantren* in realizing religious moderation through optimization of multiculturalism potential in their educational process, while maintaining traditional principles in the form of local cultural values that characterize them.

The study is even more interesting because multicultural education which aims to foster understanding, awareness, and respect for differences is carried out in *pesantren* in Soppeng, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. This region is diverse in many aspects. *Pesantren* in this region is considered to be diverse because this region has 19 *pesantren* in total with various foundations or organizations behind them, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Darud Da'wah wal Irsyad (DDI), and Jama'ah Tabligh. In addition, the networks under their development vary with the distribution and formulation of the population that surrounds them. Soppeng as the location of this study is an area that has a fairly diverse population in terms of culture, religion, economy, and education. The people of Soppeng have lived

peacefully with the largest percentage of non-Muslims in South Sulawesi accounting for 5%. The majority of its population is Buginese people as natives who are known to have a high religious spirit (Musyarif, 2018).

Based on the problems described above and the facts of *pesantren* in Soppeng Regency, it is important to conduct a study of the local culture-based multicultural education in *pesantren* in Soppeng Regency as an effort to reinforce religious moderation. This study focused on three sub-discussions, namely (1) the diversity of *pesantren* as a place of multicultural education, (2) the multicultural education model of *pesantren* based on local culture, and (3) the implications of the multicultural education model of *pesantren* based on local culture for reinforcing religious moderation.

METHOD

The study applied a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. Based on the type of data, this study emphasized the analysis of the dynamics of the relationship between observed phenomena using scientific logic without statistical analysis (Sugiyono, 2015). In other words, the data were collected to describe the natural situation concerning *pesantren* multicultural education based on local culture in Soppeng Regency as an effort to reinforce religious moderation).

The study was conducted at four *pesantren* in Soppeng, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. They were selected purposively based on the Islamic community organizations affiliated with them: (1) Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) represented by Pondok *Pesantren* Yasrib, (2) Muhammadiyah represented by *Pesantren* Muhammadiyah Lajoa, (3) Darud Da'wah Wal Irsyad (DDI) represented by Pondok *Pesantren* Al-Irsyad DDI Pattojo, and (4) Jama'ah Tabligh represented by Pondok *Pesantren* Al-Ikhlas Appanang. The collected data in this study consisted of two types: primary and secondary data. The primary data were obtained from interviews with *kiai* (experts in Islam), *ustad* (teachers), and *santri* (students) at those four *pesantren*, researchers' direct observations on activities at those *pesantren* and documents related to those *pesantren*. Meanwhile, secondary data were obtained from books, journals, previous studies, and various concepts regarding multicultural education and *pesantren* written by experts.

The methods of data collection applied in this study were observation, interviews, and documentation (Creswell, 2016; Sugiyono, 2015). Observations were carried out openly so that all *pesantren* stakeholders can provide information freely about the multicultural education process that they are carrying out. Interviews were conducted on primary data sources in the form of conversations that aimed to obtain information about the focus of this study. Furthermore, the documentation process was conducted to collect various documents in the form of concepts and theories relevant to the problem under study as a theoretical basis and material for confrontation with research results (Creswell, 2017).

After the data from the field were collected, they were then processed and analyzed in three stages, (1) data reduction, (2) data display, and (3) verification (Sugiyono 2015). These three components were interactive and interrelated. At the stage of data reduction, important, meaningful, and relevant data were categorized and grouped. After that, those data were presented with a good writing framework so that it can be understood by readers. Then, conclusions were drawn (Creswell, 2017).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
The Diversity of *Pesantren* as a Place of Multicultural Education

Pesantren in Soppeng are quite diverse. This diversity is the main capital of *pesantren* as a representative educational institution in growing awareness of pluralism and internalizing the values of multiculturalism. The most prominent diversity of *pesantren* can be seen in four

aspects: (1) communities around the *pesantren*, (2) Islamic community organizations affiliated with *pesantren*, (3) the networks of *pesantren*, and (4) the institutional model of *pesantren*.

The Diversity of Communities Around the *Pesantren*

In the pre-reform era, Java Island was the main center of the geographic area of *pesantren*. This institution is now scattered in various parts of villages and cities in Indonesia, including in Soppeng with Buginese people as the indigenous community there, in which they then open themselves to live with immigrant communities (such as Javanese, Makassarese, Mandarese, Chinese, Arabic) that later become the parts of residents of Soppeng Regency. This is due to the influence of community development, especially in socio-religious matters, which cannot be separated from the role of Islamic organizations and educational institutions.

In addition, *pesantren* has become a reflection of the plurality of the people of Soppeng. It is a multicultural institution, in which almost all parties involved within it are the people of Soppeng with various backgrounds. They are different in terms of ethnicity, culture, regional origin, economic background, educational level, age, gender, roles played, and even religious understanding. For these reasons, *pesantren* is a small community that lives and develops in a large society. Therefore, it is not surprising that the social interactions that are established in *pesantren* are not much different from the social interactions that exist in society in general (Maksum, 2015).

Although *pesantren* in Soppeng are established by various religious organizations, not all *santri* choose *pesantren* based on religious organizations. Likewise, teachers who teach in *pesantren* are not seen from the background of their religious organizations. Those, who live or go to school in the *pesantren* are not only people who live around the *pesantren* but also come those who are from various areas far from the *pesantren*. There are even *santri* who come from abroad. This is because each *pesantren* has its unique characteristics. Each *pesantren* is in demand because of their varied educational patterns and systems and is followed because of the capacity and charisma of the *kiai* who leads the *pesantren*.

The Diversity of Islamic Community Organizations Affiliated with *Pesantren*

Pesantren in Indonesia's Government Regulation No. 55/2007 concerning Religious Education is a community-based Islamic religious education institution that provides early education or in an integrated manner with other types of education. Therefore, in its development, *pesantren* is no longer only a provider of Islamic education but also a provider of the educational institution. For this reason, there has been a shift in the position of *pesantren* to a broader setting. In addition to being an Islamic educational institution, *pesantren* is also an educational organization or community organization engaged in education. This is what makes *pesantren* generally have close relations with various Islamic organizations.

The brief description of several major Islamic organizations in Soppeng that have built or established *pesantren* in Soppeng. The first is Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). This organization was officially established on 16 Rajab 1344 AH or 31 January 1926 CE in Kertopaten, Surabaya. It was founded by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari together with several *ulama* to organize the potential and role of existing ulama from *pesantren* so that the working area of those *ulama* could be further enhanced, developed, and expanded. In other words, the establishment of this organization was to become a facility to unite the steps of *ulama* or *kiai* from many *pesantren*, in which their services were no longer limited to the *pesantren* but was further developed in addressing social, economic, political, and public issues in general (Bruinessen, 2008).

Based on the background of the establishment and the dynamics of the development of this organization, it can be concluded that this organization has a very close relationship with *pesantren* because it is a facility for gathering *kiai* or *ulama* who lead *pesantren*. This makes this organization have a big influence on the majority of Indonesian Muslims because the *Ahl al-Sunnah* movement initiated by this organization is open to modernization but still takes good

care of tradition (Khuluq, 2013). This is also what makes *pesantren* in Soppeng generally influenced by Nahdlatul Ulama, in which, out of 16 *pesantren* in Soppeng, 10 of them teach the understanding of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* practiced by Nahdlatul Ulama. Although they are not under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama structurally, they are closely related to Nahdlatul Ulama culturally because their leaders are the administrators of Nahdlatul Ulama both at the regional level of Soppeng and at the regional level of South Sulawesi.

The second is Muhammadiyah. This Islamic organization was founded by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan on 8 Dzulhijjah 1330 AH or 18 November 1912 CE in Yogyakarta. Muhammadiyah is an organization mainly focusing on Islamic *da'wah* movement, addressing *amar ma'rûf nahi munkar* & *tajdîd*, Islamic *aqidah*, and life guidelines based on Quran and as-Sunnah (Muhammadiyah, 2005). The purpose and objective of this organization are to uphold the Islamic religion so that a true Islamic community can be realized, namely as a monotheistic society that is moderate, exemplary, inclusive & tolerant, solid & caring for others, and has the awareness of carrying out the mandate as God's representatives on Earth who are tasked with creating prosperity, security, comfort, and harmony and quickly realizing mistakes and then apologizing to the God, so that ummah may be spared from prolonged sin and disobedience as an effort to get happiness in the afterlife (Nurhayati et al., 2019).

During its development, educational institutions in the form of *pesantren* have become one of Muhammadiyah's charity programs. Generally, the *pesantren* established by this organization has a modern typology. In the context of the educational institutions under the guidance of this organization, its Islamic religious education curriculum is called "*Al-Islam dan Kemuhammadiyahan*" (literally translated to "Al-Islam and Muhammadiyah-ness"). The content of this curriculum is based on the results of the *tarjîh* by the Muhammadiyah Tarjīh Council (Indonesian: Majelis *Tarjîh* Muhammadiyah). In Soppeng, Muhammadiyah is currently developing 26 educational institutions, consisting of two senior high schools, 14 junior high schools, nine elementary schools, and one *pesantren*.

The third is Darud Da'wah Wal Irsyad (DDI). It is an Islamic organization originating from Mangkoso, Barru, South Sulawesi. This organization was founded by A.G.H. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle on 29 Shawwal 1357 AH or 21 December 1938 CE. In the dynamics of its development, this organization currently has hundreds of educational institutions in the form of *pesantren*, *madrasas*, schools, and universities. These educational institutions are spread across various islands in Indonesia, such as Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Papua, Sumatra, and even Java (Sewang 2019). The orientation of Islamic education initiated by this organization combines the curriculum of *Kitab Kuning* (Literally translated to *Yellow Book*) and contemporary books. Its education system combines the madrasah and traditional systems. The content of the curriculum that shows its uniqueness covers the historical perspectives, organizations, and value systems of this organization. Its curriculum is also based on the understanding of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* as the developed Islamic foundation.

This organization has a place in the hearts of the people of Soppeng in general because the founder and the current leader are charismatic *ulama* from Buginese people and their thought has had an impact on the development of Islamic knowledge for the people of Soppeng. In addition, the concept of this organization is developed based on the social conditions of the people of Soppeng who maintain traditions, practice religion, and participate in global developments (the modern world).

The fourth is *Jama'ah Tabligh*. This organization was founded by Muhammad Ilyas al-Kandhlawi in 1927 in Mewat, India. This organization is a non-political global *da'i* movement that focuses on inviting Muslims to return to practicing Islam as practiced during the life of the Prophet Muhammad, especially in terms of rituals, clothing, and personal behavior, so that this organization is less accommodative to local culture (Aziz, 2004). In Soppeng, *pesantren*

under the supervision of *Jama'ah Tabligh* has been established since 2010 and is named *Pesantren* Al-Ihsan Appanang.

The Diversity of the Networks of *Pesantren*

The network of *pesantren* is a relationship between one *pesantren* and another. Generally, *pesantren* that are spread across Indonesia mutually has a very strong connection. In other words, *pesantren* do not stand alone or have a relation with other *pesantren*. That is why *pesantren* that is established in the next period has a relationship with *pesantren* in the previous period. Those various forms of relationship are because their leaders are alumni of the previous *pesantren* or the leaders of each *pesantren* have studied with the same ulama in the previous period (Kusdiana, 2014).

Based on this network, the scientific cultures in each *pesantren*, which have been passed down from generation to generation, possess unique characteristics. Therefore, *pesantren* is very diverse in terms of typology and scientific style. This typology and scientific style depend on the sources and intellectual networks of the *kiai*, the leader of the *pesantren*, as determinants of the education system in their *pesantren*.

Azra (1998) stated that since the 18th century, ulama in Indonesia have had scientific genealogies originating from Mecca and Medina. Intensive contact in the knowledge and scientific tradition of Islam between students and teachers has greatly contributed to the establishment of the special nature of scientific discourse in the *ulama*'s network. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the intellectual network of *pesantren* leaders, including in Soppeng, began to vary. They were no longer only alumni from Haramain, but also alumni from Egypt, Morocco, Iran, Sudan, Yemen, Pakistan, even America, and Europe (Azra, 1998). This certainly has an impact on increasingly diverse *pesantren* institutions, in which the experience of their leaders is certainly a capital and model in the management and development of the *pesantren* that they lead.

The Diversity of the Institutional Model of *Pesantrennurh*

Pesantren in Soppeng has undergone institutional changes and developments due to the demands of the community's need for a certain type of education, government policy, and human resources belonging to the *pesantren*. For example, *Pesantren* al-Ihsan Appanang followed the traditional *pesantren* model at the beginning of its establishment. Then, for maintaining its existence in the modern era, they accommodate the modern education system so that it currently becomes a combined *pesantren* (traditional & modern) by adopting a madrasah system affiliated with the Ministry of Religion (Burga et al., 2019). In addition, *Pesantren* Muhammadiyah Lajoa, before obtaining an operational permit, only carried out Qur'an recitations with the *halaqah* system at the mosque. Then, they completely transformed by leaving its traditional system to become a modern *pesantren* that implements a school system affiliated with the Ministry of Education (Asyhar, 2016).

Although not all *pesantren* have changed with this pattern, along with the development of the world of education in general and the need for skilled labor, it seems that the transformation of *pesantren* is inevitable. In addition to changes in institutional status, learning methods, and management systems, changes that mark the transformation of *pesantren* also occur in the scientific spectrum developed by each *pesantren*. On this basis, the term "combined *pesantren*" with a modern management pattern emerges, such as that developed in *Pesantren* Yasrib and *Pesantren* DDI Al-Irsyad Pattojo.

Based on these changing factors, the institution aspect of *pesantren* in Soppeng has two systems: (1) *pesantren* which organizes the school and/or madrasah system, but not prioritizing original activities of the *pesantren*, such as the study of Kitab Kuning, in which those original activities of the *pesantren* are limited to extracurricular activities, and (2) *pesantren* which still maintains the original activities of *pesantren* and applies a school or *madrasah* system. This

indicates that *pesantren* generally have carried out institutional transformation by following a modern and combination system, in which traditional systems are no longer found because they are considered less able to compete in the modern era (Asyhar, 2016).

The Multicultural Education Model of *Pesantren* Based on Local Culture

In the educational concept of *pesantren* in Soppeng, the value internalization is not only carried out within a formal learning process at madrasah or schools. Religious and cultural moral attitudes are always manifested in all activities of the *pesantren* community. This is in line with multicultural education, in which the learning process does not take place only in a classroom environment, but also in a social environment (Parkhouse et al., 2019). *Pesantren*, as a sub-culture, is not described only as a class environment, *halaqah*, *madrasah*, or school, but also as a social environment.

The activities of the *pesantren* community in all social environments create a religious educational system based on Buginese cultural values as a place where the *pesantren* is located. Moreover, these local cul
tural values do not contradict what is extracted from *Kitab Kuning*. These local cultural values become the principle of multiculturalism in implementing multicultural education in *pesantren* in Soppeng. Some of those local values are (1) *sipakatau*, (2) *sipakainge'*, (3) *sipakalebbi*, and (4) *sipammase-mase*.

Sipakatau (Mutual Respect)

The term *sipakatau* comes from the Buginese language. The word *tau* means a person or human being, added with the prefix *sipa* which then means to humanize or respect each other. However, *sipakatau* is not sufficiently represented in the sense of mutual respect. *Sipakatau* can be interpreted as (1) acknowledging existence, (2) obeying the rules, and (3) appreciating the strengths, abilities, and creativity of others.

First, it is acknowledging existence. This means that the community recognizes someone's existence as a member of society so that their rights as a member of society must be fulfilled including ethical consequences for their position in society. For example, a *kiai* (*ulama*) in the Buginese community is called *puang*, as an ethical consequence of acknowledging their existence and acceptance of their position in society. The *kiai*, who is called *puang* (a salutation for the descendants of the Buginese nobility), then greets back with the salutations *Nak*, *Ndi'* (*Dik*), or *Pak/Bu* regardless of the religious or cultural background of the person who greets him. This also indicates that the fruit of studying religious knowledge bridges the gap of discrimination in the social strata which is very attached in Buginese society.

Second, it is obeying the rules. This means that people who come to a place must respect all local rules that apply to the place that they visit. For example, a person visiting someone's house, as a form of *sipakatau*, must take off their shoes, knock on doors, say greetings, not shout to get a response from the host, not come in before being welcome, etc. If it is obeyed, the host will warmly ask them to come in, invite them to sit down, etc. For that reason, harmonious communication can be built.

Obeying the rules in the concept of *sipakatau* also means not disturbing the peace of others through words, attitudes, and behavior that are not praiseworthy, in which those are certainly in line with the rules (norms) to not hurt someone physically and mentally. Therefore, *sipakatau* limits multiculturalism to not overdo it which may rise permissiveness. As a result, in the *sipakatau* concept, a tolerant and democratic attitude must be welcomed or accompanied by tolerance. In other words, in exercising our rights, we must not interfere with the rights of others. The attitude of tolerance in the *pesantren* community is trained through education of patience, humility, and sincerity to live together in a boarding school.

Third, it is appreciating the strengths, abilities, and creativity of others. This is based on the notion that everyone has unique strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, every contribution

made by someone to themselves or their group, no matter how small it is, must be appreciated as an implementation of their respective roles and functions in a plural society.

This indicates that the concept of *li ta'ārafū* (to know each other) in the plural reality conditioned by Allah has been implemented in the religious educational system of *pesantren* by underlying on local culture through the internalization of the value of *sipakatau*. In conclusion, in relation to the multicultural education of *pesantren*, the concept of *sipakatau* plays a role to recognize one another, to know strengths one another, being aware of one or group's unique short comings, and respecting differences. Only after that, the unity may follow.

Sipakainge' (Reminding Each Other)

The term *sipakainge'* comes from the Buginese language. The word *mainge'* means consciousness. After being added with the prefix *sipa*, it becomes *sipakainge'*, meaning to make one another aware, to remind one another, or to advise one another. This is equivalent to the Arabic word *tawāsub*, which means to remind one another (to advise).

As explained in Surah al-'Aṣr (103:2-3), one of the indicators of people who are lucky (not losing) is those who remind each other in truth and patience. In addition to being faithful and doing good deeds, they must also advise each other to obey the truth and remain patient, while staying away from the immoral acts that everyone tends to do because of the impulse of lust (Departemen Agama RI, 2009). In other words, making mistakes is not because of ignorance, but because of unconsciousness. In this context, it is unconsciousness of the potential for good in a plural society and unawareness of plurality as a *sunatullah*. This is the importance of multicultural education of *pesantren*, which aims to construct Muslims who are aware of and make each other aware.

In an effort to realize this objective, the officials of *pesantren*, aside from providing educational advice to their *santri*, must also provide examples and become role models. *Kiai* assisted with *ustad* must always advise on the importance of awareness of diversity and become an example through their thoughts, characteristics, and attitudes towards diversity. Therefore, one of the goals of multicultural education of *pesantren* is to foster spiritual awareness. At this stage, the output that must be possessed by *santri* is an attitude to prioritize morals rather than knowledge. To this point, doing good things is far more important for them than just criticizing for bringing down someone else. Those, who are aware of this educational concept, are those who are smart to feel, not those who feel smart.

Sipakalebbī (Honoring One Another)

The term *sipakalebbī* comes from the Buginese language. The word *lebbī* means an honor. After being added with the prefix *sipa*, it becomes *sipakalebbī*, meaning to honor one another. This word is equivalent to the word *takārum* in Arabic, which also means to honor one another. Surah al-Hujurat (49):13 emphasizes that *inna akramakum 'indallāh atqākum*, meaning "indeed, the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you". In the dialectics of Quran, the word *karama* (noble/honor) with the derivation of *akrama* (the noblest) is used by Allah as a classification of the position of a Muslim's closeness to Him, in which the quality of a Muslim's piety becomes an indicator for classifying their position on the side of Allah.

Therefore, honoring can be interpreted as placing someone in the proper position. This is in line with the meaning of *ipakalebbī* (being honored), namely *iyalengngi napojie gangka sitinajana* (to give what they like to as it should be) or *ritaroi ri onrong sitinajana* (to place them in the highest position where they should be) (Ali, 1989). It means that positioning a leader in front and a subordinate behind in a fest is not a form of discrimination, but a form of honoring them by placing them in the highest position and the right place. Therefore, optimal efforts to provide the rights of others is something that is desired in the concept of *sipakalebbī*.

The context of *sipakalebbī* in multicultural education of *pesantren* can be found in the application of *tauhid*, which has implications for humanist morals. This is based on the following *hadith*.

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُ أَنَّ رَسُوْلَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: مَنْ كَانَ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الآخِرِ فَلْيَقُلْ خَيْراً أَوْ لِيَصْمُتْ، وَمَنْ كَانَ

يُؤْمِنُ بِاللهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الآخِرِ فَلْيُكْرِمْ جَارَهُ، وَمَنْ كَانَ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الآخِرِ فَلْيُكْرِمْ ضَيْفَهُ. رَوَاهُ الْبُخَارِيُّ وَمُسْلِمٌ (Al-Bukhari, 2002).

Meaning: Abu Huraira reported that The Messenger of Allah, peace, and blessings be upon him, said, "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him speak goodness or remain silent. Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him honor his neighbor. Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him honor his guest".

It is the manners that Islam teaches mankind. It is also a source of value for the *pesantren* community in Soppeng in responding to the community or social dynamics around it. There are three indicators of someone's faith described by the hadith, namely saying good things by gentle to not hurt the hearts of others, honoring neighbors (regardless of their background), and honoring guests (regardless of their background). These demonstrate that the theocentric paradigm of *pesantren* is very humanist. The higher the quality of one's *tauhid* (faith) is, the higher the form of their honor towards those around them will be.

Sipammase-mase (Loving Each Other)

Sipammase-mase is a term that comes from the Buginese language. The word *mase* means "compassion or love". It is related to the word *pammase* which means "grace". After being added with the prefix *sipa* and repeated, it becomes *sipammase-mase*, which means "to love each other". The equivalent of this word in Arabic is *rahmah* which means gentleness or compassion. According to Ibn Faris (1979), the word *rahmah* also means blood ties, brotherhood, or kinship. The disposition of the word *rahim* to the women is because, from them, a child can be born who will receive an abundance of mother's love and compassion.

In terminology, *sipammase-mase* is an attitude of mutual love and affection which is based on sincerity and a sense of brotherhood (Ali, 1989). Therefore, in the context of multicultural education of *pesantren* in Soppeng, the position of *sipammase-mase* is not only to let other people carry out their activities but also to provide assistance to them, especially related to *mu'āmalah* (social relations), such as helping people who do not have the same religion to push their broken cars or conducting buying-and-selling activities with those people. The form of *sipammase-mase* is the attitude of *ta'āwun* (helping each other) and working together in goodness for the sake of building a peaceful, serene, and advanced society.

Based on the various local values possessed by *pesantren* in Soppeng, they create a multicultural education system based on the local culture, as shown in Figure 1.
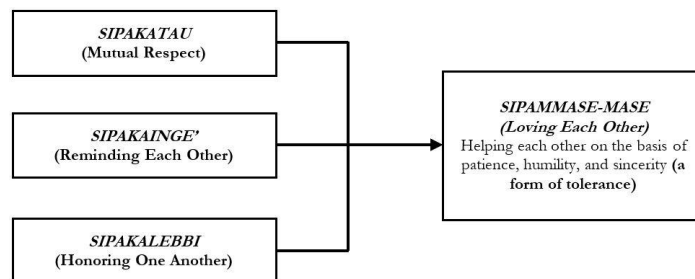

Figure 1. Multicultural Education of *Pesantren* Based on Local Culture

The figure 1 shows that tolerance plays a role within a multicultural education in *pesantren*, which are sustained by three values, namely *sipakatau*, *sipakainge'*, and *sipakalebbi* which then create the *sipammase-mase* society The attitude that appears in the *sipammase-mase*

society is not only permissive or allowing other people to carry out their activities freely, but also helping them out in social matters. This *sipammase-mase* is an embodiment of *raḥmatan li al-'ālamîn*. Only those, who are *riamasei* (being blessed) are capable of being *mappadeceng* (spreading love in the form of kindness based on patience, humility, and sincerity). The nature of patience, humility, and sincerity can be trained through the attitude of *sipakatau*, *sipakainge*, and *sipakalebbi* in daily tolerance-based multicultural educational activities of *pesantren*.

In order to apply those four cultural values in a complete religious educational system, it requires a unifying factor called *siri*. This *siri* is what makes the Buginese culture alive and growing as a motivation to express these various values (Mattulada, 1985). *Siri* can not only be interpreted as shame, humiliation, disgrace, honor, or self-respect, so that people, who are *masiri* (loss of their honor), prefer to leave their hometowns (Pelras, 2006). *Siri* is the identity of the Buginese people themselves as the member of the *pesantren* community in Soppeng which is reflected in their noble behavior, mutual respect, and mutual honor. *Siri* has become an ethos to continue to develop (improving self-quality) so that the member of the *pesantren* community is friendly, courageous, and able to compete wherever and whenever (Arsyad & Rama, 2019).

The Implication of *Pesantren* Multicultural Education Based on Local Culture to Reinforce Religious Moderation

Multicultural education of *pesantren* based on local culture has been implemented by *pesantren* in Soppeng since its establishment. This multicultural education model has implications for the emergence of *pesantren* as social capital in mainstreaming religious moderation. This social capital is a set of values and norms that are believed and practiced by the members of the *pesantren* community on a daily basis (Abubakar & Hemay 2020). This social capital is also the uniqueness of *pesantren* and does not just appear. It has been forged by a long process of experience and practices carried out by the members of the *pesantren* community since its establishment, growth, and during its development. The members of *pesantren* then make it a common identity which functions to forge solidarity, a sense of belonging, and a connection between their souls and their *pesantren*. At the same time, these values also shape the way they interpret their relationship with different identity groups outside the *pesantren* (Malik et al., 2020).

The social capital is used by the *pesantren* community to be able to survive and even develop in the midst of its struggle to face various shocks that occur in the social, political, and religious affairs, including in reinforcing religious moderation. Some of the social capital possessed by *pesantren* in Soppeng as a traditional value system from the results of the multicultural education based on the applied local culture are (1) the theology of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* (*Aswaja*), (2) the accommodative nature to local culture, (3) commitment to nationality, and (4) the egalitarianism of the *pesantren*.

The most fundamental thing to reinforce religious moderation is a theology that is not extreme (Sadiah, 2022). This is absolutely the main capital of *pesantren* that are generally born, grown, and developed with the spirit and principle of religious moderation based on the theology of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* (*Aswaja*).

Aswaja is a group or movement in history that can be described as a religious view that is formulated (from a theological aspect) by al-Asy'ari in Basrah and al-Maturidi in Samarkand. These two people are considered to be the most representative in describing and implementing *Aswaja* according to the meaning of the hadith "*mâana 'alaihi wa aṣḥâbî*" (those who follow the Prophet and his friends) (Hawassy 2018). This definition of *Aswaja* emphasizes the movement phenomenon in the history of Islamic thought.

More specifically, Nahdlatul Ulama formulated the concept of *Aswaja* as a *mazhab* in practicing Islam by following one of the imams between al-Asy'ari and al-Maturidi in the field

of *aqidah* (faith). This is regarded as an effort to follow one of the four Imams (Hanafî, Mâlik, Syâfi'î, and Hambali) in the field of *fiqh* (Islamic law). Furthermore, in the field of *tasawuf*, it is to follow either Imam al-Junaidi or al-Gazali. This Nahdlatul Ulama's view seems to be based on its position as an Islamic organization in Indonesia which is socially very suitable for the people of Indonesia. A term even emerges because of this condition, namely *Islam Nusantara* (literally translated to Islam in Indonesian) (Bruinessen 2008).

The concept of *Aswaja* makes the text (Quran and Al-Hadits) a source of reference for all its religious views. However, in making legal decisions, this concept must pay attention to the value behind the text, including the social conditions on which the text appears. After that, it is adjusted to the phenomenon that is developing as a contemporary issue (Bruinessen 2008). This indicates that the principle of *wasaṭiah* (moderateness) is also a part of *Aswaja* theology that blends text and context in a balanced way.

Accommodativeness to Local Culture

The strength of *pesantren* in Soppeng as the basis for fostering religious moderation is great trust from the Muslim community of Soppeng as role models in religious practices. This is not only because of its traditional Indonesian status but also because of its readiness to accommodate local culture (the Buginese culture) as a mosaic of Islamic civilization, which can be seen in the religious practice that is very accommodative to local culture (Arsyad & Rama 2019). Meanwhile, religious practices and behaviors that are accommodative to local culture can be applied to see a person's moderation level (Kementerian Agama RI 2019). Moderate people tend to be more friendly in accepting local traditions and culture in their religious behavior as long as it does not conflict with the main teachings of their religion.

The religious tradition that is not rigid is characterized by, among other things, a willingness to accept religious practices and behavior that not only emphasize normative truth but also accept religious practices based on its virtue and benefit as long as the practice does not conflict with the principles of religious teachings. Conversely, some groups also tend not to be more accommodative to traditions and culture because practicing tradition and culture in religious ritual is considered an act that pollutes the purity of the religion (*bid'ah*) (Kementerian Agama RI 2019).

However, this religious practice cannot automatically reflect the moderation of the perpetrators. It can only be used to see general trends. The view that someone who is more accommodative to local traditions will be more moderate in religious affairs has yet to be proven. It could be that there is no positive correlation between moderation in religious affairs and accommodation towards local traditions in religious affairs. This is also, at the same time, a challenge for *pesantren* to continue to explore local cultural values as one of the adhesive values of society so that they can be contextualized and actualized in peaceful social interactions and away from violence.

The national commitment is important to serve as an indicator of religious moderation (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019). One of the forms of religious moderation that is promoted by *pesantren* in Soppeng is the principle of "*ḥubb al-waṭan min al-îmân*" (love for the nation is part of faith). It is manifested by practicing religious teachings while carrying out obligations as citizens. Likewise, fulfilling obligations as citizens is a form of practicing religious teachings.

National commitment is a very important indicator to see the extent to which one's views, attitudes, and religious practices have an impact on loyalty to the basic consensus of nationality, especially in relation to the acceptance of *Pancasila* as a state ideology, their attitude towards ideology opposing *Pancasila*, and their nationalism attitude. One of the embodiment efforts on the national commitment is the acceptance of the national principles as stated in the 1945 Constitution and the regulations under it. This has become a culture that cannot be separated in *pesantren* as evidenced by the activity in *pesantren* in general, such as carrying out

flag ceremonies every Monday, ceremonies to commemorate Indonesian independence, and participation in enlivening other national important dates.

The Egalitarianism of *Pesantren*

Etymologically, egalitarianism comes from French, namely *egal* meaning "same or having no different". Egalitarianism is a tendency to think about equality in every human being. A person should be treated equally in every aspect of life dimensions, such as religion, politics, economy, social interaction, or culture (Woodburn, 1982). This definition of egalitarian doctrine seeks to maintain that all human beings have the same value or moral status fundamentally.

In an egalitarian society, all people will have equal standing and positions, respect each other, love each other, be willing to sacrifice, be democratic, and enjoy their rights as a member of the society. In a state society, egalitarian means social equality to obtain the same legal rights, voice, opinion, education, association, security, and obligations that involve all levels of society (Woodburn, 1982).

The egalitarian concept in Islam is contained in *Surah* Al-Ḥujurât/49:13, that all humans have the same degree before God regardless of their position, wealth, descent, ethnicity, race, class, and others. All of them are given the same opportunity to carry out their duties, roles, and responsibilities as servants of God. The quality of the duties, roles, and responsibilities is called *taqwa*. The higher the quality of this *taqwâ* is, the closer those people to Allah will be.

Such Islamic egalitarianism is also practiced in *pesantren* in Soppeng. There is no difference in status and treatment in *pesantren*. Everyone has the right to get what they should get (Maksum, 2015). Children of farmers, parking attendants, traders, employees, businessmen, government officials, grandchildren of founders, or even children of *kiai* who become *santri* at this *pesantren* are obliged to undergo the same process without distinction (Jamaluddin, 2012). All *santri* get a schedule to clean the classroom and get the same subject matter. If necessary, the children of government officials who violate the rules will be expelled. Likewise, children of *kiai* or *ustaż*, if their scores do not reach the minimum completeness criteria [Indonesian: *kriteria ketuntasan minimal* (KKM)] will be not allowed to move to the upper class (Amthor & Roxas, 2016).

Social interaction between *santri* in their daily lives also does not differentiate between the rich and the poor. They all blend in complementary. In the dormitory, all *santri* live together, in which they are from various regions of origin and ethnicity so that they learn and respect differences (Maksum, 2015). All *santri* must obey the rules applied in the *pesantren* and no one has certain privilege. They have the same thing in everything. Nothing can buy to violate the rules and nothing can buy the learning scores (Cherng & Davis, 2019).

All *santri* are prepared to return to society to become leaders and servants of their diverse society. As a result, they will understand that, in a civilization, differences in social position or status are inevitable but everyone should be given the same opportunity to carry out their duties in society. For these reasons, this is what will maintain social stability (Damopolii & Burga, 2020; Arphattananon, 2018; Omar et al., 2015).

The present study found that although *pesantren* are diverse, they can still accept foreign cultures in the context of local culture (local wisdom) which is the identity of the *pesantren*. This acceptance indicates that the *pesantren* have cultural flexibility. In a sense, cultural dynamism, Islamic universality, and social development are accumulated in an educational institution. Unfortunately, the group's ego still often appears even though awareness of plurality continues to be built, so the materials of fiqh and tafsir taught are still trying to justify the religious views or ideologies of the Islamic organization affiliated with the *pesantren*. This phenomenon is a limitation that has not been studied in the present study thoroughly so

further study is needed by other researchers for *pesantren* perfection as a place of internalizing the values of multiculturalism.

The present study also finds and formulates the inner characteristics/*rûḥ* (spirit) of *pesantren* that can be used as weapons in fighting radicalism and strengthening religious moderation. The outward characteristics of *pesantren* have been developed by Dhofier (2014), namely (1) kiai, (2) santri, (3) mosque, (4) *kitab kuning* (classical Islamic book), and (5) dormitory. However, these outward characteristics will not exist as the main defense base from radicalism and strengthening religious moderation without the inner characteristics (spirit) of the *pesantren*, which are (1) understanding of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ'ah*, (2) accommodating to culture, (3) national commitment, and (4) tolerance in the spirit of egalitarianism.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussion described previously, the following conclusions can be drawn: First, the diversity of *pesantren* in Soppeng, Indonesia as a place of multicultural education can be seen in: the diversity of the community around the *pesantren*, which affects the value system applied in the *pesantren*, the diversity of community organizations founding the *pesantren*, such as DDI, NU, Muhammadiyah, and Jama'ah Tabligh (all of these organizations apply Islamic understanding based on their respective organizational ideologies), the diversity of *pesantren* networks, that has an impact on the scientific characteristics of the founders and their leaders so that the *pesantren* has their respective academic traditions and educational models, and the diversity of *pesantren* institutions as seen in their various typologies, such as modern and combination typologies. Second, this diversity is tied with local cultural values as the basis and capital for the multicultural education of *pesantren* in Soppeng. Those various local cultural values (the Buginese values) applied as the multiculturalism principles in *pesantren* are *sipakatau* (mutual respect), *sipakainge'* (reminding each other), *sipakalebbi* (honoring one another), and *sipammase-mase* (loving each other). In addition, these values are guided by the principle of *siri* (self-esteem) in daily *pesantren* activities. Third, this multicultural education of *pesantren* based on local culture has implications for reinforcing religious moderation in *pesantren* as a sub-culture of Indonesian society. The results can be seen in the strengthening of the principle of *wasaṭiyah* (moderateness) in religious affairs through the ideology of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* (*Aswaja*), resulting in *santri* who is more accommodative to local culture, has a strong national commitment, and fosters tolerance in the spirit of egalitarianism.

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