

Suru Beratap Madrasah

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Surau Beratap Madrasah: A Study on Social History and the Collapse of Cultural Value of Surau in West Sumatra, Indonesia

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Abstract

3 Surau, an Islamic assembly building in some regions of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula used for worship and religious instruction, is the oldest educational institution in Minangkabau. Even before the onset of Islam in Minangkabau, surau has already existed. Surau later experienced the Islamization process after the arrival of Islam. This study aims to describe the shift of the function of surau as an educational institution in Minangkabau culture, due to regulation of Indonesia educational system. The research was carried out by in-depth interviews with the leaders of surau and observations to educational process in surau. This study found that there has been an ambiguity of surau educational system in West Sumatra as the result of the "very centralistic" Indonesia educational system that does not allow the educational system of surau to get legitimacy from the government. Surau unavoidably has to adopt the national educational system, therefore the local distinctiveness that is loaded with cultural values are reduced to such an extent. Surau slowly becomes madrasa, an ordinary school. This research is valuable for evaluating the educational system and law of Indonesia, in order to recognize the educational system based on local wisdom as a national educational system.

Keywords: Surau; Madrasah; Local Wisdom; Modernization of Education; Legality.

1. Introduction

Historically, *surau* is the oldest educational institution and at the same time as a cultural symbol of Minangkabau society. *Surau* is the center for Islamic teaching and is referred to as the starting point of Islamization process. The existence of *surau* is functionally become a community bastion for negative effects of modernization. Thus, *surau* is not only understood as a place to study of religion, but also as a place of scholarship (Azra 2003, 117). *Surau* in Minangkabau society stands as a social and cultural institution. Through the social movements of tarekat since the early spread of Islam in Minangkabau for example, *surau* was known as the center for socialization of values and teachings for social life that characterizes a person with the identity of Minangkabau.

Surau has become very significant when the role being operated is not only in the arena of development and teaching for religious sciences, but also the variety of social issues get a touch of *surau*. Until the beginning of 20th century, *Surau* was still a center of Islamic religious teaching by *Ulama* of Minangkabau. In addition, *Surau* as a tradition of lodging for Minangkabau young teenager boys, was still used (Abidin 2016; Dobbin 1992, 142-148). *Surau* institutions in the first sense are educational models of local communities that develop in the midst of society. This cultural institution has its own image as a "great tradition". This was supported by the existence of charismatic power and the qualified of

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knowledge possessed by teachers or sheikhs who teach in *surau*. The spirit of *surau* is reflected in the role of motivating the intellectual achievement and even mobilizing the community to carry out various social movements, such as resistance to colonialists during colonialism (Untung 2013, 11; Tjandrasmita 2009, 268; Mawangir 2015, 30).

The spirit settled in tradition of *surau* in the midst of the contemporary culture symptoms, which is dramatically transformed, appears in the clash in such a way with turmoil of modernization masses that has massively developed. Modernization itself is considered to have become a necessity in this century. Some see modernization as an optimism and a limitless opportunities, others interpret it as a tragedy. Herbert Marcuse (in Saeng 2012, 241-281) gave an illustration of this, about what he called "one-dimensional society and human beings". Total administration is an arrangement and management that aims to harmonize the concentration and integration of political, economic, military and cultural forces into one hand and one perspective. The means used are to create a national "common enemy" to force all citizens in order to need what is not needed and victimize which must be protected and preserved.

The "one dimension" penetrates in various fields especially in the educational system. The modernization of educational system has totally sacrificed the value of local wisdom reflected in *surau* educational system. The term of *surau* has faced erosion with the arrival of modern educational system which is considered to be more capable than *surau* educational system which tends to appear in classical and old tones. The critical period clearly occurs with the marginalized of *surau* in Minangkabau society as a social and cultural institution. Then, this become the challenge for *surau* in maintaining values as a cultural institution in the life of society in this contemporary era.

The aim to be achieved through this study is to explain *surau* and its essential meanings as a cultural institution of Minangkabau people. This study also describes how the existence of *surau* in the contemporary era seems increasingly distorted in the struggle of modern educational system, consequently the "ideals" and "images" of *surau* are increasingly in a dilemma and marginalized. The benefits to be gained through this research are the understanding and deep analysis in sociological-phenomenological perspectives on how individuals and groups of society interpret *surau* educational systems through the socio-cultural conditions that surround them. Including how religion and contemporary socio-cultural conditions influence the social and religious behavior of religious groups specifically on the life of *surau* itself. More specifically, the benefits of this study can be seen in the framework of analysis the phenomenon of *surau* educational system with more emphasis on local cultural and traditional aspects, therefore it is expected to probe some local wisdom on Islamic society (masyarakat Islam nusantara) in the social dynamics which is developing and in the amid of turmoil of changing which is dramatically happened. Therefore, the findings of this study will also be useful for enrichment the reality of Islamic societies in West Sumatra with their various meanings to their life, in which the understanding for the community as part of Islamic studies becomes more dynamic and comprehensive as an intellectual property of Islam in realm of Indonesia.

2. *Surau* in the Social Dynamics of Minangkabau Community

The historians still do not approve on defining the term of *surau* as well as how the origin of social history of *surau* existence. Azra (1999) said, the term of *surau* comes from Malay-Indonesian language, namely "suro", which means "place" or "place of worship". Whereas in Encyclopedia of Islam, *surau* is a small building located on a hilltop or in a place that is higher than its environment, used for worship of ancestral spirits (Kadimullah

2007, 168). In Minangkabau history, *surau* was established during the King Adityawarman in 1356 AD in Bukit Gombak Batusangkar (Asrohah 2019; Kadimullah 2007). In addition to functioning as a place of Hindu-Buddhist worship, *surau* was also as a gathering place for young people to learn various sciences and skills in preparation for facing the future and as a gathering place for unmarried men or widowers. With the onset of Islam to Minangkabau, *surau* experienced the Islamization process, and its religious function became increasingly clear (Azra 2003, 118; Daulay 2007, 27). In addition to being used for worship, *surau* also becomes educational and teaching institution, and socio-cultural activities.

In its normative function, *surau* becomes an important place in teaching various Islamic knowledge. In *surau*, *ulama* from each tarekat groups built a network between teachers and students to create a variety of diverse scientific relations. Along with the spread of religious understanding in *surau*, the tradition of writing and copying manuscripts also grew. The manuscripts that were copied and written were intended to spread science or criticize the opinions from other people or groups with different Islamic ideologies, and to criticize social conditions.

The role of *surau* Ulakan for the development of Islam in Minangkabau was enormous, so that in the historical tradition among *ulama*, it is often considered that *surau* was a basis for spread of Islam. In fact, this role induced a well-known expression in *tambo adat* Minangkabau, *agamo mendaki, adat menurun*. However with the *surau* or *pesantren* tradition, as a center for teaching and enriching religious knowledge, began in Minangkabau. this is where the genealogy or chain of *surau* begins.

Surau with its educational pattern is a miniature of the first and largest Islamic university in Minangkabau (Azwar 2015). It is stated as a university because *surau* has a neatly structured educational system, among the *surau* in various regions, they have the same teaching pattern. Each *surau* is like the faculties of a university led by *Sheikh* or *Tuanku* who has a different expertises. The position of *Sheikh* or *tuanku* can be assumed as a dean at today's modern university as these *Sheikh* or *Tuanku* leads other teachers in guiding students to explore the Islamic sciences. *Surau* can no longer be seen in a simple sense. Hundreds and even thousands of handwritten manuscripts of science books were founded at *surau*. All the *Tambo* in Minangkabau are written in *surau*, proven that all *Tambo* begin with prayer to the Prophet and written with Arabic Malay language.

Surau educational system has a speciality in the process of regeneration to maintain the continuity of identity values from each *surau*, which naturally produce a teacher. Students who have completed the study of *fiqh* and *tafsir*, are later inaugurated as "teacher's assistance" for a long time. If he has been capable, both in mastering the material and in solving problems in a book, he will be appointed to become "*guru mudo*" (*angku mudo*), then *tuanku*, and then *Sheikh*. At this level, he has full authority to teach the religious sciences to his students. This process lasts in a long time. After having full authority, he returned to his village to establish a new *surau* as a place to carry out education and the spread of Islam.

The efforts to instill Islamic teachings in the whole life and social institutions in Minangkabau, through social movements of *surau*, seem very effective. This can be seen, that if previously the position of religious people was under the "shadow" of adat stakeholders, then they had been able to stand up in equality with the adat stakeholder. This acceptance can be seen from Minangkabau proverb that says, *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah, syarak mangato, adat memakai, camin nan indak kabua, palito nan indak padam*.

The role of *surau* as a religious educational institution has shaped the attitudes and personality of Minangkabau Islamic society. *Surau* is a complex educational space for Minangkabau personality. In *surau*, people learn religion with *tuanku*, learn adat with *mamak*, and learn democracy with their "peer groups". The occurrence of fights and humorous stories are the social dynamics that arise in *surau*. The social dynamics that is useful in forming a strong mental attitude to face life's challenges. Thus, it can be said that *surau* is a very complex place where the tools of education to syarak and adat, places for personal forging to be confident and become a democrat, "*duduak samo randah, tagak samo tinggi*" can be found. This kind of education is not found in the formal education system of modern schools, especially in providing awareness of self-identity and cultural identity of students.

3. *Surau as a Social Institution: from the Religious Dimension to Social Capital*

The study about the existence of *surau* in the social dynamics of Minangkabau community has shown a broader and more comprehensive meaning that *surau* is not merely as physical forms. In concept of Minangkabau culture, the term of *surau* is placed in a different meaning from the term of mosque. *Surau* is in the community of clan and *Tuanku*, while the mosque is in the nagari community. The mosque has become one of requirements for the identity for nagari in Minangkabau, known as the "mosque of nagari", while *surau* is identity for a certain tribe that is known as "*surau kaum*". Nagari people gather in the mosque, while the tribes gather in their *surau*. In Minangkabau *surau* is the center of culture. The movement of "*baliak ka surau*" which become contemporary issue in Minangkabau means that return to the identity of Minangkabau culture, because *surau* is the "center of culture" of Minangkabau.

To understand the *surau* is to understand the concept of social institutions that exist in Minangkabau society. *Surau* concerns its function as a part of necessary institutions in Minangkabau, taking a role in fulfilling various needs of the community in their social life. Thus, what is equally interesting to reveal from the existence of *surau* in the social community of Minangkabau, besides being a social institution, is the social reality of *surau* as a center for building a community based on a pattern of togetherness or social solidarity based on *surau* that belongs to every tribe/clan. Since *surau* exists and has become the identity of Minangkabau people; an important role that has been developed to become a social institution is the social capital of community.

In the *surau* educational system, for example, it can be seen more clearly. In *surau*, the community guarantees the life and daily needs of every student or *santri* and teachers or *tuanku*. *Tuanku* is a charismatic figure where people rest on. The need for *surau* cannot be carried out properly if *tuanku* does not involve. The term of *mamakiah* as a tradition of *surau*, is a form of tradition originating from social capital the community that heeded continuity the *surau* for *santri* in it. The community usually provides various need⁹ for *tuanku* and *santri* for the continuity the social and educational activities. The social capital is in the form of social solidarity, cooperation, and also social network that makes it increasingly existent, not only as a center of education but also as a network of scholars who have significant implications for political issues.

To expose the concept of *surau* as a social capital, the concept of social capital theory can be presented from several insights as revealed by experts such⁶ as Pierre Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam (Haryono 2016, 172). In concept put by Bourdieu (1986, 249), social capital is a set of actual or potential resources related to the ownership of durable

network from institutionalized relationships, and it begins with mutual recognition. Putnam defines social capital as a collection of horizontal associations among people who have an influence on productivity of local community (Shahra 2003, 1-22; Kusumastuti 2015, 86).

On the cultural values possessed by the first community group traditionally, there is balance between social capitals which regulates the harmony and solidarity of internal relations among group members, which is called by a term of *social capital binding*, with social capital that enables the creation of cooperation and reciprocal relationships that are called by the term of "bridge social capital". It is called "bridge" because it is a link between the differences that exist between groups of people with different cultural values, by more emphasis on the equality found on both parties. The community groups that traditionally lack cultural values of "bridge social capital" tend to be more concerned with their own groups and are exploitative and easily involved in conflict with other groups.

Surau as a cultural asset of Minangkabau people has the value of cultural capital and social capital, which takes a role in the framework of how the social conditions intertwined until to date. The context of *surau* in Minangkabau has an explanation that is close to what Lyda Judson Hanifan (1916, 130-138) explained in a paper about the success of a school principal built the sense of togetherness in a community, so that the amelioration is not only achieved by students but also by community members in various fields of life. In that article, Hanifan not only introduced the terms and gave definitions to the terminology, but also clearly showed a conceptual thinking about the strategy of developing social capital in society.

The solidarity of Minangkabau community through *surau* is reflected in the study of *mamakiah* as one of traditions in *tarekat*. *Mamakiah* is a cultural instrument in how to introduce oneself, socialize, and as well as the means by which the internalization and externalization the religious values that base on cultural dimension, are harmonized for those who will be teachers/*tuanku*. The activity of traveling around the village from tradition of *mamakiah* shows reciprocity in building the character of *santri* and in filling the institution of community. Consequently, there is a reciprocal relationship, which needs one another. The social capital intertwined refers to social relations with the presence of norms and beliefs towards of *surau*. Not only in the context of trust and the presence of norms, do social networks become the basis on which community solidarity exists through *surau*, but at the same time it become a pattern where the community can be built both in economic and education aspect, and even in terms of politics.

4. *Surau Beratap Madrasah: The Lost Spirit*

Surau is a monumental Islamic educational institution in Minangkabau and at the same time as a ritual and intellectual arena. Through the spirit of this institution, the role of transformative scholars (*ulama*) can design the education based on a characteristic that can change the social world of Minangkabau community. *Surau*, called as a ritual space, has no age restrictions for visitors or congregation. The spirit of *surau* as an intellectual space becomes the foundation of intellectual education for young people.

That spirit of *surau*, become a feeder for intellectuality and morality. *Surau* as a ritual space is seen in a wider community in carrying out religious ritual activities. The famous scholars are usually visited by many people, and for the community, their teachings are implicated in context of community their followers. Their fame lies in charismatic aspects they possess. While *Surau* functions as an intellectual space, *Surau* also has become a center for agent of knowledge to transmit the knowledge of scholar. The development of

transformative *ulama* in Minangkabau shows the *surau* in specialized intellectuality to be a scientific skill possessed by *ulama*.

The periodization of time, in the course of *surau* and the social system that surrounds it, reveals a different transformation of spirit from the very beginning in which the *surau* exists and becomes the identity of Minangkabau community. What it cannot be ignored from this metamorphosis is as a form of adaptation to the symptoms of modernization in various segments of social system in society. It can be stated that the modernization of educational system is happening, which has become a trend this century that more secularization (Mawangir 2015, 29). Moreover, by the enactment of Government policies through the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education since the early 1970s, the curriculum content of religious schools is loaded with a 70% in general educational curriculum, and 30% in religious (Saridjo, 2010, xxv). Traditional schools, known by having strong nuances of religion, directly or indirectly, made the Dutch schools considered as modern, as a driver of new awareness in making changes to Islamic educational system in Indonesia, including education in *surau* (Maksum 1999, 93).

The historical roots in which *surau* became marginalized begins from the existence of policies implemented by Dutch colonial government on economic, political, religious and educational policies (Ramayulis 2012, 299; Azra 1999, 140; Mansur 1970, 175) The government not only regulates schools over Minangkabau local community but also suppress the variety of activities in *surau* by forming regulations on necessity of licensing in teaching and learning. Even in extreme case, it is prohibited to learn of Alquran that does not have permission from the government (Hasbullah 1996, 47-48). The fact on period of its repressive history in the past has metamorphosed after there were the view of Snouck Hurgronje with some content of views, such as taking the fanatical people in religion (Islam) into the educational process provided by the government and placing "neutrality" on the Dutch government in religion problem in the state (Nata 2001, 75-76; Tjandrasmita 2009, 267). Then, stemming the Islamic movement that grow from Middle East by limiting the variety of knowledge (books) enter to Indonesian territory, and limiting or supervising the local people to go to Mecca (Nata 2001, 75-76).

The existence of *surau* is increasingly marginalized over the limitation of activities and is strengthened by the role of schools built by the government. Inequality cannot be ignored and even became more explicit during the Padri war, by Mahmud Yunus (1984, 3), the Islamic educational system in *surau* was referred to as an ancient educational system which is increasingly fading and declining. The strengthening the role of schools built by government is driven by the legitimacy of capital which takes a role in improving economy and social status of people, making *surau* in a drop behind. This means that those who gain access to the workforce and allow for sufficient income are those who have official diplomas from schools that are built through the government system. While the local educational system, *surau*, which does not have the same diploma as the government system, is not acknowledged. There is decreasing interest for people studying in *Surau* because it is considered unable to give any opportunities for the future that guarantees a better life. *Surau* slowly becomes marginalized.

The reality that Minangkabau community cannot be separated from Islam as a basis for education in *Surau* can be overcome by government by giving space to public to enter in public schools with a set of legitimacy graduations. Thus, if in the early Dutch colonial period, for example, schools were exclusive education, then at the beginning of the 20th century on the behest of Governor General van Heutsz, the educational system began to be held for a wider community in the form of village schools (Azra 2000, 98). At this time, local people began to obtain the opportunity to study in government schools. As a

consequence, schools were established in many places with a system that built on the basis of government-style educational curriculum system. In the early 20th century, in 1913, there were 111 schools, and in 1915 there were 358 schools built on the basis of a secular educational system to accommodate the local Minangkabau people (Azra in Raharjo 1985, 165-166). At this time the beginning of modernization of *surau* took place to answer and to escape from the backwardness of educational system in *surau*.

The first *surau* that underwent modernization on educational system was *Surau* Tanjung Batusangkar, Sungayang which was established by Sheikh Umar Thaib in 1897 and *Surau* Parabek Bukit Tinggi which was established by Sheikh Ibrahim Musa in 1908 (Daya 1990, 64). The general science was contained in the curriculum and the educational system adopted as Western educational system, or, as the education system that is known as general educational system nowadays. The process of modernizing *surau* educational system in its continuation was strengthened by the renewal of the *kaum muda* by making a harsh criticism to traditional religious practices in Minangkabau, and establishing Islamic education institutions known as Adabiah schools. The renewal of educational system based on the modern educational system had increasingly become a necessity. Educational system has changed with some reasons, namely economic propositions (for the advancement of educational process) and future propositions of students with a diploma system that applies at the government level. For the second reason, curriculum that is loaded must inevitably adopt a system set by the government. *Surau*, in order to continue its existence, later developed into a madrasa.

This tendency is a monumental form, unwittingly; it suppresses the wisdom that is in the old educational system. The influence of modernization created modernist-rationalist intellectuals. This condition influenced the mindset of Minangkabau people so that modern schools were quickly accessed and made it as a choice. Meanwhile the ineffective guiding in *surau* weakened the existence of *surau* in the midst of the current modern educational system, which then the role of *surau* as a place for non-formal education in Minangkabau began to be left behind by the *nagari* children.

Surau as an Islamic educational institution in Minangkabau, when metamorphosed into a madrasa, was degraded and became marginalized. The marginalization is increasingly apparent with the assumption that the emergence of madrasa is considered as an anti-thesis for the dissatisfaction of the old educational system which is considered irrelevant in responding to the current modern challenges. Some of the *surau* that have been modernized are the *surau* Parabek which has now become Tawalib boarding school, and Diniyah school in Padang Panjang (Noor 1991, 55-56) while in Bukittinggi, Payakumbuh, Batusangkar, *surau* has become school of madrasa that seems to have no difference with public schools both in terms of management, educational curriculum system that applied, and teaching-learning process that carried out.

Through the process of modernization, the *surau* educational system shows a new face with the spirit of the fading local wisdom value. *Surau* grows with “*beratap madrasa*” with the loss of authentic spirit of *surau*. In the reality, therefore, *surau* traditional education can no longer dismiss the existence of external challenges by the emergence of modern Western education.

The term of *surau* gradually begins to be abandoned and then turn to the term that is considered more appropriate for the Islamic educational system, namely madrasa. At least, there are two aspects that appear in the change of terms to madrasa, first, the changes in teaching methods from *halaqah* method to classical method and secondly, the

teaching of general subjects such as history, geography, natural sciences, algebra, measurement, English and others (Martamin 1997, 84-100, 256-258).

The existence of madrasa in Minangkabau as Islamic religious educational institutions lasts up to the present. The critical period from the *surau* educational system to madrasa is directly proportional by the death of *ulama* who is the central figures (see also Mawangir 2015, 30). This condition is inversely proportional to the development of pesantren as a traditional educational system in Javanese that shows a significant progress. Many Minangkabau *surau* (West Sumatra) are gradually "*mati suri*" or dormant, except for a few *surau* that try to survive with the remnants of "charismatic power" from the figures of *ulama* in the past, although it also seems almost be faded. In general, the power of charisma in terms of institutional is facing the degradation.

Surau which increasingly depleted of its spirit is increasingly stretched and metamorphosed into school in the form of madrasa with a modern educational system as Islamic boarding schools like in Java where it was seen significantly that madrasa managers were not referred to *ulama* anymore in West Sumatra. It changes the whole of its educational system and even changes the name become madrasa and boarding school. In Minangkabau, all madrasa, including modern educational institutions such as Diniyah School, Madrasa School and other madrasa, implement a half-day learning system and no longer like *surau* as before. The education applied also appears to be more limited to a formal education. There is no system like *surau* that builds and creates charismatic figures, all at once between the intellectual and cultural aspect.

To phenomenon that occurred, there is a loss of cultural identity in Minangkabau educational system as a form of stagnation in regeneration process the charismatic *ulama* as Minangkabau have in the past. The spirit of madrasa at this time; no longer has a central figure that can be used as a role model to produce *ulama* and *ulama* networks. It is more as an educational institution that does not seem to have a power of spirit, it does not have charisma. This fact actually has a rational reason, the modern educational system takes a heed to formal diplomas that seem increasingly sticking out as the basis of legitimacy in various matters and institutions. While *surau* does not have such formal diploma, the legitimacy is increasingly doubtful. In more extreme escalation, it is increasingly not recognized.

In the essence, spirit of *surau* is a place where Muslims carry out prayer. However, in broader concept of *surau*, it reflects cultural activities such as a center for men in Minangkabau for doing activity. This tradition is a normative demand that applies in the indigenous conventions of nagari children. The *surau* tradition regenerates the spirit of morality and culture that become an institution for the "maturation" of Minangkabau generation. In *surau*, there are intertwined social capitals such as solidarity, cooperation, social interaction between communities, and as an arena for socialization.

The process that takes place in *surau* is very comprehensive although it is not structured as in formal educational institutions as the spirit of *surau* is the spirit to process self-maturation and sociality for next generation. Spirit of *surau* teaches about independence, togetherness values, mutual cooperation, and even thinking maturity, skills and expertise in argumentation and in dialectics.

The metamorphosis of *surau* to Islamic boarding schools and madrasa, makes its spirit disappear, a spirit in which the value of *surau* is dimmed into public schools as seen in the present school. A system that is limited to formal education because Islamic boarding schools themselves are commonly used to refer to Islamic educational institutions. This

term is almost generally used in the community to distinguish between Islamic education and general education.

In the present context, observing the increasingly modern *pesantren*, there is a synchronic dichotomy. The meaning of *pesantren* has replaced the madrasa system which is classically managed privately, and then the term of madrasah is intended to religious schools that follow the government management system, such as Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, Madrasah Tsanawiyah, and Public and Private Madrasa Aliyah. The term, then, is nationally uniformed, although this educational system has different historical and cultural roots in each region as well as in Minangkabau.

Moreover, the educational system desired by the government also appears to provide a classification to the *pesantren* system with the form and model of curriculum being developed, such as "*pesantren salafiah*" and *pesantren khalafiyah*. The differentiation of these two types is based on the acceptance of *pesantren* on new elements that are appropriate to be developed in the modern educational system. Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School is an educational system that persists with the old educational tradition (*sorogan*, *weton* or *halaqah*) and uses consistently the classical Islamic books, and it does not include general subjects into its curriculum. While the *khalafiyah* boarding schools accept new things in its educational system, uses the classical method, and in addition to old subjects which are considered still relevant also teach, the general subject is also used, even the *pesantren* open the general education in their own boarding schools. The type of *khalafiyah* boarding school is also called modern boarding school.

Because of the condition, *surau* normatively shows a strategic value in the roles of life Minangkabau society, but it not in its praxis. The generalization of the curriculum, modernizing the educational system, unrecognizing the *surau* diploma because of being replaced with the legitimacy of the government, reveals the symptoms of problem namely the loss of *surau*' role in the society. The loss of *surau*'s role has strong reason that cannot be ignored. The degradation of the role of the *surau* is inseparable from the erosion of role on *penghulu*, *ninieki mamak* and *bundo kanduang* in fostering the personality of their *kamanakan*. The role of *surau* is increasingly marginalized also because of the outdated *surau* educational system that unacceptable, because it almost seems to lose the Minangkabau character as *surau* product. Not only are scholars produced by *surau*, but also politicians, economists and other experts. Ironically, it seems look like *surau* reveals a negative image to *urang siak*, religious teacher, and so on. When the existence of *surau* is replaced by madrasa, or today still calls itself with *surau*, the content in it is in the form and point to modernization system which actually eliminates and dims the existing spirit of *surau* that becomes a cultural identity for Minangkabau community.

5. Conclusion

Surau as a public space in Minangkabau community is a place where the discourse of social life is formed, whether it concerns with the issues on religion, politics, culture or scholarship. The matter of scholarship in *Surau* is a very valuable aspect, which makes Minangkabau scholars become exist. From *surau*, there also the distinctive characteristics that characterize whether a person has character and identity of Minangkabau or not. The variety of studies revealed shows that *surau* is a part of cultural institutions and is the oldest educational institution with a value system that contains elements of rationality and has characteristics of the local culture. This actually has a sturdy reason, that is, the emerge of scholar networking and Minangkabau intellectuals from the institutions of *surau*.

At present, there is a wave of change where intellectuals and scholars become "rare" to be found in *surau*. Or else, if it is not excessive to be stated, *surau* no longer produces *ulama* as the historical traces of Minangkabau people. A unique *Surau* educational system which has produced an *ulama* who has local characteristics to the community as the students, do not get government legitimacy because it is considered as an old educational system that is not relevant to present era. As a result, *surau* is marginalized. The existence of *surau* which is marginalized is exacerbated by financial problems which are considered as a main capital mobilizer the education. For the sake of fulfilling these two things, a half of breath from *surau* is panting in the middle of generation intersection. The existence of *surau* is facing two collisions; they are the hits by the modernization and legitimacy from the state. *Surau* by that fact is "obliged" to transform its educational system into "madrassa" educational system in order to gain the legitimacy of the state.

Surau become a classic terminology where the real of it has become madrasa school that no longer has a difference with the secular educational system (public school) initiated by the government. *Surau* is now merely terminology where the spirit deposited in it has been lost in the present era, an era called "modern". The will to be modern in the educational system is a monumental form which then, unwittingly, suppresses the wisdom that has existed in the old educational system. These conditions influenced the mindset of Minangkabau people, so that modern schools are quickly accessed and made it as choice. Meanwhile the ineffective guiding in *surau*, weakened the existence of *surau* in the midst of the current modern educational system, which then the role of *surau* as a place for non-formal education in Minangkabau was no longer in demand by nagari children. *Surau* is now a classic term that its normative value which has transformed into an institution with no its cultural identity.

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