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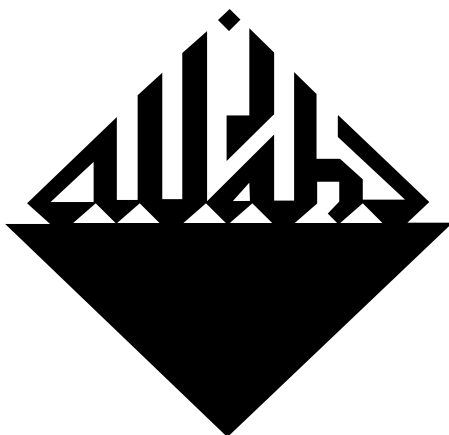
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Item Type	Journal volume
Authors	Zulkifli
Publisher	UIN Jakarta
Rights	With permission of the license/copyright holder
Download date	2026-09-08 08:33:35
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/157154

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 21, Number 1, 2014



FINANCING MUHAMMADIYAH: THE EARLY
ECONOMIC ENDEAVOURS OF A MUSLIM MODERNIST
MASS ORGANIZATION IN INDONESIA (1920S-1960S)

Gwenaël Njoto-Feillard

THE ULAMA, THOUGHT-STYLES, AND THE ISLAMIC
STATE DEBATE IN CONTEMPORARY MALAYSIA

Norshahril Saat

EDUCATION, IDENTITY, AND RECOGNITION:
THE SHI'Ī ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeui,
Ciputat 15419, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;

E-mail: studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id

Website: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika>

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia, institution:
US\$ 75,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$ 25,00;
individual: US\$ 50,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$
20,00. Rates do not include international postage and
handling.

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Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia,**
account No. **101-00-0514550-1 (USD),**
Swift Code: bmriidja



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Rp. 100.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 40.000,-. Harga belum
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Pembayaran melalui **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang
Graha Karnos, No. Rek: 128-00-0105080-3**

Zulkifli

Education, Identity, and Recognition: The Shi'i Islamic Education in Indonesia

Abstract: *This article seeks to explain the role of education in relation to identity formation and the problems of recognition among Indonesian Shi'i (Shi'a) educational institutions. Despite being relatively small in numbers, the existence of the Shi'i community in Indonesia has attracted great attention from the state and religious authorities, especially since the recent sectarian violence committed against minority groups. This article follows three basic arguments: first, the issue of recognition is essential for education; second, social recognition is central to identity formation; and third, educational institution is a site of identity formation. This study shows that education is a very important vehicle for the Shi'i group to gain recognition from the Sunni majority. Education plays an important role, and the Shi'i school system adopted from Iran has provided recognitive process and recognitive space for the community to make Shi'ism a legitimate group in Indonesian Islam.*

Keywords: Shi'i, Shi'ism, education, identity, recognition, Shi'i-Sunni relations, Indonesia.

Abstrak: Artikel ini mencoba untuk menjelaskan peran pendidikan di antara lembaga-lembaga pendidikan Syiah di Indonesia dalam hubungannya dengan pembentukan identitas dan dengan persoalan pengakuan. Kendati jumlah pengikut Syiah itu kecil, keberadaan komunitas Syiah di Indonesia telah menarik perhatian besar Negara dan otoritas keagamaan, terutama sejak peristiwa kekerasan sektarian yang dilakukan terhadap kelompok-kelompok minoritas. Tulisan ini akan mengikuti tiga hujah utama: pertama, masalah pengakuan adalah hal penting untuk pendidikan; kedua, pengakuan masyarakat adalah hal utama bagi pembentukan identitas; dan ketiga, lembaga pendidikan adalah wadah pembentukan identitas itu. Makalah ini memperlihatkan bahwa pendidikan adalah kendaraan yang sangat penting bagi kelompok Syiah untuk mendapatkan pengakuan dari mayoritas Sunni. Pendidikan memainkan peranan penting dan sistem sekolah Syiah yang mengadopsi dari Iran telah menyediakan proses pengakuan dan ruang pengakuan bagi kelompok ini untuk membuat Syiah menjadi suatu kelompok yang sah di dalam Islam Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Syiah, Syiahisme, pendidikan, identitas, pengakuan, Hubungan Sunni-Syiah, Indonesia.

الخلاصة: تحاول هذه المقالة أن تبين دور التعليم فيما بين مؤسسات التعليم الشيعية باندونيسيا في علاقتها مع تكوين الهوية ومع مشكلة الاعتراف. ورغم أن أتباع الشيعة قليلة، إلا أن وجود جماعة شيعية باندونيسيا قد أثار اهتماما كبيرا من جانب الدولة والسلطات الدينية، خاصة منذ حوادث العنف الطائفي الذي أصاب الجماعات الأقلية. يتابع هذا البحث ثلاثة حجج: أولا، قضية الاعتراف تعد هامة بالنسبة للتعليم؛ ثانيا، اعتراف المجتمع يعد أمرا رئيسيا لتكوين الهوية؛ ثالثا، أن المؤسسة التعليمية حاوية لتكوين تلك الهوية. تظهر هذه المقالة أن التعليم مركب جد هام لطائفة الشيعة للحصول على الاعتراف من جانب الأغلبية السنية. يلعب التعليم دورا هاما والنظام المدرسي للشيعة الذي تبناه إيران يوفر إجراء للاعتراف ونطاق الاعتراف لهذه الطائفة من أجل وضع الشيعة كجماعة معترفا بها في الاسلام باندونيسيا.

الكلمات الاسترشادية: الشيعة، الشيعية، التعليم، الهوية، الاعتراف، العلاقة بين السنة والشيعة، اندونيسيا

Indonesia is home to the largest Muslim population in the world. While Sunnism with Asharite theology and Shafite jurisprudence is mainly adhered to by the majority, Shi'ism becomes a minority denominationalism in the country. Although the exact number of its adherents is unknown because no reliable data is available, Shi'ism has attracted concern among religious and state authorities but also among international and national human rights activists particularly due to a series of violent attacks on Shi'i followers and educational institutions in Sampang (Madura), Bangil, Bodowoso, and other places in East Java in last few years.

Actually, Sunni responses to Shi'ism have been varied from extreme negative to moderate. While the moderate attitude comes from prominent Muslim intellectuals, the negative attitude mainly comes from the radicalist, Salafist or Wahhabi groups who undertake varied forms of anti-Shi'i propagation in order to prohibit the spread of Shi'ism in Indonesia. For these groups, Shi'ism is non-recognised and misrecognised or recognised as a heterodox sect deviating from the true teaching of Islam. Efforts of moderate Muslim intellectuals to recognise Shi'ism as a valid denomination have received strong resistance from Salafi or Wahhabi groups. So the Shi'is in Indonesia experience denials of recognition from certain segments of the Sunni majority. However, the Shi'is in Indonesia have made varied efforts to gain recognition which is a continuing process.

Recognition and identity matter because they are fundamental in human life. As Taylor has emphasised, "Due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need" (1994:26). Recognition is an important element in social interaction and for the identity shaping process. So what is the role of education with regard to identity and recognition? This paper aims to explain the mediating role of Shi'i Islamic education in Indonesia in the interrelation between identity and recognition. The paper begins with the description of Shi'i identity in Indonesia followed by the description of Shi'i educational institution. The analysis of the role of education in the interconnection between identity and recognition is provided in the third part. This study is important as it closely relates to the growing issues of multiculturalism and multicultural education.

Shi'i Identity

To begin our analysis of Shi'i sectarian identity in Indonesia, we use a simple definition of identity as follows:

Identity is our understanding of who we are and who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people's understanding of themselves and of others (which includes us). It is a very practical matter, synthesising relationships of similarity and difference. The outcome of agreement and disagreement, and at least in principle always negotiable, identification is not fixed (Jenkins 2008:18).

Based on the above definition, Shi'ism also known as Twelver or Ja'fari Shi'ism is a minority denomination of Islam which venerates the twelve Imam who succeeded the Prophet Muhammad and adopts a specific set of practices as a consequence of its belief systems. The complex set of beliefs and practices set Shi'ism apart from the majority Sunnism within Islam. This definition clearly involves two criteria of comparison: similarity and difference. The religious aspect of Shi'i identity which may be elaborated further includes the similarity and difference between Shi'ism and Sunnism.

Followers of Shi'ism believe in five fundamental tenets of religion, the *uṣūl al-dīn*, but they do not recognise the concept of *rukun iman* (pillars of faith) which are common to Sunnis. The basic tenets of Shi'ism are *tawḥīd* (the oneness of God), *'adl* (the justice of God), *nubūwah* (prophethood), *imāmah* (imamate), and *ma'ād* (resurrection). Indonesian Shi'is agree with Sunnis on three tenets, namely the unity of God, prophethood and the resurrection of the dead. Shi'is share their belief in the justice of God with the Mu'tazilis, a rationalist theological stream within early Muslim history. From the Shi'i perspective, the first three are called the fundamentals of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), while the imamate and justice are the fundamentals of the denomination (*uṣūl al-madhhab*). To become Muslim, one must believe in the fundamentals of religion, while to become a Shi'i, one must complement this with a belief in the imamate and justice (Zulkifli 2013:84-85).

For Shi'is the imamate is the essence of religion, without which belief is never complete. It is the fundamental tenet that distinguishes the Shi'i from the Sunni and is the principal doctrine that divides the Muslim *ummah* into Sunnis and Shi'is. Unlike the Sunnis, Shi'is regard the imamate as a religious matter, which they are obliged to establish. In addition, they believe that the Prophet Muhammad appointed the

Imams as his successors. They begin with 'Ālī as the first, followed by his two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, followed by the descendants of Husayn until the twelfth Imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the Awaited One, who went into occultation and remains hidden. The twelve names are: 'Ālī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Murtaḍá (d. 40/661), Ḥasan ibn 'Ālī al-Zākī (d. 49/669), Ḥusayn ibn 'Ālī Sayyid al-Shuhadā' (d. 61/680), 'Ālī ibn Ḥusayn Zayn al-Ābidīn (d. 95/715), Muḥammad ibn 'Ālī al-Bāqir (d. 115/734), Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Šādiq (d. 148/766), Musá bin Ja'far al-Kāẓim (d. 183/800), 'Ālī ibn Musá al-Riḍá' (d. 203/819), Muḥammad ibn 'Ālī al-Jawwad (d. 220/836), 'Ālī ibn Muḥammad al-Hādī (d. 254/869), Ḥasan ibn 'Ālī al-Askarī (d. 260/875) and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Mahdī. Today, Shi'is recognise Muḥammad al-Mahdī as their last and twelfth Imam. He is the Awaited (*al-Muntazar*) whose appearance is expected to establish God's justice in the world (Zulkifli 2013:90).

Shi'is in Indonesia believe that the Qur'an possessed by Muslims today contains all of God's words, as revealed through the Prophet Muhammad and that it is a miracle of God granted to the Prophet. It is believed that God protected the originality of the Qur'an so that there could be neither addition nor subtraction made to it. They also believe in the Hadith as a principal source of Islamic teachings, second only to the Qur'an. Included in the Shi'i interpretation of Hadith are sayings of the Imams. Thus, the Hadith are defined as all the acts and sayings of the fourteen infallibles (the Prophet Muhammad, his daughter Fatima and the twelve Imams) even though the deeds of the Imams are not considered to be independent of the sayings, conduct and agreement of the Prophet. This is a consequence of the fundamental Shi'i belief in the imamate (Zulkifli 2013).

In addition to *uṣūl al-dīn*, or the fundamentals of religion which must be believed by every Shi'i, there is the concept of *furu' al-dīn*, or branches of the religion which form the code of conduct for all Shi'is. This parallels the Sunni concept of *rukun Islam*, the pillars of Islam. Basically, *uṣūl al-dīn* come under in the realm of Islamic doctrine, *'aqīdah*, while *furu' al-dīn* are part of Islamic jurisprudence, *sharī'ah*. There are seven pillars of *furu' al-dīn*: prayer, fasting in the month of Ramadan, *zakāh* (alms), *khums* (the one-fifth tax), *hajj* (the great pilgrimage to Mecca), *jihād* (struggle in the way of God) and *'amr ma'rūf nahy munkār* (enjoining to do good and exhorting to desist from evil). These seven pillars are called *'ibādah*, or acts of worship

and lead to reward by God. All Shi'is in Indonesia consider these acts of worship to be obligatory (Zulkifli 2013:95). This is the practical consequence of identity. "People collectively identify themselves and others, and they conduct their everyday lives in terms of those identities" (Jenkins 2008:111).

In this regard, they call themselves to be followers of *Ja'fari* jurisprudence, distinguishing them from the majority of Muslims in the country who follow *Shāfi'i* jurisprudence. Indonesia's Shi'i leaders frequently affirm that, in general, *Ja'fari* is very close to *Shāfi'i*, stating that the difference between *Ja'fari* jurisprudence, *Shāfi'i* and the other three Sunni schools of jurisprudence is smaller than the difference among the four Sunni schools themselves. There are parallels, in almost all aspects of jurisprudence, between the *Ja'fari* and the four Sunni schools (Zulkifli 2013: 95-96).

Religious ritual and commemoration also shape the Shi'i identity. As has been known, Indonesian Shi'is perform a varied form of religious ritual and commemorations as aspects of piety. The rituals and commemorations are dealt with the fourteen infallible, namely the Prophet Muhammad, his daughter, and twelve Imams. There daily, weekly and monthly rituals that are practised by the Shi'i community. The most famous commemorations that form and strengthen the Shi'i identity are '*Āshūrā*' (the death of Imam Husayn), '*Arbā'in*' (the fortieth day of his death), and '*Īd al-ghadir*' (the day of designation of 'Āli as the Imam succeeding to the Prophet Muhammad).

The above set of beliefs and practices distinguishes Shi'ism from Sunnism. The Shi'is in Indonesia usually consider themselves *ahl al-bayt* or followers of or lovers of *ahl al-bayt*. The *madhhab* of *ahl al-bayt* is more commonly used by Shi'is in Indonesia when describing their brand of Islam different from the Sunni *madhhab* known as *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*. When using the term *shī'ah*, they use it in an entirely positive sense. They hold the view that the group called *Shi'a* (Party, of 'Āli) has existed since the days of the Prophet, referring to the Hadith in which he said: "O 'Āli, you and your *shī'ah* will gain victory" (Rakhmat 1986:250). It is also called the *madhhab* of love and the *madhhab* of '*alawī*', referring to 'Āli bin Abu Talib, as opposed to the *madhhab* of '*umarī*' referring to Umar bin Khattab, the second caliph (Rakhmat 1999:293-295).

Shi'is also generally consider themselves to be 'the chosen', in contrast to the Sunni majority. The same holds true for the Salafis who believe themselves as the successful group among Muslims. According to Enayat (2005:19), the ethos of refusing to recognise that the majority opinion is necessarily true has become one of the most important distinguishing features of Shi'ism, alongside its differences in doctrine and jurisprudence. The Indonesian statement, *'Alhamdulillah kita sudah Syi'ah'* meaning 'Praise be to God, we are already Shi'i' is an expression of their high religious status. While they acknowledge that Sunnis are Muslims, the Shi'is regard themselves as true believers (Zulkifli 2013:84).

The above religious aspect of identity is closely related to its social and political aspect. The concept and practice of *marja' iyyah* namely the relationship between *marja'* and *muqallid* clearly have social and political implications. In Shi'i jurisprudence, the 'ulamā' oblige laymen to imitate a living chief *mujtahid*, known as *marja'* or *marja' al-taqlid*, a 'source of emulation' who has achieved the authority to serve as a reference for the laity. The act of following the *fatwā* of *mujtahid* is called *taqlid* and the layman who follows the *marja'* is called the *muqallid*. Thus, in *Ja'fari* jurisprudence, Muslims are classified as being either *mujtahid* or *muqallid* (Zulkifli 2013:96-97).

All Shi'is in Indonesia are *muqallids*. Most take the Grand Ayatollah Ali Khamene'i, the present spiritual leader of Iran, to be their *marja'*. A few follow the Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani of Iraq, and yet others emulate the Grand Ayatollah Bahjat Fumani of Iran. This directly connects Indonesian Shi'is to their fellow Shi'is in the world as well as to their *marja* who issues religious *fatwa*. The connection becomes easy and intensive with the global means of communication and information technologies. To be Indonesian Shi'is also involves the international interaction.

Since identity is the product of interaction, the Shi'i identity is socially and historically constructed on the basis of its relation to Sunnis who form the majority in the world's Muslim population. Indonesian Shi'is are minority amidst the largest majority Sunni. Here identity is closely related to the practice of *taqiyyah*.

Taqiyyah (Latin, *reservatio mentalis*) literally means "to shield or to guard oneself," and is one of the most misunderstood teachings of Shi'ism. In general, *taqiyyah* is understood to be a "strategy in the dissimulation of faith before enemies to prevent the occurrence of danger." The practice

of *taqīyah* is important in Shi'ism and has become a distinguishing feature of the Shi'is in Indonesia. Most Shi'is practice it, while rejecting the widespread perception that it is unique to Shi'ism. They argue that the practice of keeping a precautionary attitude is common among all adherents of religion or *madhhabs* in Islam, particularly when they are under oppression by an authoritarian faction or regime. However, other Muslim denominations refuse to use the term *taqīyah* (Zulkifli 2013:108).

Taqīyah is a product of history which is supported by both textual and rational evidences. In the history of Muslim society, "the Shi'is have been a minority amidst the global Islamic community and have lived mostly under regimes hostile to their creed" (Enayat, 2005:175). Textual and rational evidences are used by Indonesian Shi'is to support the practice of *taqīyah* (Zulkifli 2013:108-110). The position of *taqīyah* as a strategy is instrumental for constructing their identity within the context of interaction with the majority Sunni in Indonesia.

With regard to Castells's classification of identity into legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity (Castells 1997:8), Shi'i identity in Indonesia may be categorised as resistance identity which is "generated by those actors that are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatised by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society" (Castells 1997:8). In the identity building, the Indonesian Shi'is express "*the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded*" and the outcome of resistance identity is the formation of *commune* or *communities* (Castells 1997:9). In short, the Shi'i community is the community of resistance.

The formation of Shi'i commune or communities in Indonesia is a continuing process that may change in different times and in social and political context because identity is understood as "not only a historical and social construction, but also a part of a continual process of transformation and change" (Giroux 2005:148). Shi'i identity is dynamic. It is an ongoing dialogue with Sunnis who tend to maintain and change its image. In the continuing dialogue there is agreement as well as disagreement between Shi'is and Sunnis in a variety of religious aspects. Education plays an important role in the formation of Shi'i identity and so we move to a description of the existing Shi'i educational institution in Indonesia.

Shi'i Educational Institution

Before going into our description of Shi'i educational institution, the concept of Shi'i educational institution is understood in a broad sense, namely all educational institutions which are founded and organized by Shi'is in Indonesia. They include: first, Shi'i school, *madrasah* or *pesantren* which only attracts Shi'i students or students from Shi'i parents and, second, Shi'i-owned school, *madrasah* or *pesantren* established and organized by Shi'i figures to attract students from any religious affiliation. We may pinpoint several characteristics of Shi'i educational institution: first, it is established and organized by Shi'i figures (intellectuals and '*ulamā*' or *ustādh*); second, most or even all of its teachers are Shi'i; third, its students may be from Shi'i parents or Sunni background; fourth, its curriculum of Islamic education and instructional sources are books written by Middle Eastern Shi'i '*ulamā*' and intellectual; fifth, elements of Shi'i teachings and tradition colour its educational practices; sixth, Shi'i symbols are usually obvious in its educational buildings and facilities. Thus, more often than not, from its outward appearance the Shi'i educational institution is distinctive from the majority religious educational institution in Indonesia and this make it easy to identify although some reject their association with Shi'ism.

A note should be made that the large majority of Muslim population of Indonesia is Sunni and so is the religious profile of schools in Indonesia. Thus, what is known as Shi'i educational institution is very small in number. Generally speaking, Shi'i education institution can be classified into the traditional institution of *pesantren* and the modern institution of school. There are at least five *pesantren* imparting Shi'i teachings to the Indonesian Muslim community: YAPI in Bangil, *Al-Hadi* in Pekalongan, *Dar al-Taqrīb* in Bangsri Jepara, *Al-Mukarramah* in Bandung and *Nurul Tsaqalain* in Leihitu, Central Maluku. The two most famous of these are YAPI and *Al-Hadi*. Similar to the Indonesian traditional system of *pesantren* is the Iranian model of Hawza 'Ilmiyya or simply called *hawza* (sometimes *hauzah*) which is sometimes established within the established *pesantren* or by some Shi'i foundations in the country.

YAPI, an abbreviation of *Yayasan Pesantren Islam*, and formally in Arabic, *Mu'assasat al-Ma'had al-Islāmī* is located in Bangil, a small town in the district of Pasuruan, East Java. It was established in 1971 in

Bondowoso, another district in East Java, by Husein Al-Habsyi (1921-1994), who also taught at and led a branch of the *al-Khayriyah* school in the town. Five years later, on 18 June 1976, YAPI moved to its current location where it has grown and developed rapidly to become an important centre of learning for the Shi'is in Indonesia, although its head and its teachers frequently publicly deny its association with Shi'ism (Zulkifli 2004).

YAPI attempts "to participate in producing intelligent persons, having a correct and firm faith, a wise and critical attitude in order to face a future full of challenge." Until 1997, it only organised programmes of religious education at the levels of *i'dādiyyah* (preparatory), *ibtidā'iyah* (elementary), *thanāwīyah* (secondary, corresponding to Islamic Junior High School) and *'aliyah* (secondary, corresponding to Islamic Senior High School). The curriculum of the first three levels gives priority to the study of Arabic, including *naḥw* (syntax) and *ṣaraf* (morphology) and to several branches of Islamic knowledge such as *Hadith*, *tafsīr*, *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *aqidah* (doctrine) and logic. At the *'aliyah* level, the students are introduced to branches of Islamic knowledge from comparative perspectives, such as *kalām* (theology), philosophy, *ulūm al-Qur'ān* (the Qur'anic sciences), *uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence) and comparative Islamic jurisprudence. Additionally, at this level there are lessons in translation and *taḥqīq* (editing) instructing students on how to read, translate and edit Arabic materials (Zulkifli 2013:146).

Since 1997, YAPI has transformed its educational programme by incorporating both the national curriculum and traditional religious education, "so as to provide the best solution in the field of education sought by the people of high spirituality and intellectuality." Following these changes, YAPI now offers a general school, a religious school (*madrasah*) and *takhaṣṣuṣ* (literally 'specialization' in Islamic studies) that is later called *hawza*. With regard to the first system, YAPI offers a programme of secondary education, providing SLTP (Junior High School) and SMA (Senior High School), both of which teach general secular subjects of the curriculum regulated by the Ministry of Education and Culture. In order to be formally recognised by the Ministry, the institution must follow specific guidelines and meet required standards. YAPI also offers a programme combining the national system with its *pesantren* system in the form of a religious school, the curriculum for which comprises 60% general subjects and 40% religious subjects.

Now, graduates of YAPI are expected to possess both basic general and religious knowledge and to be capable of successfully pursuing tertiary education at general secular or religious universities (Zulkifli 2013:146).

Pesantren Al-Hadi, which was founded by Ahmad Baragbah in Pekalongan, Central Java, follows the hawza model. Since its establishment, Al-Hadi has provided students only with religious education that primarily follows the Shi'i educational system of Hawza 'Ilmiyya in Qum, where its founders and teachers had been trained – particularly in terms of subject matters and instructional materials. The educational programme is organised into six levels with a variety of subjects and drawing on a range of sources. The subjects offered include Arabic, *'aqidah*, *fiqh*, *tafsir*, *hadith* and Islamic history. All instructional materials are standard texts used in the institutions of Islamic learning in Qum. The basic teachings of Shi'ism, especially its doctrines and jurisprudence, are taught to the students of the first level who are expected, if not required, to practice them in their daily life. As rituals and ceremonies practiced in the *pesantren* are all Shi'i, guidance and training regarding daily obligatory rituals are also provided. All the instruction, training and guidance of the Shi'i teachings in Al-Hadi are attempts to realize its main goal: to provide its students with the basic knowledge and skills to comprise a cadre of Shi'i teachers throughout the country. Furthermore, with the knowledge they gain at the institution, its graduates can pursue higher Islamic education at the institutions of Islamic learning in Qum (Zulkifli 2013:152).

The most famous school attributed to Shi'ism is Muthahhari in Bandung. The Muthahhari Foundation was established on 3 October 1988 in Bandung by Muslim intellectuals. According to the legal founding document, the first executive board included Jalaluddin Rakhmat (Head), Agus Effendi (Vice Head), Haidar Bagir (Secretary) and Ahmad Muhajir (Treasurer). It should be noted that Jalaluddin Rakhmat and Haidar Bagir are the most prominent Shi'i intellectuals of Indonesia. Although the Muthahhari founders, and in particular Jalaluddin Rakhmat, frequently rejected the notion that the institution was Shi'i, it is still considered to be an important centre for the spread of Shi'ism in Indonesia.

The educational ideals of Muthahhari Foundation can be seen in its visions as follow: *first*, the Muthahhari Foundation is expected to

participate in producing intellectual-‘ulamā’ and ‘ulamā’-intellectual through alternative educational system in the field of Islamic knowledge and other relevant sciences; *second*, it creates a vehicle for the growth of scientific attitudes (depth mastery of the sciences, the breadth of insight, openness, moderation, tolerance, and relevance); *third*, it contributes to the formulation effort of Islamic worldview and social planning toward the future Islamic civilisation; *fourth*, it contributes to national unity and the unity and brotherhood of Islamic umma (unity and Islamic brotherhood) that is free from sectarianism (Tim Penyusun 2010).

In order to achieve the ideals the Muthahhari Foundation has so far organised three levels of education: SMA (Senior High School), SMP (Junior High School) established in 2000, and SD (Elementary School) known as Sekolah Cerdas Muthahhari (SCM) established in 2007. The most famous of them is the SMA Plus Muthahhari, founded in 1992, which has attracted an enthusiastic response from people throughout Indonesia, and parents - both Sunni and Shi‘i - from Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and other islands send their children to study there. SMA Plus can be regarded as an alternative model for secondary education in Indonesia. It is also an attempt to bridge the gap between the ‘ulamā’ and intellectuals, as explained above. It also has unique characteristics in comparison to other senior high schools in the country.

With the vision “preparing human resources having competitive benefits in global market” the SMA Plus is aimed at achieving three aspects in its missions: *increasing intelligence*, *developing creativity*, and *perfecting morality*. Based on the three missions, the school formulates several goals: in the framework of improving intelligence the school is aimed to create effective learning communities, to overcome barriers to learning and unleashing the potential of students to absorb information, to improve multiple intelligences, to stimulate learning skills and maximise brain power, to create learning fast, cheerfully, and appropriately and reduce its barriers, to improve the ability to access information from the internet, the ability to store and recall information as well as the ability to process and communicate information through the internet, to cultivate the soul and spirit of entrepreneurship, a love of Sundanese art and culture, and the ability to express themselves in artwork, and to improve foreign language skills; In the framework of developing creativity the school is aimed to create a productive and

creative learning environment, foster and enhance the creative potential, improve the ability to deliver innovation, overcome obstacles in the process of creativity, improve collaborative spirit to make innovation, contribute in solving social problems around the school, maximise information technology to deliver innovation, develop creativity in generating ideas of a business, and show the creativity of business idea in a product and the creativity of artwork in a show; and in the framework of perfecting morality the school is aimed to inculcate tolerant, open, critical, non-sectarian attitudes, to grow and develop a love of science and wisdom, to form the habit of maintaining and prospering the environment, to increase spiritual intelligence, to cultivate gratitude when receiving favours and patience when receiving ordeal, to develop life based on devotion to God, to foster compassion and concern for the suffering of fellow human beings, to cultivate honesty in speaking and acting, to realise democratic attitudes in social and political life, and to inculcate respect for the authorities such as teachers, parents and government (Tim Penyusun 2010:15-18).

Its curriculum integrates the national SMA curriculum set by the Ministry of Education and Culture with the local curriculum and student curriculum. The local curriculum includes basic computer science, intensive Arabic and English and fields of Islamic studies (*dirāsah Islāmīyah*). The Islamic studies include Basic Islam, *‘ulūm al-Qur’ān*, *‘ulūm al-Hadīth*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, comparative *fiqh*, and Islamic history. The student curriculum is similar extra-curriculum known as X-day on Wednesdays. In this regard, students are expected to take part in an extra-curricular programme following their own interests. It includes arts, foreign languages (Japanese, German, French, Korean), and sports. Unlike regular high schools, which teach for about five and a half hours a day, the SMA Plus requires its students to attend eight and a half hours a day, from 7.00 am to 3.30 pm, six days a week, in order for them to complete all their educational requirements. As a result, the school has so far been succesful in several fields, particularly as it received recognition in 2010 by the Ministry of National Education as a model school for the establishment of morality.

Indonesia is also home to other Islamic education institutions which take the title *hawza*.¹ This is clearly a strong influence of the Iranian model of Islamic education in that the *ustādh* of Qum alumni attempted to adopt. The adoption includes the concept of *hawza*,

curriculum, instructional sources, and learning process. One is called Hawzah Ilmiah Khatamun Nabiyyin, which was founded in Jakarta on 1 January 2010. Under the guidance of the Grand Ayatollah Shaykh Husayn Wahid Khurasani in Qum, the *hawza* runs the two-year academic programme in Islamic studies which provides subjects like Arabic, *manṭiq*, *tafsīr*, hadith, *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *kalām* and Islamic history, as well as secular subjects like sociology, philosophy and research techniques. The students are then expected to pursue their learning at the *hawza* in Qum or Najaf.²

The famous YAPI of Bangil also runs the *hawza* institutional model known as Hawzah Ilmiah Imam Ash-Shodiq and headed by Ali Umar al-Habsyi. The four years programme is a reformulation of the abovementioned *takhaṣṣuṣ* (specialization in Islamic studies) programme and was established on 23 July 2008, with an initial intake of forty students. It tutors its students in all fields of religious studies, such as *kalām*, *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, Arabic and Islamic history. They too expected to continue their study in Qum or in another *hawza* in Iran.³

Additionally, the IPABI Foundation⁴ led by Qum alumnus Abdullah Som Assegaf has set up the so-called Hauzah Ilmiah Amirul Mukminin for male students and the Hauzah Ilmiah Az-Zahra for females. These are situated in an area in Puncak, Bogor, West Java. As a three-semester programme for senior high school graduates, both *hawza* are designed to produce students with good reasoning skills and a good understanding of scientific practice, and also to prepare them for community service. Guided by a cohort of teachers which includes Qum alumni, students are provided with Arabic, English, *manṭiq*, mathematics, *kalām* and *fiqh*. In addition, they are enrolled in a programme of character building, and are even trained in skills like martial arts, computer science, journalism, public speaking and event organising.⁵

At the tertiary educational level, there are Madinatul Ilmi College for Islamic Studies (STAIMI) in Depok and Sadra College for Islamic Philosophy (STFI Sadra) in Jakarta. Founded on 23 May 1997, STAIMI has already produced more than 500 alumni. It offers two departments at undergraduate level, namely Islamic education and Islamic communication and information. Recently, besides the regular system, STAIMI has implemented a boarding system for its students who are provided with a number of learning and training activities such as Qur'an memorisation, leadership training and martial arts. This was

inspired by the educational model of *hawza ilmiyya*. It should be noted that STAIMI openly declares its identity as a Shi'i university that is designed to promote and implement the teachings of Shi'ism. As stated on its website, the STAIMI curriculum integrates the subjects outlined for universities by the Ministry of Religious Affairs with local contents based on the spiritual excellence and character of *ahl al-bayt*, as well as promoting competency in English, Arabic and Persian. Furthermore, in addition to the formal curriculum, STAIMI strives to emphasise the position of science and technology in religion and to create a religious atmosphere in campus daily life with the nuance of the *ahl al-bayt* tradition.⁶

STFI Sadra differs from STAIMI in that it is reluctant to declare its Shi'i identity. A number of Qum alumni are engaged in either management or teaching roles at this institution, which is presently headed by the renowned Qum alumnus Umar Shahab. This is a newly founded institution, launched on 12 July 2012, a date which was marked by an international seminar with a keynote speech by Professor Nasaruddin Umar, the Deputy Minister of Religious Affairs. With two undergraduate departments, that of Islamic philosophy and of Quran and Hadith Studies, it commenced classes in the academic year 2012. It is little wonder that an institution with this intellectual bent should have been founded, as Qum graduates have a strong predilection for philosophy – a fact which is also closely related Hawza 'Ilmiyya reputation as a world centre for Muslim philosophers (Labib 2003). Umar Shahab and three other doctoral graduates of UIN Jakarta majored in Islamic philosophy, as is evidence especially from their dissertation subjects – Umar Shahab having studied Khomeini's thought, Kholid al-Walid having investigated Mulla Sadra's eschatological views, Muhsin Labib having looked at Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi's philosophy, and Abdurrahman Bima having scrutinised the influence of philosophy on Khomeini's political thought.

At the graduate level, there exists the Islamic College Jakarta, which is sponsored by an Iranian charity. This was previously called the Islamic College for Advanced Studies (ICAS), set up in London in 1998, and the Jakarta branch was founded in 2003. The representative of ICAS London Ali Movahhedi, as well as the outstanding Indonesian Muslim intellectual who was then rector of the University of Paramadina Professor Nurcholish Madjid (1939–2005), signed the Memorandum

of Understanding on 29 July 2002. The memorandum to run Islamic studies programme was then legalised by the Directorate General of Islamic Institutional Establishment (now the Directorate General of Islamic Education), the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Republic of Indonesia, and later confirmed by the State Secretary of Republic of Indonesia. In 2009, along with the establishment of al-Mustafa International University (MIU) in Qum, it changed to its present name, the Islamic College Jakarta.

As stated in the web pages of al-Mustafa International University,⁷ the Islamic College Jakarta is one of, at least, the twenty-four colleges of al-Mustafa International University that are scattered around the world, including in Albania, Argentina, Australia, Denmark, Germany, India, United Kingdom and Sweden.⁸ As a branch of the college, MIU issues diplomas for graduates of the Islamic College. Further, its director, Seyyed Ahmad Fazeli, is Iranian (the former director was Mohsen Miri.) The director is assisted by deputies in the areas of administration and research, in addition to being aided by staff from Iran especially regarding financial affairs, and from Indonesia regarding academic protocol.

As for the academic programmes, the Islamic College relies on a raft agreements with other higher education institutions, all of which have been established in view of the legal status that the programme is perceived to have in the eyes of Indonesian students and wider society. Since 2003–4 it has had a master's programme in the field of Islamic philosophy and Islamic mysticism based on the abovementioned memorandum with the University of Paramadina. On 23 October 2010, the University of Paramadina received legal permission from the Directorate General of Islamic Institution, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, to organise a master's programme in Islamic studies. This was a renewal of the letter of 29 June 2001, from the Directorate of Islamic Institutional Establishment, regarding cooperation with the aim of establishing a dual programme and pooling human resources between the University of Paramadina and the Islamic College for Advanced Studies, London.

Cooperation agreements were extended to other universities in Indonesia, such as Sunan Gunung Djati State Islamic University in Bandung, Alauddin State Islamic University in Makassar, and Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta. The Islamic College also

cooperates with UIN Bandung in running a BA in Islamic studies, and with Alauddin State Islamic University in Makassar in running a doctoral programme in Islamic philosophy. While the license for the doctorate programme is under the authority of UIN Alauddin, the Islamic College is responsible for budgeting and financing the programme. It is important to note that one of the doctoral students, Jalaluddin Rakhmat, is the most prominent Shi'i intellectual in Indonesia, and worth noting also that his admission as a doctoral student at UIN Alauddin Makassar met with a harsh response from leaders in Indonesia who are anti Shi'i. In a meeting in Bandung held on 22 April 2012, the so-called Forum of Indonesian 'ulamā' and Community (FUUI) led by Athian Ali Dai proposed that the university reconsider Jalaluddin Rakhmat's status as a doctorate student because he is a known Shi'i figure. The university dismissed the idea. Up to this present, the Islamic College continues to attempt to extend cooperation in academic fields and cultural exchanges with other universities and colleges in Indonesia.

To sum up, the Shi'i educational institution includes primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of education and its educational system comprises of school, pesantren, and *hawza*. Apart from the school system, the religious educational system tries to integrate elements of traditional system of pesantren and *hawza* system of education adopted from Iran. With regard its Shi'i characteristic two types of Shi'i educational institution are generated: The first is concentrated on inculcating Shi'i teachings and tradition only to students of Shi'i parents; whereas the other is open to students regardless of their affiliation to Sunnism or Shi'ism. The later institution is likely reluctant to declare their Shi'i identity. Despite this, both share the same ultimate goal of gaining recognition of Shi'ism and its adherents in Indonesia.

Identity and Recognition: The Role of Education

Education indeed has interconnections with identity and recognition but in this paper we focus on the mediating role in the interrelation between identity and recognition or the intersection between recognition and identity in the educational field. The interconnection is empirically shown in the Shi'i Islamic educational institution in Indonesia.

Regarding the interconnection of education, identity, and recognition three related theses are generated. First, "[q]uestions of recognition are essential to education" (Bingham 2001:3). Despite many educational

critiques of recognition, recognition has been considered important in educational fields, as Bingham also writes: “And, in education, recognition has also been the fundamental assumption within school-based movements of multiculturalism, including the efforts of teachers and students to transform curriculum and pedagogy in ways that afford positive recognition to all students” (2006:325).

Second, recognition is central to the formation of identity. In its simplest form, recognition is “the recontact of acknowledging others, and coming to be acknowledged by others” (Bingham 2001:3). The concept of recognition itself refers to a reciprocal respect for the unique and equal status of all others. How one is seen or recognised by others determines one’s identity. In an interactionist perspective, recognition or misrecognition is a form of societal mirroring. “Our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves” (Taylor 1994:25).

Third, educational institution is a site of identity formation. It is a site where political, economic, social, cultural, and personal contexts interact and these contexts influence the formation of student identity. At the site students are immersed in the complex web of interrelated contexts which provide confirmation or conflict as to who they are and who they will be and about their position and their belief. Their personal understanding is mediated by their interaction with school environments. They are perceived and received by teachers, administrative staff, fellow students, and others. They are also evaluated and systematically compared with one another by teachers. This becomes an important input for their evolving sense of the self. The construction of Shi’i sectarian identity is obviously evident at the Shi’i institution of learnings such as YAPI, Pesantren Al-Hadi, and several hawzas. Here students experience the complex process of identity formation, namely the complex process of becoming Shi’is during their educational process. The process has commenced since the first day of students entering the Shi’i *pesantren*. Because students of the *pesantren* live in *pondok* within the *pesantren* complex, they experience the full day educational process under the guidance and control of Shi’i teachers and, therefore, the destructive external influences may

be minimized in the educational process in general. Realized as giving benefits, the boarding system adopted at the pesantren is chosen to implement in order to achieve educational goals, missions, and visions. Thus, since the religious aspect of Shi'i identity is taught and practised in the everyday life of the pesantren community the whole educational process at the *pesantren* becomes the constructive process of Shi'i sectarian identity.

The learning process within as well as outside classroom is designed to contribute to constructing the Shi'i sectarian identity. This is clearly evident from the curricula of religious education at the mentioned Shi'i educational institutions. The Hawzah Ilmiah Imam Ash-Shodiq of YAPI, for instance, provides its students with nearly all of the subjects from the body of Islamic knowledge, namely Arabic, Qur'anic exegesis, Islamic theology, Islamic jurisprudence, principles of Islamic jurisprudence, rhetoric, biographies of the Prophet and his household, logic, and Islamic philosophy. The teaching resources include standard textbooks written by prominent Shi'i learned men from Iran, Iraq or Lebanon such as Āyat Allāh Muḥammad Taqī Miṣbāḥ Yazdī's *al-aqīdah al-Islamīyah* (3 volumes) for the study of doctrine (theology), Muḥammad Jawād Mughnīyah's *al-Fiqh 'alā al-madhāhib al-khamsah* for the comparative study of Islamic law, Āyāt Allāh Muḥammad Bāqir Ṣadr's *al-Ḥalaqah al-thalāth* for principles of jurisprudence, Āyāt Allāh Riḍā Muẓaffar's *ʿIlm al-mantīq* for logic, and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabaṭabai's *Bidāyat al-ḥikmah* for the study of Islamic philosophy (Zulkifli 2013:149). This means to inculcate the students the teaching of Shi'ism as orthodox denomination which includes a set of beliefs and practices as contained in authoritative books within the body of Shi'i Islamic knowledge.

In order to achieve the similar goal, another type of curriculum is formulated in another Shi'i educational institution. As a formal school that should follow the formal regulations of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the SMA Muthahhari takes the advantage of including the local content in the school curriculum. The formulation of Islamic studies programme as its local content becomes its Shi'i character. The Islamic studies includes Basic Islam, Qur'anic sciences, sciences of Prophetic Tradition, principles of Islamic jurisprudence, comparative Islamic jurisprudence, and Islamic history which are offered through intensive package programme, namely full seven days for each package,

not through regular learning programme (Tim Penyusun 2010:28-29). The learning process tends to utilize discussion and dialogue based on library research projects carried by students under the guidance of competent Shi'i teachers. The process enables students to use critical thinking and analysis in the discussion and dialogue. The school library has provided sufficient standard textbooks written by Middle Eastern Shi'i scholars in the abovementioned fields of Islamic studies that students may benefit. Different interpretations between Sunnism and Shi'ism regarding such topics as Imamate, the Mahdi, Divine justice, biographies of the Prophet and his companions, and position of *ijtihād* (the scholarly inquiry to formulate legal opinions) and *taqlīd* (the act of following the legal opinions). Since Shi'ism plays intellectual reason (*'aql*) much higher than in Sunnism the product of critical thinking and analysis in the discussion and dialogue is, in reality, frequently in support of Shi'i interpretation of Islam.

In addition, students are provided with extracurricular programmes in that they have the opportunity to have frequent interactions with teachers. The whole everyday practices and social and educative interactions based on school structure like rules, norms, and values at educational institutions certainly affect the construction of students's identity. Thus, Shi'i educational institutions are a site of Shi'i identity formation. The Shi'i schools and other educational institutions not only teach their students varied knowledge and skills according to the curriculum outlined but also socialise religious and cultural beliefs, norms, and values that they upheld.

Furthermore, what is known as hidden curriculum at the Shi'i educational institution significantly influences students's religious and cultural beliefs, thoughts, attitudes, and orientations. Hidden curriculum is concerned with "all activity that occurs in the school that affects the classroom without the knowledge of the teachers or students and that occurs but is not disclosed in the written, taught, or tested curriculum" (Horn Jr. 2009:100) such as values, beliefs, and opinions that may be expressed through symbols, gestures, and expressions. The values, beliefs, and opinions are not explicitly learnt but are inculcated through everyday interactions in schools. Shi'i symbols, gestures, and expressions have characterized the Shi'i educational institutions in Indonesia. It is generally believed that students's interpretation of their experience is mediated and informed by hidden curriculum. In short,

“the values, beliefs, opinions, and actions of children are affected by the values that are attached to the hidden curriculum” (Horn Jr. 2009:100-101).

Not only curriculum and learning process but educational practices also directly affect the construction of Shi‘i identity. Practices in the sense of the theory of social practices can be defined as “a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz 2002:249). Educational practices at the Shi‘i educational institution include several interconnected elements such as goal, curriculum (written and hidden), learning material, method, approach, and evaluation play a significant role in the Shi‘i identity shaping. Further, the whole educational practices in the Shi‘i educational institutions are also essential in the maintenance and continuity of the Shi‘i identity.

In addition to its role in the construction of Shi‘i identity, education is a significant means of struggle used by the Shi‘i figures in Indonesia in order to gain recognition from the majority Sunni. It should be noted that as identity shaping, recognition is concerned with identification within social, cultural, and political context but it can be extended to issues of difference including race, ethnicity, class, religion, and denomination. To explain the relations between identity, difference, and recognition, Connolly writes: “An identity is established in relation to a series of differences that have become socially recognized. These differences are essential to its being... Identity requires differences in order to be, and it converts difference into otherness in order to secure its own self-certainty” (2002:64). Similarly, Taylor suggests that modern development of the notion of identity has given rise to the politics of difference. This may mean two different things. On the one hand, it is a politics of universalism which emphasises the equal dignity of all individuals and, on the other hand, it is a politics of difference in which everyone is to be recognised for his or her unique identity (Taylor 1994:38). With regard to Shi‘ism, the politics of recognition or the politics of difference means the recognition of its denominational difference and distinctness from Sunnism apart from its sameness and similarity. But it claims for coexistence with Sunnism. At least, it is a difference-friendly world in which Shi‘is are assimilated or integrated to the majority Sunni.

The role of education in the struggle for recognition in the context of Sunni-Shii relations in Indonesia aims to acquire the self-confidence, self respect, and self-esteem (Honneth 1996). This corresponds to three distinct spheres of recognition: the private sphere of love and friendship referring to interpersonal relations, the legal sphere referring to the domain in which individuals are granted equal right and moral obligations, and the sphere of social esteem referring to the mutual appreciation of subjects. The classification may be simplified into Taylor's categorisation: the intimate sphere and the public sphere. In the intimate sphere takes place the formation of identity and the self as a product of a continuing dialogue and struggle with significant others whilst in the public sphere the politics of equal recognition plays a major role (Taylor 1994:37). The first sphere mainly relates to interpersonal relationship within social groups whereas the other two address intergroup relationship between Sunni majority and Shi'is in Indonesia.

The Shi'i educational institution itself deals with both the intimate and public spheres because, as previously explained, both spheres are almost inseparable. Students, teachers, administrators, and community leaders get involved in social and educative interaction. In the public sphere Indonesian Shi'is are recognised as entitled to rights with distinct identities. Whilst Shi'is struggles to satisfy their demand for recognition, the Sunni majority may deny or grant recognition. The struggles for recognition are frequently undertaken by the Shi'is in the name of principle of justice acknowledged by majority. In addition, recognition of Shi'ism may take place in the sphere of social esteem in terms of individuals's social values and informal relationships. In fact, Shi'is in Indonesia often experience stigmatisation in their informal relationships with Sunnis. From the interactionist perspective, members of the stigmatised who repeatedly experience stigmatisation internalise negative self-images. The teaching and practice of *taqīyah* may originate from this interaction. Therefore, the struggle for recognition by Shi'i educational institutions aims to repair the internal self-dislocation by rejecting the dominant culture's demeaning picture of Shi'ism and Shi'is and favouring new self-representations of their own making. They produce their self-affirming culture that is demanded to gain the respect and esteem of society in general. Furthermore, full public recognition requires two forms of respect: respect for the unique identities of

individual and respect for activities, practices, and worldviews of members of disadvantaged groups (Gutman 1994:8). This means that the demand for recognition of the Shi'is includes respect for both their distinct identity and the whole activities, practices, and worldviews associated with the minority group.

In this regard, recognition of Shi'ism as a legitimate denominationalism is not only a matter of self-realisation but also institutional and a matter of justice. Fraser's conceptualisation of recognition involves a matter of social status, participation, and participatory parity as She writes: "what requires recognition is not group-specific identity but the status of individual group members as full partners in social interaction" (2000:113). For Fraser, misrecognition involves institutional practices of denial, denigration, and subordination. The problem of Shi'ism in Indonesia can be seen from both types of conceptualisation of recognition because inter-subjective and institutional recognition are interconnected. Except in Shi'i educational institutions, non-recognition or misrecognition is grounded in educational practices, processes of curriculum provision, pedagogical approaches, peer culture, and organisational norms and processes. Students of Shi'i parents at most schools experience the varied forms of misrecognition, like, following Fraser, denial of the status of Shi'is as full members of Indonesian society and preventing them from participating as peers. Sunnism is a norm in Indonesian society and to become Shi'is means 'abnormal'. The failure to respect affiliation to minority denomination like Shi'ism at schools reflects the misrecognition. The Shi'is's struggle for recognition through education is a kind of remedy for injustice. This is in accordance with Fraser's view:

This could involve upwardly revaluing disrespected identities and the cultural products of maligned groups. It could also involve recognizing and positively valorizing cultural diversity. More radically still, it could involve the wholesale transformation of societal patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication in ways that would change everybody's sense of identity (1996:7).

The interconnection of education, recognition, and identity can be seen from the view that recognition itself becomes a socio-cultural process which includes constructive nature directly or indirectly relating to identity shaping and recognitive process through which religious and social norms and ideologies influence to form one's identity.

Recognition is socially and culturally constructed. "The recognitive process that an individual experiences within social-cultural contexts is replete with multiple encounters which shape identity, one's own and identity of others" (Jenlink and Townes 2009:xii). In addition to this, recognition itself is a result of learning process taking place in social interaction and in society at large.

It is a part of a larger learning process, the outcome of which, to the extent that it is a genuine *learning* process, will be both unforeseeable and unpredictable. Institutional measures are *one* way to facilitate such learning processes; but even legal forms of recognition, necessary as they may be, are not in themselves sufficient for bringing about the required symbolic and cultural change at the level of everyday practice (Kompridis 2007:285).

The learning process resulting in recognition formally takes place at educational institutions which become a recognitive public space. As previously explained, the recognitive process in the public sphere like school is very important because how we are seen and recognised by others, positively or negatively, becomes a part of our identity. Since recognition is an identity shaping, Shi'i Islamic educational institutions become recognitive space and site of Shi'i identity formation especially for both Shi'i students and teachers. This is in accord with Huttunen and Hikkinen's discussion on the dialectic of recognition. They suggests that "the process of learning and identity formation are intrinsically connected with the process of recognition" (2004:164). They present two arguments: first "a teacher's work is a process of receiving and giving recognition" (2004:164). Second, "the processes of the dialectic of recognition are at the heart of the process of education (*Bildung*)" (2004:164). That Shi'ism is recognised as orthodox denomination and its adherents are recognised as the chosen is instructed and inculcated at Shi'i educational institutions. In addition, Shi'i teachings, rituals, and tradition are practised by teachers who play as role model for students. In other words, Shi'i educational institutions provide a recognitive process of Shi'ism for students as well as become a recognitive space for Shi'ism. The SMA Muthahhari which educates students of Sunni and Shi'i parents is a case in point in that

... religious subjects are comparative and the students - children of both Sunni and Shi'i parents - are taught the skills of critical thinking and how to utilise critical analysis with regard to religious thought and practice. The students are taught to exercise intellectual freedom and to believe

in the principle of plurality, in particular with respect to the Sunni-Shi'i divide. That said, the religious rituals and prayers followed by the teachers are generally Shi'i, although the students are free to continue to perform rituals, particularly the daily obligatory prayers, in accordance with their own beliefs (Zulkifli 2013:160).

The implementation of this strategy in the recognitive process of promoting Shi'ism as a legitimate school within Islam is expected to achieve maximum and minimum targets: "the maximum is the conversion of the students to Shi'ism, whilst the minimum is the acknowledgement of Shi'ism by students and a tolerance of its followers" (Zulkifli 2013:160). Through recognitive process students of Sunni parents are expected to accept the recognition of Shi'ism and have a positive attitude towards Shi'ism without having to convert into Shi'ism. They eventually disseminate their positive view and attitude in their future life. As far as my research is concerned, most students of the school do not convert into Shi'ism, being Sunnis tolerant to the sectarian divide within the Muslim society.

The recognitive process does not only deal with students but also involves students' parents who inevitably encounter with the issues and information about Shi'ism either spreading among members of society or associated with educational institutions to which they send their children. Some parents have acknowledge the Shi'i character of Shi'i educational institution like SMA Muthahhari while others do not. A student's parents, for instance, in 2001 sent a letter to question the position of the Muthahhari school in relation to Shi'ism. In his response Jalaluddin Rakhmat, the school headmaster, wrote:

If I am questioned whether I am a Shi'i or a Sunni, I will only answer that I am a Muslim. I do not want Muslim society to be divided into *madhhab* and streams, only into knowledge. Everyone has status according to his/her deeds, God says in the Qur'an. Not according to *madhhab*, nor group. That is what we also teach to the children studying at our school (Zulkifli 2013:161).

Attempts to provide the recognitive space is also extended. The so-called "The Iranian Corner" has been set up in a number of recognized Indonesian universities such as Indonesia University and Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University in Jakarta, Gadjah Mada University and Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University in Yogyakarta, Hasanuddin University and Alauddin State Islamic University in Makassar as well as Muhammadiyah Universities in Jakarta, Yogyakarta,

and Malang. Even though some anti-Shi'i radical groups criticize the existence of the Iranian Corner that has an agenda of propagating the Shi'i teachings among university students, the corner contributes to have played a role in the recognitive process of Shi'i tradition.

Providing a bunch of literature and information pertaining to Iran, this 'corner' has increasingly become a window for Indonesian students to have a look at contemporary Iranian culture, including its religious tradition and political system. The availability of Islamic literature written by Iranian scholars at the Iranian Corner is also believed to have contributed to the development of students' knowledge on Shi'a tradition (Latief 2008:300-301)

Another public recognitive space has been created through further cooperation between universities in Indonesia, the Islamic College, and the Iranian government in the form of academic programme and cultural exchange. The Iranian government also sent a number of students and lecturers from Indonesia to participate in shortcourses and leaders of religious organisation make visits to religious, educational and cultural centres in Iran. This certainly contributes to enhancing the recognitive process of Shi'ism.

As a recognitive public space the Shi'i educational institution tries to provide a model for the practice of Shi'i teachings and tradition. Pesantren Al-Hadi, for example, only teaches and practises obligatory and recommended rituals and ceremonies within the Shi'i tradition, criticizing other Shi'i educational institutions which still practises elements of the Sunni tradition. Pesantren Al-Hadi attempts to provide an exemplary model for the total practice of Shi'i teachings for the purpose of inviting fellow Muslims to recognize the existence of Shi'ism as an equal legitimate denomination within Islam. "The hope is that by openly expressing all Shi'i doctrinal beliefs and observing Shi'i religious practices in all situations, including those aspects different from Sunni Islam, they and the Shi'i community will be recognised" (Zulkifli 2013:153).

The ultimate goal of achieving recognition of Shi'ism as a legitimate denomination is shared by all Shi'is although the methods and strategies are different from one another. YAPI differs from Al-Hadi in terms of religious tradition carried out in the educational institution. In spite of the fact that religious tradition carried out at YAPI basically follows the basic tenets and teachings of Shi'ism in general some elements of the Sunni tradition is still maintained.

Among the religious traditions are the annual commemoration of 'Ashura (the martyrdom of Husayn), Arbain (the fortieth day after Husayn's martyrdom), ziyara (tom visitation), birthday and haul ('death day') of Imam and 'ulamā', and Id al-Ghadir (the day of the Prophet's designation of 'Alī as his successor at Ghadir Khumm), as well as the recitation of tahlilan,⁹ and ratib¹⁰ (Nursyamsuriati 2011:77-130). The two last rituals are populer among the Sunnis, especially the traditionalist and Sufi groups.

Recognition of Shi'ism and its adherents has to be gained from wider community especially Sunni majority, religious and state authorities. Until now, Shi'ism as a valid denomination has received recognition from moderate Muslims and intellectuals in the country. Similarly, their mass organisations like IJABI and ABI which assemble Shi'i communities have gained legal recognition from the state authority. Similarly still, a number of Shi'i Islamic education institution throughout the country have been recognised even though most do not declare their Shi'i identity. Nonetheless, Shi'ism, its adherents, educational institutions, worldviews, and activities have not gained recognition from the majority Sunni community at large. The Council of Indonesian 'ulamā' (MUI) as the government-sponsored religious authority seems to give implicit recognition of Shi'ism although it never issues a fatwa regarding the validity of Shi'ism. It is true that it issued a recommendation in 1984 in which it distinguishes Shi'ism from Sunnism which is adhered to by the majority of Muslim in Indonesia and recommends that Muslims should be aware of the possibility of streams based on the Shi'i teachings. But attempts of anti-Shi'i groups to appeal to the Council for delivering a fatwa on the falsity of Shi'ism and to compaign for the banning of Shi'ism in Indonesia continue.

Therefore, struggles for recognition of Shi'ism include "*struggles over intersubjective norms of mutual recognition*" (Tully 2004:85) and this will be achieved only through dialogue. "Due to the relational character of recognition this consideration holds not only for the members of the minority seeking recognition, but also for the other affected members of the system of governance. Thus, to ensure that a new norm of mutual recognition is acceptable by all, it needs to pass through an inclusive dialogue" (Tully 2004:92). Shi'is, Sunnis, 'ulamā', intellectuals, state authorities, and others should carry out the dialogical

exchange of reasons. In the dialectic process of recognition “the forms of recognition that individuals and groups struggle for are articulated, discussed, altered, reinterpreted and renegotiated in the course of the struggle” (Tully 2004:93) because “there can be no final or perfect state of recognition” (Kompridis 2007:287). This becomes an opportunity as well as a threat for Indonesian Shi‘is and Shi‘i Islamic education.

Education is a very important means of providing the dialogic process of recognition which should involve both Sunnis and Shi‘is and certainly related state authorities to carry out varied constructive efforts. Among others the reformulation of curriculum of religious education is a good start as Ahmad Sahidin (2014)¹¹, alumnus of Sunan Gunung Djati State Islamic University, suggests:

Therefore, the curriculum of Islamic religion in Indonesia should teach the difference in Islamic school of thought. For now, I think the Shi‘i and Sunni denominationalism need to be introduced in more detail. Of course [by] involving experts and ‘ulamā’ in initiating the Islamic education curriculum with this comparative denominational insight. I believe if it is taught in the future it will at least reduce religious conflict, especially among fellow Muslims. Here the Islamic brotherhood will be realised because every Muslim will gain broad Islamic knowledge and understand the differences among Muslims.

Curriculum is only one aspect in the dialogic process of recognition but other elements of education such as teachers, instructional sources, learning processes, and school environments contribute to influence the recognitive process of Shi‘ism. Nevertheless, all these can only be achieved if inclusive religious insights are upheld by religious and state authorities as well as elements of civil society in the country.

Concluding Remarks

The role of education in the struggle to gain recognition of Shi‘ism and to contribute of the formation of Shi‘i identity should not only be limited to formal education but also include informal and non-formal learning. The family and school as important agents of socialisation play a significant role in the reciprocal recognition but they are limited only to children, students, parents, and teachers. The non-formal educational institution, *dakwah*, publishing, mass media, and other institutions may become recognitive space that give a great contribution to processes of recognition and identity

formation because of their much more extensive impact. It should be emphasised that recognition of Shi'ism and its adherents in Indonesia is not only a matter of educational institution but also a matter of religious, legal, and state institution that function in establishing human dignity and honour and in creating social integration and harmony. It also needs to be institutionlised. Therefore, religious and state authorities should take part in creating recognitive space and recognitive process of Shi'ism.

Endnotes

- Parts of this article have been written during my position as a senior research fellow at Centre for Civilisational Dialogue, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur (May–November 2012) to which I am grateful. Most data used in this article are from my PhD thesis which is then published by ANU E Press (Zulkifli 2013).
- 1. For analysis of development of religious education in *hawza 'ilmiyya* of Qum, see Arun Wyramuttoo Rasiah 2007 “The City of Knowledge: The Development of Shi‘i Religious Learning with Particular Attention to the Hawzah ‘Ilmiyah of Qum, Iran” PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, and for the role of *hawza* instruction in the construction of Shi‘i identity, see Khalid Sindawi 2007 “Hawza Instruction and Its Role in Shaping Modern Shiite Identity: The Hawzas of Najaf and Qumm as a Case Study” *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, 6: 831–856.
- 2. See khatamun-nabiiyin.org/program-2 accessed 7 March 2013.
- 3. See yapibangil.org/Lembaga/hauzah-ilmiah-imam-ash-shodiq.as.html accessed 7 March 2013.
- 4. IPABI (Ikatan Pemuda Ahlul Bait Indonesia, Indonesian League of Ahlul Bait Youth) is a Shi‘i foundation in Bogor is not to be confused with IJABI (Ikatan Jamaah Ahlul Bait Indonesia, Indonesian Council of Ahlul Bait Associations) which is the first Shi‘i organization in Indonesia. IPABI itself is more closely related with ABI (Ahlulbait Indonesia), the other Shi‘i organization in Indonesia, rather than IJABI.
- 5. <http://info.ipabionline.com/2011/11/hauzah-ilmiah-amirul-mukminin-dengan-html> accessed 13 March 2013.
- 6. http://staimi.ac.id/?page_id=635 accessed 28 March 2013.
- 7. www.miu.ac.ir
- 8. For the list of colleges, see en.miu.ac.ir/index.aspx?siteid=4&siteid=4&siteid=4&pageid=1295 accessed 26 March 2013.
- 9. Death commemoration at the first, third, seventh, fortieth, hundredth and even thousandth in which certain Qur’anic verses and prayers are recited in congregation.
- 10. *Ratib* is formulae of *dhikr* and prayers formulated by a Sufi teacher. In YAPI the most frequently practiced is *Ratib al-Haddad* which is popular among Arab descendants in Indonesia.
- 11. <http://edukasi.kompasiana.com/2014/01/15/pendidikan-agama-islam-kurikulum-sunni-syiah-mungkinkah-628028.html> 22/4/2014.

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2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din, 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang, 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

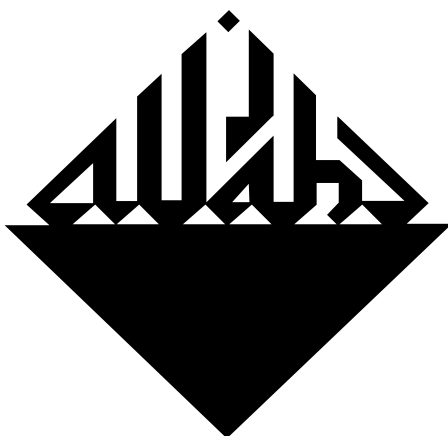
Arabic romanization should be written as follows:

Letters: ' *b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ʿ, gh, f, q, l, m, n, h, w, y*. Short vowels: *a, i, u*. long vowels: *ā, ī, ū*. Diphthongs: *aw, ay*. *Tā marbūṭā*: *t*. Article: *al-*. For detail information on Arabic Romanization, please refer the transliteration system of the Library of Congress (LC) Guidelines.

سعوديا اسلاميا

مجلة إندونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة الحادي والعشرين، العدد ١، ٢٠١٤



الإسلام والقانون والدولة: دراسة في فكر كبي بانغوس هاديكوسومو ودوره

سودارنوتو عبد الحكيم

بمين معهد تيمورايرينج ومدرسة
منبع العلوم: دراسة تاريخية عن نشأة مفهوم
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