



**Resistance to Formal Education of the Sedulur Sikep Kudus
Community (The relevance of Islamic educational values to the
educational values of Sedulur Sikep)**

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Abstract

This study aims to describe the rejection of formal education by the Sedulur Sikep community. This study uses James Scott's theory of resistance to describe the forms and characteristics of resistance to formal education in Sedulur Sikep Kudus. This study employed qualitative research methods with an ethnographic approach to obtain data on community resistance to formal education. The data collection was carried out using interviews, observation, and documentation. The results revealed that the forms of resistance carried out by the Sedulur Sikep Kudus community were closed forms of resistance. It can be interpreted as a conscious rejection of formal education through less systematic procedures. They consistently refuse to engage in formal education due to their commitment to upholding their ancestral traditions and teachings. Also, they harbor doubts about work-oriented formal education. Furthermore, the educational values taught by the Sedulur Sikep community align with Islamic educational values. This study limits its focus on the portrait of the Sedulur Sikep community's rejection of formal education and the relevance of Islamic educational

values to the educational values of Sedulur Sikep Kudus. Consequently, further research is needed to complete this study.

Keywords: Community, Formal Education, Resistance, Sedulur Sikep

A. Introduction

In Indonesia, specifically in Kudus, there is a community that adheres to the beliefs about the teachings of the community. The community lives and mingles with other people in their environment. They call their community the Sedulur Sikep community, also known to other people as the Samin community. The Samin community has been known since the Dutch colonial period as a community that is difficult to control, and there is even a negative stigma in society. Historically, the emergence of the Samin movement was a response aimed at repudiating any form of interference from the Netherlands. The Samin community considered Dutch policies to be inconsistent with their customs. Because the movement with the name "geger samin" was viewed negatively by the Dutch, the community's followers changed their name to Sedulur Sikep (Manijo, 2016, pp. 51–68).

In the context of education, from the beginning, Sedulur Sikep Kudus did not educate their offspring in formal educational institutions. The rejection of formal education was based on the rejection of Dutch policies. Sedulur Sikep's rejection of Dutch domination was shown by rejecting any Dutch policies, namely not paying taxes, not depositing rice into village barns, not participating in village community service, not handing over his yard, and not educating his offspring in formal educational institutions or can be said to refuse formal education (Manijo, 2016). They educate their children in the realm of informal education/family education (pondokan) (Manijo, 2016). Education in the family is also known as boarding or boarding school or known as family education. In the context of Islamic education, the educational values taught by the Sedulur Sikep community are in line with the values of Islamic khuluqiyah education, i.e., values related to good and bad things related to human behavior.

The researchers performed a study on Sedulur Sikep Kudus because there has been a lack of comprehensive research on community education in Sedulur Sikep, and the existing discussion is still partial. Therefore, comprehensive data regarding the educational aspect of the Sedulur Sikep community has yet to be discovered. The researchers searched the results using the keyword "Sedulur Sikep." Most of the research discussed the theme "Sedulur Sikep" in a number of 16 studies with various study focuses. The research studies can be classified as

follows. First, five studies address the topic of marriage (Rosyid & Kushidayati, 2021; Rosyid, 2018a; Dwiwana Achmad Hartanto, 2017; D A Hartanto, 2021; Ceprudin, 2016). Secondly, three studies delve into the topics of religion, beliefs, customs, and traditions (Fauzia & Kahija, 2019; Alamsyah, 2015; Fidiyawati & Ulya, 2019). In the third category, research studies discuss politics, gender, and social society (Fitriyah, 2016; Rosyid, 2018b; Rosyid, 2016; Rosyid, 2020). Fourth, education is the subject of three investigations (Manijo, 2016; Fitriyah, n.d.; Kholiq et al., 2022).

Three of the research published discussing the Sedulur Sikep Kudus above review the education of Sedulur Sikep Kudus “Dinamika Sedulur Sikep Kaliyoso: Geneologi Gerakan dan Diskursus Pendidikan Agama”(Manijo, 2016). The findings of this study describe the religious education system run by Sedulur Sikep. Further research has the theme “Politisasi Pendidikan Agama Bagi Keturunan Sedulur Sikep Dalam Ruang Lembaga Formal di Kudus.” The findings of this study elucidate the policies of the Sedulur Sikep religious education system in formal educational institutions (Fitriyah, n.d.). Another study entitled “The tribal education in Indonesia: Detribalization challenges of Samin tribe” (Kholiq et al., 2022) explains the implementation of SISDIKNAS and the position of minority groups in the national education system. The findings in this study reveal that the national education system in Indonesia is centralized. This system causes educational practices in Indonesia to be discriminatory towards maintaining the cultural identity of the Samin people. The research study also discusses Sedulur Sikep in the formal education system. Based on these research studies, this current research focuses on the consistency of the rejection of Sedulur Sikep Kudus's formal education. Hence, the findings of this study differ from the findings of previous studies.

Presently, although Sedulur Sikep, who resides in Undaan District, Kudus Regency, is familiar with formal education, sending his children to formal educational institutions, part of them consistently reject formal education. This is a unique phenomenon to be studied in more depth regarding the consistent attitude of not attending formal educational institutions in the presence of other Sikep communities whose educational orientation has evolved. Initially, these communities rejected the formal education system and opted for the family/boarding education system, but they are now accepting formal education. This research will disclose the reasons for the rejection of formal education. The Sedulur Sikep community is not specifically addressed in the context of Islamic

education in the objectives of the researchers, as indicated by previous research. Thus, the position of this study is to complement previous studies from the perspective of the relevance of Islamic educational values with the educational values of the Sedulur Sikep community.

B. Method

This research is classified as field research, specifically for data collection, as it was conducted directly in the field. The research locus for this study was the Kudus district to achieve the highest possible results. The selection of the Sedulur Sikep community as the subject of the study was driven by a variety of factors, including the absence of research examining the Sedulur Sikep community from an educational perspective using an ethnographic approach. Ethnography is an empirical and theoretical approach that aims to obtain an in-depth description and analysis of the Sedulur Sikep community. Data collection techniques were carried out through observation, interviews, and documentation (Lexy J Moeloeng, 2019, p. 186). Initial observations were performed by researchers in November 2022, followed by interviews and second observations in May 2023. Interviews were conducted with informants, namely GD. Furthermore, the data analysis technique employed an interactive model consisting of data collection, data reduction, data display, and verification of conclusions (Emzir, 2018, p. 129).

C. Results and Discussion

1. Education

According to Bawani in Khoeroni, Islamic education and education (general) can be simply distinguished by their root words, namely the word education and the word Islam. The characteristic of Islam distinguishes between education in general and education based on Islam. That is what distinguishes the concept of Islamic education from the concept of education in general (Farid Khoeroni, 2017). Islamic education is a learning system that refers to Islamic-based knowledge that has been applied since ancient times. Furthermore, the goal of Islamic education is identical to the Islamic religion. The goal of religion is for humans to have strong beliefs that can be used as a guideline for their lives, namely, to foster a complete personality pattern through various efforts made. This places humans as a whole unity of the world and the hereafter (Achmad Patoni, 2022, p. 1). Islamic education is not a term that combines the words

education and Islam, but rather, the word Islam in Islamic education is a substantive difference between education in general and Islamic education.

In Islamic education, the position of the word Islam as the key in the term, according to Bawani, can be explained as a differentiator from other concepts of Islamic education. In Islamic teachings, there is indeed a concept of Islamic education, so the concept of education that refers to the source of Islamic teachings is Islamic education (Farid Khoeroni, 2017). According to Achmadi in Khoeroni, several terms are used in the meaning of Islamic education. First, *tarbiyah* masdar from *rabba* is of the same root as the word *rabb* (God). Therefore, *tarbiyah*, which means to educate and maintain, is implicit in the term *rabb* (God) as *Rabb Al-Amin* (Farid Khoeroni, 2017). Education in the Qur'an is reflected in QS. An-Nahl: 78 that every human being is born in the world without knowing anything.

وَاللَّهُ أَخْرَجَكُمْ مِنْ بُطُونِ أُمَّهَاتِكُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ شَيْئًا وَجَعَلَ لَكُمُ السَّمْعَ وَالْأَبْصَارَ وَالْأَفْئِدَةَ ۗ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ

Meaning: "Allah brought you out of the wombs of your mothers in a state of not knowing anything, and He made for you hearing, sight and conscience so that you are grateful." (QS. an-Nahl 78)(RI, 2009, p. 275)

In the *Al Misbah*, "Allah brought you out based on the power of Allah and His knowledge from your mother's stomach while you were not tangible, so He can also bring you out from your mother's stomach in a state of not knowing anything that is around you and He made for you namely sight, hearing, as well as the heart as a provision and tools for acquiring knowledge so that you are grateful by using these tools according to God's purpose for bestowing upon you" (Muhammad Quraish Shihab, 2012, p. 672). Knowing something requires a fairly long process. Armed with the senses, humans can develop their potential. Furthermore, knowledge and self-potential can be maximally developed to become a complete human being, one of which is through education.

Furthermore, in *al-Azhar*, it is stated that "when a baby is born into the world from the mother's womb, only tears face the world when we begin to come out of the mother's womb. Not knowing anything other than a gift from Allah, which is called instinct. Cry if you feel cold, hungry, or hot. And He made for you hearing and sight with hearts. Gradually, hearing increases, then sounds are heard, then vision is also developed so that it can distinguish various colors and can see the face of a nursing mother and hearing and seeing are guided by the development of the heart, namely feelings and thoughts. He gradually grows and matures, becomes more and more mature, until it is time to become a person of

noble character, polite, capable of carrying responsibilities from Allah on his shoulders, becoming a perfect human being. To know and know something requires a long process" (HAMKA, n.d., p. 3942). A lengthy procedure is necessary for individuals who are born with the potential to be perfect. Humans are capable of realizing their full potential when they are equipped with the senses. Moreover, education is one of the means by which knowledge and self-potential can be fully realized in order to become a fully grown human.

According to Frederick Mc Donald in *Educational Psychology*, education is defined as a process or an activity that is directed at producing desirable changes in the behavior of human beings (MC Donald Frederick Y., 1959, p. 4). Furthermore, George F. Kneller defines education as the process of self-realization in which the self realizes and develops all its potentialities (Kneller, 1966, p. 14). Next, Skinner defines education as the process of preparing children to live in a society called socialization, and every culture has some plan in harmony with its religious, moral, economic, and other values for accomplishing this goal (Skinner, 1958, p. 3). Education can also be interpreted as a conscious and planned effort to create a learning atmosphere and learning process so that students can actively develop their potential (RI, 2003). From several definitions of education, it can be concluded that education is something urgent for humankind and requires a process and a plan.

In the context of providing education, there are three systems of providing education in Indonesia. Education is not limited to one formal activity, but educational activities are held in various variants. In Indonesia, there is a categorization of education administration. Based on the educational path, there are three education delivery channels, namely formal education, non-formal education, and informal education. Formal education is a structured and tiered education path consisting of basic-level education, secondary-level education, and higher-level education. Non-formal education is a path of education outside of formal education that can be carried out in a structured and tiered manner, meaning that it is not tiered and structured. Meanwhile, informal education is a path of family and environmental education. In the context of *Sedulur Sikep*, it is called boarding school/family education (RI, 2003).

Moreover, the level of education is the stages in education that have been determined based on the level of development of students, the abilities developed, and the goals to be achieved. In Article 14, formal education consists of education at the elementary, middle, and high levels (RI, 2003). Next, the type of education is

a group based on the specificity of the educational goals of an educational unit. In Article 15, types of education include general, vocational, academic, professional, vocational, religious, and special education (RI, 2003). Categorization in education (educational route, education level, and type of education) can be pursued by the community according to its regional character, including the community/society of Sedulur Sikep Kudus. In the context of Sedulur Sikep Kudus, the education that has been carried out so far is the category of informal education.

2. Community

The term community can be translated into terms of "local community," which represents villagers, towns, and tribes (Soerjono, 2019, p. 130). People who live in permanent residence usually have a bond of solidarity and are strong influence by the unity in which they live (Soerjono, 2019, p. 131). The term community is used to refer to a group or collection of individuals because of certain motives, and they will have the same feelings and the same solidarity. In the community context, to strengthen Sedulur Sikep's community theory, the focus will be on the characteristics of rural communities. Residents of rural communities have a close relationship with their life system, usually living in groups based on the family system (Nasdian, 2014, p. 6). Furthermore, they are united through the same point of view and the same ideology.

In the community, there are primary needs that must be met: the need for clothing and food, the need for safety of life and property, the need for self-esteem, the need to develop human potential, and the need for fulfillment of affection (Soerjono, 2019, p. 125). These primary needs are needs that must be met because they are related to the survival of the community. One of the community's primary needs is the need to develop one's potential. Indirectly, the community needs a place to develop self-potential. It can be concluded that the community needs education to develop self-potential. One of the potential self-development is through education.

The Sedulur Sikep community in Kudus historically cannot be separated from the Sedulur Sikep community in other areas, such as Blora and Pati. Historically, the Sedulur Sikep community developed in Ploso Kediren Village, Randublatung Blora. Driven by a character named Ki Samin Surosentiko in 1890 with the name of the movement "Samin Commotion" (Samiyono, 2010), the Samin community spread to various areas outside the Randublatung area, namely Rembang in 1906, Jiwan Idamun in 1908, Grobogan in 1911, Ponorogo, Tuban,

Nganjuk, Lamongan, arrived in Banyuwangi 1917, and Kudus 1916 (Ismail, 2012). Currently, it still exists and mingles with the community in Undaan District Karangrowo, to be precise.

3. Resistance

Examining and uncovering the roots of the Sedulur Sikep community's resistance to formal education, the researcher will use the study of resistance theory initiated by James Scott. The study of resistance expressed by James Scott is very complex because it relates the proletariat to the upper classes. James Scott describes in detail the resistance of weak minority communities who face landowners and the government. In the context of the Sedulur Sikep community, James Scott's theory is very relevant for analyzing the occurrence of resistance to formal education.

James C. Scott's resistance is divided into two types, seen from the nature and characteristics of someone who makes open resistance and closed resistance. Resistance is divided into two types, namely open and closed resistance.

a. Open Resistance

Open resistance is a form of resistance that can be observed concretely, and there is direct communication between the two disputing parties (Susilowati, 2018, pp. 1–11). Four characteristics indicate open resistance, including the following: a) tangible resistance according to the prevailing system, organized between one party and another and working together; b) there is an impact of change (revolutionary consequences) in the movement that can affect survival; c) be rational by focusing on the interests of many people; d) aims to eliminate acts of domination and oppression of the ruling class (James C. Scott, 2000, p. 17).

b. Closed Resistance

Closed resistance is a form of resistance carried out by someone through a less systematic procedure. Closed resistance tends to refer to a slow movement of resistance, taking into account the form of resistance, the achievements obtained, and the determination of individual attitudes in organizing the will and ability to put up a fight (Susilowati, 2018, pp. 1–11). Furthermore, Scott explained that there are four characteristics of closed resistance, including resistance that occurs irregularly, resistance that is not organized, resistance that is individual, and resistance that does not contain the impact of change (James C. Scott, 2000, p. 17). In this current study, the theory of resistance was used to analyze the rejection of

the educational formalization of the Sedulur Sikep Kudus community to find classifications, categories, and factors of rejection.

The Sedulur Sikep community, in the context of formal education, can be classified into two, namely the Sedulur Sikep, who refuses formal education and the Sedulur Sikep, who receives formal education. Soerjono Soekanto detailed the factors causing change and the factors hindering change in society. The factors that cause a change in society can be explained in several factors, namely, contact with other cultures, an advanced education system, tolerance for deviant acts, an open system of society, a heterogeneous population, and the value of increasing living standards (Soerjono, 2019, p. 285). Meanwhile, the factors that hinder the occurrence of change can be explained in several factors, namely the lack of relations with other communities, the slow development of science, the traditionalist attitude of society, the existence of very strongly entrenched interests, the fear of shakiness in cultural integration, prejudice against new and foreign, ideological barriers, and habits (Soerjono, 2019, p. 285).

4. Sedulur Sikep's Resistance to Formal Education

In the context of the rejection of formal education, the resistance currently being practiced by the Sedulur Sikep Community is a closed form of resistance. It is not organized, as has been the case with GN and his family in their rejection of formal education. According to James Scott's resistance classification, the rejection that has been practiced in a limited scope and is individual is an unorganized one. Unsystematic procedures are a form of rejection of an individual. The Sedulur Sikep community shares certain characteristics in its rejection of formal education:

a. The occurrence is irregular due to the fact that formal education is currently unavailable in a limited context. Many individuals in the Sedulur Sikep community no longer engage in this practice.

b. Disorganized, a shift toward receiving formal education in Sedulur Sikep resulted in a small number of other communities that rejected formal education (family circle).

The rejection of formal education by GN, a member of the Sedulur Sikep community who continues to consistently reject it, is further substantiated by the data from interviews. "Meanwhile, Wong Sikep does not attend school (formal school); if he attends a formal school, that means he is not a Sedulur Sikep" (Interview GD, n.d., p. November 2022). According to GN Nawari Ismail, not going to school in a formal educational institution is one of the identities that Sedulur

Sikep wants to maintain (Ismail, 2012, p. 104). Consistency in rejecting formal education is a form of desire to maintain the teachings of Sikep from their ancestors.

Even though they consistently reject formal education, it does not mean they do not consider the importance of education. An interview with GN revealed that “education is related to manners taught at home, known as family education” (Interview GD, n.d., p. May 2023). This agrees with the definition of education, namely efforts to increase the growth and development of character, mind, and body to achieve perfection in life, in this case, is interpreted as a life that is in harmony with one's life (Dewantara, 2013, pp. 14–15). Meanwhile, according to Ibn Khaldun, the purpose of education is the happiness of the world and the hereafter (Khaldun, 1994, p. XI). Education is a process that has the goal of increasing and giving birth to human potential.

The importance of education for the Sedulur Sikep community can be illustrated from observations, and researchers found data that in the house of one of the Sedulur Sikep communities named GD, there is a whiteboard (learning facility), which is used as a means of learning to read to his grandchildren. In terms of fulfilling education, the Sedulur Sikep community organizes its boarding school education or family education. This family education model has been carried out for many years and persists today.

Referring to the principle of organizing education, education is organized for citizens by developing a culture of reading, writing, and arithmetic (RI, 2003). Meanwhile, the activities carried out by the Sedulur Sikep community are in the category of organizing education. All Indonesian citizens, in fact, have the right to get a proper education and have the right to determine the type of education according to their regional characteristics. Through forms of formal, non-formal and informal education, people have the right to obtain and determine their education for themselves personally and for the community in their environment.

In its implementation, formal and non-formal education in Indonesia is regulated by law to meet basic human needs. Humans are individual beings who live together with other individuals in their social groups. Social interaction is naturally established with other humans. In this social interaction, life skills are needed to meet basic human needs; to fulfill them, humans need education. Further, the function of education for humans is divided into two, namely micro functions and macro functions. The micro function is to consciously assist in the occurrence of physical and spiritual development. The function of education in a

macro function is self-development that leads to love for others and the environment, development of arts and culture, and self-development to become good citizens (Amos Neolaka, 2017, p. 17). Education is the most basic human need that man himself must fulfill. The function of national education is to develop capabilities and develop human potential (RI, 2003).

The reason Sedulur Sikep persisted in rejecting formal education was that they wanted to preserve the teachings of their ancestors, who had rejected formal education from the start. Also, there is doubt about the purpose of education being interpreted narrowly as only finding a job. Based on the results of interviews with GD, it is conveyed that “they believe that the ancestors have equipped and choose jobs. Today's generation, schools in formal educational institutions aim to get a job” (Interview GD, n.d., p. May 2023).

Factors that hindered Sedulur Sikep's change so that they persisted in rejecting formal education include prejudice against innovation (Soerjono, 2019, p. 285). Based on data interview: “people who do not go to school, for example, Sedulur Sikep. Ever heard of them brawling (fighting)? School children brawling (fighting) because they are not equipped with manners” (Interview GD, n.d., p. May 2023). This view is an attitude that shows a form of skepticism and doubt about new things. Doubt about new things is an attitude that blocks change.

The desire to maintain the traditions of the ancestors is also one of the factors that hinder change. There is a very strong desire, coupled with a fear of faltering cultural integration, to prevent changes in society (Soerjono, 2019, p. 285). “When Sedulur Sikep goes to formal school, it means that they are no longer called Sedulur Sikep” (Interview GD, n.d., p. November 2022). The interpretation of no longer being a part of Sedulur Sikep is a form of worry that something will happen, shaking integration and causing a change in certain aspects of society.

5. The relevance of Islamic educational values to the educational values of Sedulur Sikep

The values of Islamic education consist of three pillars, namely the values of I'tiqodiyah, Khuluqiyah, and amaliyah values. The values of I'tiqodiyah are related to faith, and the values of khuluqiyah are associated with teachings about good and bad things concerning human behavior (Bekti Taufiq Ari Nugroho, 2017). If human behavior is shown with good behavior, it can be said to be in accordance with the values of khuluqiyah. In addition, the meanings contained in the words Tarbiyyah,

Ta'dib, and Ta'lim reflect the morals within them. Morals are important in Islamic education because they have a vital role in shaping character.

Meanwhile, the educational values taught by the Sedulur Sikep community are the values taught by Samin Surosentiko. His followers still maintain these values. Samin's followers, in certain conditions, experience social transformation. However, Sedulur Sikep still maintains the teachings of Samin. The Sedulur Sikep community still adheres to Samin's teachings about rejecting formal education. They still maintain the boarding school education system by teaching the values of the teachings. Samin's teachings include *ojo drengki* (do not be jealous), *ojo srei* (do not be greedy), *ojo panasten* (do not be easily offended), *ojo dakwen* (do not accuse without evidence), *ojo kemeren* (do not be jealous), *ojo pethil jumput* (do not take other people's belongings), *ojo bedhok colong* (do not steal), and *ojo gawe rugi awak liyan* (do not harm others). The teachings of Samin are still held firmly by the Sedulur Sikep Kudus community.

The educational values of Sedulur Sikep Kudus are relevant to the values of Islamic education in several ways. The three values of Islamic education are the values of *I'tiqodiyah*, *Khuluqiyah*, and *amaliyah*. While the values of *I'tiqodiyah* are related to faith, the values of *khuluqiyah* are related to teachings about good and bad things concerning human behavior. Of the three values of Islamic education, the values that are relevant to the values of Islamic education are educational values related to *khuluqiyah* values, which are related to good and bad things. Good behavior can shape human personality. The values of education taught by the Sedulur Sikep community are *ojo drengki* (do not envy), *ojo srei* (do not be greedy), *ojo panasten* (do not be easily offended), *ojo dakwen* (do not accuse without proof), *ojo kemeren* (do not be jealous), *ojo pethil jumput* (do not take other people's property), *ojo bedok colong* (do not steal), and *ojo gawe rugi awak liyan* (do not harm others), in which these values are in line with the values of Islamic education.

D. Conclusion

The form of resistance carried out by Sedulur Sikep to reject formal education is a closed form of resistance. Closed resistance can be interpreted as a conscious rejection of formal education through less systematic procedures. In addition, the education carried out by Sedulur Sikep Kudus internalizes the teachings of Sedulur Sikep in his life. Sedulur Sikep's main education is boarding school education (family education) as a form of maintaining the heritage of

Sedulur Sikep, preserving the educational teachings of the ancestors of Sedulur Sikep. The values of education taught by the Sedulur Sikep community include ojo drengki (do not envy), ojo srei (do not be greedy), ojo panasten (do not be easily offended), ojo dakwen (do not accuse without proof), ojo kemeren (do not be jealous), ojo pethil jumput (do not take other people's property), ojo bedok colong (do not steal), and ojo gawe rugi awak liyan (do not harm others), and these values are in line with the values of Islamic education.

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