



Pesantren, Pecinan and Multicultural Education: A Qualitative Case Study of Kauman Pesantren, Lasem, Central Java

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis nilai-nilai pendidikan multikultur di pondok pesantren. Studi ini secara spesifik mengidentifikasi nilai dan praktek multikultur dalam pengarusutamaan spirit moderasi Islam pendidikan di pondok pesantren yang berdiri di masyarakat Pecinan. Pendidikan multikultur dapat berfungsi menguatkan kembali integrasi sosial yang sempat terkoyak akibat politik identitas dan tindakan intoleran. Pesantren Kauman adalah salah satu pesantren yang mewarisi tradisi pesantren tua atau *salaf* di kota Lasem. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini mengacu kepada teori dinamika sosial yang dikemukakan oleh Piotr Sztompk khususnya terkait dinamika pesantren dan teori wawasan kebangsaan serta multikultural. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosiologis. Hasil penelitian ini menitik beratkan kepada dua aspek pembentukan nilai pendidikan multikultur di pondok pesantren kaumna yakni aspek pembentukan heterogenitas santri dan lingkungan lasem secara historis hingga adanya Pecinan, dan aspek nilai yang meliputi; nilai kebangsaan (*Wathaniyah*), nilai *ikramul dhuyuf*, nilai kemasyarakatan (*ijtima'iyah*), dan nilai *jam'iyah*.

Kata Kunci: Pendidikan Multikultur, Pesantren Kauman, Moderasi Beragama, Pesantren Multikultur, Kawasan Pecinan

Abstract

This study aims to analyze the values of multicultural education in Pesantren Kuman. More specifically, it identifies multicultural values and practices in mainstreaming the spirit of moderate Islamic in a pesantren located in a Chinese neighborhood. It is believed that multicultural education can strengthen social integration which is caused

by identity politics and intolerant actions. The Kauman Islamic Boarding School is one of the pesantren that has inherited the tradition of the old pesantren or salaf in Lasem. The theory used in this study refers to the theory of social dynamics proposed by Piotr Sztompk, especially related to the dynamics of pesantren and the idea of national and multicultural insight. The method used in this research is qualitative with a sociological approach. The results of this study focus on two aspects of forming the value of multicultural education in the Islamic boarding school of Kauman, namely the element of the formation of heterogeneity of students and the historical environment of the Lasem until the existence of Chinatown, and the aspect of values which include; national values (Wathaniyah), Ikramul dhuyuf values, social values (ijtima'iyah), (4) jam'iyah values.

Keywords: *Multicultural Education, Kauman Islamic Boarding School, Moderation of Religion, Multicultural values, Pecinan.*

INTRODUCTION

Globalization does not simply bring consequences such as knowledge and advanced technological product, but also values that likely do not always align to specific local culture and context. Transnational-religious values, which prioritized symbolic-formalistic practices rather than the substance of religious teachings, are represented as examples in this regard. Accordingly, resistance and clash frequently between both different values (Maarif, 2018).

Recently, the politics of identity and literal understanding of religion in Indonesia emerged more intensively which to some extent influenced socio-political relations in society, both internally (similar religious believers) and externally (different religious believers) even disturbs social harmony. On a wider scale, it might create blind fanaticism, hypocrisy, and strong resistance to the democratic state paradigm among the followers. Such an approach of understanding, which can also be defined as formalistic-textualist understanding, might encourage the followers to act violently and intolerantly. Furthermore, it could lead to the rejection of state consensus such as the rejection of Pancasila as the basis of the state, opposing the application of democratic principles in political decision-making as the 1945 Constitution mandated.

Inevitably, religious fundamentalism has become a public concern and needs to resolve. To response the phenomenon, the authority introduced some provisions aiming at strengthening the religious harmony, namely 18/2020 Presidential Regulation (Perpres) concerning the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) of 2020-

2024 and the 7/2021 Presidential Regulation concerning the National Action Plan for the Prevention of Violent Extremism that leads to terrorism (Azis and Anam, 2021).

Previous studies investigated the way specific religious groups expressed their beliefs in this country. In 2011 *Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian* (LaKIP) surveyed the religious perceptions and understanding among students of public schools surrounding Jakarta. Students of 100 junior and senior high schools took part in this study. The result showed that 48.9 % of the respondents agreed to radical acts as a means to implement religious beliefs (Humas, 2011). Another survey by PPIM entitled "*Pelita yang Meredup: Potret Keberagamaan Guru Indonesia*" (literary means The Dimming light: a common feature of Indonesian teachers' religiosity) represented the responses among 2,237 Islamic teachers in 34 provinces to the similar issue. Based on the findings, PPIM categorized the participants' mindsets into intolerant (57%) and very intolerant (10%). Furthermore, still related to the finding of this study, 50.87% of the participants supported the use of radical acts to implement their religious teachings (Azhari & Ghozali, 2019).

Other studies also revealed that a similar phenomenon occurred among students in public and religious universities. The research and community service institute from Indonesian Nahdlatul Ulama University (LPPM UNUSIA) conducted an inquiry in Central Java and DIY in 2019 investigating similar issues. The findings indicated that even though HTI had been dissolved by the government, the mindset of 'exclusive Islamic movement' was incorporated deeply among the students. Such perspective is disseminated through activities conducted by students' organizations (Dwi Astono, 2019).

The phenomenon of radicalization in Indonesia is escalated into several Islamic boarding schools, later on, started as pesantren. In February 2016, the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) reported that there were 19 pesantren in some provinces had been exposed to radicalism. Another report, produced by Tempo magazine (4–10 July 2016), revealed that at least 19 pesantren showing similar indication, i.e. exposed to radicalism, which has spread in Jakarta, Serang, Cirebon, Ciamis, Cilacap, Selo, Lamongan, Aceh, Makassar, Poso and North Lombok (Admin, 2016). They weighed on jihadist doctrine, which rejected to accept democracy, and Pancasila as the state's foundation was the main feature developed in those pesantrens.

Many cases of violence are carried out by jihadist groups to intervene in freedom of expression. Seemingly, intolerant behavior and anti-pluralism become the common image of those who support the jihadist ideology.

The exposure to radical-fundamentalist ideologies among youth generations is perceived as a serious threat to national integration. Moreover, it is likely to endanger social harmony in the future. Because diversity and pluralism are the main pillars for the establishment of a nation because it is widely accepted that the acceptance of diversity would be the main element for the establishment of a state. In this regard, pesantren, in addition to *tarekat*, has played a major role in the spread of friendly Islam in the country for centuries (Lombard, 2005). The most notable feature from pesantren was the accommodative approach accepting local culture caused the indigenous people to accept the prophetic message that was conveyed by the early Islamic preachers in the transitional era (14th century, from Hindu-Buddhist to Islam) without creating significant turmoil or clash among grass-root level.

The practices implemented among pesantren, which introduced Islamic teachings and practiced in a moderate way of interpretation, are regarded as a crucial element in countering the spread of radical and jihadist ideologies. More practically, the implementation of the multicultural education model in pesantren can re-build the social integration which was torn apart by identity politics and intolerant acts among communities. In this context, the involvement of pesantren, with their spirit of moderation in conducting the educational activities using a multicultural perspective, has strengthened their role in promoting peace and harmony in the future.

This study was conducted in Kauman pesantren, Lasem Central Java. The pesantren does not just conduct the teaching-learning activities for their santri, as it was practiced from the beginning by the founding father of the pesantren, like in many conventional pesantrens conducted in general. Furthermore, the pesantren encouraged the *santri* to be directly involved in community life in general. It is notably accepted that Kauman pesantren has maintained its warm relations with *Pecinan*, which is the area of the Chinese community. The pesantren has held a 'cultural gathering' for about 5 years participated by surrounding people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. It is a good experience which is relatively rare to find across pesantren in general since the gathering is usually followed by Muslims. Accordingly, I argued that

Kauman pesantren played a significant role (even as a role model) to promote multicultural-approach practices in their educational process in the purpose of mainstreaming the moderate way of religious practices and respecting diversity among the community.

The study about pesantren in Indonesia is not something new. Dirdjosanjoto (1999), van Bruinessen (2004), and Tan (2014) were among those who investigated pesantren from academic discourse with different angles and focus. Those studies examined the common pattern and orientations of pesantren in Indonesia. However, seemingly the empirical studies which connect pesantren and multicultural education discourse are rare, and therefore would be the interest of this research.

METHODOLOGICAL NARRATIVES

It is previously mentioned above that study problematizes pesantren to multicultural education in Kauman pesantren. More specifically, to identify the multicultural values incorporated and practiced in the pesantren and their relevance to promoting peaceful Islam (moderate Islam).

The qualitative method is applied in this study, more specifically the sociological approach. It means the writer conducted an in-depth investigation of a social phenomenon in particular the practice of multicultural values in the research site (i.e. Kauman pesantren), then analyzed using the theory of social act structure developed by Durkheim. Considering the object of study, which refers to specific events and cases, and it focuses on non-survey methods, the study can be categorized into a case study (Yin, 2013). In this context, the subject of the study was Kauman pesantren which is located in the *Pecinan* neighborhood, Lasem Central Java.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Dynamic of Pesantren

Sztompka (2014) argued that social dynamics explained the changes that occurred in society regarding mindset, organizations, institutions, values, social stratification, structures, and practices on the large scale. Hence, changes have something to do with social dynamics. The dynamics of social institutions (for example

pesantren) are represented within their persistent identity which sooner or later will change from time to time (Azis, 2006). In this regard, pesantren is one example of persistent identity and is frequently required to meet the needs of the surrounding community. Otherwise, the community will leave them as the institution fail to meet the expectations of society. Community members expect that pesantren can play the role of strengthening people's understanding of religious teaching as indicated in Quranic exegesis, hadith, Islamic astronomy, linguistic, morals, law, and such. As time goes by, changes occurred in pesantren due to the expectations of society and the demands of social dynamic. Dhofier claims that since the 1950s the role of pesantren among the community has changed significantly including the pedagogical activities there. The establishment of formal schools and Islamic schools across the country by the government is also another important point in the development of pesantren (Admin, 1982). Prasodjo, et al, (1982) suggests that pesantren developed to meet the demands and expectation of the community, previously simply providing religious-based materials into more complex educational institutions. Initially, activities in the pesantren were conducted in the Kyai's house or small mosque. As the demand and expectation of community, some pesantren now expanded into a more modern approach of its management by establishing formal schools from elementary school until higher education with advanced facilities and infrastructure such as libraries, language center, multimedia laboratories, student economic center, sports venues, and such. In addition to changing into the modern one, some of them keep maintaining the traditional mode of learning (called *salafiyah*) as they had from the earlier period they established.

Historical Narratives of Kauman Pesantren

Historically, in 2001 Kyai Zaim, the founder of the pesantren, bought a house from a Chinese who claimed that for a specific reason he only would sell the house to Kyai Zaim. Then, it was the 27th day of fasting month in 1424 H when Kiai Ahmad Zaim started to conduct an informal gathering attended by people in his neighborhood. At that moment he read classical works (called *Kitab Kuning*) to celebrate the *Lailatul Qadar* (which is the moment when Qoran was revealed). It was also aimed that all attendants would be blessed in their life and more importantly in learning religious materials (Maksum, 2021). The name Kauman is attributed to the name of the village

where the pesantren was established i.e. Kauman, Karangturi, Lasem, Rembang. It was a common practice to use the name of a village when a certain figure wanted to establish pesantren.

Kauman pesantren aimed at preparing the *santri* to become *ummatan wasathan* (people with moderate mindset) to the textual and contextual religious teaching (*qauliyyah-kauniyyah*). To distinguish their characteristics from other pesantren, Kauman pesantren introduced the *santri* to technology, in addition to religious teaching as other pesantren provided. Therefore, the vision is to prepare *santri* to possess a strong belief in God and His law, to truly believe in monotheism, to have noble morals, to be knowledgeable, and to master science & technology under the slogan of "*basthatan fil al ilmi wa al jism*" (strong in both intellectual and physical).

THE INFLUENTIAL FACTORS FOR INCORPORATING MULTICULTURAL VALUES IN THE KAUMAN PESANTREN

The Origin of The *Santri* and Respecting Diversity

Kauman pesantren played its role in educating the young generation about religious beliefs and materials approximately for sixteen years when this study is conducted. Now, there are about 350 *santri* stay in the pesantren on the daily basis, consisting of 200 females and 150 males. Most of them, around 50%, come from Central Java, while the rest are from East-West Java, Kalimantan, Sumatra, Riau, Lampung, Palembang, and Bali, which of course represented different ethnic backgrounds such as Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Betawinese, and Chinese. It indicated the heterogeneity among *santri* in the Kauman pesantren. This fact, as stated by the Kyai, KH. Zaim Ahmad, as follows:

"Heterogenitas *santri* itu tidak terbatas kepada suku dari madura, sunda, jawa, Betawi bahkan heterogenitas *santri* ini sampai kepada latar belakang sosial, budaya, pendidikan, ekonomi, bahkan kemampuan masing-masing yang berbeda-beda. Heterogenitas *santri* ini bermuara kepada satu icon yang dicontoh dan ditiru, yakni kiai. Heterogenitas dan pluralitas *santri* yang beragam itu bisa diarahkan kepada icon yang satu, kiai (pen. sebagai pengasuh pesantren). Hal ini merupakan karakteristik pesantren yang memadukan antara pendidikan dan pengajaran" (Gus Zaim:2021)

[The heterogeneity of the students is not limited to ethnic groups such as Madurese, Sundanese, Javanese, Betawinese, but also social, cultural, educational, economic, and cognitive backgrounds. The heterogeneity of this santri leads to an icon that is imitated and becomes a model, namely the Kiai. The heterogeneity and plurality of the diverse santri can be directed to one icon, the Kyai (pen. as the caretaker of the pesantren). This is a characteristic of pesantren which combines education and teaching].

It is also interesting to observe the variations of the way that santri with different backgrounds live their life in the pesantren. Those who come from farmers and fishermen who live in rural areas seemed to be slightly different compared to those from a family with formal occupations such as army force, government officers, constructors, entrepreneurs, and factory workers.

In terms of cultural interaction, santri engaged with Chinese tradition which has been incorporated in the Kauman village for years. It was regarded as the best chance for them to directly implement the tolerant values in daily life; living together, respecting one another. Inevitably, santri in the Kauman pesantren were called santri pecinan (Chinese santri). Kiai Zaim stated that living together in the same place with the common practices directed by Kyai in turn then constructed a positive character among santri, which is they can live in harmony. Expectedly, this practice that they should bring home when they live in a community with diversity as the Kyai has given them a concrete example on daily basis during in the pesantren (Maksum, 2021).

The Diverse Neighborhood

Administratively, Kauman, where the pesantren was founded by one of the descendants (*dzurriyah*) of Ki Joyo Tirto, is part of the territory of Karangturi "Chinatown" Village, Lasem, Rembang Regency, Central Java. The village has a very typical feature compared to other villages in the areas. The common feature of the neighborhood in Lasem is the middle -eastern style of houses because of the vast number of people inherited from Arabia (or middle eastern countries in general) who live in the area. Unlike Lasem, the majority of the residents in Kauman were of Chinese descent.

The establishment of Karangturi as a Chinese area has a very long narrative history. Several Chinese travelers arrived in Lasem approximately two centuries before

the arrival of Admiral Cheng Ho. Chinese males who expanded around the 11th century to the ports of the northern area of Java were mostly traders. Assimilation occurred in the area as those traders then married local women and stayed permanently. Most of them lived in an area closed to the *Babagan* river (Hantinoto, 2015). After that, it was recorded that in 1413 Admiral Cheng Ho with a number of his ship crews visited Majapahit. When they arrived in Lasem one of his crews, *Bi Nang Oen*, asked him to stay in the port city, particularly Karangturi and did not participate in the further travel with the crews.

Since then Karangturi has been very well-known as the destination for tourism especially due to the Lasem's heritage. Among those destinations are the great mosque and the grave of *Mbah Sambu* and *Mbah Srimpet*. In addition, the graves of Kauman pesantren's Kyai and the buildings inherited by the old Chinese period in the area are also other attractive destinations (Admin, 2018). The physical characteristic of the Karangturi Chinatown area is in the form of ancient housing representing the Chinese buildings that can also be represented in the village gate. When entering the area, visitors immediately encounter an ancient style of buildings with high walls. On each door was written a Chinese script with lantern decorations that beautified the house.

In the neighborhood area, visitors can find any religious buildings for the various believers. A kind of Chinese pagoda called Poo An Kiong, the place for Confucian believers to perform prayer and worshipping, was also found. Local people frequently conducted performances and religious rituals. In addition, there are 2 mosques and 7 langgar (a kind of small mosque) for Moslems, 2 churches for Christians, one temple for Hinduism, and 1 monastery for Buddhists. According to the 2021 statistical board (BPS) based on religious affiliation, there are 2,020 Moslems, 160 Christians, 122 Catholics, 9 Hindus, and 24 Buddhists (Rembang, 2021).

Based on the explanation mentioned above, due to the diversity in Karangturi, I will argue that Karangturi represented a multicultural village. The multicultural characteristics showed in the area does not only concern the religious beliefs and cultural symbols and identity, but also in terms of social and economic stratification, educational, and historical backgrounds. Each element of community members has contributed to maintaining harmony among existing diversity.

Multicultural Values Promoted in The Kauman Pesantren

Multicultural values are deeply implemented in the educational practices, historical narratives, and daily life of Kauman pesantren and its neighborhood.

Nationalism values (Wathaniyah values)

Historically, it is narrated that Kauman pesantren has associated with the war against the Dutch during the colonization era, known for the Lasem war. The war was led by a pesantren leader, Ki Joyo Tirta also known as Kiai Ali Baidhowi from the Puri Kawak area. Other prominent figures who were also famous for leading the war were Adipati Oei Ing Kiat (Widyaningrat) and a Javanese aristocratic figure, Raden Panji Margono. As Kyai Zaim suggested that the collaborative act among community members from diverse backgrounds to fight against the Dutch showed that they had a common consciousness about the importance of fight those who colonized this country. In particular for the pesantren community Lasem war was perceived as *jihad fi sabilillah*, a holy war against non-believers, and it was the best moment to actuate the spirit of *hubbul wathan* (loving the homeland) as part of faith. In the colonial era, the spirit was to repel colonialism, but in the period of independence, the spirit of love for the homeland can transform to maintain unity and collectivism for the sake of nationalism.

In the Kauman pesantren, the nationalism value (*wathoniyah*) led them to respect diversity among communities implemented in the full acceptance of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the state foundation and bring it into real life. Daily, Kyai gave concrete examples, *qudwah hasanah* (providing a good example), and *tsafaqoh* (compassion) rather than verbal instructions. Kyai also determined that any different paradigm contradictory to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution had no chance to develop in pesantren. It was aimed to ensure that santri were not exposed to any radical and extreme mindset such as liberal and transnational religious ideology.

Pesantren Values (Ma'hadiyah)

Ikramul Dhuyuf is the core value of the pesantren in this regard. The term "*Ikramul dhuyuf*" in the context of multicultural education embedded among Kauman pesantren communities is defined as an effort to appreciate and respect people in the

neighborhood as an integral part of a shared community. It does not consider differences in beliefs, educational and socio-economic backgrounds. More importantly, appreciation is expressed in purpose maintaining harmony in living together, not to force people to show obedience as a return.

The main points for practicing multicultural values are appreciation and respect concerning different cultural practices belonging to others in the neighborhood. It was one of Kyai's strategies to incorporate multiculturalism among the students (*santri*). Sociologically, the value of "*ikramul dhuyuf*" is categorized as a social mechanism that strengthens social integration to maintain diversity, so that the dynamics do not lead to destruction and clash and endanger the mutual traits among community members.

Collectivism Values (Ijtima'iyah)

Koh Jin coffee shop (Javanese: *warung kopi*) was the place for people from different backgrounds in the neighborhood to meet and chat on daily basis. They informally talked one to another about any issues including religious ceremonies and celebrations. It is a common practice in coffee shops. *Santri* frequently joined the chat while enjoying the coffee.

In the context of social relations, *warung* is treated as the place where they can revive interaction habits (*srawung*) among people from various backgrounds in the neighborhood. In turn, then *srawung* strengthened the emotional bond among them and build a respectful value one to another. The local practices, say it as local wisdom, constructed and built among *santri* through such interaction with local communities. In this regard, Kyai also promoted the values of *rukun*, another important value to maintain social harmony and productive life concerning building community dialectics. The purpose of implementing multicultural education is considered successful if it has a direct impact on the harmony of life in the neighborhood. The agreed measurable indication is the formation of an open social dialectic process and ensuring mutual harmony. Kyai Zaim stated:

"*Santri* itu ditekankan untuk meyakini bahwa ajaran agamanya adalah ajaran yang paling benar, karena sebagai orang yang beragama tentu konsep awal beragama adalah meyakini bahwa agamanya adalah agama yang paling benar. Seorang Muslim meyakini bahwa agamanya adalah yang paling benar yang tidak boleh adalah menunjuk agama yang lain salah. Maka di sini letak pembeda antara

keyakinan dan dialektika bermasyarakat atau cara berinteraksi sosial yang dapat memunculkan ketentraman dan kedamaian adalah tatanan sosial atau dialektika bermasyarakat yang benar." (Maksum, 2021)

[Santri must believe that their religion is the most correct one because as a religious person, the fundamental concept of religion is to believe that their religion is the truest. However, even though they claimed that his /her religion is the most correct, they should not condemn that others are wrong. This is crucial in social interaction to make sure that their religion brings themselves and the community peaceful and harmonious lives as proper social dialectic.

Kauman pesantren introduced the santri with *tepo seliro* value, something like tolerance, which is an important element to create and maintain social harmony. Moreover, *tepo selira* is a social ethic that is closely related to the culture of *srawung*, and functions to maintain social balance. It also aimed at proving the establishment of the pesantren in Karangturi is not a kind of threat for those whose different religious beliefs. As one of the social institutions pesantren plays a significant role in building collectivism among communities with "colorful" cultures. Furthermore, social institutions seem to have the potentials to create social conduct in specific communities. It also aims at encouraging communities to consider something they have not yet known before. A previous study indicated that the implementation of *tepo selira* succeeded to strengthen the sense of tolerance of students (Andayani, 2013).

Another value instilled among santri in Kauman is *roan*, i.e. santri collaborated with community members to accomplish specific duties. In bahasa we literally called it *gotong royong*. The concrete examples of roan were; Santri of the pesantren mowing the lawn all over the village area and houses of the neighborhood, including those belonging to Chinese people. Then, santri also participated in Ronda, a kind of activity usually during the evening to maintain the security among the neighborhood from any disaster such as fire, theft, and robber. All community members should take turns to do so in their neighborhood. In addition, pesantren and all members of the community help one another when each has *hajatan* for example wedding ceremonies, religious gatherings, and such.

The Value of Nahdlatul Ulama (Jam'iyah Nahdliyyah)

Genealogically, Kauman pesantren is publicly associated with *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU). The founder of the pesantren, Kyai Zaim Ahmad, was the grandson of KH Maksum, one of the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Secondly, most classical works referred and taught in the pesantren ideologically affiliated with the *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah*, the school of thought followed by this organization such as *Hujjah Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* written by Kiai Ali Maksum Krapyak Yogyakarta and *Risalah Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* written by Kiai Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari Tebuireng Jombang (Qahar, 2021).

As an institution closely associated with Nahdlatul Ulama, Kauman pesantren believes in some common values practiced among NU communities in terms of *muamalah* (relationship among human beings) to instill the principle of *muasyarah bil ma'ruf* (interaction in harmony), called as *jam'iyah a nahdliyyah*. The values are *tawasuth* (moderate), *tasamuh* (tolerance), *tawazun* (balanced and proportional), *i'tidal* (justice), *ukhuwah basyariyah* (brotherhood as human beings), and *ukhuwah wathaniyah* (brotherhood with fellows of one country) (Abdusshomad, 2010).

The above values practiced in Kauman pesantren were treated not only as the guideline for santri in terms of social interaction among the neighborhood (*muamalah*) but also perceived as a *social milieu*. Accordingly, even though the values did not physically present, they are considered to be existed to bind individuals and community groups who try to actualize their subjective actions, including realizing the rules, norms, beliefs, cultural habits, traditions, customs, and so on. Moreover, they formulated common goals and norms imposed on each individual and made each actor or agent identify themselves as part of the community in the neighborhood (Veeger, 1985). As long as the main values, as described above, are still practiced consistently as the working rules, multicultural education at the Kauman pesantren will sustain.

CONCLUSION

The model of multicultural education in the Kauman pesantren refers to the basic values that become the fundamental guideline for the pesantren and its neighborhood. The values are as follows (1) nationalism (*wathaniyah*), in which Kauman pesantren referred to the principles of *ukhuwah wathaniyah* and *ukhuwah*

basyariah and implementing the essence of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, as these two were the inheritance of the Kyai of the pesantren which perceived does not conflict with the Qur'an and Sunnah; (2) prioritizing the value of "*ikramul dhuyuf*", namely the etiquette of respecting neighbors, as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad and the *Salafus Shalihin* in maintaining social harmony in the neighborhood where they lived; (3) social values (*ijtima'iyah*), where values are extracted from principles and experiences of social life, such as *srawung*, *rukun*, and *roan*. The three values, as known as local wisdom, are the main keys in maintaining social integration in diversity; and (4) the value of *jam'iyah* extracted from the principles and traditions among Nahdlatul Ulama communities in terms of social interaction (*muamalah*) in purposes to construct the culture of *mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf*. The values are: *tawasuth* (moderate), *tasamuh* (tolerance), *tawazun* (balanced and proportional), *i'tidal* (justice), *ukhuwah basyariyah* and *ukhuwah wathaniyah*.

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