GUPPI Educational Institutions (1968-1992)

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<th>Submitted</th>
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<td>11/01/2024</td>
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**Abstract** This research aims to examine the efforts of GUPPI in reforming Islamic education in Indonesia. This study employs a literature review methodology, utilizing a qualitative approach with a historical method. Data is collected through literature from various journals and relevant websites concerning the research subject. The findings reveal that GUPPI experienced fluctuations, both during the New Order era and the Reform era. During the New Order era, GUPPI saw institutional development in assets and territory, indicating significant progress due to its political ties with Golkar. However, GUPPI's idealism to further develop Islamic education stagnated during the Reform era. In the VII GUPPI Congress in 1998, GUPPI disaffiliated from the Golkar party and returned to being an independent organization. Post-VII and VIII Congresses from 2005 to 2011, GUPPI continued to grapple with internal issues and sought strategies for revival.

**Keywords:** GUPPI, Golkar, Islamic Education


**Kata Kunci:** GUPPI, Golkar, Pendidikan Islam
INTRODUCTION

During the early years of independence, Indonesia found itself in need of a considerable amount of human resources, cadres, and competent national figures to govern the nation. It seemed that some Islamic figures at that time were acutely aware that only through educated individuals with comprehensive knowledge and skills could Indonesia truly achieve its independence. They recognized Indonesia as a diverse nation, comprising various religious adherents, with Muslims being the majority of the population. They understood that Muslims had the potential and significant opportunities to develop high-quality national leaders through traditional Islamic educational institutions.

These traditional educational institutions have been spread across the archipelago since before Indonesia's independence, and even before the colonial era of the Dutch. Some of these traditional educational institutions became sources of nationalist awakening, serving as reservoirs of human resources capable of resisting and spreading anti-colonial ideologies. Through these Islamic educational institutions, Indonesia managed to cultivate qualified human resources capable of engaging in jihad, resisting, and expelling Dutch and Japanese colonial rule, even though many Muslims perished in their struggle (Mallarangeng, 1994).

According to Subhan (1998), educational approaches can be divided into traditional and modernist, each having its own advantages and disadvantages. Traditional education is seen as slow and outdated in keeping up with modern developments, while modernist approaches are feared to erode the existence of religious values. To reconcile these two approaches, efforts have been made to integrate modern knowledge into traditional education (Subhan, 1998).

Efforts to transform traditional education with modern elements have been ongoing since the 19th century by Islamic educational institutions. In the Indonesian context, such transformation efforts have also been made. The situation described above is particularly evident in West Java, where Islamic scholars are concerned about the state of Islamic education due to the decline of pesantren educational institutions. As is known, pesantren is a prevalent educational model in Indonesia that has spread throughout the archipelago (Fealy, 1994).

Among the ideals developed are: Firstly, to promote the traditional Islamic education system, especially madrasahs and pesantrens, as ideal places for the development of high-quality human resources for the Indonesian nation. They are regarded as ideal places because these traditional educational institutions emphasize the education of national character based on noble morals. Secondly, to promote the traditional education system as an ideal place to cultivate the spirit of struggle and social jihad oriented towards the endeavor to build a prosperous Indonesia, both materially and spiritually. Thirdly, to promote the traditional education system, particularly pesantrens, with a boarding school system and kyais (religious
leaders) as exemplary figures capable of providing opportunities for students to be continuous learners day and night.

However, the traditional Islamic education system is perceived to still have shortcomings, lagging far behind in competition with modern educational institutions developed by the government, namely schools inherited from the Dutch colonial era. They realize that the idealism of making traditional educational institutions centers for developing national resources will not be achieved if the Islamic education system is not improved. They understand that if these Islamic educational institutions are not improved, graduates of this system will only become second-class citizens, a marginalized community within their own country. Indeed, some alumni of these traditional institutions may become a burden on the state, part of the needy class, especially because they lack adequate access and skills to support themselves (Utomo et al., 2020).

Pesantren, as an Islamic educational institution, is culturally rooted in Indonesian society, making it traditional, unique, and original, thus adding a distinct color to the Indonesian education system. It plays a crucial role in community development. Pesantren cannot function effectively without the presence of a figure known as a Kiai, whose presence is indispensable. The Kiai serves as the manager who leads and regulates the rhythm of development and sustainability of the pesantren with expertise, deep knowledge, charisma, and skills. Through the manifestation of the teachings of tarekat that characterize the values of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama’ah, the Kiai wields significant influence in shaping the scholarly tradition and internal policies of the pesantren (Anshori et al., 2022).

Throughout its long history, Islamic education has experienced fluctuations in various aspects according to the prevailing circumstances. During the New Order era, the government implemented policies for pesantrens through the Five-Year Development Project (Pelita). Funding for pesantren development was obtained from the central government to the local level. The New Order government sought to perpetuate its power through political and social spheres, especially in the religious domain, by establishing an Islamic education institution called GUPPI (Gabungan Usaha Perbaikan Pendidikan Islam or Joint Efforts for Islamic Education Improvement). GUPPI was formed on September 12, 1950, in Sukabumi, West Java, following deliberations with 350 ulama from West Java held at Pesantren Puyuh Sukabumi. Kyai Ahmad Sanusi played a key role in proposing the formation of an organization aimed at improving and renewing pesantren education (Adibah, 2017).

Based on the aforementioned perspectives, it was these Islamic education figures who then established an organization called the Gabungan Usaha Perbaikan Pendidikan Islam. There were already many Islamic figures managing traditional Islamic educational institutions. The essence of an organization lies in a collective effort to achieve noble goals. Its aim is to provide
conceptual ideas for the improvement of the Islamic education system as a whole. Its mission is to raise awareness among its administrators that traditional Islamic educational institutions must improve themselves to catch up with the advancements in general knowledge, skills, and technology, which are crucial for filling Indonesia’s independence.

Furthermore, GUPPI’s idealism in urging traditional Islamic educational institutions to rise and become advanced centers of education and civilization for the Indonesian nation continues to be developed. They believe that Islamic educational institutions have the potential and strength to build the nation’s civilization because they are deeply rooted in society. This potential strength is also due to the fact that Islamic educational institutions grow and develop from communities founded on strong intentions, sacred religious missions, the spirit of struggle with nationalist insights, and high nationalistic spirit. They see that from strong Islamic educational institutions will emerge respected community figures, figures of struggle, and dignified national figures (Defnaldi et al., 2023).

As for previous research on the role of religious scholars during the New Order era related to GUPPI organizational data, there is an article written by Arif Hidayatullah (2014) titled "Depoliticization of Nahdlatul Ulama 1968-1983." In this article, data on the driving factors of NU depoliticization, the process of NU depoliticization, and the influence of NU depoliticization are found, with GUPPI playing a significant role in dividing supporters of Islamic parties, particularly NU.

Secondly, a study on "Portrait of Local Islamic Education (Islamic Center Sudirman Educational Institution GUPPI Ambarawa in the New Order Era" written by Ida Zahara Adubah (2017) in the international conference proceedings on Indonesia about Islam, education, and science. In this paper, Adubah explains that GUPPI in Ambarawa underwent several phases of development starting from the early growth period from 1977 to 1984, the expansive development phase (1984-1992), and the phase of challenges and trials (1992-1998). Thirdly, an article written by Nisa, Na'im, and Umamah (2017) titled "Strategy of Golongan Karya to be Winner in Election Year 1971-1997." This article explains the political conditions during the New Order era with its politicians dominated by Golkar, utilizing GUPPI as an Islamic educational organization to increase its electability among the public.

Fourthly, an article written by Moch. Iqbal (2022) titled "Development of Islamic Education in the New Order Era", explains how the New Order government paid close attention to Islamic education through MPRS Decree no. 27, article 1 dated July 5, 1966, which stipulates that religious education becomes a compulsory subject for all students. The New Order government prioritized Islamic education through madrasahs and pesantrens. Additionally, Islamic organizations in the field of education such as GUPPI participated and collaborated with the New Order government in advocating for Islamic education in Indonesia.
Fifthly, an article written by Muh. Ilham (2016) entitled "The Contribution of the Movement for the Renewal of Islamic Education (GUPPI) to the Renewal of Islamic Education and the Development of Da'wah." This article explains the development of GUPPI and its contribution to Islamic education, particularly in Gowa, South Sulawesi. GUPPI has become an important Islamic organization for the development of Islamic education by implementing government curriculum, adequate infrastructure, and competent teachers.

Based on several studies, it can be concluded that the discourse on the dynamics of GUPPI's journey as an organization involved in Islamic education in several regions of Indonesia has been extensively studied by various academics, but discussions about the struggles and intrigues within GUPPI itself have not been deeply explored. Therefore, this article attempts to outline how GUPPI's ups and downs experienced during the period from 1968 to 1992. Building on the previous explanations, this article focuses on GUPPI's involvement in the field of education in Indonesia during that time period using historical data to gain a clear picture of its progress and setbacks.

METHOD

This research is a library-based study. It adopts a qualitative descriptive approach, utilizing a historical perspective. The focus is on GUPPI as an organization involved in Islamic education in Indonesia during the New Order era, particularly from 1968 to 1992. Two types of data sources are utilized in this research: primary data consisting of a selection of photos depicting GUPPI activities during the New Order era, and secondary data comprising writings from various journals and relevant websites related to the research object. The acquired data are then processed deductively, followed by presentation, reduction, verification, and drawing conclusions (Darmawan, 2021).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

History and Development of GUPPI from 1950 to 1998

In the post-independence period, the educational environment was perceived as not conducive to improving the traditional Islamic education system. Some Islamic education figures were involved in exhausting political activities. Unhealthy competition among political parties for power continued throughout the years. Conflicts among Islamic, nationalist, and communist parties seemed never-ending. Moreover, conflicts among Islamic parties themselves became unavoidable (Anam, 2017). Although organizationally GUPPI remained independent and unaffiliated with any political party, the involvement of some GUPPI officials or activists in political party activities hindered GUPPI's idealism in contributing to the improvement of Islamic education. Such conditions persisted until the advent of the New Order (Anita et al., 2023).
The establishment of GUPPI was initiated by the views of the kyai regarding the decline of Islamic educational education at that time, especially the pesantren they managed. The scarcity of Islamic educational institutions and the prevalence of Christian education; the gap between pesantren and government schools, where pesantren were increasingly marginalized compared to government-assisted public schools. The Movement for the Renewal of Islamic Education (GUPPI) was born on March 3, 1950, at the Gunung Puyuh Islamic Boarding School in Sukabumi, West Java. GUPPI emerged about four years after Indonesia's independence. It was an era known as the post-revolution era, or the Old Order Era. An era filled with social and political upheavals vying for the new state power in Indonesia. GUPPI was born out of the awareness, spirit, and idealism of several Islamic figures led by KH Sanusi, particularly in the traditional Islamic education community in West Java. GUPPI needed to be born due to the challenges of filling and responding to the demands of the early independence of the Indonesian nation (Adibah, 2017).

The initial revitalization of GUPPI's idealism became prominent during the New Order Era, particularly in 1968, when GUPPI joined the political party movement at that time. Some of GUPPI's officials were able to seize opportunities, which later led to political maneuvers during the Muktamar I held in Malang. The GUPPI organization, which was initially independent, became affiliated with Golkar, a party supported by the ruling party. One of the significant considerations for GUPPI's affiliation with Golkar was that GUPPI lacked adequate funds and facilities to mobilize the organization. Another consideration was to broaden the access of its functionaries to be involved in decision-making in the development of the education system in Indonesia.

As expected by some of its officials, after GUPPI became part of the ruling party's circle, GUPPI could rapidly expand nationwide, and they had easy access to be involved in various crucial decisions in the field of traditional Islamic education improvement (Putra, 2008). This was possible because GUPPI functionaries were part of the strategic bureaucracy and state institutions. The revitalization of GUPPI continued until the Second Muktamar in 1971 in Jakarta, the Third Muktamar in 1975 in Pandan, East Java, the Fourth Muktamar in 1980 in Jakarta, the Fifth Muktamar in 1986 in Jakarta, and the Sixth Muktamar in 1992 in Pondok Gede, Jakarta. This revitalization of GUPPI coincided with the heyday of the Golkar party during the New Order Era (Putra & Jandra, 2016).

The revitalization of GUPPI's idealism through the political party channel has made a significant contribution to the world of Islamic education. Various significant contributions of GUPPI in the history of Islamic education include the thoughts, ideas, and concepts of GUPPI functionaries to modernize traditional Islamic educational institutions by developing the
pesantren curriculum in the fields of vocational skills and life skills, as well as strengthening pesantren facilities and infrastructure that began to flow in the 1970s (Ilham, 2016).

GUPPI functionaries, especially those involved in bureaucracy and political parties, also contributed to the emergence of the concept of modernizing madrasahs. Initially, madrasahs functioned solely as Islamic religious education institutions, but they evolved into traditional educational institutions equivalent to public schools. GUPPI functionaries were also involved in contributing to the development of Islamic religious education concepts in schools and advocated for the enactment of the National Education System Law in 1989 (Suprayogo, 2007). Through this law, traditional Islamic educational institutions, madrasahs, became more modern and were placed as an integral part of the national education system (Nata, 2003).

Moreover, during the heyday of the New Order, GUPPI in various regions was able to capitalize on the good access to build GUPPI educational institutions such as madrasahs, schools, and pesantrens (Nata, 2003). The number of GUPPI educational institutions at that time was quite significant, possibly reaching hundreds of educational units, especially in Java, Sulawesi, and Lampung. It is understandable that the ease of access to GUPPI during the New Order Era was due to GUPPI officials being strategically positioned in various state institutions. However, the anticlimax of the revitalization of GUPPI’s existence appeared during the Sixth Muktamar in 1992 in Pondok Gede, Jakarta. In the early 1990s, the Indonesian government referred to it as the year of entering the Takeoff Era, entering the second phase of Indonesia’s development towards the envisioned Industrial Society. Various development plans and programs were prepared and implemented, including development programs in the field of education. But during the takeoff era, the power of the New Order began to waver, and eventually, when the global monetary crisis hit Indonesia, it resulted in a political crisis, which in turn led to the collapse of the New Order government in the mid-1998 (Darwis, 2010).

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GUPPI functionaries are also noted for their contributions to the development concepts of Islamic religious education in schools and for their role in promoting the enactment of the
National Education System Law in 1989. Through this law, traditional Islamic educational institutions, madrasahs, became more modern and were placed as an integral part of the national education system. Moreover, during the heyday of the New Order, GUPPI in various regions was able to capitalize on the good access to build GUPPI educational institutions such as madrasahs, schools, and pesantrens. The number of GUPPI educational institutions at that time was quite significant, possibly reaching hundreds of educational units, especially in Java, Sulawesi, and Lampung (Putra, 2016).

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Table 1: Periodization of the Development of the Association for the Renewal of Islamic Education (GUPPI)

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>Establishment of the Association for the Renewal of Islamic Education (GUPPI)</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>Revitalization occurred within GUPPI by joining the political party, Golkar</td>
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<td>1971</td>
<td>GUPPI held the Second Congress in Jakarta</td>
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<td>1975</td>
<td>GUPPI held the Third Congress in Pandan, East Java</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>GUPPI held the Fourth Congress in Jakarta</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>GUPPI held the Fifth Congress in Jakarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>GUPPI held the Sixth Congress in Pondokgede, Jakarta</td>
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<td>1998</td>
<td>GUPPI experienced setbacks until the present time</td>
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The Ebb and Flow of GUPPI During the New Order Era

GUPPI believed that improving traditional Islamic educational institutions during the Old Order era posed significant challenges that were not easily overcome. First, in terms of status, these institutions were private and not recognized as part of the national education system. Consequently, diplomas or certificates from these traditional Islamic educational institutions were not acknowledged in formal employment sectors, whether in the government or private sectors. As a result, alumni of these institutions could only enter the informal job
market. Second, regarding curriculum quality, these traditional Islamic educational institutions lacked standards that adequately addressed the post-independence developmental demands. This was because the curriculum of traditional Islamic education evolved naturally, based on the preferences and missions of their respective founders. The evolving curriculum had not fully met the future needs of Indonesia, especially in the fields of general knowledge, skills, and technology as possessed by developed countries. Third, ideally, the management of traditional Islamic educational institutions should be free from specific political interests (Azra, 2019).

Initially, GUPPI was in the form of a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). GUPPI was an NGO based on Islam, established since March 1950. As an NGO, GUPPI aimed to educate society and the nation through both formal and non-formal education channels. In terms of education, GUPPI had educational institutions ranging from kindergarten to university level. GUPPI was an NGO composed of institutions and individuals, including Islamic scholars, preachers, religious teachers, and interested members of the community, both male and female. Over time, GUPPI transformed from an NGO into a foundation (Defnaldi et al., 2023).

The Association for the Renewal of Islamic Education (GUPPI) Foundation was initiated by one of the ruling political parties of the New Order, namely the Golkar Party. This foundation was established to advance education in Indonesia by founding Islamic-based schools from kindergarten to university level. Initially, schools under the auspices of the GUPPI foundation received exceptional facilities from the government at that time. This can be seen from the fact that all schools under GUPPI were established on state or village land, which was very different from the establishment of other private schools where the land or establishment site had to be owned by the foundation. There was a promise from the government that schools under GUPPI with more than 100 students would be converted into public schools (Hidayatullah & Haidar, 2014).

Viewed through its ebbs and flows, GUPPI is inseparable from the history of political power dynamics and the diminishing focus on the pesantrens they managed. Several narratives obtained from articles and documents depict the glory of GUPPI, including: its reliance on support from Golkar at that time, which was a party backing the New Order regime, evident from GUPPI’s activities with the government, collaboration with UNICEF, and receiving assistance facilities from the state, such as land and other forms of aid. The following photos depict GUPPI activities in the past (Utomo et al., 2020).
The decline of GUPPI began with the downfall of the New Order regime in 1998, as a result of GUPPI's support for the government by becoming an extension for the political
interests of Golkar, which consequently impacted GUPPI when the regime changed. Another factor contributing to the decline of GUPPI was the lack of regeneration; GUPPI officials were preoccupied with politics, leaving little time for pesantren teachers (Nisa et al., 2017). Alongside the collapse of the New Order government and the emergence of the Reform Era, GUPPI experienced stagnation. The idealism of GUPPI to continue developing Islamic education also experienced stagnation. At the 7th GUPPI Congress in November 1998, GUPPI severed its affiliation with the Golkar party and returned to its original stance as an independent organization as it was at its inception (Alam, 2020).

In the history of GUPPI, its role was reassessed in 2011, stating that GUPPI had declared its independence at the 6th Congress in 1992. At the 7th Congress in 1998, in an effort to build a new spirit, the term "Gabungan Usaha Perbaikan Pendidikan Islam" (GUPPI) was changed to "Gerakan Usaha Pembaruan Pendidikan Islam" (GUPPI). From the 7th Congress until the 8th Congress in 2005, and the Congress in 2011, GUPPI continued to grapple with internal issues, seeking the right strategies for a comeback. Nationally, GUPPI has been outside the realm of bureaucratic and political power. Therefore, GUPPI nationally appears to be in a static condition, especially since the political turbulence of the reform era put GUPPI in an unfavorable position (Jailani & Muhammad, 2019).

One of the main factors contributing to GUPPI's stagnation is the restricted access to organizational funding, as was the case during the New Order era. Even now, in various regions, GUPPI's assets are dwindling, as some assets, such as land owned by GUPPI, have turned into private ownership. Officials at the central and regional levels seem less enthusiastic, although they are potentially capable organizers. The leadership of GUPPI in various regions also fails to regenerate. After the leaders of regional GUPPI chapters step down, there is no one willing or capable of replacing them. This is because there is no adequate cadreship system in the GUPPI development model.

In various provinces, cities, and districts, GUPPI is unable to coordinate leadership and hold Regional Consultative Assemblies (MUSDA) according to organizational rules, mainly because most of the core leaders have passed away, and organizational coordination tends to occur only among a few core officials who have personal connections. Only a small fraction of GUPPI chapters in various regions remain functional and influential. This is because some of them still have competent core officials. In other cases, GUPPI officials in the regions have established educational institutions under the name of GUPPI. The activities of GUPPI officials in various regions that are still relatively active involve networking among officials (Temby, 2010). These are the real internal challenges faced by GUPPI nationally to this day. Of course, there are other contributing factors to the weakening of GUPPI in various regions. Besides the lack of focused officials, existing officials also have other priorities they deem more pressing.
In this era of reform, in the realm of developing the traditional Islamic education system as envisioned by the founders of GUPPI in the 1950s, conceptual progress has been achieved, although not yet fully adequate. With the enactment of Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System, the status of Islamic education institutions such as madrasahs and pesantrens has been recognized as an integral part of the national education system. The existence of religious education and madrasahs is increasingly recognized, protected, and explicitly strengthened in laws, government regulations, and regulations of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Alam, 2020). Among the important contents of these legislative regulations is the placement of madrasah educational institutions on par with school educational institutions. Furthermore, religious education institutions such as pesantrens and Islamic boarding schools are also recognized as an inseparable part of the national education system, which must be developed. Moreover, religious education in public schools is being strengthened from early childhood education to higher education. In this regard, it is emphasized that every student has the right to receive religious education and to be taught by teachers of the same religion as the students. Implicitly, the meaning of this article prevents systematic religious conversion efforts through the education system (Azra, 2019).

The reinforcement of articles governing religious education is further strengthened with the issuance of Government Regulation No. 55 of 2007 on Religious Education and Religious Education, followed by Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation number 16 of 2010 on the Management of Religious Education in schools. Additionally, in the national education system, private educational institutions have been truly equated with state educational institutions. On this basis, Islamic educational institutions such as private madrasahs and pesantrens, as well as formal and non-formal educational institutions under GUPPI in various regions, receive financial support for school operational costs and incidental educational facility assistance from the government. The only issue is that generally, the provision of religious and Islamic education, as well as madrasah education, is still considered not optimal in quality, except for some exemplary madrasahs. Among the reasons for this are:

Firstly, religious education in schools has not met the expectations of some parents. Religious education in schools is still perceived by some observers as very cognitive-oriented. The attitudes, behaviors, and practice of ritual worship among students in schools are still not satisfactory. Additionally, cases of drug abuse, criminality, violence, radicalism, and immoral behavior are still prevalent among students. I believe these are significant challenges in the education sector that require serious attention from various parties.

Secondly, the quality of education in madrasahs and pesantrens, especially in terms of competency in skills, science, mathematics, and international languages, still lags behind, except for some outstanding public madrasahs that have achieved commendable achievements. Thirdly,
religious education in certain private schools has not yet complied with the requirements of the National Education System Law, number 20 of 2003, Government Regulation number 55 of 2007, and Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation number 16 of 2010. Research conducted by the Research and Development Center for Religious Education and Religious Affairs has found that various schools managed by certain community groups do not teach religious education to students in accordance with the laws and regulations. Moreover, some private educational institutions are viewed by some parties as part of a covert and systematic religious mission to undermine the faith of followers of other religions or to convert the religious beliefs of students according to the mission of the school (Anita et al., 2023).

CONCLUSION
The emergence of the Association for the Renewal of Islamic Education (GUPPI) represents a movement focused on education. The formation of GUPPI was prompted by concerns among religious figures and kyais due to the absence of modern Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, such as pesantrens, remained traditional and could not meet the demands of the time, where modern educational institutions were preferred due to their superior curriculum.

GUPPI emerged as a countermeasure against the proliferation of various other educational institutions. Throughout its history, GUPPI experienced fluctuations, initially standing independently but later joining the political party Golkar. The aim of GUPPI’s proximity to political parties and the government was to legitimize and improve Islamic education, so that pesantrens and Islamic schools would be recognized by the state. However, during the New Order era, faced with political conflicts and economic crises that led to the collapse of the New Order regime, GUPPI also experienced setbacks.

REFERENCE


