

## ***Responsive-Anticipative Coalition-building Method in The Policy of Integration Between Diniyah Takmiliah and Formal Elementary School Education Institutions in East Jawa***

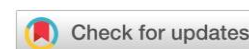
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### **ABSTRACT**

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*The lack of communication between the education office and the ministry of religion in the implementation of Diniyah Takmiliah education which has led to the emergence of new Diniyah Takmiliah institutions, resulting in overlapping, and the low participation of parents in involving their children in Diniyah Takmiliah education are some of the problems in the implementation of the Diniyah Takmiliah integration policy with formal educational institutions. The objective of this research is to analyze and formulate the way of regency government in building the coalition with the executive parties of the policies of Diniyah Takmiliah integration with formal educational institution in Sumenep and Pasuruan Regency and in building coalitions that lead to communication strategies so that research results can describe solutions to existing problems. This research is qualitative research with an institutional approach and an actor approach. The data collection technique used is document review, observation, and interviews, while the data analysis is done through several stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions. The research results show that the method of building coalitions can be done in two ways. They are anticipatory and responsive. The findings of these two strategies are discussed further in the research. Furthermore, this research recommends effectiveness or factorial analysis to provide validation of the findings of this research.*

**Keywords:** *Building Coalition; Diniyah Takmiliah; Educational Policies; Anticipative; Responsive*

### **ABSTRAK**

Kurangnya komunikasi antara Dinas Pendidikan dan Kementerian Agama dalam penyelenggaraan pendidikan Diniyah Takmiliah yang menyebabkan munculnya lembaga Diniyah Takmiliah baru, sehingga mengakibatkan tumpang tindih, dan rendahnya partisipasi orang tua dalam melibatkan anaknya dalam pendidikan Diniyah Takmiliah. Itulah beberapa permasalahan dalam implementasi kebijakan integrasi Diniyah Takmiliah dengan lembaga pendidikan formal. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis dan merumuskan cara pemerintah kabupaten dalam membangun koalisi dengan pihak eksekutif terhadap kebijakan integrasi Diniyah Takmiliah dengan lembaga pendidikan formal di Kabupaten

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Sumenep dan Pasuruan serta dalam membangun koalisi yang mengarah pada strategi komunikasi sehingga hasil penelitian dapat menggambarkan solusi terhadap permasalahan yang ada. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan institusional dan pendekatan aktor. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah telaah dokumen, observasi, dan wawancara, sedangkan analisis data dilakukan melalui beberapa tahapan: reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa metode membangun koalisi dapat dilakukan dengan dua cara. Mereka antisipatif dan responsif. Temuan dari kedua strategi ini dibahas lebih lanjut dalam penelitian ini. Selanjutnya penelitian ini merekomendasikan efektivitas atau analisis faktorial untuk memberikan validasi terhadap temuan penelitian ini.

**Kata-kata Kunci:** Membangun Koalisi; Diniyah Takmiliyah; Kebijakan Pendidikan; Antisipatif; Responsif

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Law Number 20 of 2003 should help to enhance the application of *Diniyah Takmiliyah* in Indonesia (Sidiq & Ikhwan, 2018). According to Muhaemin (2012), the passage of the bill might bring new hope and energy for the growth of Islamic education in Indonesia. In addition, regulations that specifically regulate the next *Diniyah Takmiliyah* education have begun to emerge, such as Government Regulation Number 55 of 2007, which states that the implementation of special *Diniyah Takmiliyah* education can be carried out integratedly with SD/MI (elementary school), SMP/MTs (junior high school), SMA/MA, SMK / MAK (senior high school), or higher education. Regulation of the Minister of Religion (PMA) Number 13 of 2014 stated that *Diniyah Takmiliyah* is an Islamic religious education institution in the non-formal education pathway that is structured and tiered as a supplement to the implementation of Islamic religious education at the primary, secondary, and higher education levels.

Furthermore, regional policies to pay greater attention to *Diniyah Takmiliyah* education began to arise in Indonesia. Kudus Regent (2013), Medan Mayor (2014), Pasuruan Regent (2016), Banyuwangi Regional Administration (2017), Magetan Regent, Sumenep Regional Administration, and other areas have This is encouraging since these rules show that Indonesian education has successfully incorporated autonomy and decentralization (Channa, 2016; Rifa'i, 2017; Yahya, 2014).

In addition, the regional/regent policies outlined above attempt to integrate non-formal Islamic educational institutions (*Diyah Takmiliyah*) with official educational institutions. This is encouraging news since, in 2018, these *Diniyah Takmiliyah* institutions served a total of 84,966 pupils (Kab. Probolinggo, 2018). As of 2022, East Java has 22,561 *Diniyah Takmiliyah*, including 18,186 at the elementary school, 4,329 at the junior high school, and 46 at the senior high school (Setditjen Pendidikan Islam Kemenag RI, n.d.). According to the most recent data, the total number of *Diniyah Takmiliyah* in Indonesia has reached 101,313. This data is still counting because data

collecting progress for the 2022-2023 period for *Diniyah Takmiliah* is still at 29.17% (Kementerian Agama, n.d.). In East Java, the number of *Diniyah Takmiliah* institutions reached 31,748 with a total of 1,780,124 pupils. This is a significant quantity that, as previously said, requires the government's assistance, encouragement, and supervision.

As noted in the preceding description, the regional or regent legislation that launched the merger of *Diniyah Takmiliah* with formal educational institutions were the proper moves in terms of support, encouragement, and direction. It indicates that the government has provided support in the form of these regulations. However, to make the public, policy implementers, or practitioners understand these rules, effective communication is a must. When executing a policy, the relevant actors may not completely understand its language (Honig, 2006). Policies necessitate features of communication to guarantee that the aims and implementation process function well (Usman et al., 2022). According to Datnow (2002), linked parties must communicate in order for policy implementation to be successful.

The communication component of policy is becoming increasingly crucial since policy consumers include not only implementing actors but also the communities. According to Emad and Roth (2008), one of the scopes of policy implementation is communication among communities. Barnard (1938) stated that the component of presenting a policy to audiences eventually allows for the emergence of dynamic kinds of communication strategies. Duemer and Mendez-Morse (2002) also stated that in the area of implementation, the policy is quite likely to create informal communications, which are generally in the form of dialogues inside the community itself. This casual discourse is, of course, prone to misconceptions, insufficient policy knowledge, and misinterpretation.

This study attempts to investigate how the government communicates the policy of merging *Diniyah Takmiliah* with formal education institutions, which is enshrined in numerous regional rules. In other words, the goal of this research is to provide a formula of government communication strategy aimed at policy implementers as a policy stakeholder. Several facts have emerged as reasons for the importance of a communication strategy in the implementation of this integration policy, such as the implementation of *Diniyah Takmiliah* in Sumenep, which is thought to have violated Regent Regulation (Perbup) No. 15 of 2016 with an indication of a forfeited budget. Similarly, in terms of implementation, it is still not comprehensive, lacks clear technical guidelines, and lacks intensive communication between the Sumenep education department and the Sumenep ministry of religion (Media Madura, 2017). The implementation of *Diniyah Takmiliah* in Pasuruan also has to deal with problems such as a lack of participation from the students themselves, overlapping main tasks and functions of the managerial team that needs further communication, and the time allocation for carrying out the *Diniyah Takmiliah* that still overlaps with formal

education (Fathurrohman, 2019); or regarding the implementation of *Diniyah Takmiliyah* in Banyuwangi, which is plagued by issues such as a lack of communication-socialization of local legislation and a lack of operational funding for *Diniyah Takmiliyah* (Mursalim, 2020).

Regarding the afore-mentioned problems, *Diniyah Takmiliyah* is actually experiencing problems in terms of its policy implementation strategy. Theoretically, this research uses the theory of Padovani et al.(2018) regarding a policy implementation strategy model to portrait these problems in general. The policy implementation strategy model consists of several strategy components, namely communication strategies, commitment building strategies, and coordination strategies. Furthermore, this research focuses more specifically on communication strategies which in more detail consist of two components, namely coalition-building and community involvement. Apart from that, discussing the coalition-building component is the most specific objective of this research. It is because after the *Diniyah Takmiliyah* integration policy emerged, it left several negative perceptions from the *Diniyah Takmiliyah* organizers themselves (initial observation results in Sumenep) or active participation from outside parties from a social organization called LP Ma'arif to make the policy a success (initial observation results in Pasuruan).

This study, however, only leads to the merging of *Diniyah Takmiliyah* with regular elementary school education facilities, for good goals, of course. According to data from the Directorate of Islamic Education, the number of *Diniyah Takmiliyah* institutions in East Java includes: 18,186 at the *ula* or elementary school level, 4,329 at the *wustha* or junior high school level, and 46 at the *ulya* or senior high school level (Setditjen Pendidikan Islam Kemenag RI, n.d.). This suggests that *Diniyah Takmiliyah* institutions are more prominent at the elementary school level than at higher levels.

Several previous studies have been conducted on the formation of coalitions in policy implementation. Wolff (2001) investigates the cooperative process of forming communal coalitions. Lü et al. (2020) discovered that authoritarian legislatures may use policy alliances to push the policy agenda. Horsford et al. (2019) outline how to establish a coalition to bridge the continuity of education between black and white races among African Americans, specifically in the context of education policy. Similarly, Doner and Schneider (2020) explain institutional alliances as a means of improving student formation abilities. Doner and Schneider (2020) are more relevant in this study's setting. The distinction is that this study focuses on coalition formation in the context of comparable institutional integration, namely basic educational institutions or elementary school level, whereas Doner and Schneider (2020) combine educational and non-educational institutions in advocate education.

## 2. METHOD

The goal of this study is to develop a coalition-building strategy model as a part of the East Java government's method for communicating the policy of merging *Diniyah Takmiliah* with official elementary school educational institutions. Instead of the dominance of the number of *Diniyah Takmiliah* at the *ula* level, which reached 18,186 institutions in East Java, the limitation of research to elementary schools also refers to the implementation of the mandatory *Diniyah Takmiliah* program which is implemented in stages, from the *Diniyah Takmiliah* at the *ula* level (elementary school) as the first level and continued to the upper levels (*wustha* and *ulya*) if the *ula* level is successful (Results of interviews with the Pasuruan Ministry of Religion). Moreover, specifically for Sumenep Regency, the implementation of *Diniyah Takmiliah* still focuses on the *ula* level. The Sumenep Regency government, through its Education Department, is targeting equitable implementation of the *Diniyah Takmiliah* program at the elementary school level (*ula*), starting from city, village, and island areas (Results of interviews with the head of the Sumenep education department).

The next research limitation is about the research location. This research does not focus on the integration policy of *Diniyah Takmiliah* throughout the East Java region. This research only focuses on two research locations, namely Sumenep Regency and Pasuruan Regency. The reasons for choosing these two locations are, *first*, Pasuruan Regency is a reference district for the integration policy of *Diniyah Takmiliah* with formal educational institutions (Pemerintah Kabupaten Pasuruan, 2017). In addition, several previous studies have recommended conducting further research on *Diniyah Takmiliah* in Pasuruan Regency (Ahmad et al., 2020; Fathurrohman, 2019; Fuadiba, 2020; Hasan & Muslim, 2021).

*Second*, Sumenep Regency is unique in its *Diniyah Takmiliah* policy formulation. *Diniyah Takmiliah*'s initial policy in Sumenep Regency was in the form of a Regent's Regulation (Regent Regulation No. 15 of 2016). There is an initiative from the community to immediately change the Regent's Regulations into Regional Regulations. However, this initiative attracted negative perceptions from the *Diniyah Takmiliah* organizers themselves. *Diniyah Takmiliah* organizers think that Regional Regulations will actually eliminate the existence of *Diniyah Takmiliah* as an institution (Results of Interviews with Sumenep Regency Elementary School Development Staff).

This study is a qualitative study with a political approach. According to Nugroho (2012), in qualitative research, the political approach might take the shape of an institutional approach or an actor approach. The institutional approach employed in this study pertains to government agencies in two regencies (Pasuruan and Sumenep), including the education department, the ministry of religion, and LP Ma'arif (particularly in the Pasuruan). Other institutions, on the other hand, allude to the official educational institutions of primary schools as well as the *Diniyah Takmiliah*

institutions itself. The actor approach, on the other hand, can refer to the people in these institutions; if it is the government, it could be the head of the education service or the head of the regional office of the ministry of religion; if it is the implementing agency, it could be the principal of the elementary school or the head of the *Diniyah Takmiliah*, teacher, and others.

A document review was used to acquire data for this investigation; (1) policy regulations governing the integration of *Diniyah Takmiliah* with formal elementary school education institutions in Sumenep and Pasuruan, East Java; and (2) supporting documents related to the integration of *Diniyah Takmiliah* with formal elementary school education institutions in Pasuruan and Sumenep, in the form of offline or online news, or official websites of district or city governments. Interviews were the next method of data acquisition. Those interviewed included officials from the East Java education department (Sumenep and Pasuruan), the local ministry of religion, madrasa heads, and teachers.

The data analysis followed the procedure of condensing data, presenting data, and drawing conclusions as described by Miles et al. (2014). The form of data in this research is in the form of policy documents or news (offline or online) about *Diniyah Takmiliah* policies in Sumenep Regency and Pasuruan Regency. These data were processed to be selected, simplified, abstracted, and transformed into patterned data according to the research theme (data condensation). After that, the patterned data is presented well (presenting data) so that at the final stage, the findings and conclusions are visible.

The conclusions found from these data are certainly not final. List of conclusions requires validation. Therefore, interviews with related parties, such as the head of the education department, head of the ministry of religion, school principals, head of *Diniyah Takmiliah*, specifically in Pasuruan Regency, where there is LP Ma'arif that also initiated the *Diniyah Takmiliah* policy together with the education department and the ministry of Pasuruan Regency. Interviews were conducted to validate the conclusions made and provide input to improve the conclusions.

### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The implementation of Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2020 on Early Childhood Education remains contentious and tumultuous. MDT (*Madrasah Diniyah Takmiliah*) organizers had a poor impression of the Perda. The presence of the regional regulation is seen to have the potential to change the existence of MDT itself. MDT had held a central position as executor in the Regent regulation (Perbup), but they did not have the position in the Regional Regulation (perda). The elementary school is completely responsible for implementing this Perda without the involvement of MDT (based on a



conversation with a member of the Sumenep regency's *Diniyah Takmiliah* community forum).

The education department then consolidated by communicating with MDT organizers to equalize perceptions and goals, confirm differences, and similarities in perceptions of regional regulations, and provide space for dialogue to reach an agreement on a solution (Results of interviews with the Sumenep Regency education department in the field of Elementary School Development). As a result, an agreement was reached in the form of discretionary policy. This policy refers to the exception that the implementation of mandatory *madrasah diniyah* based on Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2020 can be carried out not only entirely by elementary schools, but also by bringing teachers from MDT to elementary schools or in collaboration with MDT under the terms of an MoU.

In contrast to Sumenep, Pasuruan Regency, through the education department and the Ministry of Religion, has worked from the beginning with a community-based institution, LP Ma'arif, to jointly carry out the compulsory *Diyah Takmiliah* policy. The Pasuruan government recognizes that the merger of general education and Islamic religious education mandated by Perbup Number 21 of 2016 necessitates effective and comprehensive management.

"As of today, there are approximately 1,649 Islamic madrasahs active in the Pasuruan Regency. This many madrasahs necessitates effective governance. As a result, we, the Ministry of Religion, as the entity in charge of this madrasah, are collaborating with the local government, namely the education department, to consider how to administer and grow it. Finally, we discovered that this madrasah *diniyah* is a community-based educational establishment. To properly engage in the mandated *Diniyah Takmiliah* policy, we also require a community-based legal body capable of managing the madrasah *diniyah*. LP Ma'arif is the legal entity." (This is the outcome of an interview with the Pontren Kemenag Pasuruan Regency.)

The education department underlined the Ministry of Religion's statement for the Pontren Pasuruan area, which stated:

"The Regional Regulation mandates this mandatory *Diniyah Takmiliah* policy, which is reaffirmed in detail by the Regional Regulation. As a result, we unquestionably have responsibility for developing this program and the *diniyah* institution, because it all falls under the purview of the Pasuruan regency administration. We have obligations to provide salary or incentives to madrasah *diniyah* instructors and develop institutional facilities. The Ministry of Religion, on the other hand, is responsible for the *diniyah* institution's direction and operating permissions since the *diniyah* is governed by the Ministry of Religion. However, we believe it is necessary to incorporate a community group in the development of managerial elements and curriculum. The explanation is simple: *diniyah* is a community-based education program, hence community-based institutions must also be involved in administration and execution. Therefore, LP Ma'arif was involved in this *Diniyah Takmiliah* policy. LP Ma'arif was indeed the first institution to propose the *Diniyah Takmiliah* program in Pasuruan." (Interview with the Head of Elementary Education Department of Pasuruan Regency).

[Padovani et al. \(2018\)](#) halted at coalition-building and community participation as part of a policy implementation communication method. In reality, the idea of forming a coalition still has to be explored further. In other words, there are still several options for forming this combination. Several research, such as [Lapcha and Mahdi \(2021\)](#), show that the key aspects of forming this coalition are as follows: (1) coalition design; (2) perception equalization; (3) monitoring and assessment; and (4) analysis. [Gawerc \(2021\)](#) discusses three steps: (1) negotiation, (2) confirmation, and (3) discourse. Similarly, [Guillory et al. \(2006\)](#) provides information on the stages of coalition-building, including the forming stage (forming a coalition), storming stage (determining concrete performance steps), norming stage (implementing concrete performance steps), and performing stage (maintaining direction and focus).

According to research results in the Sumenep Regency, the regency government built a coalition after the Perda was published, leaving polemics between the organizers of the madrasah *Diniyah Takmiliah*. The Sumenep Regency education department should consolidate through communication with MDT administrators to equalize perceptions and goals, confirm differences and similarities in perceptions of local regulations, and provide dialogue space for solutions (Results of interviews with the Sumenep Regency education department for the elementary school development division).

According to this statement, once the Perda was issued, a coalition was formed in Sumenep Regency. Negotiations, confirmations, and conversation are all part of the coalition-building process. The findings of this study agree with [Gawerc's](#) research (2021), which states that coalition-building can be accomplished in several steps, including negotiations between related parties to equalize perceptions and goals, confirmation of differences and similarities in perceptions to be mutually agreed upon, and space for dialogue if differences arise. Moreover, the communication approach of coalition-building through negotiation, confirmation, and debate is an effective technique to communicate in solving continuous disputes. This statement is in line with research by [Tamunodiepiriye et al.\(2022\)](#) which reveals how conflict management is used to resolve conflicts between schools in Ghana and Australia. There are two basic aspects in dispute resolution: negotiation and mediation.

The confrontation between the MDT organizers and the Sumenep Regency education department eventually compelled the district administration to take efforts to mitigate this poor relationship. In facing conflict, the government's approach through the education department to consolidate with the MDT organizers is an essential thing in leadership. According to [Bäckstrand and Elgstrom \(2013\)](#), the government is a leader, but a competent leader must also be able to act as a mediator when a problem arises within the society.



According to this assessment, coalition formation in Sumenep Regency is more responsive than anticipatory. The definition of responsive coalition-building is a sort of dynamic and responsive collaboration to current developments in the social, political, economic, and physical environment (Greenawalt et al., 2021). Meanwhile, in the Sumenep Regency, the coalition build tries to address misconceptions among MDT officials.

Some of the benefits of this responsive coalition-building are the more effective and contextual problem solving (Assefa & Zewde, 2008), demonstrating strong responsibilities and building trust in society (Denhardt, 2002), and fostering the quality of democracy in the community (Eisner, 2001). However, it must be acknowledged that forming a coalition after the regional regulation is complete implies that not all parties interested in the *diniyah* program are involved. It indicates that certain relevant groups, such as the MDT organizers, were not involved in developing the overall concept of the mandatory *diniyah* program in Sumenep Regency. It is possible to participate, but only in a limited capacity, resulting in an uneven distribution of knowledge. This situation definitely needs more research.

In contrast to reactive coalition-building in Sumenep Regency, coalition-building in Pasuruan is anticipative. The Pasuruan Regency administration, through the education department and the Ministry of Religion, has been working with a community-based institution, LP Ma'arif, to ensure the success of the obligatory merger program. Parker et al. (1998) indicate in the classic literature that creating anticipatory coalitions has an end objective of conflict control. Furthermore, anticipative coalition-building can dynamically and adaptively govern probability, as well as anticipatory, looking-forward planning, though it is restricted (Kemp et al., 2007). In terms of curriculum management and supply, LP Ma'arif was the party that campaigned for the mandatory *diniyah* policy.

Building anticipatory coalitions does not happen through processes of negotiation, confirmation, and discussion space, as Gawerc's (2021) theory suggests. The Pasuruan Regency administration, through the education and religious ministries, and LP Ma'arif, are more likely to establish a coalition, decide tangible initiatives, implement them, and keep direction and focus. This is consistent with Guillory et al. (2006)'s theory, which includes details on the stages of coalition-building, which include the forming stage (forming a coalition), storming stage (determining concrete performance steps), norming stage (implementing concrete performance steps), and performing stage (maintaining direction and focus).

The formation of a coalition refers to the formation of a triad of stakeholders, including the education department, the Ministry of Religion, and LP Ma'arif. The determination of steps refers to the division of the framework's main functions, with the education department handling all types of infrastructure procurement and incentives,

the Ministry of Religion as the supervisor, and LP Ma'arif as the legal entity, the continuation of steps, and maintaining direction and focus.

The illustration below depicts coalition-building as part of the communication method for the policy of merging *Diniyah Takmiliyah* with official educational institutions.



**Figure 1.** Illustration of coalition-building as part of the communication strategy of the integration policy of the *Diniyah Takmiliyah* with formal educational institutions

#### 4. CONCLUSION

This research found two methods for building coalitions in policy implementation, especially the implementation of the *Diniyah Takmiliyah* policy in Sumenep Regency and Pasuruan Regency. *First*, the method of a responsive coalition-building which starts from the case in Sumenep Regency. The issuance of the Regional Regulation on *Diniyah Takmiliyah* in Sumenep Regency raised problems, so coalition building was carried out as a response to this problem. *Second*, the method of anticipative coalition-building which originates from the case in Pasuruan Regency. The policy makers, such as the education office, ministry of religion, and LP Ma'arif, work together optimally to promote intense communication with the community and indirectly anticipate possible obstacles to the implementation of the *Diniyah Takmiliyah* policy. These two methods of coalition-building certainly require further validation to measure their effectiveness. As a result, this study suggests using efficacy or factorial analysis to validate the study's conclusions.

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