

K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid's (Gus Dur) Principle Ideology And Post-National Tragedy Multicultural Education Building: An Educational System Perspective

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Abstract.

*This paper can be said to be an enrichment of the study of multicultural education which has been discussed for a long time in Indonesia, by presenting a new character who has never actually made multicultural education his idea of thought. Gus Dur's existence is more of an ideology of multicultural thought. Because of that, this paper is more formed on the reconstructive process of Gus Dur's thinking in general in terms of Islam, culture, and ideological discourse in Indonesia, which is contextualized in the world of education. Besides that, the implementation of this paper will also be designed through a system theory approach in the world of education. So that non-specific thoughts become more practical and can be used as a strategy for teachers in carrying out their learning in educational institutions. Finally, based on this research, the most important lesson from Gus Dur's cultural thinking and ideological attitude, to build multiculturalism-based education in Indonesia, lies in Gus Dur's strong principle that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is a people's identity that cannot be changed by any political power, Pancasila as the ideology that must be understood and lived by all levels of society in Indonesia, and adhere to the rules of the nation and state in Indonesia whether through integrative cultural and religious values that live in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the substance content of the 1945 Constitution, that embraces all groups without discriminating against SARA.*

Keywords: *Gus Dur, National Ideology and Multicultural Education.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The discourse on multicultural education, in fact, never exists in a space. It is almost certain that this idea emerged when a country was threatened with horizontal conflict and social disintegration due to a crisis of one group's trust in another. In America, for example, multicultural education is presented to minimize living *conflict* between white and black groups (James, 1994). In England, the educational model is used as an offer to disseminate the values of global society and the protectionism of a democratic country to all immigrants (*immigrant/diasporas society*) in the country (Baker, 1993). In Indonesia itself, as noted by Azyumardi Azra (Azra, 2005) and HAR Tilaar (Henry Alexis Rudolf Tilaar, 2003), this idea emerged due to a national tragedy before the reform, authority autonomy, and substantive democratization (avoiding the term liberal democracy), was carried out in Indonesia. Even though it was discussed and became a mainstream discourse among academics, the concept of multicultural education is not widely seen in its implementation form. In addition, the openness of information and the development of diversified issues in society that are increasingly diverse diminishes the success of this concept. Because of that, at least this discourse is still warm enough to be discussed just to actualize and re-strategize the development that has been raised a lot. For example, multicultural education is associated with its initiators in Indonesia (Isnaini, 2004). Multicultural education is associated with national values and democratic values today (Baidhawiy, 2010). Multicultural education face-to-face ideology of religious values, including Islam (H A R Tilaar, 2002). Multicultural education in the form of school institutions (Mahfud, 2013), and other studies. Based on these various previous studies, the writer also wants to contribute to completing the study, by reading the thoughts of a humanitarian idol named Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). Although, Gus Dur himself did not have specific works related to multicultural education, based on the academic work he produced.

The authors of Gus Dur's thoughts on multicultural education (Munir, n.d.) (Musthofa, 2015) tend to only take aspects of Islamic thought, Indonesianist, cultural plurality, and others, then contextualize it in the theoretical foundations of multicultural education. Therefore, to be slightly different from previous studies, the author will focus on the characteristics of Gus Dur's thoughts; the basis of cultural and ideological thinking, then analyzed through an educational system theory approach (*input-process-output interrelation*). The author also, in terms of systematizing Gus Dur's thoughts and Multicultural Education, will avoid

repetition; for example, the historiography of Gus Dur's life, academic conceptions that are not related to cultural and ideological studies, as well as Gus Dur's political life. Gus Dur's position will be placed as a thinker who is purely consistent in living his beliefs. Therefore, in this paper, the author will immediately present Gus Dur's concept of thought regarding national ideology and challenges to the plurality of Indonesian society, Gus Dur's ideological attitudes and the theoretical series of multicultural education, to the systemic analysis and implications of multicultural education within the scope of educational institutions. At the end of the idea, the author will provide a name to the systemic practical implications of how Gus Dur's thinking can become the foundation of multicultural education, which is not just discussed in class, curriculum design, and other learning processes, but rather a holistic institutional system.

II. METHODS

Research methods in general can be interpreted as a scientific way to obtain data with specific goals and uses (Sugiyono, 2013). Thus, the method is a strategy or method taken to achieve certain goals. Therefore, the method used in this paper refers to the method developed by Jujun Suria Sumantri, namely the critical analytical descriptive method. This method is a development of the descriptive method or what is known as analytical descriptive, namely a method that describes human ideas with a critical analysis (Sumantri, 1998). The type of research chosen by this researcher is library research (Arif, 2008) (Masyhuri & Zainuddin, 2011) because the data source used is wholly from the library or documentary (Mukhtar, 2007), namely examining data sources consisting of literature related to the theme of Gus Dur's multiculturalism and the implications for Islamic religious education.

This research also collects data from Gus Dur's works and the works of other experts who discuss multiculturalism that has been published, either through books, journals or articles (Sunarto, 2001). This type of research aims to collect data and information about the values of multiculturalism and related to Gus Dur's multiculturalism thinking with the help of various materials found in the library, such as: books, magazines, documents, notes, historical stories and so on. etc. In this case the researcher used data collection techniques by collecting data from various predetermined sources, both primary data sources and secondary data sources by analyzing Gus Dur's work and trying to collect them using several figures' opinions regarding multiculturalism and its implications for Islamic religious education.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gus Dur's Conception of Ideological Thought and Challenges of Plural Society in Indonesia

Gus Dur's anxiety related to the contestation of the pluralist paradigm (read; national or Islamic in Indonesia) while making him think or recontextualize several epistemic frameworks that Gus Dur built himself dialectically. Many Islamic thinkers consider Gus Dur to have gone beyond the standard components that were formed to legitimize a truth of thought. Gus Dur can be described as a traditional Islamic thinker because the studies he presents are never separated from his identity as a thinker from a pesantren. Gus Dur can also be represented as a modernist group because his thoughts come from modern terminology. Gus Dur can also be presented as an integrator of these two different points of view because, in his work, there is often a dialogical paradigm between the forces of Eastern and Western civilization. After all, Gus Dur is a figure full of experience and knowledge; be it the West in the sense of general science, or the East in the frame of Islamic knowledge. Gus Dur himself said that from a Western point of view in creating a methodology, there is no need to be worshiped to measure the truth that exists in Islamic teachings. And vice versa, it is not good to use the methodological instruments owned by Islam as a static basis, so that other methods cannot be used to seek the truth in determining religious values (K. H. A. Wahid, 2010). So, for Gus Dur, a good way of thinking is self-inclusivity towards all methodologies, then reducing them using instruments of appropriateness, feasibility, and contextual considerations (*axiology*). Through thinking like that, a product of thought will not bring about new upheavals in people's lives at large. Gus Dur, when he responds to a case or phenomenon in society, often uses a model like this.

For example, in his article titled "Islam; Main and Details" Gus Dur presented Islamic views related to Islamic teachings, then compared them to the views of other religions (read; Christian-Catholic), then

ended through the Indonesian Islamic paradigm in which Gus Dur grew and developed (K. H. A. Wahid, 2010). Gus Dur considered that the Indonesian context had significant differences from the countries previously mentioned. Although both have the strength and power of religion in them. Another example of how Gus Dur often brings up his personal experience of being educated by his predecessors as a perspective. Gus Dur, in several of his writings, 'always quoted the views of the *kiai*, parents, and teachers who influenced him (K. H. A. Wahid, 2010). So, Gus Dur always juxtaposes what is known with personal experience, social context, and the best conceptual patterns of thought, so that it can be carefully accepted by everyone. In addition, Gus Dur also did not see what he believed to be a truth that must be followed. Gus Dur, when formulating ideas, was very open to criticism and perspectives that differed from his. Therefore, Gus Dur has always been regarded as a figure who is consistent in being inconsistent-progressive. This means that if there is a more proportional and relevant view of society, Abdurrahman will not hesitate to accept this as a new form of thinking that must be followed by everyone. In essence, the paradigmatic process especially for those who want to read Gus Dur's work must be themed on aspects of paradigm inclusivity, shifting, contextualization, and acceptance of differences in ideas to produce the best conception. At least, this is also what later categorized Gus Dur as the Father of Pluralism. A figure who appreciates the differences that occur and becomes an authentic form of Indonesian society at large.

1. Gus Dur's Attitude Towards Multicultural-Ideology

Before discussing this section, the author would like to mention several important things that form the construction of this topic. *First*, the form of attitude (read; behavior, response, and action) shown by Gus Dur as a sociological belief (ideology) related to the problems of multiculturalism in Indonesia. *Second*, Gus Dur's rationalization of this attitude, so that later on, becomes a constructive part of collective behavior in a pluralistic Indonesia. *Third*, a form of Gus Dur's awareness that his ideological choice was a formative form that could be emulated to create a new civilization in Indonesia. In this context, the author will frame it through various information summarized in written works (read; opinions), news coverage, and reviews of various edits by Gus Dur. Through this presentation, at least, it will be seen how multicultural attitudes should be shown. How can this ideological-multicultural attitude manifest itself in everyday life in Indonesian society? To show an ideological attitude, based on media data, the author will construct it starting from the efforts of Gus Dur, Fahmi Syaifudin Zuhri, and KH. Ahmad Siddiq to make NU an Islamic organization that accepts the existence of the Pancasila ideology as the sole basis of the nation and state (Online, n.d.). Gus Dur's reasons are quite interesting in this regard; theologically, Gus Dur firmly considered leadership and societal ideology attitudes as required by Islam.

Gus Dur quoted *la Islama illa bi al jama'ah, la jama'ata illa bil imarah, wa la imarat illa bi al tha'ah* (A. Wahid, 2006). Sociologically-historically, Indonesia has positioned itself as a country founded on Pancasila, with the identity of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, NKRI as a unitary system (read; *republic*), and the 1945 Constitution as the foundation for rules/laws governing the social system in Indonesia (News, n.d.). Another attitude is seen in how Gus Dur defended minority religious groups, defended ethnic communities whose existence was threatened in Indonesia (Merdeka, n.d.), to individual conflicts (Human Rights), such as Inul Daratista, Ulil Abshar Abdalla, and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. If you read Gus Dur's reasons for defending himself, it is very clear that Gus Dur based his actions on ideological rules that required him to take these actions. In the interview-In on the Kick Andy program, for example, it is also very visible how Gus Dur said that everything he did was because the 1945 Constitution required it, Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika were identities that had grown in the Archipelago for 7 centuries without a name, to the story of how Gus Dur tried to national reconciliation after the reform era. As for Gus Dur's views that are manifested in his works, for example, Gus Dur carries out ideological contestation between nationalism, Islamism, and the integration of the two. He wrote it under the title "*Is there any Islamic system?*". At least Gus Dur's ideas regarding the contestation are as follows:

"For those who are used to formalization, word translation is of course used under the eyes of the word Islamic, and thus they are bound to a system that is considered to represent the entire embodiment of Islamic teachings in life as something ordinary and commonplace. This has implications for the need for

a system that can represent the overall aspirations of Muslims. Because it is understandable why some consider it important to manifest “Islamic political parties” in political life....” (A. Wahid, 2006)

From the explanation above, Gus Dur wanted to instill a pluralistic attitude in religion and statehood. Because, Gus Dur believes that, within the framework of the life of a nation-state, the Islamic system automatically places non-Muslim citizens under the position of citizens who adhere to Islam. In the Qur’an it is also mentioned, continued Gus Dur, there is a verse which states that there are five conditions to be considered a good Muslim, *First*, accept the principles of faith, *second*, carrying out the teachings (pillars) of Islam as a whole, *thirdly*, helping those who need help (relatives, orphans, the poor and so on). *Fourth*, enforce professionalism, and *fifth*, be patient when facing trials (A. Wahid, 1999). If Muslims can emulate and carry out these five conditions, there is no need to return to the framework of the Islamic system according to Islamic teachings. Thus, realizing an Islamic system is not a requirement for someone to be considered a devout Muslim. The universal form of Islam has been expressed in the chain of Islamic teachings itself such as *fiqh*, *monotheism*, *morality*, and an Islamic attitude to life that displays concern for the human element (*al insaniyyah*) (A. W. Wahid & Islamku, 2007) (A. Wahid, 2007). Gus Dur further elaborated:

“Meanwhile, the universalism that is reflected in teachings that have concern for the main elements of humanity is also balanced by the wisdom that emerges from the openness of Islamic civilization itself. The openness that made Muslims for so many centuries absorb all kinds of cultural manifestations and scientific insights that came from other civilizations, both those that were still around at that time and those that had experienced tremendous shrinkage (such as the Persian civilization)” (A. W. Wahid & Islamku, 2007) (A. Wahid, 2007). Meanwhile, in the field of nationalism, Gus Dur encouraged the state to re-ideologize in fostering a spirit of nationalism in Indonesian society as stated in his writing entitled “*Reideologization and Retraditionalization in Politics*”: “The process of re-ideologization takes two main developmental patterns. On the one hand, the dearth of ideological ties and the strong link with technocratic engineering has led to a tendency to present a kind of alternative ideology drawn from various sources: past nationalism, religion, or communalistic ties (as shown by the militant Sikh demand for an independent state in India). This new sense of nationality, although not as strong as the vibrations of nationalism in its heyday, was sufficient to generate its forces in people’s lives, such as Malay communalism in Malaysia. In the emergence of this re-ideologization, religion is the main source, as can be seen in various fundamentalistic and militant movements within Islam, and the liberation theology of several Catholic activists in Latin America. To combat this, the power system which has to deal with the emergence of an alternative ideology then creates its reflections on the previously accepted formal ideology, thereby reaffirming the meaning of the established ideology. The rediscovery of an ideology that has been established, but which has been almost forgotten, is a major manifestation of several developing countries, including by the revival of interest in the dimensions and various aspects of Pancasila in our country” (K. H. A. Wahid, 2010).

Gus Dur showed the strengthening of patterns to treat ideology as a whole of views and ideals, which brings together all the riches of the nation’s life in a formidable force in defending the country and achieving the desired goals for the welfare of Indonesian citizens. Therefore, continued Gus Dur, state ideology has an extraordinarily strong position, and is usually strengthened by displacing other notions from their respective ideological positions. Understanding of thought, religion, and a sense of nationality are allowed to develop but must be outside the framework of the formal ideology of the state. From the data above, Gus Dur firmly rejects discrimination, criminalization, and ideological canalization which is only patterned on one ideology (read; Islam). For Gus Dur, the pluralism that has been described through *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* no longer needs to be contested. Because, in Islam itself, the point of view of socio-political interests, and the common good, is more profitable if Indonesia is still packaged through this ideology. Apart from the framework above, the author also considers it necessary to provide a note that Gus Dur is a figure who is very consistent in this ideological aspect. Gus Dur, even in unfavorable conditions, never worried about what negative effects he would get. Gus Dur continues to exist as a person who cares, accepts, and embraces differences in his way. Although the author did not get the official story, all Indonesian people know very well how Gus Dur was always present at every celebration of other religions. Even among Buddhists and

Hindus, Gus Dur is considered a representation of their god. Among Christians, Gus Dur was baptized as their group. Especially in Confucianism, Gus Dur is their father. Because Gus Dur is a president who can acknowledge their existence. With these facts and data, no one can deny that Gus Dur's existence is a multicultural figure; people who can marry the attitude of difference as an aspect of nature and divine destiny.

2. *Gus Dur's Conception on Multiculturalism and Islam Konsepsi*

If the consistency of Gus Dur's ideological stance can be seen from historical facts, phenomenology, and based on data recorded by other people, it is recorded that Gus Dur is considered a person who has contributed greatly to the contest of consolidating the ideology of Pancasila, as a single principle. In this section, the writer wants to describe how Gus Dur thinks about the cultural aspects of Indonesia. This is different from ideological attitudes, for which measurement tools already exist, cultural attitudes are more dynamic. Cultural attitude means Gus Dur's response to anthropological changes (*dialectical tension*) that occur as a result of social interactionism. Because it manifests itself in flexible dynamics. So it could be that Gus Dur's attitude and assessment of Indonesian cultural values today are different from the previous ones. In the context of presenting this data, the author will start from, how Gus Dur explained that the attitude of the original Indonesian culture is togetherness, cooperation, tolerance, and willingness to respect differences. This was stated in Gus' writing entitled "*Regional Culture System and Modernization*", as follows:

"Thus, it is clear that various methods can be used to identify various reactions to the modernization process. Some reactions use the legacy of regional cultural systems, but some formulate their reactions in the form of traditions that are not systemized. Some reactions are temporary, but some are permanent. There is a general pattern, but there are also those who use special ways of giving reactions." (A. Wahid, 2006)

Apart from that, one of the very monumental cultural features is how Gus Dur 'win' Indonesian culture against normative teachings in Islam. The word winning does not mean giving up, rather Gus Dur wants to re-actualize the way of thinking of Muslims, which he considers problematic globally because it does not respect local wisdom. The idea of "Islamic Indigenous" was explained by Gus Dur in two of his writings entitled "Is it wrong to be indigenous?" in a Tempo magazine column on 16 July 1983, and secondly, "indigenization of Islam", an anthology of writings by Muntaka Azhari and Abdul Mun'im Saleh. The idea of Indigenous Islam was intended by Abdurrahman as an answer to problems faced by Muslims throughout their history, namely how to bring together cultures and norms, as well as problems in *ushul fiqh* (INCREs, 2000). Concerning the idea of indigenous Islam, Gus Dur argued that Islam and culture have their independence, but both have areas that overlap. Islam is based on revelation and has its norms. Because it is normative, it tends to be permanent. Meanwhile, culture is man-made, because it develops according to the times and tends to always change. This difference does not preclude the possibility of the manifestation of religious life in cultural forms. This is where there is accommodation or reconciliation. This process is carried out naturally, not forced and that is the process of the indigenization of Islam (Dawam, 1989). The process of the growth of Islam since the prophet Muhammad, companions, and scholars did not necessarily reject all pre-Islamic traditions (in this case the culture of pre-Islamic Arab society). Not all systems are rejected by Islam, local traditions and customs that are not opposed to Islam can be internalized as a characteristic of the Islamic phenomenon in certain places (Masdar, 1999). Likewise, the process of the growth of Islam in Indonesia cannot be separated from the culture and traditions of society. Indigenous Islam in terms of national life is an idea that needs to be scrutinized.

Furthermore, Gus Dur said that indigenization was not an effort to prevent resistance from arising from local cultural forces, but rather so that the culture would not disappear. The essence of the indigenization of Islam is the need to avoid polarization between religion and culture because such polarization is unavoidable (Abdurrahman, 2001). Gus Dur's idea seems to want to show Islam as a religion that is appreciative of local contexts while keeping to the reality of pluralism culture (multiculturalism). He emphatically rejected the one Islam in cultural expression, for example, all symbols or identities must use Arabic cultural expressions. The uniformity that occurs not only kills the cultural creativity of the people but also alienates Islam from the mainstream of national culture. The danger of the Arabization process is that

the Islamic community in Indonesia is uprooted from its cultural roots (Masdar, 1999). Gus Dur also rejected the existence of the mixing of cultures by both religious and bureaucratic circles because culture is very broad in scope, namely human social life itself. The cultural bureaucratization (Abdurrahman, 2001) that is carried out will lead to the barrenness of a nation's creativity. The culture of a nation is essentially a pluralistic reality, a uniform pattern of life, or in other words, centralization is something that is not cultured. The current question is whether Islam can still exist in this modern era or is Islam drowning in the dreams of the glory of its previous thinkers. As a good follower of Islam within the scope of nationalism, Gus Dur suggested that; first, always prioritize the search for ways that can answer the challenges of the times and the locality of life without leaving the core of religious teachings. Second, there is always an effort to re-actualize religious teachings in concrete life situations, not only with abstract visualization. In other languages, religion functions as a vehicle to protect national traditions, while at the same time, religion makes national life a vehicle for self-development (Abdurrahman, 2001).

The universal form of Islam has been expressed in the chain of Islamic teachings itself, such as *fiqh*, *tauhid*, *akhlak*, and the Islamic attitude to life that shows concern for the element of humanity (*al insaniyyah*) (A. W. Wahid & Islamku, 2007) (A. Wahid, 2007). Islam has the mission of glorifying and elevating human dignity, upholding truth, justice, humanity, democracy, mutual help, mutual respect, and so on (Nata & Fauzan, 2005). As stated by Barton, Gus Dur is a figure who loves traditional Islamic culture and the treasures of Islamic thought produced by the previous 'ulama. However, this love does not mean involvement and acceptance of all aspects of traditional culture because Gus Dur was very critical of traditional culture (Barton, 1999) (K. H. A. Wahid, 2010). The indigenization of Islam is an effort to preach and nationalize the Islamic struggle, with the hope that there will be no more gaps between national interests and Islamic interests. Islam as a recognized religion in Indonesia, apart from other religions, is actualized as a spiritual inspiration for the behavior of a person or group in society and the state. What Indonesian Muslims need is to unite "Islamic aspirations" into "national aspirations" (Thoha, 2001). The concept promoted by Gus Dur in the indigenization of Islam certainly wants to provide a person's perspective in addressing and understanding religion not only from the outside, or in this case it does come from Arabic, but rather Islamic values that need to be instilled in everyday life. If Islam is interpreted as an Arabic religion and follows Arabic culture, then the social values taught by Islam will feel narrow. Gus Dur was present during society to provide an offer or a middle way that Islam exists as *rahmattan lil 'alamin* as a religion capable of instilling social values in a pluralistic and pluralistic life.

Behavior Decomposition and Gus Dur's Multicultural Education

Multicultural education in Indonesia often symbolizes the process of recognizing and learning the different values that exist in society; whether it is in terms of language, culture, religion, or other social systems. But there is one thing that many people forget, namely a variety of foods. The expression and manifestation of diversity in food further strengthen the entity of diversity that is tangible in this nation. When visiting any place, the most interesting and one of the strengths is the wide variety of food menus with their variants. Recently the issue of food diversity has been made into one of the programs on television stations, which is known as culinary tourism (Faqieh, 2010). For Gus Dur, anyone who understands the reality of the diversity of cuisines in all regions and corners of this country understands the insights of multiculturalism well. Cuisine diversity is a strength, not a threat. This diverse food is an explanatory fact about multiculturalism, which is God's grace that must be utilized for the progress of the nation. By learning from the diversity of food, then we can celebrate the benefits of multiculturalism. Gus Dur's plural-multicultural attitude is not an idea that all religions have in common. It must be understood that every religion has different teachings. But these differences are not a reason to sow conflict and division. Differences should be a catalyst for understanding God's gift which is so real to always knit harmony and tolerance. Therefore, differences and diversity are inevitable. Moreover, in this difference and diversity, there is a special feature, which among other groups can complement and perfect each other (Faqieh, 2010).

At least there are three basic things, according to Gus Dur, that can be done as an effort to reduce various forms of threats to the nation's plurality, *First*, strict law enforcement against perpetrators of acts of violence and imposition of will in the name of religion. *Second*, religious organizations must be encouraged

to prioritize dialogue and cooperation in various social and cultural fields so that tolerance can be grown as a whole. *Third*, tolerance values need to be instilled and taught early and continuously to children from elementary school to university (Iskandar, 2010). The diverse face of Indonesian culture demands a high tolerance attitude from every member of society. This attitude of tolerance must be realized by all members and layers of society so that a compact but diverse society is formed that is rich in new ideas (H A R Tilaar, 2002). In addition, inter-religious relations in Indonesia during the last 30 years have developed in various dimensions, which have qualitatively changed, and at the same time been influenced by the development of religious thought among religious people. This can be seen from the background of the development of Islam, which has heterogeneous forms and styles. Broadly speaking, Islam came in the form of political emissaries, traders, and Sufis (A. Wahid, 1994). The plurality of Indonesian society itself can be seen as a fact from at least two sides. The first side is the plurality of ethnicity, religion, and culture and their derivatives. The second side is internal plurality in ethnicity, religion, and culture itself. In Islam, for example, several streams are formally at odds. The tolerance taught by Gus Dur is the teaching of all religions and cultures, especially in Indonesia's pluralistic and multicultural society. However, the tolerance that was taught and practiced by Gus Dur was different from other religious figures. His teachings are tolerant which not only wants people to cultivate peaceful coexistence, namely living together in an atmosphere of mutual respect and appreciation.

Not so with Gus Dur. In responding to this plurality, Gus Dur emphasized that the upholding of multicultural understanding in society does not only lie in a pattern of peaceful coexistence because this is still very vulnerable to the emergence of misunderstandings between groups of people which at certain times can lead to disintegration. More than that, respect for diversity means awareness to know each other and having genuine dialogue so that one group can give and receive one another (Dhakiri, 2010). Although there are still some elements of the nation who question the concept of multiculturalism in Indonesia, one of the causes is ignorance of the history of the birth of the Indonesian nation. One of the ways to overcome this, said Gus Dur, are the Indonesian people must build shared boundaries. The limitation in the form of respect for multiculturalism will not be tampered with. This limitation also applies when discussing the Constitution of the State (Institute, n.d.). The concept of tolerance developed by Gus Dur necessitates the existence of truth that comes from other religions or civilizations. However, if humility like this can be developed continuously, then tolerance in society will increasingly find a pattern in which inter-religious harmony will become an inseparable part of the dynamics of society, and an atmosphere of mutual learning, complementing, and filling will create a culture of diversity. mature and mature. If this is the case, then automatically differences in religion and belief will become a powerful source of strength for changes in the fraternity. Gus Dur's concern for international cases, some of which were controversial, including his relationship with Israel, as well as cases of ethnic and religious violence as well as cases related to human rights and democracy in Indonesia, for example, the Ahmadiyya issue, ICMI, Ulil Abshar Abdalla, the Banyuwangi incident, the Inul case, the incident in Ambon, the issue of ethnic Chinese, is not only proven at the level of thought but always appears as a defender at the practical level. From the narrative reading above, the writer can frame Gus Dur's frame of mind and attitude in the context of multicultural education as follows:

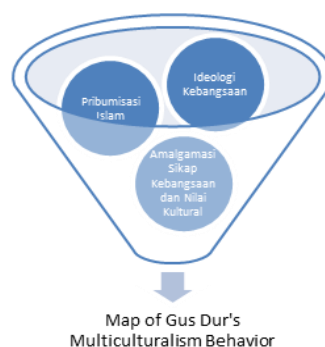


Fig 1. The Map of Gus Dur's Multiculturalism Behavior

At the first level, Gus Dur's confidence and self-confidence to call Indonesia a multicultural country cannot be separated from his attitude of prioritizing national interests over the interests of certain individuals or groups. This is an affirmation to treat national ideology as a whole of views and ideals, which gathers all the wealth of the nation's life in a powerful force in defending the country and achieving the desired goals for the welfare of Indonesian citizens. The second level, the indigenization of Islamic education is one of Gus Dur's ideas that are still hot today. Gus Dur wanted the pattern of understanding education to be inseparable from the existing culture and traditions. Thus, Gus Dur wanted structural awareness as a natural part of the development of Islamic education. On the third level, with the condition of a pluralistic Indonesian nation, the values and attitudes of Gus Dur are inseparable from the socio-intellectual conditions that surround him. So that it is illustrated through the thoughts and attitudes shown when there are critical events such as human rights violations, religious intolerance, and oppression of minorities. Indigenous Islamic Education is the result of a process of struggle struggles over the understanding of Religious Education which is very Normative. Borrowing an approach from Amin Abdullah, normativity and historicity make Islamic education very rigid, as if our education should be like education in Arabia, where Islam was born from the peninsula. If we look closely at the introduction of Islam and the learning of the people of the archipelago in Java, in conducting Islamic education, a lot of local cultural approaches are used. Local culture is a historical root that is considered in Islamic education. Islam is no longer taught with normativity but is taught with historicity using an indigenous approach to Islamic education.

Concerning the idea of indigenous Islam, Gus Dur argued that Islam and culture have their independence, but both have areas that overlap. Islam is based on revelation and has its norms. Because it is normative, it tends to be permanent, while culture is man-made, because it develops according to the times and tends to always change. This difference does not preclude the possibility of the manifestation of religious life in cultural forms. This is where there is accommodation or reconciliation. The process must be done naturally, not forced and that is the natural process of indigenization (Dawam, 1989). The process of the growth of Islam since the time of the Prophet Muhammad, companions, and scholars did not necessarily reject all pre-Islamic traditions (in this case the culture of pre-Islamic Arab society). Not all local systems are rejected by Islam, local traditions and customs that are not opposed to Islam can be internalized as a characteristic of the Islamic phenomenon in certain places (Masdar, 1999). Likewise, the process of the growth of Islam in Indonesia cannot be separated from the culture and traditions of society. Gus Dur's idea seems to want to show Islam as a religion that is appreciative of local contexts while maintaining the reality of existing cultural pluralism (multiculturalism). Gus Dur firmly rejected "one Islam" in cultural expressions. For example, all symbols or identities must use Arabic cultural expressions. The uniformity that occurs will not only kill the people's cultural creativity but also alienate Islam from the mainstream of national culture (Abdurrahman, 2001). The idea of indigenization initiated by Gus Dur is very relevant to the focus of multicultural education itself. As explained by Tilaar, multicultural education programs no longer focus on racial, religious, and cultural domains or mainstream groups.

Rather, it is a caring and understanding attitude difference) or the politics of recognition of people from minority groups (Azra, n.d.). In the development of the last decade, Muslim society is more inclined to understand Islam with normativity and that is grappling with the challenges of modernity. On the one hand, and the objective condition of Muslims on the other. Fundamentally, there are two major currents in understanding a developing religion, *First*, is the tendency to be religious and understand Islamic education which presupposes the ummah as consumers of religious understanding or consumers of Islamic education, while the religious elite as a producer of sources of understanding of Islamic education in society. According to Gus Dur, this pattern of education is a totalistic Islamic group or alternative Islam (A. Wahid, 1999), in understanding religious education and religious understanding. Groups that want "Islamization" namely in the earliest activities formulated normative measures in various fields of education, including in material aspects such as social theory, political systems, economic systems, and even the way of communication in life must use the fiqh approach, which sees everything in terms of completely dichotomous view, dualism worldview, namely halal-haram, heaven-hell, wrong and right and so on. This pattern of understanding and learning education is based on concerns about the threat of Western imperialism which does not provide a

future for religion (A. Wahid, 1999). Strictly speaking, modernity is characterized by globalization and secularization in every aspect of human life. considered to have undermined the continuity of traditional identity and religious values. On the other hand, this group's anxiety is because, in the Islamic environment itself, there is a group of Muslims who deviate from the provisions of Islamic law (Efendi, 1997).

Second, the understanding of religion and Islamic religious education which leads to the modernization paradigm departs from a concern for the backwardness and backwardness of Muslims compared to the progress achieved by the West. The backwardness of Islam in understanding the problems of Islamic education is due to the closed understanding and teachings of Islam itself. Good education is education that dares to dialogue with the progress of the times with local culture and is accompanied by a critical attitude towards culture and the process of modernization. For this group, the ambition that is carried out is to take the substance of Islamic values and not try to Islamize what was not previously Islamic, for example, education originating from the West which in the view of the "first group" needs to be converted to Islam, but by dialogue with what is in society. Construction of the indigenization of Islamic education is a critique of the way of Islamic religious education which is more on religious normativity not on teaching the values of Islamic education which will answer the root of the drought of religious education from the values of the religion itself. The process built by Gus Dur is a process of rebuilding the humanization of Islamic education, which focuses on developing education in the space and values taught in society not only in formal education which in daily life is a system of "hearing education" but in the principles of meaningful education. Gus Dur's attitude was not only to be a religious person who taught Islam to mankind. But it also teaches polite, friendly, tolerant attitudes toward all people. There are two models of humanism taught by Gus Dur related to this attitude. First, the contribution of Islam to Gus Dur-style humanism is Islamic humanism which is the antithesis of atheist humanism.

In pursuing humanist religious education, Gus Dur always emphasized the substance of religion in the form of religious values, not religious normativity covered by social welfare, tolerance of equality before the law, democracy, and tolerance between religions. Second, the contribution of Gus Dur's thought in indigenous Islamic education is to teach a tolerant Islam. This can be seen when Gus Dur became the President of the Republic of Indonesia by issuing rules that now benefit the people, especially Chinese citizens, such as Chinese New Year being made a national holiday, and other decisions. Greg Barton indeed said that Gus Dur was a figure who loved traditional Islamic culture (in this case the treasures of Islamic thought produced by earlier scholars). However, this love does not mean involvement and acceptance of all aspects of traditional culture because Gus Dur is very critical of traditional culture (Barton, 1999). The concept of indigenization of Islam promoted by Gus Dur certainly wants to provide a person's perspective in responding to and understanding religion not only from the outside, or in this case Islam did come from an Arab country but it is Islamic values that need to be instilled in everyday life, not culture. Arabic which must be generalized and applied in religious life. If Islam is interpreted as an Arabic religion and follows Arab culture, then the social values taught by Islam will feel narrow. Gus Dur was present amid society to provide a middle way that Islam exists as *rahmatul lil 'alamin* as a religion capable of instilling social values in a pluralistic and pluralistic life. In a pluralistic Indonesian context, Islam should not be placed as an alternative ideology such as positioning shari'ah against people's sovereignty.

The contribution of Islam to democracy can be achieved if several universal principles are drawn from Islam such as equality, justice, deliberation, freedom, and rule of law because in one aspect it is a religious law. Gus Dur's democratic thinking shows an ideological attitude because he accepts the concept of liberal or parliamentary democracy and firmly rejects thoughts of God's sovereignty or thoughts that seek to marry God's sovereignty with people's sovereignty. Zuhairi Misrawi saw that Gus Dur had treated minority groups, especially those who were oppressed, as citizens who had equal rights before the law. Thus, the idea of multiculturalism is in line with the spirit of democracy and even strengthens it. The two are not contradictory, instead, they reinforce each other (Dematra, 2013). According to Gus Dur, democracy can only be built on a strong educational foundation, supported by an adequate level of economic prosperity. Gus Dur uses the approach of cultural politics in paving the way for democracy. Regarding the relationship between democracy and Islam, Abdurrahman arrived at the understanding that Islam and the pattern of its

implementation in the context of the state and nation are very concerned with the political and sociological context of a nation and society. because he emphasized the substance of Islamic teachings rather than its formal symbols. Reviving and redeveloping Gus Dur's thinking today is still very relevant. Among them is the need for a national-oriented religious view, which can protect all citizens, regardless of religion, belief, group, race, and ethnicity. In his book, *My Islam, Your Islam, and our Islam*, Gus Dur emphasized that Indonesian Muslims must develop a nationally oriented view of Islam. One of the most powerful messages in the Qur'an is that the Prophet Muhammad SAW. sent by God to build brotherhood for all people. (QS al Anbiya': 107)

This term, according to Zuhairi Misrawi, is one of the most prominent principles within NU, namely Islam as *rahmatan lil' alamin*. Islam spreads teachings about peace and tolerance, not teachings that spread conflict, let alone violence. Gus Dur always stated that the growing Islam in Saudi Arabia was different from the growing Islam in Indonesia. Cultural interactions between various groups in Indonesia have made Islam a religion that is open to differences and diversity and has even encouraged democratization (Dematra, 2013). Two important things must be considered about ideological and cultural attitudes in the two branches of religious life. *First*, Gus Dur himself believed that differences in religions tended to be differences at the human level. He said that actually, the one who is the judge for saying someone goes to heaven and hell is God himself (INCRoS, 2000). Neither religionists, clergy, *kiai*, preachers, nor even wali can make judgments or judgments of people while in the world. Because Gus Dur realized that there are many hidden things in a person's life while living in this world and that only God knows. Therefore, it is God who will determine whether a person is right or wrong on the last day. *Second*, Gus Dur also stepped on more practical aspects. For Gus Dur, religious praxis is essential in interreligious relations which are based on tolerance and very concrete steps. As proof, Gus Dur openly collaborated with anyone, whether in Christian, Hindu, Buddhist or other Islamic groups. although later it had much to do with secular groups which did not question religious doctrines or dogmas too much, this is another development (INCRoS, 2000). There was one important agenda that continued to be carried out by Gus Dur until the end of his life, namely respect for other religions to strengthen and strengthen the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This thinking can be traced to when Gus Dur served as general chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU).

He not only carried out reforms within PBNU, but also with KH. Ahmad Siddiq carried out the process of transforming the understanding that Pancasila is the right and final compromise point in building a pluralistic and diverse life order in Indonesia. In this context, NU became the first socio-religious organization to accept the ideology of Pancasila as its sole foundation. Gus Dur's struggle for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia became his basic principle, so he always paid great attention to Unity in Diversity as a form of multiculturalism. The struggle for the establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is the main key to every thought and movement (Rifai & Dur, 2013). According to Gus Dur, one of the universal forms of Islam is reflected in the very concept of Islamic concern for the human element. Principles such as equality in public, protecting citizens from tyranny and arbitrariness, safeguarding the rights of those who are weak and suffering from deficiencies, and limiting the authority of those in power (A. Wahid, 2007). One of the teachings that perfectly displays the universalism of Islam is the five basic guarantees that this last divine religion gives to society, both individually and as a group. These five basic guarantees are scattered in the religious law literature (*al kutub al fihiyyah*) long, i.e. the basic guarantee will be; physical safety, religious belief safety, family safety, property safety, and professional safety.

The Systemic Design of Gus Dur's Multicultural Islamic Education: Theoretical Analysis System

Before the authors carry out a system-based analysis, according to the theoretical framework the authors propose to reframe the topic of this research. Of course, the writer should acknowledge in advance several important things that must be underlined in this research; *First*, the existence of multicultural (Islamic) education is only an ideal discourse born of academic studies. However, in the implementation process, this concept is not seen as the main basis of the national education system. The argument, perhaps, for some circles, is that multicultural education in its ideal definition is still contrary to the conditions of Indonesian culture. This means that the cultural amalgamation (marriage) proposed by multicultural

education cannot touch the basis of the theological beliefs of Muslims as the majority religion. So, as a discourse, multicultural education can be said to be ideal for Indonesia. However, in the implementation phase there are still many things to consider, for example; can educational institutions present truth exchange on the frame of differences in views internally or externally among religious communities? *Second*, Gus Dur – in the context of research – is not the author’s position as the initiator of the concept of Multicultural Islamic Education.

The reason is, the author cannot present Gus Dur’s specific work which is realized directly with multicultural education. Although, in the context of academic studies, the author is obliged to ‘can and allows’ to build his postulations to tell how Gus Dur can be used as an ideal inspiration in the context of Multicultural Islamic education, like some previous studies, which the authors have mentioned before. *Third*, in the position of formulating this postulation, the author takes the position of being a reader of Gus Dur’s ideological and cultural attitudes which are shown in academic works, opinions, and reports written by journalists, in responding to the problems of multiculturalism in Indonesia. *Fourth*, it is from these two attitudes and Gus Dur’s rational affirmation, the author believes, that the ideal portrait of multicultural (Islamic) education can be seen from the figure of Gus Dur. *Fifth*, to disseminate this attitude, the authors ‘ask for help’ in systems theory to construct these postulates. As is well known, systems theory is often interpreted as a series that is bound to each other to arrive at its final destination. Or in another language, it is stated that a system is a set of elements that carry out an activity or compile a scheme or procedure for carrying out a processing activity to achieve something or several goals, and this is done by processing data and/or energy and/or goods (objects).) within a certain period to produce information and/or energy and/or goods (objects). In essence, a system is a tool that has a specific task, which is collected in one *space*, to achieve the planned goals. The system in the context of education is always interpreted as an input, process, and output device, or in more detail is the formation of objectives, input, process, output, mechanism, and evaluation of the predetermined educational flow. In the discourse on multicultural education, the system tools that are ideally intended are framed in the following chart:



Fig 2. Indonesian Multicultural Education System Chart

As in the chart above, HAR Tilaar, although he simplifies the process a bit, he proposes the representation of multicultural education in Indonesia through the Civics learning process (*civic education*). The context in Indonesia is not always challenged from the social-cultural aspect. What is more complex than that is the problem of colliding religious attitudes and diversity in Indonesia. Therefore, like the previous decomposition, the authors assume that the ideal framework for thinking of a multicultural education system is like that of Gus Dur. The following chart can show how Gus Dur’s stance is, the ideal construction of multicultural education that should be implemented in Indonesia, especially regarding the clashes of religion, country, and culture that exist in Indonesia.

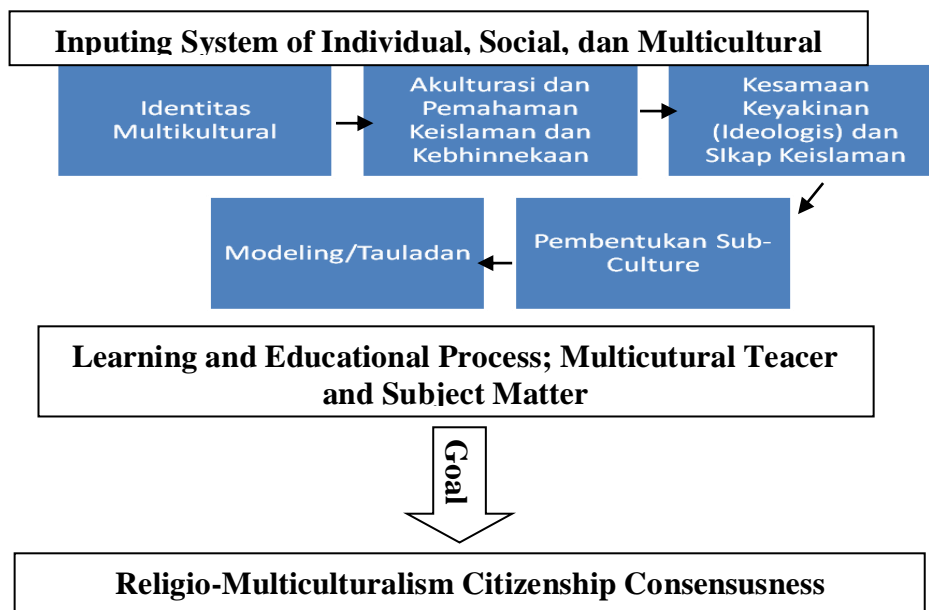


Fig 3. Gus Dur's Multicultural Islamic Education System Framework

The chart above, according to the chart, can be interpreted as follows; *First*, Gus Dur considers that the existence of multiculturalism in Indonesia as an identity has been going on for a long time and is firmly held by Indonesian people, without being able to interpret it properly. *Second*, this existence was then slightly disturbed when the presence of Islam in Indonesia. Islam – including all other religions, always brings new values into people's lives. Therefore, Gus Dur (including those shown by the *Walisongo*, *kyai*, and other Muslim scholars) prefers to acculturate Islamic values, to become part of the substantive life of society. Islam is not presented as a counter-culture which can damage the foundation of diversity in Indonesia. *Third*, rational choice and amalgamation must be upheld by society through the ideology of Pancasila. Pancasila, in all its alleged flaws in interpretation, must of course be re-ideology, because its social challenges are changing. However, changing it is not the right choice. Gus Dur is in this position to continue to campaign for Islam and Nationalism that are not contradictory and are embodied in the Pancasila ideology which binds multiculturalism. *Fourth*, the formation of subcultures in a microscope. *Fifth*, presenting consistent role models for ideological and multicultural attitudes among the people. All processes in the first hierarchical system table are intended by the researcher to form input from outside the educational process. Because, as is well known, ideological contestation; whether it was then or now, originates and originates from dimensions outside the educational institution.

For example, new-day ideological contestation is the result of political debates. As is well known, today's political conditions have represented old conflicts; between nationalists and Islamists. This will disrupt the construction process that will be carried out in educational institutions in Indonesia, especially in Islamic educational institutions. After the construction is formed input (which appears in conditions of the wider community, like Gus Dur appearing and presenting himself as an icon of pluralism) then educational institutions have the responsibility to carry out strengthening, further modeling, to rationalization of attitudes that are displayed outside of school (*social-system appearances as the core-tasking mother or booting system*). So, educational institutions are only limited to forming system tools; whether it's from the teacher, Islamic-based Civics learning, or PAI based on nationalism insights, as many have recently initiated. However, in the opinion of the author, educational institutions will never appear multicultural, especially religion, if differences continue to occur in society. At the same time, this will burden the task of educational institutions to offer the ideal framework of multicultural education. If everyone wanted to learn from Gus Dur, and how he was educated in his environment, then everyone could see how Gus Dur often saw his father getting acquainted with people of different religions, ethnicities, cultures, and languages. Gus Dur too,

when he was an adult, gathered and socialized with a very diverse community. So, Gus Dur's personal view of caring for others is part of the construct in his environment.

IV. CONCLUSION

Lastly, of course, Gus Dur's multicultural Islamic education is to create a society that is aware of multi-ethnicity in Indonesia. Multi Religion in Indonesia. Multi Culture in Indonesia. By projecting not only based on acceptance. But full awareness that Indonesia has been created is diverse. Conciliated and assimilated with typical Islam. Combined with the cultures that exist in Indonesia. To make Pancasila and Unity in Diversity the ideal binder for Indonesian society. It is no longer a religion, but an ideology and a culture that has been created by itself. From all these reviews, according to the author, the main design of Multicultural Islamic education from Gus Dur's perspective can be seen from three important aspects, as previously mentioned, and can be transmitted through a system perspective that is fully supported by social conditions.

Therefore, the existence of multicultural education would be ideal if summarized in an outer culture that can be used as a strengthening basis, a national ideology that cannot be debated again, and substantive values that can be drawn from history, teachings, and cultural assimilation diction between Islam and local wisdom values. This condition will certainly be different from European and American countries where multiculturalism tends to be formed, rather than gifted. American history proves that they always say "I am American" to eliminate the historical conflict between black (Native Americans) and white (immigrant) ethnicity. America does not have the complexity of religious problems. Religious values have been completely eroded after secularism became their ideology. Therefore, Indonesians must agree with the title "I am Indonesia, I am Pancasila". I am Indonesian, a gifted identity that is multicultural since birth. And Pancasila is a marriage between old values that merge with the original Indonesian culture.

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